

Media Narratives in Response to Immigration Shocks: An LLM Classification Approach

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Abstract

How do media narratives shift in response to immigration shocks? I develop a dynamic model of political communications that predicts more positive immigration coverage soon after immigration shocks, which I call the *humanitarian phase* due to prominent themes of sympathy and vulnerability. As these shocks continue, I predict more negative immigration coverage—which I call the *threat phase* due to themes of material and symbolic threat—will become more popular as the media reflects the changing conditions of the shock and societal response. I focus on Colombia as a theory-building case, before I then test the generalizability of my theory using the cases of Brazil, Germany, and Poland. Empirically, I use a few-shot ChatGPT 4o model to classify articles from national newspapers in each of these countries and then illustrate changes in the proportion of immigration-focused media narratives over time. I find modest evidence for humanitarian and threat phases across most contexts, with more acute shocks prompting more pronounced humanitarian phases. These findings systematize elite discourse and its changing nature on salient issues, contributing to our understandings of the relationship between media coverage and societal responses to shocks.

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Introduction

The media has a massive sphere of influence in society, ranging from entertainment and advertising to voter turnout, protest mobilization, and policymaking. The ways in which the media communicates information—more specifically, political information—can have wide-reaching social consequences (Druckman, 2004; Chong and Druckman, 2007). Despite the highly influential nature of media narratives, scant research theorizes how media narratives themselves may systematically manifest and change in response to different stimuli, thus altering the information environment and reshaping how people think, speak, and act. Immigration is one example where the media plays an outsized role in influencing the societal imagination on the topic (Gamson et al. 1992; Brader, Valentino and Suhay 2008; Valentino, Brader and Jardina 2013; Cruces et al. 2021). In this paper, I conceptualize and provide evidence for a common media response to immigration shocks—sudden changes in the immigration flows of a receiving country due to some external factor—across contexts. First, I systematically document the prevalence of immigration-focused media narratives in Colombia, providing an initial test-case and opportunity to build my theory. I then extend my analysis to the contexts of Brazil, Germany, and Poland to test the generalizability of this common response to immigration shocks.

I center my theoretical framework on the existence of media narratives and how they occur over time and across geographies. I argue that, at the outset of immigration shocks, media narratives emphasizing the vulnerability and shared humanity of immigrants are more likely to emerge and dominate the information environment in what I call the *humanitarian phase* (motivated by Feldman and Steenbergen 2001). However, as these shocks and their aftereffects continue to unfold, I predict that humanitarian narratives will subside due to changing conditions on the

ground.

As the immigration shock wears on, the realities of the situation will change: more immigrants will be in the receiving country, the economy may not have the extra bandwidth to support integration efforts, or politicians may be seeking to capitalize on an unpopular issue. As these factors emerge, I argue that media narratives will increasingly portray immigrants as threats in what I call the *threat phase*. In the threat phase, media narratives may highlight the material threats—competition for scarce resources, such as jobs, social benefits, healthcare, and physical safety—and symbolic threats—perceived incompatibility of values between immigrants and the host population—of immigration (Green and Staerkle, 2023). After these threat narratives become prevalent, I expect that they will remain so for the duration of the shock, barring major changes to the dynamics of the shock.

I concentrate the initial construction of my theory on Colombia in the face of Venezuelan immigration since 2016. I expect that Colombia is a most likely case to observe a humanitarian phase, as it minimizes two potential confounders to the proliferation of media narratives: race and cultural proximity. Colombia shares an intimate political history with Venezuela and their populations are culturally and racially similar, so traditional intergroup explanations of hostility may be less prevalent (Ayala et al. 2020).

After I have gleaned insights from the Colombian case, I test the generalizability of my theory using the following migration dyads: Brazil facing the Venezuelan immigration, Germany facing Syrian and Ukrainian immigration, and Poland facing Ukrainian immigration. Each of these countries allows for a greater understanding of the relationship between immigration shocks and media responses. Brazil has also grappled with the Venezuelan immigration, but it has a greater population and larger landmass than Colombia, along with the linguistic differences between

Portuguese and Spanish. Germany permits a comparison of racial effects on media narratives through its responses to Syrian and Ukrainian refugees. And finally, Poland represents a traditionally restrictive immigration context, so its response to Ukrainian refugees may provide a harder test for the emergence of a humanitarian phase in the wake of the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

To empirically test my theory, I collect nearly 200,000 immigration-focused newspaper articles from these countries and filter to those that focus specifically on their respective migration dyads. Using insights from the existing literature, close readings of articles, and unsupervised text analyses, I then craft a comprehensive codebook to classify immigration media coverage, allocating these newspaper articles into the categories of **humanitarianism**, **threat**, **benefit**, and/or **policy & integration**. To perform this task, I employ a few-shot ChatGPT 4o classifier, which I validate in Tripp (N.d.) with comparisons of model metrics between AI classifiers and human coders.

In this analysis, I find descriptive evidence in support of my theory, with some useful tweaks. Colombia, Germany, and Poland all respond to their respective immigration shocks with a humanitarian phase, using sympathetic language and casting the immigrants as vulnerable victims of circumstance, poverty, and government persecution.¹ Moreover, as these shocks evolve, narratives of threat become highly popular, characterizing immigrants as carriers of disease, hindrances to the economy, criminals, and destabilizing social forces. Brazil presents mixed results at the national level, so I look to several newspapers at the state-level where immigration may be a more salient political issue. Here I identify a humanitarian phase but not a threat phase.

What factors contribute to the start of the humanitarian and threat phases? At the end of this

¹ Though the timing of this humanitarian phase may vary based on how quickly the shock occurs.

project, I undertake a brief, exploratory analysis as to how migrant flows, length of immigration shock, and economic indicators may contribute to the start of a humanitarian phase and its transition to the threat phase, though this is a broader question that I leave open to future researchers.

The main contribution of this paper is the systematization of elite discourse and its changing nature in response to immigration shocks. I establish the humanitarian and threat phases, arguing that they constitute a common media response to immigration shocks across the world. As global immigration flows are set to increase as a result of climate change and the resulting conflicts, it is imperative to provide host countries with strategies to improve the facilitation of immigrants. Inclusive information environments can be a boon to immigrant livelihoods and welfare by improving public opinion and immigration policymaking, while restrictive information environments can provide greater hardship to the already difficult process of immigration and integration by subjecting immigrants to prejudice in the public square.

Theory

Humanitarian and Threat Phases

Shocks take the form of an unanticipated, intense changes to the status quo, leading those affected segments of society to change their behaviors and strategies in response. I situate my theory around potential media responses to immigration shocks: sudden and substantial increases in host countries' immigration flows due to dire situations in the sending countries. These shocks may cause a disjuncture in media coverage that can be exploited to better understand patterns in media strategies, with implications for society at-large. One prominent examples of an immigration shock comes from Turkey, as it receiving several million Syrian refugees as a result of the Syrian civil war. Turkey faced large, sudden inflows of refugees due to violent, deteriorating conditions in Syria. In similar situations, I argue that the initial media responses to immigration shocks will cultivate a more welcoming and inclusive information environment—a humanitarian phase—due to the immediacy of the situation and the early cues pointing toward sympathy, shared humanity, and welcome.

Drawing on research in communications and political psychology, I define the humanitarian phase as the media's prioritization of portraying groups subject to some disaster or deteriorating domestic situation as vulnerable, human victims of circumstance. These narratives emphasizing the core tenets of humanitarianism—shared humanity and vulnerability—may attempt to garner a societal welcome of immigrants by highlighting their difficult travel conditions and involuntariness, as well as using narrative strategies such as perspective-taking and human-interest stories (Feldman and Steenbergen, 2001). I document and analyze the prevalence of broader media narratives across Colombia (and later, as extensions: Brazil, Germany, and Poland) to better understand when humanitarian phases might begin and end.

H1 (Humanitarian Phase): In the early stages of immigration shocks, media coverage is more likely to frame immigration using a humanitarian lens.

Humanitarian phases require some degree of a coordinated media response to inundate national coverage with sympathetic narratives. Generally speaking, publishers push narratives based on their own goals, desire for profit, and editorial guidelines. Indexing theory suggests that initial media reactions to shocks may be driven first by government actions, as these actions may set a baseline response by which the media can compare other potential outcomes (Bennett, 1990). Moving forward with the assumption that media coverage is primarily driven by profit, I find in interviews with Colombian journalists that the editorial lines of some immigration-focused newspaper segments were strictly positive and centered on human-interest stories due to earmarked funding from organizations like the International Organization for Migration. So, in addition to their own interests, publishers may also take cues from international and domestic funders in their coverage of immigration.

Conditions within the host country are bound to change in response to immigration shocks. The size of the immigrant flows, the proportion of immigrants to the local population, and the level of government and non-government aid dedicated to the immigrants are likely to change, all of which may contribute to changes in media coverage and societal perceptions of the immigrants themselves. Media coverage that may have initially focused on the humanitarian crisis faced by the migrants may now focus on the poverty that migrants face within the host country, simply because those are the realities on the ground. This phenomenon may have exacerbated negative immigration attitudes in Colombia, as the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic forced many Venezuelan immigrants into homelessness, which was highly visible to both news coverage and Colombians self-isolating (Stevenson et al. 2023). While the initial societal response to

immigration may be one of open arms, those supporting this welcome may stop as the immigration inflows increase or continue for years on end (“compassion fatigue”; see Banulescu-Bogdan, Erdogan and Salgado 2024).

In response to these changing conditions, I argue that media narratives focused on threat will become more prevalent. Threat is an immigration narrative that focuses on the potential negative consequences of immigration, especially related to material and symbolic threats. With material threats, the host population fears that it will have to compete with immigrants over scarce resources, such as jobs or public services; on the other hand, with symbolic threats, the host population assumes that the cultural differences of immigrants, such as language or religion, make integration impossible (Green and Staerkle, 2023). Threat narratives can also contribute to negative public opinion toward immigrants (Brader, Valentino and Suhay, 2008).

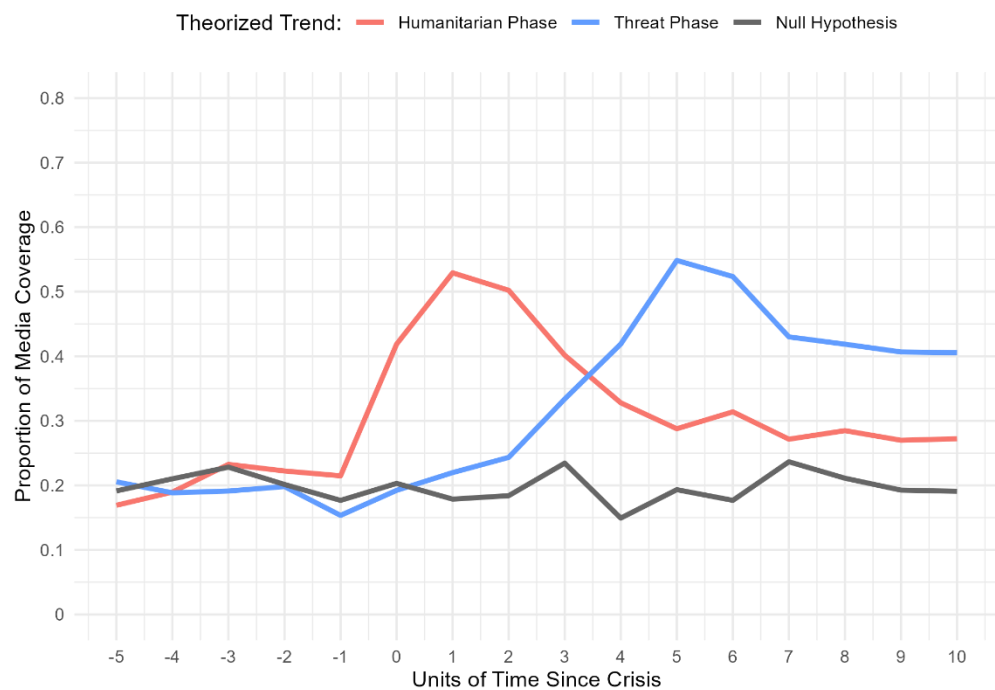
I argue that threat narratives will occur after the humanitarian phase. The popularity of humanitarian media narratives relies upon perceptions of shared humanity, vulnerability, and goodwill. So, when segments of society become disillusioned with these tenets or desire an outlet for their more anti-immigrant views, behaviors, or strategies, media narratives of threat may become more prevalent.² I do not necessarily expect that threat narratives will *replace* humanitarian narratives, but I do expect that threat narratives will follow after a period of more humanitarian coverage. In this way, the media may prioritize its coverage of immigration to paint immigrants as threats to the host economy, safety, and culture.

² I base these on individual-level insights from the dehumanization and deservingness literatures (see Utych 2018 for dehumanization; see Hansen 2019 and Petersen et al. 2011 for deservingness).

H2 (Threat Phase): As immigration shocks continue, media coverage is more likely to frame immigration using threat lens.

I model the expected the relationship between humanitarian and threat narratives in Figure 1 below. I depict low, stable proportions of humanitarian and threat narratives before the shock. As the shock begins and the host society has had time to react, the humanitarian phase begins in full force. Then, as the shock continues, humanitarian narratives start to become less popular, and threat narratives peak. These threat narratives remain popular for the rest of the series, and I suspect that they will fade as immigration becomes less salient or there are new developments in the shock that change the host society’s priorities. In this situation, the null represents no major, systematic changes in newspaper coverage throughout the series.

Figure 1: Expected Trends in Humanitarian and Threat Narratives



Immigration Media Narratives

In addition to humanitarian and threat narratives, I discuss two alternative narratives motivated by the literature on immigration attitudes: benefit and policy & integration. Benefit is an immigration media narrative that concerns itself with the positive aspects of immigration. While benefit narratives largely oppose threat narratives, I view them as using the same material/symbolic framework as threat. As for symbolic benefits, immigration can improve the cultural diversity of a host country and bring fresh perspectives, rather than provoking fears of cultural incompatibility or replacement (Alrababa'h et al., 2021). As for material benefits, immigrants can supplement a labor force and improve local and national economies, rather than taking jobs and driving down wages (Bahar, Dooley and Huang, 2018). While benefit narratives are not particularly potent for changing immigration attitudes, they are often employed by governments to justify inclusive immigration responses or by researchers and NGOs to dispel negative stereotypes (Haynes, Merolla and Ramakrishnan 2016; Lecheler and de Vreese 2016).

Narratives of policy & integration may also occur. These narratives seek to communicate the government's considerations regarding immigration policies, attempts at integration, and political elite debates on the topic. Articles falling into this category will likely be more neutral, technical, and procedural, as opposed to others that may use human-interest stories, calls to emotion, or highly charged language. While this theme is not often discussed in the existing literature on immigration attitudes or political communications, I find that it is popular in national newspapers and may reflect the salience of immigration and government efforts to address it.

Colombia's Response to Venezuelan Immigration

The collapse of Venezuela's economy and democratic system around 2016 led to the large-scale

out-migration of Venezuelans across Latin America and the world. While Venezuela's greater instability started around 2014 due to economic mismanagement and government oppression, the resulting out-migration did not begin in force until the end of 2016 and peaked in 2018 (Bitar, 2022; Broner, 2018). As a result, over 7 million Venezuelans have since fled their homes in search of safety, security, and better economic opportunities (*Venezuela Crisis*, 2023). Colombia leads the world in receiving these immigrants, settling over 2.5 million as of 2023 (*Venezuela Crisis*, 2023). This situation remains salient in Colombian politics, as the Venezuelan economy and human rights situation have only marginally stabilized.

In the wake of large-scale Venezuelan immigration, Colombia pursued an inclusive response, driven by political and media elites who wanted to frame the government as generous early on (Palma-Gutierrez, 2021). Under President Juan Manuel Santos in 2016, the country did not restrict immigration, instead choosing to develop long-term plans for the regularization and integration of Venezuelan immigrants. Colombia moved forward with this inclusive approach, regularizing the residency and work status of many Venezuelan immigrants and providing them with public services such as healthcare and education (Banulescu-Bogdan and Chaves-González 2021).

The Colombian Media

Colombia has a history of high-quality press, and Colombians obtain a great deal of their political information from television, social media, and online newspapers (Perdomo, 2022).³ I select three online newspapers—El Espectador, El Tiempo, and Semana—to investigate the Colombian information environment surrounding immigration media coverage. These online newspapers represent the most popular online news sources in Colombia (see Newman et al. 2022), and I

³ While TV and social media are also major Colombian news providers, I do not investigate them in this project.

chose these papers based on their different ideological affiliations and ownership by Colombian political elites.

El Tiempo is a national newspaper with ownership connections to the Santos family and a center-left ideology; it is also Colombia's newspaper of record (*Media Ownership Monitor Colombia* 2018; verified in 2023 journalist interviews). According to survey data from Reuters 2021 Digital News Report, El Tiempo is the most read newspaper in Colombia—41% of respondents read it in the past week—, and it is tied for most trusted with El Espectador—the 2021 mean level of trust for El Tiempo is 6.7 out of 10, with 10 being highly trusted and 1 being highly distrusted (Newman et al., 2022). With support from international donors, El Tiempo covers immigrant integration and regularization via *Somos Panas Colombia*.⁴

El Espectador is a centrist, national newspaper and one of the oldest in the Western Hemisphere (*Media Ownership Monitor Colombia*, 2018; *Y seguimos adelante...*, 2008). While El Espectador is not as popular as El Tiempo—only 27% of respondents read it in the past week—, Colombians trust it at the same level as El Tiempo (Newman et al., 2022).

Revista Semana is a national news magazine with a popular political analysis segment. Until 2020, it was a leftist news magazine known for its investigative journalism (*Media Ownership Monitor Colombia* 2018). However, the Gilinski Group—a Colombian banking conglomerate with a rightist lean—assumed full control of Semana in 2020 (Sánchez, 2022). 22% of respondents read Semana in the past week, and the mean level of trust in this magazine is significantly lower than that of El Tiempo and El Espectador at 5.85 out of 10 (Newman et al., 2022). With support from international donors, Semana hosts a segment on integration called *Proyecto Migración Venezuela*.⁵

⁴ See <https://www.somospanascolombia.com/>.

⁵ See <https://migravenezuela.com/>.

Empirical Framework

To empirically test my theory, I undertake a three-part framework. First, I scrape immigration-focused newspaper articles from national newspapers online, after which I perform inductive analyses on these articles using a mix of close readings and exploratory models. Second, using insights from the literature on immigration attitudes, I develop a codebook to broadly categorize themes in immigration coverage, validate it with human coders, and classify the bulk of these newspaper articles using a few-shot ChatGPT 4o model. Third, I analyze the output of this AI model to visualize descriptive trends in each theme over time and across publishers, providing evidence for my hypotheses. At the end of this section, I provide a brief exploratory analysis of the factors that may predict changes in the distribution of humanitarian and threat coverage for each migration dyad.

Data Collection and Colombian Analysis

Media coverage of Venezuelan immigration into Colombia was fairly uncommon until murmurings of Venezuela's deteriorating domestic situation began in the 2010s. To operationalize this media coverage, I manually scrape newspaper articles from *El Espectador*, *El Tiempo*, and *Semana*. Using the search terms "refugee(s)," "migrant(s)," and "migration," I download over 36,000 newspaper articles from 2012 to 2022. I then filter this sample to articles also containing the terms "Venezuelan(s)" or "Venezuela," with a final tally of 9,610 articles.⁶ I perform minimal cleaning of this text dataset, as the GPT 4o classifier can take advantage of the raw text and HTML characters in its task.

⁶ See Appendix A for a more detailed breakdown of the newspaper articles in my dataset.

In order to better understand the content of Colombian immigration media narratives, I conduct close readings of a random sample of newspaper articles, comparing their themes to the drivers of immigration attitudes (see Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014). Since this literature focuses on attitudes rather than media coverage, I supplement these close readings with exploratory text analysis models to uncover the most common topics within these immigration media narratives. Pairing the insights from these two approaches, I create a categorization scheme of immigration media coverage based on four broad themes: humanitarianism, threat, benefit, and policy and integration.

Model Validation and Classification

As for the second part of my empirical design, I design a codebook for human and AI model classification based on the four primary coverage themes. The humanitarianism theme highlights the vulnerability and humanity of immigrants, while the threat theme concentrates on immigration's material or symbolic threats. The benefit theme refers to material or symbolic benefits of immigration, and the policy and integration theme covers policymaking in response to the shock.

To manually validate this codebook, I work with a team of undergraduate coders to classify 600 newspaper articles from my corpus into the above themes. In the course of working with these coders, I break the four broader themes into more discrete sub-themes for ease of classification. I explain each sub-theme and highlight their links to existing scholarly work in Table 1 below. Note that I primarily focus on the themes of humanitarianism and threat to test my theory, but this strategy proves me with more fine-grained coverage data for the analysis of more specific trends.

Table 1: Themes and their Theoretical Justifications

Theme:	Sub-Theme:	Theoretical Justification for Theme:
Humanitarian	Vulnerability, sympathy, and humanity	Humanitarian narratives and perspective-taking reduce prejudice and spur the recognition of immigrant vulnerability and humanity—core elements of humanitarianism (Audette, Horowitz and Michelitch 2020; Feldman and Steenbergen 2001; Newman et al. 2013)
Humanitarian	Uses the term “refugee” or “asylum”	Refugee status can highlight the harsh conditions that refugees face and improve perceptions (Fraser and Murakami 2022; Sana 2021)
Threat	Disease	Fears that immigrants will bring disease (Kam and Ramos 2008)
Threat	Economic losses	Fears that immigration will lead to job loss, lower salaries, and less access to public services like healthcare (Malhotra, Margalit and Mo 2013)
Threat	Violence and crime	Fears that immigration will lead to increased violence (Ferwerda, Flynn and Horiuchi 2017; Sniderman, Hagendoorn and Prior 2004)
Threat	Instability	Fears, broadly construed, that migration (or the size of migration flows) will cause social instability
Threat	Cultural	Fears that immigrants will reject, corrupt, or replace the host culture (Solodoch 2021)
Benefit	Cultural	Perceptions that migration can improve cultural diversity and society (Dancygier and Laitin 2014)
Benefit	Economic	Perceptions that migration will improve local and/or national economies (Hainmueller and Hopkins 2015)
Policy & Integration	Immigration and integration policies	Information about the government’s response to the immigration shock and integration policies

In parallel work to this project, I compare the efficacy of cutting-edge AI classifiers to human coders. I find that AI classification models perform most similarly to human coders when they are prompted with more detailed, structured themes (Tripp, N.d.). Furthermore, I determine that

a few-shot⁷ ChatGPT 4o model is the most robust AI classification model of those that I tested (Tripp, N.d.). As such, I utilize these insights to construct the best classification model possible for this exercise.⁸

I employ a few-shot ChatGPT 4o model with an 8 label categorization scheme, as delineated in Table 1.⁹ I task this model to code newspaper articles as 1s for each theme if said theme occurs in the article.¹⁰ So, if a newspaper article uses both humanitarian and benefit frames, then it would be classified as both a humanitarian and benefit article. If the article only focuses on one theme such as threat, then it will only be coded as threat.¹¹

With this classification scheme, I am able to establish prevalent media narratives across countries in their coverage of immigration shocks and document how these narratives changed over time. This approach will directly test **H1**, which contends that immigration media coverage is more likely to use a humanitarian lens early in a shock, and **H2**, which states that media coverage focused on threat is more likely to occur as the shock endures.

Trends in Colombian Media Coverage

To test my hypotheses on the humanitarian and threat phases, I first display model output focused on

⁷ Zero-shot models only define each theme and do not provide examples. Few-shot models provide multiple, real-world examples of each theme to the model in addition to definitions.

⁸ I make slight alterations to the few-shot ChatGPT 4o prompt with 8 labels from Tripp N.d. for each country to improve model performance, primarily by providing additional examples to a variety of sub-themes. See Appendix D for the specific prompts that I use for the models classifying each country's newspaper articles.

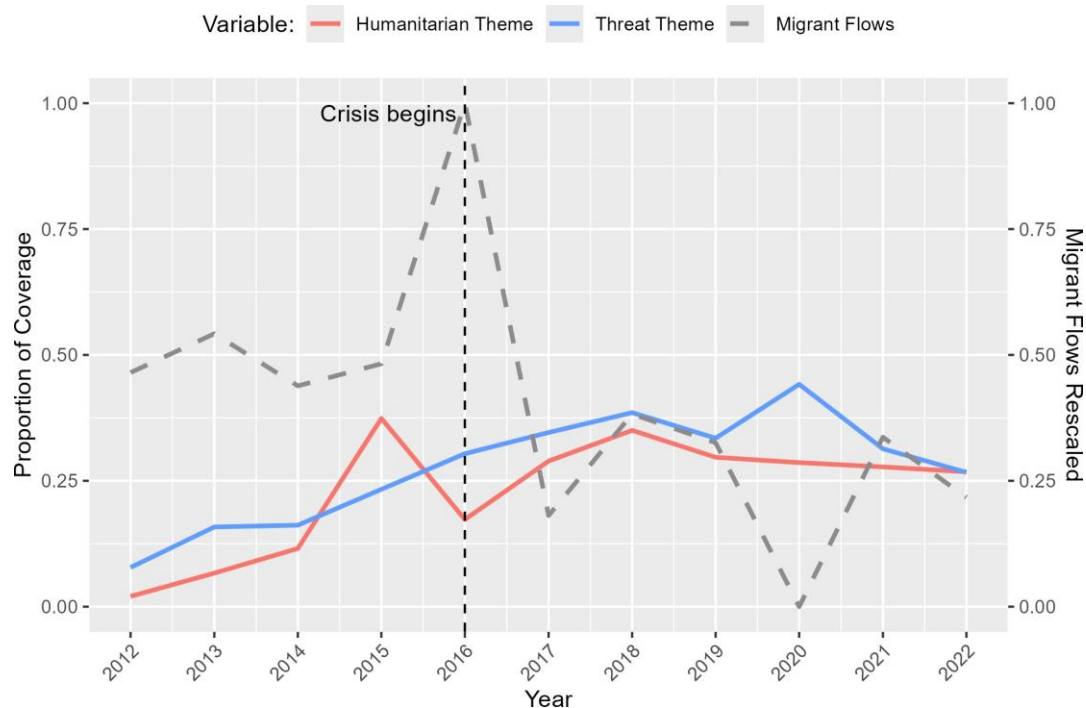
⁹ In my analysis of Colombia, I exclude the cultural threat and benefit sub-themes, as Colombians and Venezuelans share many racial, cultural, and linguistic characteristics. I expect these frames focused on cultural (in)compatibility to be more relevant in cases where immigrants hold key ethnic, racial, or linguistic differences, such as Syrian refugees in Germany.

¹⁰ A theme has occurred if two or more sentences focus on one specific theme in a newspaper article.

¹¹ I did not task the AI classifier with coding the most prevalent theme in each article, only whether or not each theme occurs.

Colombian newspaper articles classified as humanitarian or threat in Figure 2.¹² This visualization most directly depicts how humanitarian and threat narratives change together over the course of the shock, and the vertical black line indicates the beginning of the shock.¹³ As hypothesized in **H1**, humanitarian media coverage is scant until the first whispers of large-scale Venezuelan immigration in 2015. As information about the deteriorating situation in Venezuela (and the probability of large-scale immigration) increased, humanitarian media coverage also did so. After this initial spike, these humanitarian narratives tapered off after 2017. The humanitarian phase was initially highly popular as the national media and political elites considered the consequences of a potential immigration shock, but as the shock actually began, the humanitarian response wavered.¹⁴

Figure 2: Humanitarian and Threat Themes in Colombia



¹² Excluding those also classified as benefit or policy & integration.

¹³ See Appendix A for a depiction of how many immigration-focused newspaper articles occurred in my corpus and how many focused on Venezuelan immigrants in particular.

¹⁴ See Figures 26 and 27 in Appendix G for a complementary analysis of Colombian and Brazilian newspapers that did not talk about Venezuelan immigration throughout the series. This section illustrates what the null hypothesis looks like and how I imagine that the patterns in this Venezuelan-focused coverage rejects the null.

I also find evidence for **H2**, as threat narratives overtake humanitarian narratives after 2016 and remain one of the most prevalent themes. While threat coverage does not occur as quickly or as early as humanitarian coverage, it more consistently increases and becomes one of the most prevalent themes from 2018 to 2022. Despite threat narratives accounting for between 35% and 45% of media coverage during this period, humanitarian narratives are still fairly popular and constitute about 30% of media coverage. So, the immediate response to Venezuelan immigration by Colombia's national media was characterized by humanitarianism, though this quickly devolved to that of threat as the large-scale migration started in late 2016. Threat remained popular, especially during the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020.¹⁵

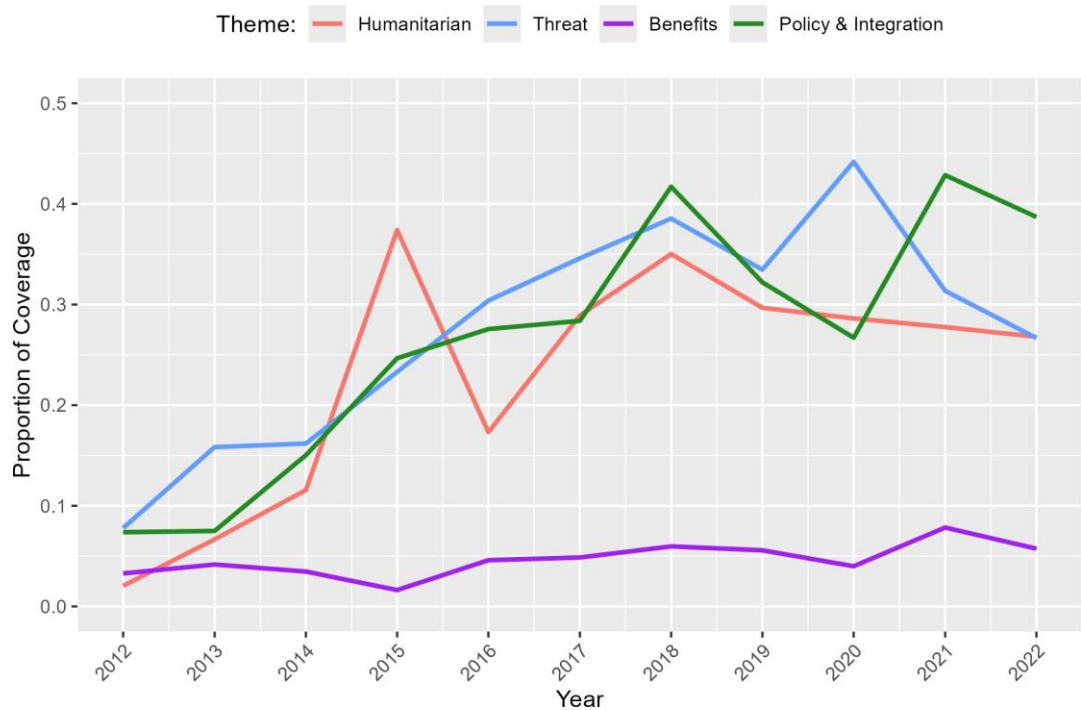
This analysis raises a methodological point: what theoretical leverage, if any, do narrative trends preceding the start of immigration shocks provide? This is an important clarification, given that the classification of these narratives (especially when automated) may show spurious trends that may seem theoretically important. The subject expert should take care to carefully differentiate between the random trends in the data and the seemingly random—but theoretically important—trends. In this case, I suspect that the spike in 2015 humanitarian narratives in Colombia are legitimate and theoretically important. Given that 1) existing research finds the Colombian government expected a Venezuelan collapse and began framing its response in advance (Palma-Gutierrez 2021) and 2) Venezuelan immigration had been occurring in Colombia well before the crisis (though it was not nationally salient), this humanitarian coverage may represent the widespread societal warmth and goodwill directed toward Venezuelans.

Moving forward, in Figure 3 below, I display the output of my AI classification scheme, aggregated up into the four broader themes. This approach provides additional context that can

¹⁵ See Appendix F for visualizations of immigration media coverage for each country by publisher.

supplement our understanding of the information environment.

Figure 3: Colombian Coverage of Venezuelans (4 Label)



The benefit theme hovers around 5% of coverage for the duration of the data and does not display any striking changes. The policy & integration theme, on the other hand, shows a steady increase throughout the series, rivalling humanitarian and threat narratives. This increase likely mirrors the media providing more information about the government’s response to large-scale Venezuelan immigration flows as it becomes available and greater international attention devoted to the issue. It is notable that the peaks for the policy & integration theme come at pivotal points in the Venezuelan immigration situation: 2018 is when the largest immigration flows occurred, and 2021 is when the ETPV—the policy to regularize all currently residing Venezuelans for 10 years—was introduced by President Duque (Hernandez 2021).

In addition to the more general 4 label models, I can disaggregate this coverage into 8 sub-

themes of media coverage as found in Table 1. As such, Figure 4 breaks the broader themes of Figure 3 down into their constituent sub-themes. The benefit and policy & integration themes remain the same as above, since they do not contain any sub-themes. However, I am able to provide more fine-grained information for the humanitarian and threat themes.¹⁶

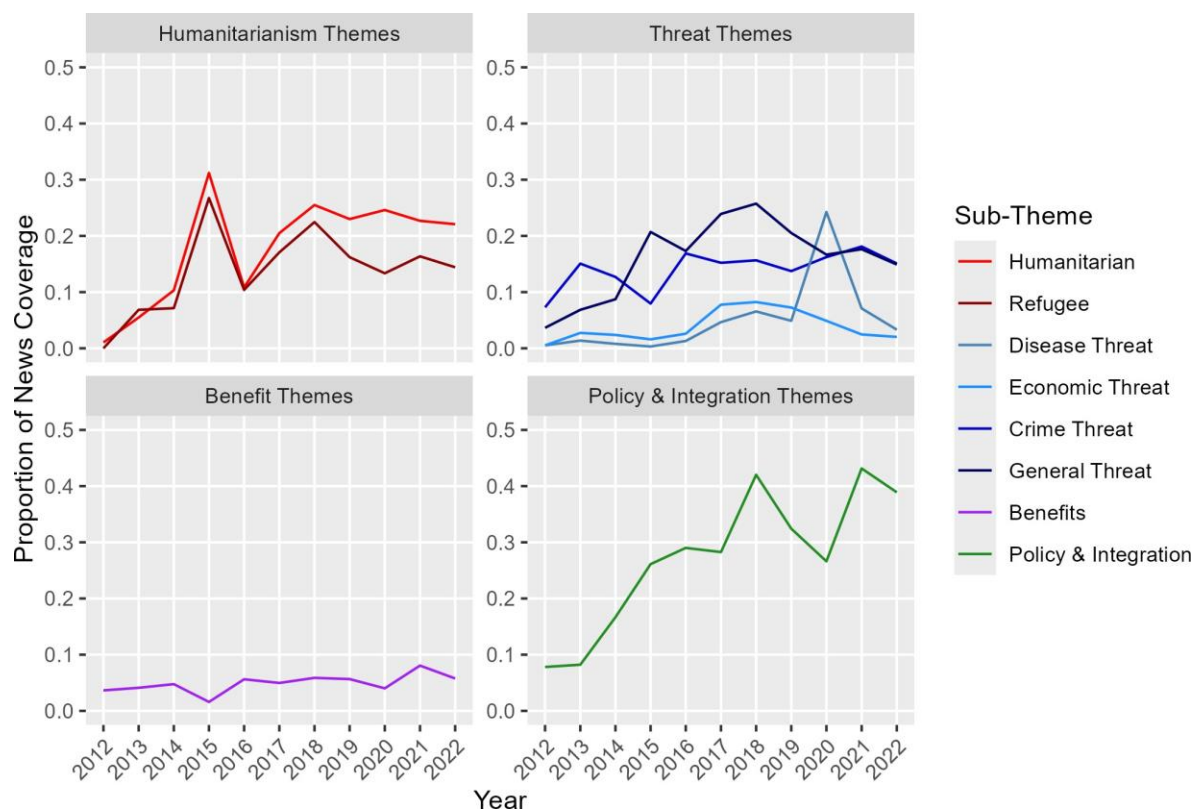
When breaking down the humanitarian theme into its constituent elements—vulnerability and refugee status—, one can see that these two elements trend in similar directions over time. Each humanitarian sub-theme is most prevalent in 2015 and then tapers off after 2018. However, while the refugee sub-theme declines in prevalence, the vulnerability sub-theme remains consistent. This small change in the relationship shows that these media outlets stopped pushing narratives of persecution, asylum, and push factors, opting instead to provoke sympathy and highlight the vulnerability and humanity of immigrants.

The threat sub-themes have more moving parts, given that information about immigrants can incite feelings of threat among natives in several different ways. I operationalize threat in this framework using the disease, economic, crime, and general threat (instability) sub-themes. General threat (instability) is the most prevalent threat sub-theme from 2015 to 2018, showing that media outlets negatively portrayed immigrants as overwhelming the country and causing political instability—with Colombia unable to sustain the levels of immigration—during the peak flows of Venezuelan immigration. Crime threat is the next most prevalent, with media outlets slightly increasing their usage of narratives relating immigrants to crime and violence from 2015 to 2022. Narratives of economic threat display similar patterns of increase as to those of general threat, though to a much smaller degree. These narratives never exceed 10% of immigration news coverage during this period. Finally, disease threat steadily increases from 2016 to 2019, hovering

¹⁶ For corresponding 8 label figures across Brazil, Germany, and Poland, see Appendix E.

around 5% after Venezuelan immigration began. This narrative sub-theme is highly context-specific, as immigration can stoke native disease fears (Kam and Estes 2016). Before the COVID-19 pandemic, these disease threat articles were concerned with Venezuelan immigrants spreading communicable diseases like malaria, measles, and sexually transmitted diseases. As expected, disease threat has a massive spike in 2020 alongside the COVID-19 pandemic, as media narratives convey worries that Venezuelan immigrants will spread COVID-19 and that the Colombian healthcare system cannot handle the strain caused by sick immigrants.

Figure 4: Colombian Coverage of Venezuelans (8 Label)



The Colombian case thus provides an example of how a common media response to immigration shocks may manifest. Narratives of sympathy, shared humanity, and vulnerability may dominate media coverage early in (or even preceding) immigration shocks, before giving

way to narratives of threat as the shock endures. This may also provide evidence that historically migrant- sending contexts are more prone to display warm initial welcomes to immigration shocks, given their history and shared experiences with migration.

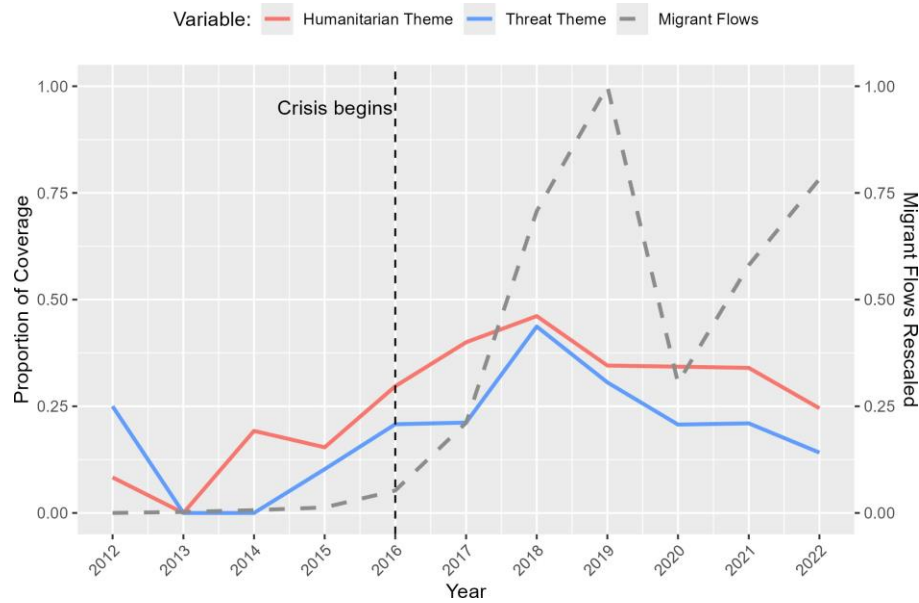
Extension Cases: Brazil, Germany, and Poland

Now that I have established how the Colombian information environment responded to Venezuelan immigration as it relates to my theoretical framework, I assess the generalizability of these trends across the Brazilian response to Venezuelan immigration, the German response to Syrian immigration, the German response to Ukrainian immigration, and the Polish response to Ukrainian immigration.¹⁷

First, I display how Brazil's information environment responded to Venezuelan immigration in Figure 5. I gather 1,579 newspaper articles focused on Venezuelan immigrants in Brazil from the national publishers O Globo, O Estado de São Paulo (also known as Estadão), and Folha de São Paulo. Ideologically, these newspapers range from center-left (O Estado de São Paulo) to center-right (O Globo and Folha de São Paulo) and are highly circulated, well-respected newspapers that inform and report on political elites and salient debates in Brazil.

¹⁷ I gather data on immigration flows (as measured by individuals belonging to the nationality in question crossing the border in a given time period) from the following sources: Data Folha for Brazil, Destatis for Germany, and Otwarte Dane for Poland.

Figure 5: Humanitarian and Threat Themes in Brazil



As Venezuelan immigration began to accelerate in 2016, themes of both humanitarianism and threat quickly became popular in Brazilian media coverage. Both of these themes peaked in 2018 before steadily declining after 2019. While Brazil illustrates that the constituent themes of the humanitarian and threat phases were highly prevalent, the fact that their peaks coincided paints a more complicated portrait of the information environment. This may be due to the 2018 Brazilian elections and the regional nature of Venezuelan immigration into Brazil.

Brazil faced a series of contentious presidential and state elections in 2018 as a result of the Petrobras corruption scandal (Sotero N.d.). Due to the implication of many prominent Brazilian politicians in this scandal, Bolsonaro rode a populist wave of support to become president in 2018. The populist nature of Bolsonaro campaign's may have led to certain political figures or media outlets communicating more anti-immigrant sentiments. This anti-immigrant rhetoric may also have inspired counter-rhetoric focused on more humanitarian narratives and immigration policies,

leading to the high prevalence of each theme in 2018.

Moreover, Venezuelan immigration largely concentrated in Brazil's northern states due to their proximity to the Venezuelan border. Since the impact of immigration was felt more heavily by certain states, the prominence of humanitarian and threat themes in 2018 may be picking up on the states—and their respective political figures running for office—advocating for either the humanitarian crisis of Venezuelan immigration or warning about the threat posed by Venezuelan immigration.¹⁸ The threat narratives also decline sharply after 2018, indicating that they may have only been employed during the election year for political leverage.¹⁹

To further analyze these potential subnational trends, I collect roughly 4,000 additional newspaper articles from a series of Brazilian state-level newspapers, which I again filter to only those mentioning Venezuela or Venezuelans. This leaves me with about 800 newspaper articles focused on Venezuelan immigration. I gather these articles from newspapers in Roraima (Folha de Boa Vista, Fonte Brasil, Roraima em Tempo), as it is a northern border state with Venezuela and has high levels of immigration, and in Alagoas (Alagoas24, Estadão Alagoas), Mato Grosso do Sul (Correio do Estado, O Estado Online), and Sergipe (Infonet), as these states do not share a border with Venezuela and do not receive high levels of immigration.²⁰ These comparisons will allow me to determine how these humanitarian and threat phases occur in subnational newspapers and differ based on migrant-receiving status.

Figures 6 and 7 show the distribution of humanitarian and threat narratives within state-level

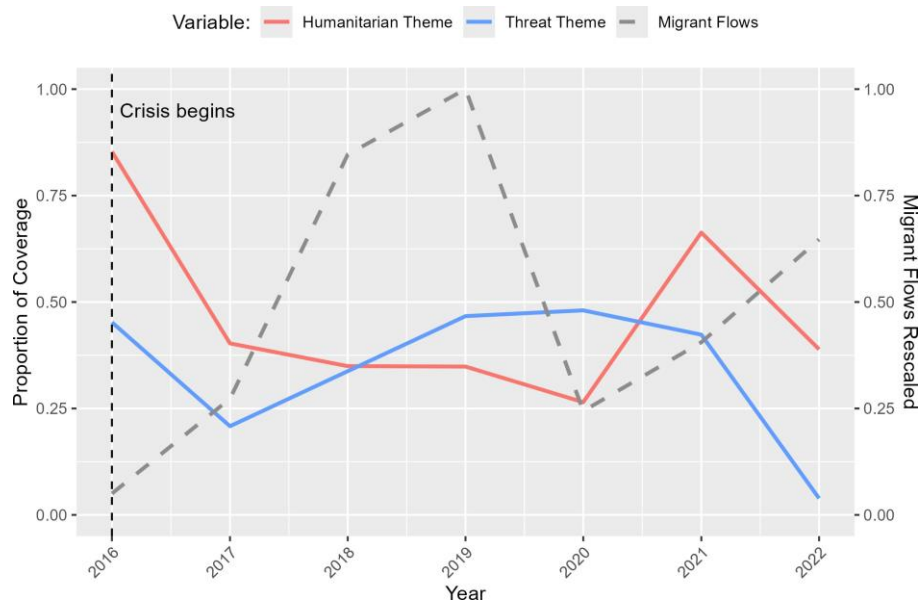
¹⁸ Future research might analyze subnational newspapers or the rhetoric of Brazilian politicians to better disaggregate these state-level trends.

¹⁹ Note that I only collect 1,579 newspaper articles from Brazilian outlets. This sample size is much smaller than the other migration-dyads, which average around 10,000 to 11,000 articles. This smaller collection of articles may contribute to the trends in Figure 5.

²⁰ While I have made sure that the national-level newspapers in my analyses are not owned by the same corporations, I cannot be sure that that is the case for these subnational publishers.

Brazilian newspapers, with the gray dotted line indicating yearly migration flows.²¹ Here, as compared to the national distribution of media narratives as in Figure 5, the trends are very different. Similarly to Colombia, newspaper outlets based in Roraima show a larger proportion of humanitarian coverage in 2016 and 2017, preceding the peaks immigration flows in 2019. However, threat narratives overtake the humanitarian narratives as actual immigration ramps up.

Figure 6: Humanitarian and Threat Themes in Brazilian States (Roraima)



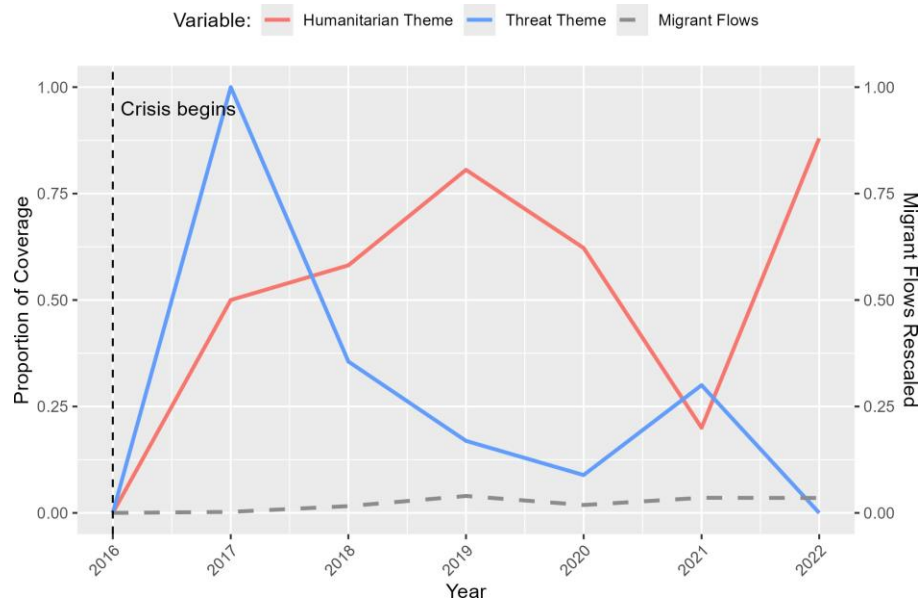
As for the Brazilian states less affected by Venezuelan immigration, I observe two striking trends. The first is that, immediately following the start of the crisis, threat narratives dominate coverage.²² As the immigration shock continues, despite very little changes in the size of immigration flows in these non-Roraima states, humanitarian narratives become very popular from 2018 to 2020 as threat declines in prominence. These humanitarian narratives emerge alongside the peak immigration flows in Roraima and Brazil at large (see Figures 5 and 6),

²¹ For these subnational graphs, I rescale migration flows from 0 to 1 before separating them into the Roraima and not Roraima datasets. As such, Roraima contains a vast majority of the migration flows, while the not Roraima states have little to no migration flows.

²² Though this may be an artifact of the smaller sample size.

indicating that these (not Roraima) states receiving much smaller immigration flows are either promoting goodwill and the welcome of migrants, or there are spillover effects on media coverage from Roraima or national publishers.

Figure 7: Humanitarian and Threat Themes in Brazilian States (Not Roraima)



Next, I move to German media coverage of two different immigration shocks: the Syrian civil war and the Russian invasion of Ukraine. For both shocks, I analyze two popular German newspapers: *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, which has a center-left ideological stance, and *Die Welt*, which has a center-right ideological stance. For Germany and Syrian immigration, I collect 11,963 newspaper articles; for the Russian invasion of Ukraine, I collect 3,456 articles.²³

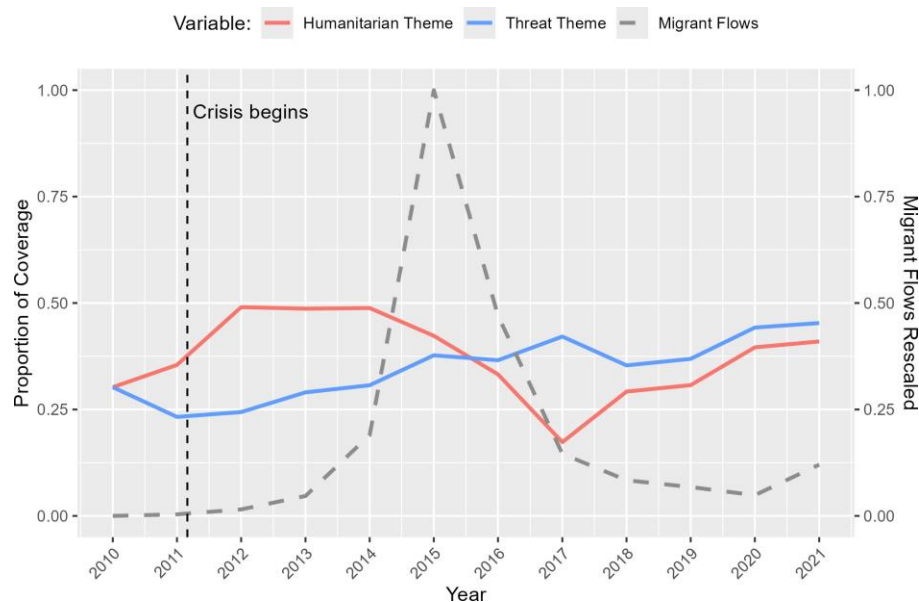
The Syrian civil war began in 2011,²⁴ sending millions of Syrian refugees across Europe and the world. I analyze how German media narratives responded to these immigration flows from

²³ While the sample size for Ukrainian immigration is smaller, note that it only ranges from 2021 to 2024, as opposed to the coverage of Syrian immigration which ranges from 2010 to 2020.

²⁴ Starkly defined start dates to shocks may contribute to the emergence of humanitarian phases, as the media can more quickly and concretely alter its coverage to focus on a new event and communicate it to the public.

2012 to 2021 in Figure 8. The Syrian refugee population holds racial and religious differences from the German natives, both of which may have a bearing on the societal reception of Syrians and how they are portrayed in the news.²⁵ Humanitarian narratives were highly prevalent—with about 50% of newspaper articles coded as humanitarian—from 2012 to 2014. However, as Syrian immigration continued, these humanitarian narratives declined and threat narratives overtook them from 2016 onward.²⁶ This case provides strong support for my theory, as a humanitarian phase dominates media coverage early on, and a threat phase takes precedence about 5 years into the immigration shock.

Figure 8: Humanitarian and Threat Themes in Germany (Syrian Immigration)

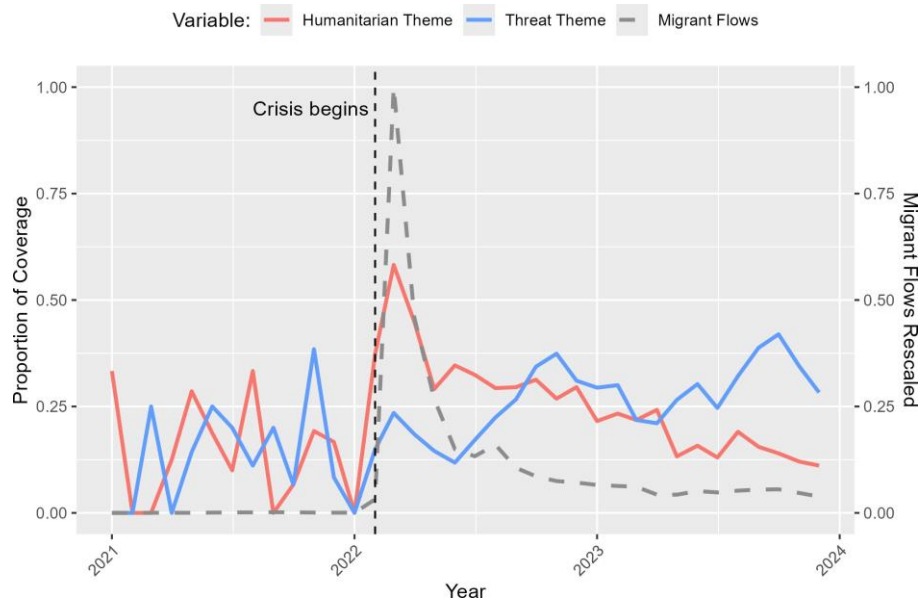


²⁵ And in this case, in line with Group Conflict Theory, it would be expected that Syrian refugees are received more coldly than refugees which shared racial and religious similarities with the native population (Bobo and Steeh 1985; Key 1984).

²⁶ Though note the sizable resurgence in humanitarian narratives from 2018 to 2021, potentially constituting another, smaller humanitarian phase as violence in the Syrian civil war escalated during this period.

Now I move from the Syrian case to the Ukrainian case in Germany. The Russian invasion of Ukraine began in 2022, immediately prompting Ukrainians to flee their country. As opposed to the Syrian case, the Ukrainian case represents one in which refugees share racial similarities with the German natives. As shown in Figure 9, German media coverage before the invasion was highly variable, indicating less concrete narrative strategies in the region. However, in 2022, the media strategy became much clearer, predominantly focusing on the humanitarian crisis of Ukrainian refugees fleeing their country. This humanitarian phase lasts for nearly a year, until threat narratives overtake the humanitarian narratives in late 2022. By mid-2023, the threat phase is in full force as threat-focused articles greatly outnumber humanitarian-focused articles. This case also supports my theory, as the evidence shown delineates an early period of media coverage focused on humanitarian narratives before shifting to that of threat as the immigration shock continued.

Figure 9: Humanitarian and Threat Themes in Germany (Ukrainian Immigration)



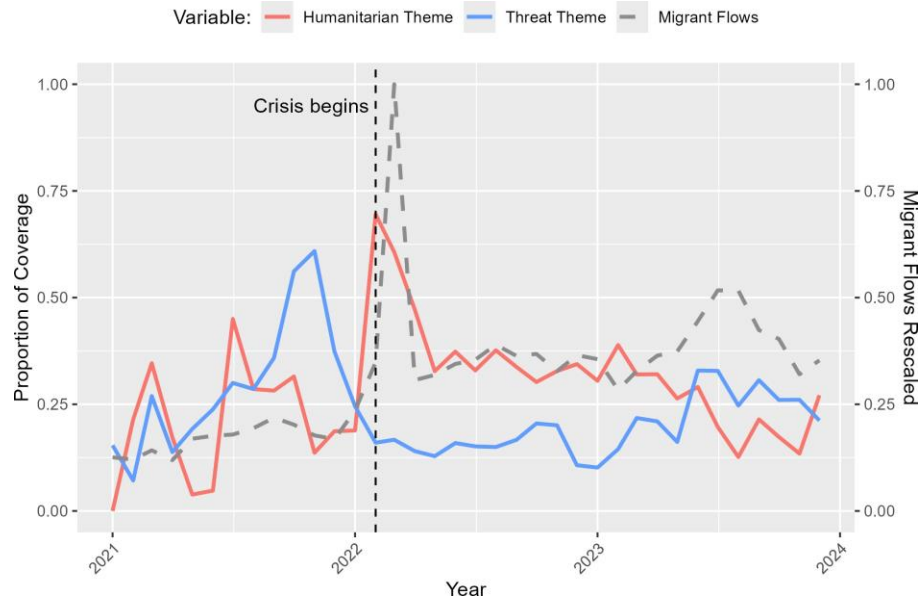
For the final extension case, I look at the Polish information environment and its response to

Ukrainian refugees fleeing the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Poland has traditionally been more restrictive toward immigration (Higgins 2023), permitting me to analyze how a more restrictive case might respond to immigration flows with similar racial characteristics to natives. I analyze 10,782 newspaper articles from two popular Polish publishers: *Gazeta Wyborcza*, which leans center-left ideologically, and *Rzeczpospolita*, which leans center-right ideologically and focuses more on business and economic news.

Similar to the German response to Ukrainian immigration, the Polish information environment shows a very well-defined humanitarian phase immediately following news of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, with threat narratives that slowly gain traction and overtake the humanitarian narratives in popularity by mid-2023. Poland, a traditionally restrictive context, and the trends in its information environment again show evidence for my theoretical framework, showing perhaps the starkest example of a humanitarian phase, its decline, and the eventual emergence of a threat phase in response to Ukrainian immigration.²⁷

²⁷ Note the methodological point raised earlier, as the Polish media coverage preceding the Russian invasion of Ukraine is likely related to instability in the region rather than threatening portrayals of Ukrainian immigration.

Figure 10: Humanitarian and Threat Themes in Poland



Exploring Changes in Media Coverage

To briefly explore what factors might be contributing to changes in media responses to immigration shocks—such as the shift from the humanitarian phase to the threat phase—, I regress the difference in the proportion of humanitarian coverage and the proportion of threat coverage on immigration flows and the number of years since the shock began. The unit of analysis is country-migration dyad-year, as I want to analyze Germany’s responses to Syrian and Ukrainian immigration separately. Model 1 in Table 2 below shows the results of this regression. Models 2 through 4 show similar regressions with controls for national unemployment rate, GDP per capita, homicides per 100,000 citizens, and an interaction between migrant flows and time since the shock.²⁸ All models include fixed effects for country and year, except for Model 4, which only includes country fixed effects to allow for more temporal

²⁸ I take control variable data for each country from the World Bank. The homicides variable was not available from 2021 to 2023, so Model 3 has fewer observations than the other models.

flexibility.

Table 2: Exploring Changes in Media Coverage

	Difference in Humanitarian and Threat Coverage			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Migrant Flows (10k)	0.001** (0.0003)	0.001** (0.0003)	0.007 (0.005)	0.002*** (0.0005)
Time since Shock	-0.027* (0.015)	-0.019 (0.015)	-0.252*** (0.065)	-0.009 (0.006)
Unemployment Rate		0.024 (0.016)	-0.007 (0.016)	0.012 (0.011)
GDP per Capita		-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Homicides per 100k			0.022* (0.011)	
Migrant Flows * Shock				-0.0003* (0.0002)
Fixed Effects	Country-Year	Country-Year	Country-Year	Country
Observations	40	40	33	40
R ²	0.313	0.427	0.697	0.366
Adjusted R ²	-0.339	-0.242	0.191	0.176
<i>Note:</i>			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Since my dependent variable in these regressions is the difference between the proportion of humanitarian and threat coverage, positive coefficients indicate a higher proportion of humanitarian coverage, while negative coefficients indicate a higher proportion of threat coverage.

I find significant, positive coefficients across most models on the migrant flows variable, along

with significant, negative coefficients across most models on the time since shock variable. Together, these variables suggest that greater migrant flows are associated with more humanitarian coverage, while the longer a shock goes on, the more that media coverage is likely to espouse threat narratives. Interestingly, Model 4 shows that the interactive effect between these two variables is negative. As more time passes since the shock began, the effect of greater migrant flows becomes negative, contributing to an information environment with more threat narratives. While this constitutes a simple, descriptive exercise in assessing the predictors of change in media coverage, it suggests interesting temporal trends in the relationship between media coverage and immigration flows.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this paper, I introduce a theory of political communications and media strategy that I call the humanitarian and threat phases. Using a large dataset of immigration-focused newspaper articles, I theorize and describe a common trend in how media narratives manifest and change in response to immigration shocks. I identify a series of broad themes—humanitarianism, threat, benefit, and policy & integration—that are generalizable across country contexts and make up the immigration information environment.

This project contributes to academic literature on media narratives, strategies, and immigration politics, employing a comprehensive set of media coverage data to analyze changes over time and across contexts. This analysis can help scholars and policymakers alike understand shifts in the information environment, using the implications of these shifts to identify potential changes in societal openness to immigration. I also contribute by establishing the concept of humanitarian and threat phases, media phenomena in response to immigration

shocks that may explain why immigrant-receiving countries may initially welcome immigrants fleeing disaster before then growing more restrictive toward them as a host society.

My project makes its initial comparisons using insights from Colombia—a developing nation in the Global South. The regional and national contexts within which media narratives and strategies occur vary widely. Developing countries have fewer resources to support and facilitate the integration of immigrants—especially in shocks—, so it is surprising to see them embrace large, sudden immigration inflows at all. Yet, some of the largest immigration flows occur within developing countries. Despite the breadth of possible cases, developing nations have been comparatively less studied in terms of immigration attitudes (Dancygier and Laitin 2014; but see Alrababa’h et al. 2021, Avellaneda and Olvera 2018, and Gaikwad and Nellis 2021).

In addition to Colombia, I explore the generalizability of my theory using the cases of Brazil, Germany, and Poland. These countries and their respective immigration flows provide me with characteristics—such as racial, religious, and linguistic similarities and differences with immigrants and the speed, size, and push factors of the immigration shocks—to test and understand where my theory and empirical strategy might apply, where they might not, and why. Specifically, I use these cases to deepen my theory, as I find that more acute immigration shocks—in this case, the Russian invasion of Ukraine—provoke stronger humanitarian media responses and may slow the arrival of the threat phase.

Future research can explore how host countries as a whole adapt to immigration shocks—including aspects such as immigration opinion and government spending on integration—and explain why the media trends transition from humanitarianism to threat.

Based on the results of this project, I imagine that humanitarian phases might end on account of partisan entrepreneurship, declining issue salience, and changes in government strategy. First,

in line with the literature on rally effects, I suspect that humanitarian phases are beholden to issue competition by political elites. As partisan entrepreneurs criticize the government responses to immigration shocks, media coverage will discuss these criticisms, and members of the host population who have grown disillusioned with the initial response may more quickly embrace them (Kam and Ramos, 2008).

Second, declining issue salience may also contribute to the end of a humanitarian phase. Humanitarian phases depend on public awareness and interest in a major shock. So, when broader segments of society stop caring about the issue—a phenomenon called *compassion fatigue*—, the humanitarian phase may fade, as media coverage is not sufficiently capturing viewership. Compassion fatigue prompts indifference within individuals toward causes that require empathy or compassion (Link et al., 1995). As the humanitarian phase wears off and the immigration shock wears on, sympathetic individuals may become compassion fatigued by the state of the country and the ubiquity of humanitarian narratives. Recent work on deteriorating immigration attitudes across the migration dyads of Turkey-Syria, Colombia-Venezuela, and Europe-Ukraine explores the impact of compassion fatigue on immigration attitudes (Banulescu-Bogdan, Erdogan and Salgado, 2024).

Alternatively, events that paint immigrants negatively may also hasten the end of humanitarian phases as explained by declining issue salience, as these events provide segments of society with reasons to revoke their goodwill. These events are encapsulated by sensationalized violence, which can elicit negative emotions that crowd out factual information and facilitate more negative perceptions of immigration (Manzoni et al., 2024). Some relevant examples include a Venezuelan serial killer in Peru (AFP 2018), a mass assault of German women by Syrian men (Bosen 2020), and the 2015 Paris terrorist attacks (*Paris attacks* 2020).

Third, changes in government strategies can lead to the end of humanitarian phases. As governments grow more restrictive in their policymaking, they simultaneously change the tone and baseline societal responses to immigration shocks. The media may then reflect this shift, giving negative media narratives more space in the information environment. Turkey's response to Syrian refugees after the attempted coup in 2016 exemplifies this trend (Cantek and Soykan, 2019; Erdogan, Kavukcuoglu and Cetinkaya, N.d.).

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A Newspaper Coverage Statistics

In Figure 11, I compare the monthly prevalence of all immigration-focused articles in my corpus to those that also contain the word “Venezuelan(s)” or “Venezuela.” This shows trends in the total coverage of immigration in Colombian media versus that of just Venezuelan immigration at different points in time. Across all three publications in my analysis, the Colombian media landscape transitioned from 100-200 newspaper articles on immigration per month before 2016 (and 20-50 per month on Venezuelan immigration specifically) to 200-600 articles per month after 2016 (and 100+ per month on Venezuelan immigration specifically). Both trends in media coverage continue upward into 2023, suggesting that migration remains a salient issue in the Colombian media and politics.

Figure 11: Prevalence of Migration-Related News Coverage

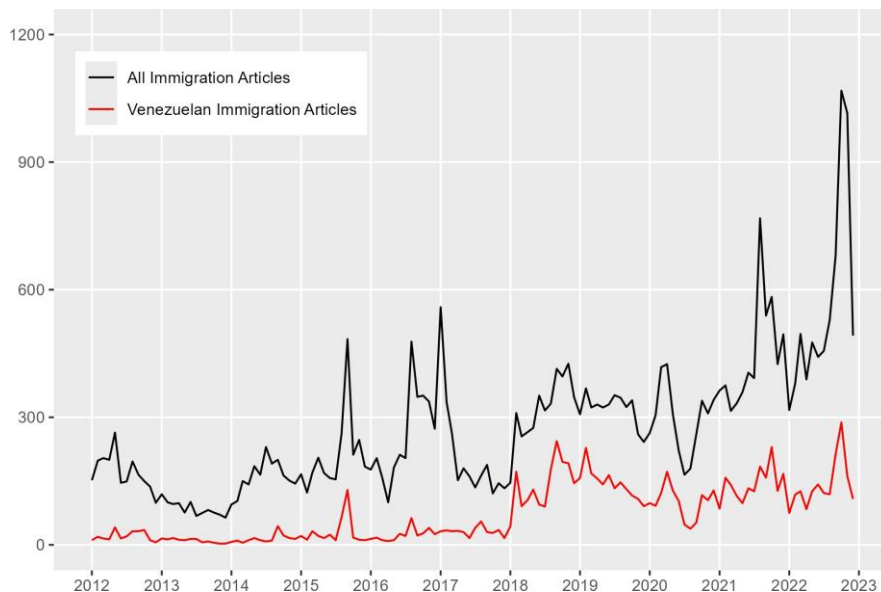


Figure 12 shows the composition of my Colombian newspaper article corpus in terms of

publisher and focus on Venezuelans. 28% of the newspaper articles mention the word “Venezuelan(s)” or “Venezuela,” and this is the subset on which I perform my STM. 51% of my newspaper articles come from El Tiempo, 26% come from Semana, and 23% come from El Espectador.

Figure 12: Summary Statistics for Newspaper Data

Variable	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Venezuelan Indicator	36,401	0.279	0.448	0	1
El Tiempo Indicator	36,401	0.510	0.500	0	1
Semana Indicator	36,401	0.257	0.437	0	1
El Espectador Indicator	36,401	0.234	0.423	0	1

B Exploratory STM

In my first attempt at analyzing the prevalence of different topics in my corpus of Colombian newspaper articles, I conducted analyses using Structural Topic Models (STM; see Roberts et al. 2014).

STM is an unsupervised learning algorithm that generates a pre-defined number of topics within my newspaper article corpus (Roberts, Stewart and Tingley, 2019). This model is an extension of the Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) model, which classifies documents into topics based on word distributions within and across documents (Blei, Ng and Jordan, 2003). STM differs from the LDA model in that it allows 1) topics to correlate with one another, 2) the prevalence of topics to vary given meta variables, such as time, and 3) words within topics to vary given meta variables, such as publisher (Roberts et al., 2014). As such, each document can be composed of multiple, overlapping topics, and topics can be composed of multiple, overlapping words. The topics that the model generate do not mean anything in and of themselves—other than collections of words cooccurring in similar contexts across documents—so the researcher must interpret their substantive significances manually.²⁹

In line with best practices,³⁰ I remove stop words, tokenize using Python’s *spaCy*—a natural language processor with a Spanish text module—, and filter out words that appear in either 1) 80% or more of the documents or 2) 10% or less of the documents.³¹ I convert this processed corpus into a document-feature matrix and run an STM model with 40 topics. The resulting topics, their

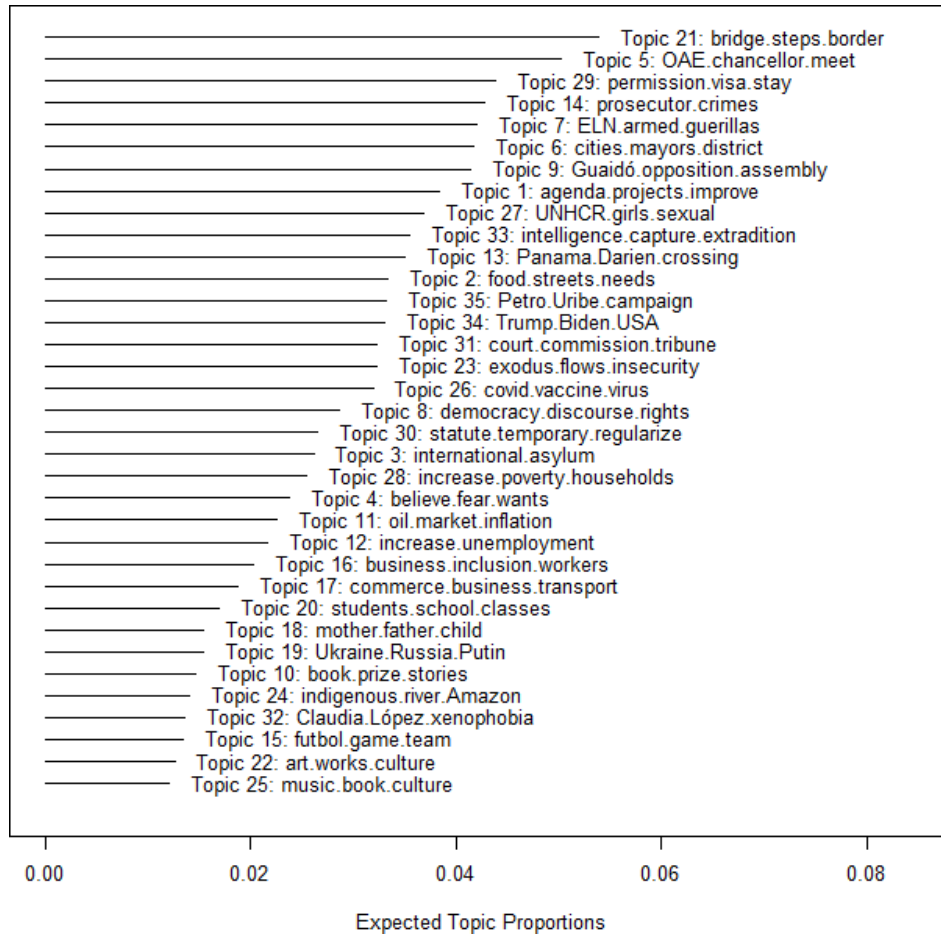
²⁹ I employ an unsupervised learning algorithm because it is less resource intensive than the alternative: manually creating a dictionary to classify documents into previously established topics (see Barbera et al. 2021). This method can simultaneously verify the existence of these theoretically expected topics and explore other, unexpected, topics that may occur.

³⁰ See Barbera et al. 2021.

³¹ I do not stem or lemmatize the texts.

labels, and their prevalence in the corpus can be found in Table 3.

Table 3: STM Topic Proportions and Descriptors



I inductively group the output of the STM into four broader, more intuitive themes: benefit, humanitarianism, policy and integration, and threat.³² I place 22 individual topics from my STM into these themes, excluding the rest due to being unrelated or indecipherable.³³ I tie these topics to substantive themes according to Table 4 below, some of which originate from the insights of existing literature and some from the STM output.

³² I include an “Other” category that contains seemingly irrelevant topics to my analysis.

³³ These excluded topics amount to about 25% of the corpus.

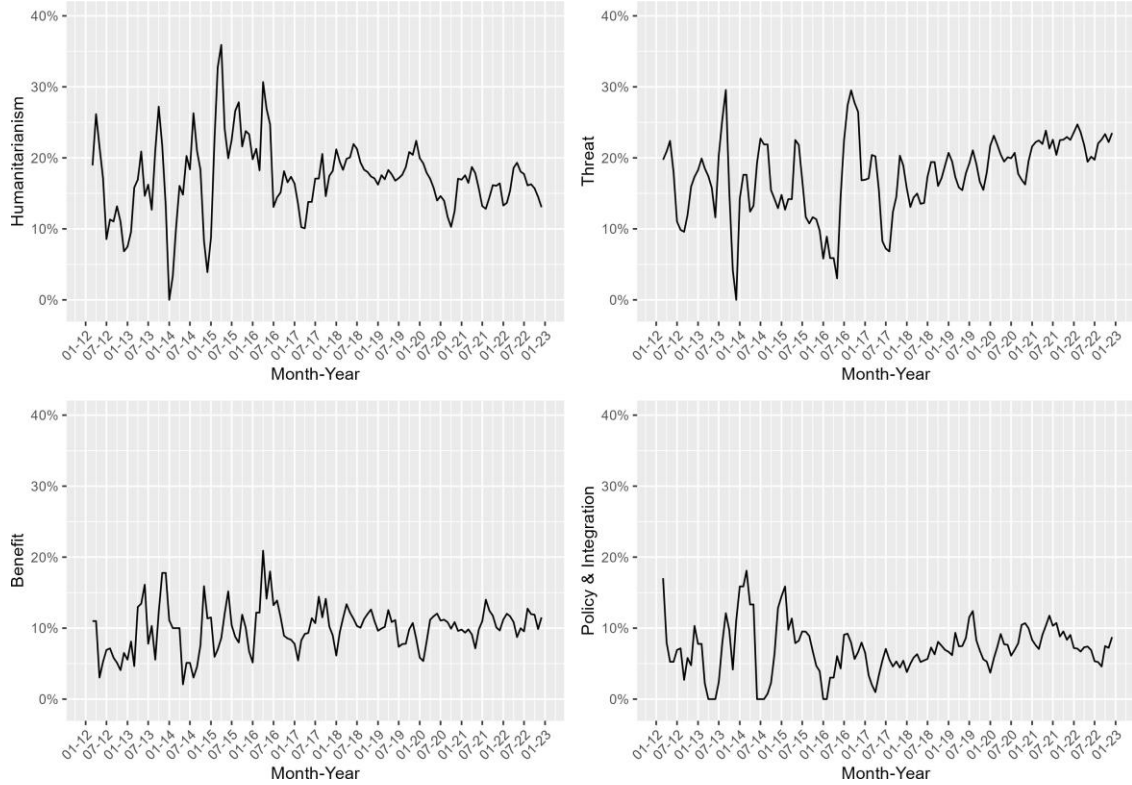
Table 4: STM Themes

Theme:	Defining Characteristic or Focus:	Theoretical Justification for Characteristics of Theme:	Example Topics from STM:
Benefit	Cultural	Perceptions that migration can improve cultural diversity and society (Dancygier & Laitin 2014)	22, 25
Benefit	Economic	Perceptions that migration will improve local and/or national economies (Hainmueller, et al. 2015)	16
Humanitarian	Vulnerability	Vulnerability is one core element of humanitarianism (Feldman & Steenbergen 2001)	2, 27
Humanitarian	Uses the term “refugee” or “asylum”	Refugee status can lead to a “sympathy effect” in attitudes due to the harsh conditions that refugees flee (Sana 2021, 576; also see Fraser & Murakami 2022)	3
Humanitarian	Perspective-taking or human-interest	Perspective taking reduces prejudice and spurs the recognition of migrant vulnerability and humanity (Audette, et al. 2020; Scacco & Warren 2018) Human-interest stories convey the shared humanity of immigrants—a core element of humanitarianism (Newman, et al. 2013)	18, 21
Policy & Integration	Policies and steps taken to integrate immigrants	Public knowledge of immigration policies and government actions may change immigration opinions	1, 30
Threat	Cultural replacement or incompatibility	Fears that immigrants will reject, corrupt, or replace the host culture (Solodoch 2021)	
Threat	Economic losses	Fears that immigration will lead to job loss, lower salaries, and less access to public services like healthcare at the local and national levels (Malhotra, et al. 2013)	12, 28
Threat	Violence and crime	Fears that immigration will lead to increased violence (Ferwerda, et al. 2017; Sniderman, et al. 2004)	14
Threat	Disease	Fears that immigrants will bring disease (Kam & Estes 2016)	26
Threat	Instability	Fears, broadly construed, that migration (or the size of migration flows) will cause social instability	23

Figure 13 shows the primary results of this STM analysis: rolling averages of each media coverage theme (pooled every three months). The humanitarianism theme peaks in 2016-17 before declining for the rest of the series, while the threat theme spikes in 2017 and slowly increases from 2018 to 2022. The benefit and policy and integration themes hover around 10% for the series

with few notable changes. This STM analysis provides the foundation on which I build my AI classification framework in the body of this paper.

Figure 13: Monthly Rolling Averages of Coverage Themes (2012-2022)



Determining Optimal Number of STM Topics

Determining the optimal number of topics in an STM requires careful effort and fine-tuning by the researcher. In Figures 14, I simulate a series of STM models with K topics varying from 20 to 100. Since model predictive power does not improve much past $K=60$, I re-evaluate these models more precisely, ranging from $K=20$ to $K=60$ by increments of five in Figure 15. I choose $K=40$, because its values for exclusivity represent a local peak and only show moderate increases after this value. Semantic coherence does not change much across different model specifications.

Figure 14: Choosing the Number of STM Topics (20-100)

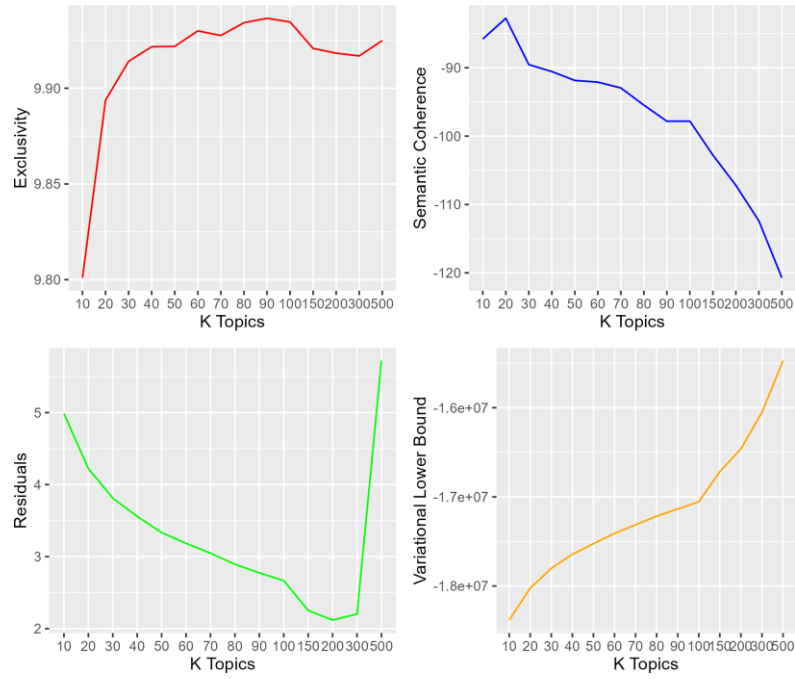
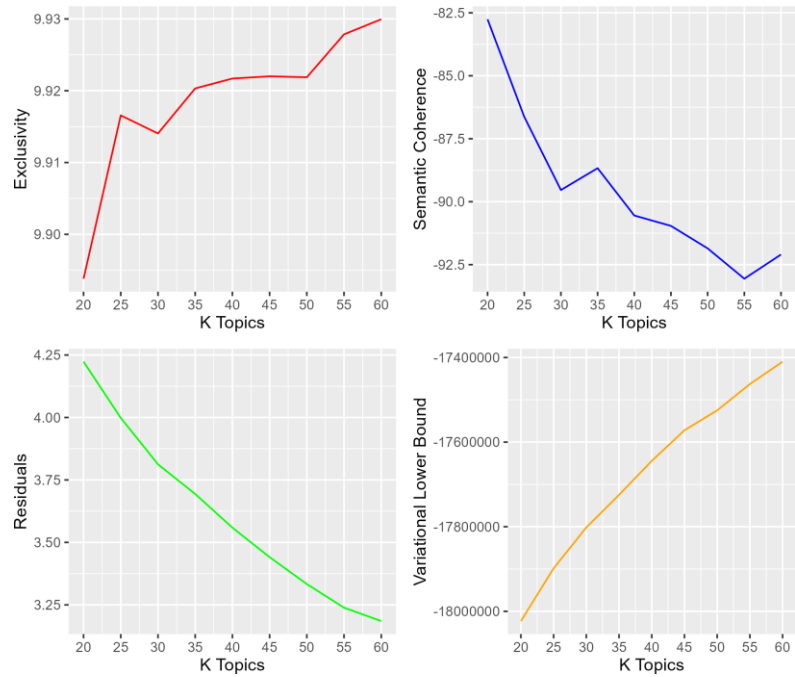


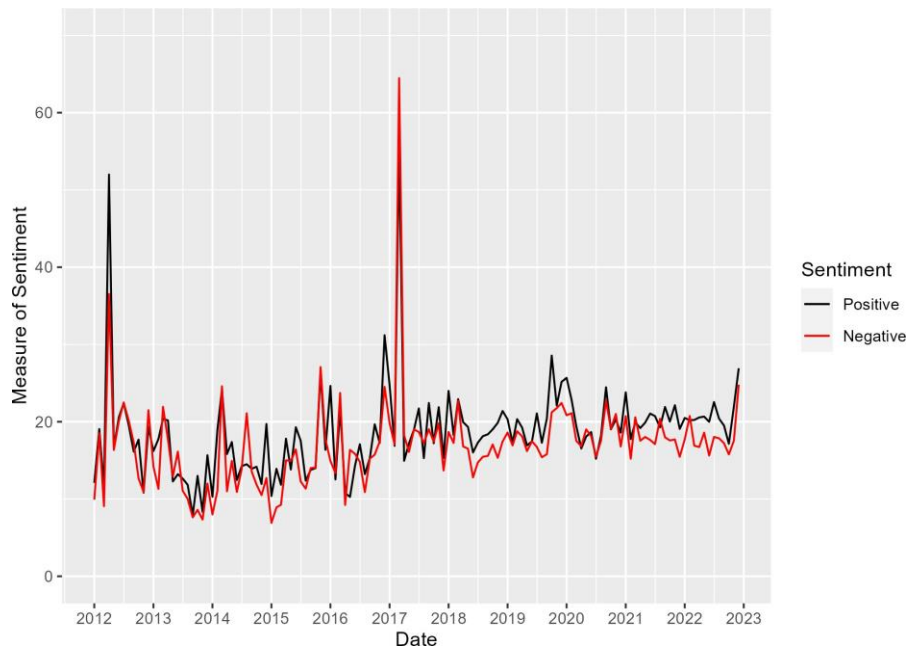
Figure 15: Choosing the Number of STM Topics (20-60)



C Sentiment Analysis

In addition to the above exploratory analyses, I perform a sentiment analysis on Colombian media coverage using a pre-existing Spanish dictionary (the NRC Emotion Lexicon; see Mohammad and Turney 2013). Figure 16 displays its results, averaging the number of words with positive or negative sentiment each month. When the red line is higher, sentiment is more negative; likewise, when the black line is higher, sentiment is more positive. Most of the time, sentiment is fairly neutral. However, there are large spikes in negative sentiment in 2013 and 2017.

Figure 16: Article Sentiment toward Venezuelan Immigrants (2012-2022)



D AI Classification Model Prompt

I use the following prompts for the ChatGPT 4o classification of my newspaper articles.

Colombia:

Consider the following themes that may be present in newspaper articles. For each theme, I provide an explanation and then a few example texts embodying that theme.

1: Humanitarianism, empathy, and perspective-taking. Does the article portray immigrants as vulnerable victims of circumstance or focus on their poverty, victimhood, and lack of choice? Does the article attempt to make the audience see life from an immigrant's point of view? Does it provoke sympathy for immigrants?

Example: "A pesar de que las víctimas que son residentes han sido maltratadas y tienen procesos muy duros, las que están en el exterior son doblemente victimizadas porque se han tenido que ir a otro país y vivir todo el proceso del migrante, adicional al proceso de ser víctima vulnerable."

Example: "También tuvo un recuerdo en su mensaje de Navidad para los 'desplazados, los emigrantes y refugiados, y los que hoy son objeto de la trata de personas' y lamentó que muchos pueblos 'sufren por las ambiciones económicas de unos pocos y la avaricia voraz del dios dinero que lleva a la esclavitud.'"

Example: "El papa aprovechó para recordar "las prolongadas penalidades y angustias" de la crisis humanitaria de Venezuela, agravadas por la pandemia, así como a "todos aquellos que han dejado el país en busca de mejores condiciones de vida", al referirse a los millones de venezolanos que han tenido que emigrar hacia otras naciones."

2: Refugee status. Does the article describe immigrants as refugees, fleeing persecution or extreme poverty?

Example: "El drama de más de 100 migrantes, refugiados en parque Las Banderas. Muchos de estos migrantes habían clamado por ayuda, sobre todo, porque había niños

y adultos mayores con síntomas de gripa, debido a la intensas lluvias de las últimas semanas."

Example: "El 80% de esas personas refugiadas está en una situación de refugio de largo plazo, es decir que en más de cinco años no han podido volver a su país de origen, y esto se da o porque el conflicto sigue o porque hay explosiones de otros conflictos."

Example: "Más de un millón de personas han huido del país en la última década, el 90 por ciento en los últimos cuatro años. La desesperación, el empobrecimiento y la irritación de los venezolanos está creciendo aceleradamente, ocurren brotes espontáneos de violencia todos los días. Existe una anarquía que deja la sensación de que no hay gobierno."

Example: "Dos grandes terremotos, varios huracanes, inestabilidad política y económica, violencia en las calles e incluso el reciente asesinato del presidente han arruinado la vida de los haitianos. La ONU estima que casi 4 millones de haitianos, de cerca de 11,5 millones, padecen inseguridad alimentaria. Un quinto de la población, cerca de dos millones de personas, se ha visto forzado a emigrar."

Example: "Yo recomendaría en lo que es la migración venezolana que por favor no nos traten mal. Nosotros no salimos de Venezuela de paseo. Eso fue una expulsión, prácticamente, porque era o morir en Venezuela o echarle bolas a la vida en otras partes."

3: Health issues and threat of disease. Does the article relate issues of health and disease spread to immigration?

Example: "El presidente de Colombia Iván Duque anunció que se cerrarán los, siete pasos fronterizos con Venezuela, con el objetivo de tratar de detener la propagación del coronavirus en el país."

Example: "Los médicos descubrieron entonces que los migrantes se contagiaban en los ríos, donde caen las heces contaminadas con cercarias de las aves migratorias que

transitan por el Darién."

Example: "Esto los tiene en alerta roja con una ocupación hospitalaria en las unidades de cuidados intensivos que llega al 98 por ciento y que se agravaría si los migrantes venezolanos continúan su paso sin control."

4: Economic issues, resource scarcity, and threat. Does the article mention how immigration may lead to worse economic outcomes, such as job loss, lower salaries, or less access to public services for citizens?

Example: "Desde que llegó hace un mes, reparte las horas entre buscar empleo y buscar comida. "No hay trabajo para los cucuteños menos para el venezolano", dice este exsargento del Ejército."

Example: "Aunque oficialmente no se ha reconocido un monto exacto, se calcula que cada paciente crónico extranjero atendido le cuesta a Colombia entre 200 y 220 millones de pesos al año. El Ministro recalcó que estas cifras son parciales y no dimensionan el gasto total para el país. Por eso pidió a todas las entidades territoriales y a las EPS, a través de una circular de febrero pasado, detallar los costos que ha generado este año la atención a extranjeros."

Example: "¿El problema es ver a los refugiados como una carga para los Estados? Así es. En el caso de Ecuador, este lunes el Gobierno dio una rueda de prensa en la que explicaban que los 56.000 refugiados colombianos le cuestan al Estado 30 millones de dólares."

5: Issues of crime and violence. Does the article mention how immigration lead to increases in violence, crime, or physical insecurity? Does the article specifically talk about immigrants or foreigners committing crime?

Example: "Es cierto que grupos criminales se estén aprovechando de estos venezolanos. Resulta que en el año 2016 se han capturado, por diferentes delitos, 242 ciudadanos de Venezuela en el área metropolitana de Cúcuta."

Example: "Teniendo en cuenta que el ingreso de venezolanos ilegales a la ciudad

ha sido relacionado con el incremento de la inseguridad, el Mandatario dijo que solicitaron una unidad especial de Migración Colombia para realizar algunas deportaciones."

Example: "Lo que ha representado 'problemas de desorden social en la región fronteriza, casos de trata de personas, victimización violenta, extorsión y despojos, el desarrollo de toda una economía informal en torno a la masiva migración y un importante ejército de reserva de mano de obra barata para la economía legal, informal e ilegal', según recoge Pares en su informe."

Example: "Algunos ciudadanos venezolanos fueron expulsados del país luego de haber sido sorprendidos consumiendo bebidas alcohólicas y protagonizado varias acciones contra la ciudadanía. Los extranjeros fueron capturados por la Policía luego que varios vecinos los llamaran advirtiéndoles que los hombres 'estaban consumiendo bebidas alcohólicas, atacando a la ciudadanía, lanzando piedras y ladrillos contra las viviendas y amenazando a los habitantes del sector.'"

Example: "El 11 de agosto, por ejemplo, un venezolano asesinó con un impacto de arma de fuego al patrullero Humberto Sabogal en Bogotá, una imagen que el país evidenció a través de las redes y los medios de comunicación. Durante esta jornada ocurrió un hecho de seguridad en el que un policía fue asesinado por un ciudadano, presuntamente migrante venezolano, que estaba siendo requisado por el patrullero."

6: General instability and threat. Does the article connect political or societal instability to immigration? Does it use the size of immigration flows to provoke worry or fear (for example, "hordes of immigrants" or "massive immigration flows")?

Example: "El creciente flujo de refugiados hacia Colombia muestra el caos humanitario que se avecina. Ante la tragedia, los mandatarios de la región han resuelto enterrar la cabeza como avestruces."

Example: "La ciudad, de 350.000 habitantes, está colapsada. Y si no fuera por las remesas de su hermano, Tilus y su familia estarían en la calle, como otros migrantes."

Example: "La crisis no termina y estamos tratando con consecuencias, de otra serie de problemas políticos que si no se solucionan este flujo, no logrará controlarse."

Example: "El Gobierno colombiano de manera muy discreta ha estado revisando la situación con los migrantes venezolanos. En Bogotá son conscientes de que una eventual crisis humanitaria en el vecino país sería muy delicada, no solo por la llegada masiva de personas sino porque la atención se complicaría. Venezuela está cerca de una emergencia humanitaria por la comida. No tenemos como atender una migración masiva."

Example: "Al vaivén de las cifras y la, percepción de inseguridad viene creciendo un peligroso y desacertado, discurso: detrás de cada gran crimen hay un venezolano. El prejuicio, toma fuerza cuando las autoridades hacen hincapié en la nacionalidad de, un detenido o se anuncian estrategias como la de crear un comando para, judicializar bandas delincuenciales de migrantes. Solo este anuncio, según el Barómetro de la Xenofobia, generó en redes un aumento de, mensajes incitando a la violencia contra los migrantes."

7: Economic benefit. Does the article mention how immigration may improve economic conditions?

Example: "Si hay alguna característica que uno puede buscar en un inmigrante es, que es gente aspiracional, gente que busca algo mejor. Van a trabajar, a sacrificarse, a luchar."

Example: "Colombia tendrá que destinar entre 0,23 y 0,41% de su PIB en el corto plazo para atender a los migrantes venezolanos que huyen de crisis en su país, aunque bien gestionada la ola migratoria puede darle réditos económicos a mediano y largo plazo."

Example: "Pero si esos migrantes estuvieran legalizados, podrían pagar impuestos, trabajar, y aportar a la economía de ese país."

Example: "La ola migratoria bien gestionada puede darle réditos económicos a medi-

ano y largo plazo."

Example: "Llama la atención que los migrantes que llegan, en su mayoría, son profesionales que se ubicaron como directores de empresas públicas o privadas (16 por ciento), 1.922 como arquitectos o ingenieros (11,5), 1.826 como profesores (10,9), técnicos y asistentes (5,8) y auxiliares contables (5,3). Algunos de los que se quedaron contaron cómo llegaron al país y consiguieron ser exitosos."

8: Immigration policies and integration. Does the article bring up the relationship between immigration policies or government actions and immigrant integration?

Example: "'Sus políticas de integración, salud y educación han sido pioneras en la región', añadió el embajador. Colombia sigue necesitando mucho apoyo de la cooperación internacional para atender a los migrantes."

Example: "Una de esas medidas, acordadas el pasado 4 de agosto, fue la creación de una cédula fronteriza. El documento, que deben portar tanto los ciudadanos venezolanos como colombianos que residen en la frontera, tiene contenida información fundamental de las actividades que desarrollan y los motivos de su paso entre ambos países."

Example: "Los venezolanos que residen en Colombia y cuentan con el Permiso por Protección Temporal (PPT) podrán obtener su licencia de conducción sin ningún problema. Esto bajo una resolución del Ministerio de Transporte expedida en los últimos días del mandato de Iván Duque. Todo migrante venezolano que tenga con el PPT lo podrá utilizar para realizar trámites asociados con la oficina de tránsito, es decir, podrán iniciar un proceso para solicitar su licencia de conducción y así transitar en vehículos de manera legal por el país."

I will provide you with a newspaper article, and you will determine whether it matches any of the above themes. Label each theme with a 1 if it occurs substantially in the article (2-3 or more sentences) and a 0 if not. For example, if only theme 3 is mentioned, your response should be: "Theme1": 0, "Theme2": 0, "Theme3": 1,

If the

article is not primarily concerned with immigration, code all themes as 0s.

Your response should be structured like this: ["Theme1": 0, "Theme2": 0, "Theme3": 1, ...]

Do not include any output other than the JSON structured response. The newspaper article is below:

Brazil:

Consider the following themes that may be present in newspaper articles. For each theme, I provide an explanation and then a few example texts embodying that theme.

1: Humanitarianism, empathy, and perspective-taking. Does the article portray immigrants as vulnerable victims of circumstance or focus on their poverty, victimhood, and lack of choice? Does the article attempt to make the audience see life from an immigrant's point of view? Does it provoke sympathy for immigrants?

Example: "Vulneráveis devido à falta de moradia e de dinheiro, trabalhadores venezuelanos em Manaus têm sido vítimas de golpes de empregadores, que não pagam salários aos imigrantes alegando custos com hospedagem e alimentação. Um casal venezuelano, por exemplo, disse ter ficado três meses em um sítio e só ter recebido comida pelo trabalho., Assustados e desconfiados, não se arriscam a denunciar."

Example: "A Organização Internacional para Migrações (OIM), braço da ONU, informou nesta terça-feira (24) que um número recorde de mortes e desaparecimentos de migrantes foi documentado em 2022 nos mares do Caribe: ao menos 321. A maior parte dos migrantes que morreram ou desapareceram era de Haiti (80), Cuba (69), República Dominicana (56) e Venezuela (25), nações que enfrentam graves crises sociais e econômicas, e a principal causa de morte são afogamentos provocados pelas difíceis condições climáticas na região e pela precária condição das embarcações."

Example: "O menino de dois anos não para. Corre em todas as direções, cutuca

adultos, detém-se com curiosidade sobre a tampa de uma caneta e volta a correr após destampá-la. Quando é interrompido pela mãe, que o ergue com um abraço, solta uma gargalhada gostosa., Samira Nancassa e o filho fazem parte de uma estatística crescente no Brasil, a de mães imigrantes."

2: Refugee status. Does the article describe immigrants as refugees, fleeing persecution or extreme poverty?

Example: "Sem pátria e sem casa, num país de cultura distinta, que fala uma língua desconhecida, elas tentam reinventar um caminho de sobrevivência para a família, que passa necessariamente pela oportunidade de trabalho. O país tem sido um destino muito procurado por aqueles que fogem de bombas, perseguições políticas, religiosas ou por etnias, fome generalizada ou perda de renda como é o caso dos venezuelanos que deixam o país por conta da crise generalizada."

Example: "Atualmente, centenas de venezuelanos chegam a cada dia ao estado da Região Norte fugindo da fome, da escassez de medicamentos básicos e da instabilidade política no país vizinho."

Example: "Ele sentia o impacto da crise econômica e social que aflorava no país em 2017, ano de massivos protestos. Sua decisão de partir foi catalisada pelo dia em que assaltaram seu carro e roubaram todo o seu equipamento de trabalho. "A situação política foi minando minha qualidade de vida. Chegou o momento em que tínhamos de voltar para casa às 18h para fugir da violência." Augusto viu a vida impactada diretamente pela falta de estabilidade em Caracas."

3: Health issues and threat of disease. Does the article relate issues of health and disease spread to immigration?

Example: "Os casos de malária na Venezuela tiveram o maior aumento anual já registrado em todo o mundo. Apenas em 2017, foram 406 mil ocorrências da doença, uma alta de 69% em relação a 2016, quando o país teve 240.613 casos. Para o continente como um todo, o cenário é agravado pelo fato de muitos venezuelanos

estarem fugindo da crise econômica e social do país, o que aumenta o risco de a doença se espalhar mais rapidamente."

Example: "Há uma comunidade volumosa de venezuelanos em Roraima. O que o governo do estado tem feito para envolvê-los na campanha de combate ao vírus? Há aproximadamente 100 mil venezuelanos vivendo em Roraima. Cerca de 7.000 deles ficam em 13 abrigos que temos para refugiados. Todos os venezuelanos que apresentam sintoma de gripe saem para o isolamento para saber se é gripe ou se é coronavírus, e só voltam para lá depois do resultado."

Example: "A Secretaria Estadual de Saúde de Roraima confirmou nesta terça-feira que sete casos suspeitos de sarampo estão sob investigação. O sarampo estava erradicado no Brasil desde 2015 e as autoridades já temiam o retorno da doença após o aumento da migração. A Venezuela enfrenta um surto de sarampo, aliada a uma crise política e econômica. O sarampo é uma doença infecciosa viral e extremamente contagiosa. Os principais sintomas são febre alta, manchas avermelhadas, tosse e olhos irritados."

4: Economic issues, resource scarcity, and threat. Does the article mention how immigration may lead to worse economic outcomes, such as job loss, lower salaries, or less access to public services for citizens?

Example: "'Tem muito zunzum na cidade, de que eles tiram emprego dos brasileiros, furam fila', diz Luiz Medeiros Carvalho. Nas redes sociais, houve quem criticasse 'ter que dividir emprego, saúde e recursos básicos com uma população que só acordou para reagir quando era tarde'. 'Isso tem um nome: comunismo', disse um morador."

Example: "Os serviços públicos de Roraima, que já eram insuficientes, estão sobrecarregados. O despreparo de nosso estado, o abandono do governo federal, unidos ao desespero desse povo desamparado, estão instalando um clima de insegurança e tensão. Roraima, porta de entrada dos imigrantes há décadas, lida com a falta de serviços públicos básicos, falta de emprego, insegurança energética, estagnação econômica. E o país não consegue assegurar emprego, segurança,

serviços de saúde a nosso povo, que dirá aos imigrantes."

Example: "O documento registra que 2.684 afegãos chegaram ao Brasil pelo aeroporto. O afluxo se traduz em 'aumento significativo de demandas para a cidade com saúde pública, moradia, assistência social e educação que não haviam sido inicialmente planejadas'."

5: Issues of crime and violence. Does the article mention how immigration lead to increases in violence, crime, or physical insecurity? Does the article specifically talk about immigrants or foreigners committing crime?

Example: "Um caso envolvendo uma refugiada presa em uma das maiores operações policiais do Brasil mobilizou entidades de direitos humanos, pesquisadores e parlamentares. Natural do Togo, na África, a vendedora ambulante Falilatou Estelle Sarouna, 43, foi presa em 15 de dezembro em meio à Operação Anteros, que desvendou um esquema transnacional de golpes pela internet que deixou ao menos 437 vítimas em 24 estados do Brasil, com prejuízo estimado em R\$ 24 milhões."

Example: "A presidente afirmou que seu objetivo com isso é enfrentar o crime transnacional, uma vez que os responsáveis por cometer diariamente assaltos, roubos e outros atos criminosos seriam estrangeiros -ela creditou o dados à imprensa local."

Example: "Em reação a uma briga entre venezuelanos e brasileiros que deixou dois mortos, dezenas de moradores de Mucajaí (a 57 km de Boa Vista) expulsaram imigrantes de um abrigo e em seguida queimaram os seus pertences. O ataque aconteceu na tarde de segunda-feira. Segundo relatos da imprensa local, um brasileiro e um venezuelano morreram durante uma briga, na madrugada do domingo. Outro venezuelano foi preso."

6: General instability and threat. Does the article connect political or societal instability to immigration? Does it use the size of immigration flows to provoke worry or fear (for example, "hordes of immigrants" or "massive immigration flows")?

Example: "A emergência por 60 dias foi declarada para os distritos de Aguas Calientes,

Zarumilla e Tumbes, inundados por imigrantes nos últimos dias, antes do início da ex-

igência de passaportes. Cerca de 420 mil venezuelanos estão no Peru, quatro vezes mais do que no ano passado, segundo o escritório de migrações do país."

Example: "Dados da agência de Alfândega e Proteção de Fronteiras apontam que, de janeiro a dezembro de 2022, mais de 3 milhões de migrantes foram interceptados tentando ingressar em território americano sem permissão legal, um aumento de 33

Example: "Segundo o Departamento de Migração, mais de 550 mil venezuelanos estão em território colombiano de forma regular ou irregular, e o número deve superar um milhão no meio de 2018. A situação dos venezuelanos em Roraima é de total precariedade, contam organizações que apoiam o governo e agências na recepção migratória."

7: Cultural replacement, incompatibility, and threat. Does the article mention how immigration may harm or replace the host country's culture and values? Does it state that immigrant values are incompatible with those of the natives?

Example: "A criação de filhos em terra estrangeira implica em uma série de peculiaridades. A depender da origem, a inicial vai ser a diferença de idioma. A criança terá que aprender uma nova língua e, muitas vezes, a original pode se perder no processo. Comida, religião, valores e costumes diferentes vão ser confrontados diariamente."

Example: "O Brasil é soberano para decidir se aceita ou não migrantes. Quem porventura vier para cá deverá estar sujeito às nossas leis, regras e costumes, bem como deverá cantar nosso hino e respeitar nossa cultura. Não é qualquer um que entra em nossa casa, nem será qualquer um que entrará no Brasil via pacto adotado por terceiros."

Example: "'Está simplesmente insuportável viver em alguns locais da França. Os que foram para lá, o povo francês acolheu da melhor maneira possível. Mas vocês sabem da história dessa gente, né? Eles têm algo dentro de si que não abandonam as suas raízes e querem fazer valer a sua cultura, os seus direitos lá de trás, e os seus

privilégios.’, Bolsonaro deu as declarações durante transmissão ao vivo em seu perfil

no Facebook."

8: Cultural benefit. Does the article mention how immigration may contribute to cultural diversity, the arts, and society?

Example: "'Roj bas', diz Fátima Ismail, 42, com um sorriso no rosto, enquanto estica a massa de pão, formando um disco fino. 'Significa 'bom dia' em curdo, a língua da região de onde eu venho.' Ela é uma das imigrantes que vão oferecer, em São Paulo, experiências culturais de seus países de origem em um projeto recém-lançado."

Example: "Um dos artistas a participar da próxima Bienal de São Paulo, Igshaan Adams cria tapeçarias e esculturas com o uso de materiais ligados ao universo feminino da África do Sul, como miçangas e tecidos, em trabalhos que refletem seu crescimento numa área de Cape Town destinada aos negros durante o apartheid. Outra das artistas selecionadas, Torkwase Dyson faz pinturas abstratas informadas pelos deslocamentos forçados de corpos negros na diáspora."

Example: "12º Carnaval das Culturas do Mundo. A programação do evento inclui encontro de corais, espetáculos de dança e teatro, oficinas e atividades infantis. A feira de pequenos produtores locais une à turma de refugiados e imigrantes vendendo comida de rua autêntica de vários países do mundo, entre eles, África do Sul, Colômbia, Haiti, Síria e Venezuela. A programação traz ainda uma oficina gastronômica com a refugiada Misshel Sanchez ensinando a fazer cachapas venezuelanas."

9: Economic benefit. Does the article mention how immigration may improve economic conditions?

Example: "Muitos refugiados vêm de classe média e classe média alta. São engenheiros, professores, advogados, cineastas que chegam aqui e vão lavar pratos e fazer faxina. Com o Abraço, são capacitados, viram professores e aumentam a autoestima."

Example: "Com sede na Glória, projeto Mulheres do Sul Global insere refugiadas no

mercado de trabalho por meio da costura e dá suporte à integração. Também é por meio da costura que uma nova vida, aos poucos, se desenha ali para mulheres refugiadas. Num ateliê multicultural, as participantes (vindas do Congo, da Venezuela, de Angola e de Guiné-Bissau) dão forma ao empreendedorismo, à independência financeira e ao empoderamento feminino."

Example: "Em Goioerê, a maior parte dos imigrantes já está empregada -em padarias, supermercados, indústrias de tecelagem e cooperativas agrícolas. O objetivo é que, assim que ganharem familiaridade com a língua e puderem revalidar diplomas, eles passem a trabalhar em suas áreas."

10: Immigration policies and integration. Does the article bring up the relationship between immigration policies or government actions and immigrant integration?

Example: "De igual forma que o Presidente da Câmara dos Deputados, os signatários se sentem no dever de reafirmar o disposto no Artigo 4º da Constituição Federal, em especial os seguintes princípios pelos quais o Brasil deve guiar suas relações internacionais: (I) Independência nacional; (III) Autodeterminação dos povos; (IV) Nãointervenção e (V) Defesa da Paz. Conforme salientado na Nota do Presidente da Câmara, temos a obrigação de zelar pela estabilidade das fronteiras e o convívio pacífico e respeitoso com os vizinhos, pilares da soberania e da defesa."

Example: "Segundo uma pesquisa feita em 28 países, o Brasil é o terceiro com a população mais aberta a receber refugiados, e a maioria da população acredita que as fronteiras devem estar abertas a estrangeiros que sofrem com guerras e perseguições, mesmo durante a pandemia. O estudo, do instituto Ipsos, ouviu mais de 19.500 pessoas com idade entre 16 e 74 anos. No Brasil, foram 1.000 entrevistados, e a margem de erro é de 3,5 pontos percentuais."

Example: "No total, o Brasil reconheceu cerca de 10 mil refugiados de 2007 a 2017. O número de solicitações entre 2011 a 2017 foi de 126 mil., A convenção mundial e a legislação brasileira sobre refugiados reconhecem esse direito a pessoas que sofrem "fundado temor de perseguição" devido à sua opinião política, raça, nacionalidade,

religião e grupo social. A interpretação da ONU, seguida pelo Brasil."

I will provide you with a newspaper article, and you will determine whether it matches any of the above themes. Label each theme with a 1 if it occurs substantially in the article (2-3 or more sentences) and a 0 if not. For example, if only theme 3 is mentioned, your response should be: "Theme1": 0, "Theme2": 0, "Theme3": 1, If the

article is not primarily concerned with immigration, code all themes as 0s.

Your response should be structured like this: ["Theme1": 0, "Theme2": 0, "Theme3": 1,]

Do not include any output other than the JSON structured response. The newspaper article is below:

Germany (Syrians):

Consider the following themes that may be present in newspaper articles. For each theme, I provide an explanation and then a few example texts embodying that theme.

1: Humanitarianism, empathy, and perspective-taking. Does the article portray immigrants as vulnerable victims of circumstance or focus on their poverty, victimhood, and lack of choice? Does the article attempt to make the audience see life from an immigrant's point of view? Does it provoke sympathy for immigrants?

Example: "Vor der Küste der griechischen Insel Lesbos hat sich offenbar eine neue Flüchtlingstragödie ereignet. Einwohner entdeckten am Freitag die Leichen einer Frau und zweier Kinder. Sie waren an zwei Stränden nahe der Stadt Mytilini angespült worden. Die Polizei vermuteten, dass es sich um Migranten handelte, die die Meeresenge zwischen der türkischen Küste und Lesbos überqueren wollten und dabei ums Leben gekommen sind."

Example: "Emotional verteidigt die Kanzlerin ihre Flüchtlingspolitik: Sie entschuldigte sich nicht, ein "freundliches Gesicht" zu zeigen. Ungewöhnlich emotional verteidigt

die Kanzlerin ihre Politik der vergangenen zwei Wochen: 'Wenn wir jetzt anfangen, uns noch entschuldigen zu müssen dafür, dass wir in Notsituationen ein freundliches Gesicht zeigen, dann ist das nicht mein Land', erklärte Merkel."

Example: "Missernten durch Dürren, Landflucht, Bevölkerungswachstum und die Verschlechterung der Lebensbedingungen großer Bevölkerungsteile, vor allem der sunnitisch-konservativen Landbevölkerung, Heute leben acht von zehn Syrern unter der Armutsgrenze, elf Millionen sind auf humanitäre Hilfe angewiesen. Mehr als die Hälfte der Syrer wurden im eigenen Land vertrieben oder mussten aus Syrien fliehen."

2: Refugee status. Does the article describe immigrants as refugees, fleeing persecution or extreme poverty?

Example: ""Meine Familie kann nicht mehr arbeiten. Sie können sich noch nicht einmal mehr auf der Straße aufhalten. Alles ist sehr teuer geworden, und nicht alle Produkte sind überall mehr verfügbar", so Charouf. Täglich erreichen ihn neue Schreckensnachrichten aus Syrien, und die Sorge um das Wohlergehen seiner Liebsten wächst."

Example: "Gut 100,000 Syrer sind schätzungsweise seit März 2011 vor dem Bürgerkrieg in ihrer Heimat ins benachbarte Jordanien geflohen. Die Kleinen haben Schlafmittel bekommen, damit sie nicht weinen und nicht zum leichten Ziel werden für die Soldaten. „Wir konnten nicht bleiben. Die Kämpfe dauerten Tag und Nacht“, sagt die Frau. Sie macht Zischgeräusche dazu, das sollen die Flugzeuge sein. Eine Nachbarin ist, so erzählt sie, von einem Geschoss getroffen worden. „Ich habe ihren abgetrennten Kopf gesehen“, sagt Karima."

Example: "Die Botschaft der IS-Terroristen, die sich zu dem Anschlag bekannten, war eindeutig: Ihr seid nirgends sicher, wir finden euch überall – euch Andersgläubige, euch Andersdenkende. Das gilt allen in Ainkawa, auch den Tausenden Flüchtlingen aus Syrien und dem Irak, die hier in Behelfslagern, Schulen und Privathäusern Zuflucht fanden."

3: Health issues and threat of disease. Does the article relate issues of health and disease spread to immigration?

Example: "Als Antwort auf Corona riegelt Athen Auffanglager ab und setzt die Betreuung aus. Experten warnen vor einer Katastrophe. Und in der Bevölkerung macht sich Panik breit. 'Überfüllung und mangelnde Hygiene machen einen CoronaAusbruch in den Lagern zu einer realen Bedrohung', sagt Eva Crossé, GriechenlandExpertin von Human Rights Watch."

Example: "'Wenn das Coronavirus hier ankäme, würde es sich wie Feuer verbreiten', sagte Mahmoud aus dem syrischen Idlib, der Anfang des Jahres von der Türkei aus über das Meer gekommen ist. 'Zu jeder Mahlzeit drängen sich 5000 Menschen in den Speiseraum', sagt Mahmoud. 'Es gibt überhaupt keine Möglichkeit, Abstand zu halten.'"

Example: "Man traut den niedrigen Infektionszahlen in der benachbarten Türkei nicht, zudem sind gerade Tausende Menschen aus Afghanistan und Südasien durch den von Corona schwer betroffenen Iran gezogen. Aber weil die Regierung nicht offenlegt, ob irgendwelche Tests unter den Migranten durchgeführt wurden, bleibt die CoronaGefahr dort eine unbekannte Größe und damit eine Quelle der Angst für den Rest der Bevölkerung."

4: Economic issues, resource scarcity, and threat. Does the article mention how immigration may lead to worse economic outcomes, such as job loss, lower salaries, or less access to public services for citizens?

Example: "In Wirklichkeit müssen sie aus ihren Renten lebenslang rentnerähnlich existierende, weil kaum vermittelbare Fremde menschenwürdig bezahlen. Die Enttäuschung der Deutschen über 65 ist verständlich. Denn der Migrationsbericht für 2014 zählt 13 Prozent Analphabeten unter den 1,5 Millionen Neuankömmlingen sowie 77 Prozent Niedrigbis Mittelqualifizierte."

Example: "'Aber wir sehen, dass Migranten im Schnitt am Arbeitsmarkt schlechter integriert sind, weniger verdienen und schlechtere berufliche Perspektiven haben,'

sagt Weber. Dabei kämen bei Weitem Geringqualifizierte aus anderen Ländern nach Deutschland."

5: Issues of crime and violence. Does the article mention how immigration lead to increases in violence, crime, or physical insecurity? Does the article specifically talk about immigrants or foreigners committing crime or being terrorists?

Example: "Eine Auseinandersetzung zwischen mehreren jungen Flüchtlingen ist am Sonntagabend vor dem McDonald's am Stachus eskaliert. Erst gab es Beleidigungen, dann flogen Fäuste und am Ende lagen zwei Schwerverletzte mit Stichwunden auf dem Pflaster. Die Polizei nahm einen 17 Jahre alten Tatverdächtigen fest."

Example: "Drei Männer aus Syrien stehen in Hamburg vor Gericht, weil sie sich im Auftrag der Terrormiliz Islamischer Staat im Herbst 2015 unter die Zigtausende Flüchtlinge gemischt haben sollen, um in Deutschland einen Anschlag zu verüben. Am Freitag nun bestätigte der älteste der drei Angeklagten, Mohamed A., 27, was man ihm vorwirft."

Example: "Der Asylbewerber aus Syrien, der am Montagmorgen auf einen Kran geklettert war und zu springen drohte, falls seine Familie nicht nach Deutschland geholt werde, ist von der Polizei festgenommen und in eine psychiatrische Klinik gebracht worden. Psychologen versuchten vergeblich, mit dem Mann zu verhandeln. Nach Angaben der Polizei schnitt er sich jedes Mal mit einer Rasierklinge in die Brust, sobald sich ein Beamter näherte. Der 31-Jährige muss sich nun wegen Nötigung und Widerstand gegen Vollstreckungsbeamte verantworten."

Example: "Am 26. Oktober lud er auf Facebook ein Bild hoch, mit dem er für die Demo in Freiburg warb. Auf dem Bild stand: 'Anlass ist die Massenvergewaltigung einer 18-Jährigen durch sieben polizeibekannte Syrer.'"

6: General instability and threat. Does the article connect political or societal instability to immigration? Does it use the size of immigration flows to provoke worry or fear (for example, "hordes of immigrants" or "massive immigration flows")?

Example: "18,000 Menschen werden im Jahr 2013 in Bayern Asyl beantragen. Allein von Oktober bis Dezember werden 2000 Flüchtlinge pro Monat erwartet. Und obwohl

Bayern Anfang der 1990er Jahre bis zu 60,000 Asylbewerber im Jahr aufgenommen hat, sind die zuständigen Stellen bereits überlastet."

Example: "Mitarbeiter des Bundesamts für Migration (Bamf) beklagen eine Abkehr von rechtsstaatlichen Prinzipien bei den beschleunigten Asylverfahren für bestimmte Flüchtlingsgruppen. Die 'massenhafte Entscheidungspraxis' bei Syrern, Eritreern, Irakern und Flüchtlingen vom Balkan wiesen 'systemische Mängel' auf, schrieben die Personalräte in einem offenen Brief an Amtschef Frank-Jürgen Weise. Ihre Hauptkritikpunkte sind der Verzicht auf eine Identitätsprüfung sowie die viel zu schnelle Ausbildung der neuen Entscheider."

Example: "Schulen richten sich auf einen Ansturm von Flüchtlingskindern ein, Sabine Menkens, Die Flüchtlingskrise stellt Länder und Kommunen nicht nur bei der Erstunterbringung der Menschen vor enorme Herausforderungen. Vor allem die Schulen müssen sich auf einen Ansturm einstellen. Die Bildungsgewerkschaft GEW rechnet in den nächsten zwölf Monaten bundesweit mit rund 300.000 zusätzlichen Schülern."

7: Cultural replacement, incompatibility, and threat. Does the article mention how immigration may harm or replace the host country's culture and values? Does it state that immigrant values are incompatible with those of the natives?

Example: "'Da war der Glauben nicht mehr so wichtig", sagt Trilck spöttisch., Dabei war die Friseurin eine der Schlüsselfiguren der Sumter Wut vom Oktober. Auf der Bürgerversammlung sprach sie mit erhobenem Zeigefinger und schriller Stimme von "Männern, für die wir Mädchen und Frauen aufgrund ihrer Religion nichts sind". Dafür erhielt sie stürmischen Applaus und zustimmende Rufe. Sie war das Ventil für die Ängste."

Example: "Mit Blick auf Syrer oder Afghanen kommt zudem noch ein deutlicher Geschlechterunterschied hinzu: Die Beteiligung der Frauen an Integrationskursen, anderen Bildungsangeboten und vor allem am Arbeitsmarkt ist viel niedriger als bei den Männern, was vor allem an einer sehr traditionellen Rollenverteilung liegt."

Flüchtlinge sind für Deutschland keine Hilfe, sondern vielmehr eine zusätzliche soziale Herausforderung, die zu bewältigen viel Geld kostet."

Example: "Deutschland ist ein von der christlich-abendländischen Kultur geprägtes Land. Die Mehrheit der Deutschen begreift laut einer neuen Umfrage den Islam weiterhin nicht als Teil unseres Landes. Leider gibt es auch einen muslimischen Extremismus, einen gewaltbereiten Islamismus in Deutschland."

8: Cultural benefit. Does the article mention how immigration may contribute to cultural diversity, the arts, and society?

Example: "Die Koordinatorin des Asyl-Helferkreises, Ines Lobenstein, war danach 'richtig geflasht', wie sie es selbst formuliert: Rund 100 Menschen tanzten, feierten, begegneten sich und lernten sich kennen beim Auftakt zum 'WORLD-Café' am Samstag im Jugendhaus La Vida. Die Afghanen spielten mit den Afrikanern Billard, die Kinder wuselten umher und am Schluss tanzten die syrischen Männer. Die Besucher durften ihre Lieblingsmusik mitbringen, die Kuchenspenden füllten die ganze Theke."

Example: "Ganz früher, da war die Karfreitagsprozession in München eine geschlossene Veranstaltung. Bayerische Katholiken waren unter sich. Das gilt längst nicht mehr, gottlob. Heute ist die Prozession ein 'Kreuzweg der Völker' mit Afrikanern, Asiaten, Osteuropäern, Südeuropäern und Bayern. Das ist ein schönes Symbol in Zeiten, in denen die Welt freiwillig, aber auch gezwungenermaßen in Europa zusammenrückt."

Example: "Zwei syrische Regisseure (Mohammad al-Attar und Omar Abusaada), die sich ihre künstlerischen Spuren im Haus der Kulturen der Welt verdient haben, leiten die neun jungen Frauen nach dem Motto "Wir sind Iphigenie" zu Selbstauskünften an. Mit syrischen Schauspielerinnen, die ihre Muttersprache sprechen."

9: Economic benefit. Does the article mention how immigration may improve economic conditions?

Example: "Asylsuchende sollten so schnell wie möglich in den Arbeitsmarkt integriert

werden. Das fordern Politik, Wirtschaft und Sozialverbände einhellig. Die Bedingun-

gen dafür sind auch gut. Viele Arbeitgeber suchen Fachkräfte oder Auszubildende, und die meisten Geflüchteten wollen so schnell wie möglich arbeiten."

Example: "Die Auswanderung dieser Personen ist auch ein Zeichen der weltweiten wirtschaftlichen Präsenz und des Erfolgs deutscher Unternehmen und insgesamt der zunehmenden internationalen Verflechtung."

Example: "Ausländer finden derzeit sehr schnell Arbeit in diesem Land und haben einen sehr großen Anteil an dem starken Anstieg der Beschäftigung in den letzten Jahren. Ein wichtiger Schritt, um deren Arbeitsmarktintegration zu verbessern, sei deshalb, die Anerkennung ihrer Abschlüsse einfacher zu machen."

10: Immigration policies and integration. Does the article bring up the relationship between immigration policies or government actions and immigrant integration?

Example: "Syrier genießen in Bayern nicht automatisch den vollen Flüchtlingsschutz. In einem für den Freistaat mutmaßlich richtungsweisenden Urteil hat die Außenstelle des Bayerischen Verwaltungsgerichtshofs (VGH) in Ansbach entschieden, dass syrischen Flüchtlingen bei einer etwaigen Rückkehr in ihre Heimat nicht schon deshalb 'mit beachtlicher Wahrscheinlichkeit' politische Verfolgung drohe, weil sie einen Asylantrag gestellt und sich in Deutschland aufgehalten haben."

Example: "Wie die Bundesagentur für Arbeit in ihren aktuellen Zahlen vermeldet, leben von den gut zwei Millionen Kindern in Hartz IV fast 600.000 in ausländischen Familien. Der Anteil dieser Kinder ist allein zwischen 2016 und heute um über 40 Prozent gestiegen und erklärt sich nachweislich als Folge der hohen Flüchtlingszahlen. Allein der Anteil syrischer Kinder in Hartz IV stieg zwischen 2013 und 2017 von knapp 8000 auf über 200.000 Kinder an."

Example: "Ausländerrechtliche Hürden, mangelnde Sprachkenntnisse, nicht anerkannte Zeugnisse oder fehlende Qualifikationen erschweren eine schnelle Vermittlung. Die Beschäftigungsquote von Asylsuchenden lag 2017 bei 30,5 Prozent. Die Zahlen

„zeigen, dass die Integration in den Arbeitsmarkt einen langen Atem braucht“, so die

Bundesagentur für Arbeit im Oktober 2018 im Bericht „Fluchtmigration“, Vielerorts helfen Freiwillige, um an dieser Schnittstelle zu vermitteln."

I will provide you with a newspaper article, and you will determine whether it matches any of the above themes. Label each theme with a 1 if it occurs substantially in the article (2-3 or more sentences) and a 0 if not. For example, if only theme 3 is mentioned, your response should be: "Theme1": 0, "Theme2": 0, "Theme3": 1, If the

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Do not include any output other than the JSON structured response. The newspaper article is below:

Germany (Ukrainians):

Consider the following themes that may be present in newspaper articles. For each theme, I provide an explanation and then a few example texts embodying that theme.

1: Humanitarianism, empathy, and perspective-taking. Does the article portray immigrants as vulnerable victims of circumstance or focus on their poverty, victimhood, and lack of choice? Does the article attempt to make the audience see life from an immigrant's point of view? Does it provoke sympathy for immigrants?

Example: "Auf Plattformen wie host4ukraine bieten Europäer Hilfe an, da ist das Paar aus Madrid, das sein Gästezimmer freigeräumt hat, die Frau aus Finnland, die Hunde von Flüchtlingen aufnimmt, 'in jeder Größe', da sind Frauen aus Österreich, die viel Platz haben, oder wie sie schreiben: 'big house big hearts'."

Example: "Aber wie verrückt hätte das erst geklungen: Polen und Ungarn werden zum Hort einer neuen europäischen Willkommenskultur? Und jetzt: Türen auf für geflüchtete Menschen aus der Ukraine., Die Hilfsbereitschaft hat sich in Polen schon

verbreitet, bevor die Menschen überhaupt ankamen. Die Helfer hatten sich bereits versammelt, hatten Spendenpakete geschnürt, Zettel aufgehängt, Telefonhotlines eingerichtet, dann warteten sie."

Example: "Die Neuankömmlinge erkennen die Ehrenamtlichen von der Corona-Nachbarschaftshilfe an der Leere und dem Entsetzen in ihren Augen. Viele Geflüchtete kämen völlig erschöpft in Fürstenfeldbruck an, sagt Initiatorin Monika Graf: Mit offenen Füßen, dehydriert, in Angst und Sorge um ihre Angehörigen, die noch in der Ukraine sind, im Krieg. Die Babys mit entzündeten Popos, weil sie unterwegs nicht oft genug gewickelt werden konnten. Manche Kinder, auch ältere, verlieren durch den Stress der Flucht die Kontrolle über ihre Blase."

2: Refugee status. Does the article describe immigrants as refugees, fleeing persecution or extreme poverty?

Example: "Viele ukrainischen Kriegsflüchtlinge sind mit Banknoten nach Europa geflüchtet. Rund vier Wochen dauert der Krieg in der Ukraine nun schon an, seitdem haben sich etwa 225.000 Flüchtlinge aus dem Land in Deutschland registriert."

Example: "Vielmehr sind die allermeisten Binnenflüchtlinge (71 Millionen). Krieg sei als Fluchtursache selbstverständlich, sagte er, ihn interessierten aber auch die 'unscheinbaren' Ursachen. Neben politischer Verfolgung nannte er Armut und Hunger sowie Umweltzerstörung. Kriege und politische Verfolgung in Afrika seien ein 'koloniales Erbe', so legte er dar. "

Example: "Heute liegt am Ufer des Asowschen Meeres eine Trümmerlandschaft: 90 Prozent der Häuser in Mariupol sollen unbewohnbar sein, die Stadt ist von der russischen Armee umkreist und wird täglich bombardiert; das Stadttheater, in dessen Keller sich hunderte Menschen vor den russischen Angriffen versteckten. Viele Bewohner der Stadt begraben ihre toten Familienangehörigen und Nachbarn in der kalten Erde vor ihren ausgebrannten Plattenbauten. 160.000 Menschen sollen noch in Mariupol ausharren, eine humanitäre Katastrophe."

Example: "Vier Fünftel der Geflüchteten kämen aktuell aus der Ukraine, gefolgt von

Menschen aus Syrien, Afghanistan und der Türkei. Es sind demnach Menschen, die vor Krieg, Verfolgung oder, ganz aktuell, vor den Folgen des Erdbebens Schutz suchen."

3: Health issues and threat of disease. Does the article relate issues of health and disease spread to immigration?

Example: "Alle Geflüchteten werden bei der Ankunft gesundheitlich überprüft. Die wenigstens seien gegen Corona geimpft oder mit dem russischen Impfstoff Sputnik, der in Deutschland nicht anerkannt ist, weshalb eine Impfkampagne gestartet werde. Ein großes Thema sei auch Tbc, berichtete der Bürgermeister."

Example: "Kurz vor weitgehenden Lockerungen der Corona-Maßnahmen steigt im Landkreis München die Zahl der Infektionen kräftig. Das gilt auch für die Pflegeeinrichtungen, wo nach dem Stand von Mittwoch 127 Bewohner und 106 Beschäftigte positiv sind. Kurzfristig könnten besondere Schutzmaßnahmen für Geflüchtete aus der Ukraine mit niedrigem Impfstatus notwendig werden, wenn große Notunterkünfte mit älteren Personen belegt würden. Zusammen mit der Pandemie ist eine Flüchtlingskrise zu bewältigen, die auch unter dem Gesundheitsaspekt viele Fragen aufwirft."

Example: "Jetzt kommt die Versorgung ukrainischer Flüchtlinge hinzu. Nur mit Menschlichkeit können wir das nicht bewältigen. Die Pandemie beschäftigt uns aktuell noch hauptsächlich. Wir haben in unserer Praxis mittlerweile rund 8000 CoronaImpfungen durchgeführt, zusätzlich in Impfzentren geimpft. Wir haben Routine, es braucht nur genügend Impfstoff. Nach ersten Erfahrungen hat sich ein großer Teil der Menschen, die bei uns Schutz suchen, schon während des Krieges oder auf der Flucht infiziert."

4: Economic issues, resource scarcity, and threat. Does the article mention how immigration may lead to worse economic outcomes, such as job loss, lower salaries, or less access to public services for citizens?

Example: "Das findet der Gemeinderat Maisach auch richtig. Bürgermeister Hans

Seidl (CSU) erwartet aber eine Überlastung der gemeindlichen Infrastruktur, sollte die Zahl der Geflüchteten deutlich steigen. Seidl kritisierte jüngst 'die höchst ungleiche Verteilung' von Flüchtlingen im Landkreis: 'Einige wenige Kommunen ducken sich weg, reden viel, tun aber wenig', sagte er zu dem Thema im Gemeinderat."

Example: "'Wir sind überfordert mit der Unterbringung.' Er kündigte an, die Gemeindeverwaltungen würden nun „alles abklappern', auch Vereinsheime und Pfarrsäle, schränkte aber ein: 'Zum Schluss bleibt nur die Turnhalle was keiner will. 'Ein Problem sei es auch, erklärte der Bürgermeister-Sprecher, dass Flüchtlinge Anspruch auf Kinderbetreuung hätten, denn hier fehle es ja ohnehin an Räumen und Personal. Die Möglichkeit, für Flüchtlinge mit Containern Platz zu schaffen, wies er zwar nicht strikt zurück, fragte aber indigniert, ob eine Kommune etwa für die nächsten zehn Jahre ein Containerdorf schaffen solle."

Example: "Ein vorerst letzter Bus wird gegen Ende nächster Woche neue Geflüchtete in den Landkreis Ebersberg bringen, danach ist Schluss. Das liegt jedoch nicht daran, dass dann alle Asylsuchenden versorgt, sondern dass die Kapazitäten des Landkreises schlichtweg erschöpft sind. Die einzelnen Gemeinden des Landkreises stehen derweil vor einem ganz anderen Problem: Rund 90 Prozent der ukrainischen Geflüchteten sind zunächst bei Privatleuten untergekommen und waren daher nie Teil des staatlichen Aufnahmesystems. Wenn diese Gastverhältnisse nun aber zunehmend beendet werden, gelten die Geflüchteten als obdachlos."

5: Issues of crime and violence. Does the article mention how immigration lead to increases in violence, crime, or physical insecurity? Does the article specifically talk about immigrants or foreigners committing crime?

Example: "Angst vor Terror und Kriminalität bleibt groß. Im Gegensatz zum Jahr 2016, das stark von Terroranschlägen und der ungesteuerten Migration beherrscht war, ist das allgemeine Sicherheitsempfinden laut dem Report wieder gewachsen."

Example: "Deutschland ist im Niedergang, und die Menschen spüren das.Sie sehen

geschlossene Gasthäuser, lesen von Messerangriffen und können kaum noch ihre Miete zahlen, während der Staat Wohnraum für Geflüchtete schafft. Der nicht abreißende Strom der Nachrichten von Messerangriffen im öffentlichen Raum und in öffentlichen Verkehrsmitteln, bei denen sich regelmäßig ein Geflüchteter als Täter ermitteln lässt, verbindet diese Entwicklung mit dem Gefühl eines gravierenden Sicherheitsverlustes, wie die viel kritisierte Polizistin Claudia Pechstein korrekt berichtet hat."

Example: "Die Lage sei 'nicht tragbar', erzürnte sich Jungbauer. 'Es wird geklaut, es gibt Schlägereien', behauptete sie und erklärte: 'Das sind Zigeuner, und so benehmen die sich auch.' Sie sei 'weder rechts noch ein Rassist', fügte die Farcheterin an, vermutlich selbst ein wenig erschreckt über ihre Wortwahl. 'Aber das geht nicht.'"

6: General instability and threat. Does the article connect political or societal instability to immigration? Does it use the size of immigration flows to provoke worry or fear (for example, "hordes of immigrants" or "massive immigration flows")?

Example: "Es kommen wieder mehr Flüchtlinge nach Europa. Deutsche Kommunen fürchten Engpässe bei der Unterbringung. Von Januar bis August war die Zahl irregulärer Grenzübertritte in EU-Länder so hoch wie seit 2016 nicht mehr, gibt die EU-Grenzschutzbehörde Frontex an. Zahlreiche Städte und Kommunen sind bereits mit den Geflüchteten aus der Ukraine am Rande ihrer Kapazitäten."

Example: "Die Angst kann sich so schnell ausbreiten, weil der Eindruck dominiert, das Land ergebe sich widerstandslos seinem Schicksal. Und was die Migrationsfrage angeht, war es noch nie so einfach, den Menschen die Ängste zu nehmen, wie heute. Nur ein verschwindend kleiner Teil der Bevölkerung hat Angst vor eingewanderten Krankenschwestern, Köchen, Altenpflegern oder Metallbauern. Es ist aber in jedem Dorf und an jedem Bahnhof sichtbar, dass wir in großer Zahl Menschen bei uns aufnehmen, die keinen Beitrag zu unserer Wirtschaft leisten und keinen Asylanspruch haben."

Example: "Gleichzeitig haben wir einen Flüchtlingszustrom, der größer ist als in

den Jahren 2015 und 2016. Wir haben jetzt insgesamt 2,4 Millionen Flüchtlinge in Deutschland, gut eine Million davon aus der Ukraine. Da wundert es mich nicht, dass Kommunalpolitiker aus allen Teilen des Landes Hilferufe an das Kanzleramt senden aber dort verhallen diese Rufe. Wir müssen die irreguläre Zuwanderung drastisch drosseln, besser stoppen."

7: Cultural replacement, incompatibility, and threat. Does the article mention how immigration may harm or replace the host country's culture and values? Does it state that immigrant values are incompatible with those of the natives?

Example: "Seit Jahren blockiert Budapest die EU-weite Verteilung von Asylbewerbern. Entlang der Südgrenzen ziehen sich hohe, doppelreihige Zäune, um Flüchtende abzuwehren, der Zugang zu Asylverfahren im Land ist praktisch unmöglich geworden. Seine Aussagen über 'muslimische Invasoren', die das christliche Europa überrennen wollten und abgewehrt werden müssten, wiederholt Orbán bis heute, wo immer es geht. Muslimische Flüchtlinge, darunter viele junge Männer, werden aufgewogen gegen christliche ukrainische Flüchtlinge, vorwiegend Frauen und Kinder, während die Männer gegen Putin kämpfen."

Example: "Die jungen Männer mit den Bärten langweilen sich, sitzen vor der Schulturnhalle und daddeln in ihren Handys. Aber Rafflenbeul-Schaub, 45, spricht über Steuerung und Begrenzung, über Abschiebungen von Migranten ohne Aufenthaltsrecht, über eine Bringschuld bei der Integration. Und er sagt, dass im Grundsatz viel falsch läuft mit der Migration. 'Ein Thema, wo die Grünen sich endlich ehrlich machen müssen' was auch den Abschied vom 'Multikulti-Idealismus' bedeute."

Example: "An der Seepromenade geht es jetzt um das P-Wort, das CDU-Chef Friedrich Merz eingeführt hat: kleine 'Paschas' junge Migranten, die Ärger machen. 'Den Ausdruck kann man kritisch sehen', meint Rafflenbeul-Schaub. Aber er selbst habe beim Elternsprechtag gehört, dass sich manche Kinder aus islamischen Ländern nichts von der Lehrerin sagen lassen, von einer Frau. Es würden keine klaren Erwartungen

an Migranten definiert: Deutschkenntnisse, Grundwerte wie die Gleichberechtigung von Mann und Frau oder Errungenschaften wie die gleichgeschlechtliche Ehe."

8: Cultural benefit. Does the article mention how immigration may contribute to cultural diversity, the arts, and society?

Example: "Ohne Migration gäbe es keine Kunst, keine Literatur, keine Philosophie, und ohne Nomaden wäre auch keine der großen Weltreligionen entstanden. Für den Mittelmeerraum sprach der französische Historiker Fernand Braudel von den 'unentbehrlichen Immigranten', denen wir häufig den Transfer neuer Kulturtechniken verdanken. "

Example: "Als gegen 19.10 Uhr etwa 250 Besucher dicht gedrängt sitzend und stehend versammelt waren, mussten die Türen aus feuerpolizeilichen Gründen geschlossen werden. Mit zwei Hirtenliedern und dem Willkommenslied eröffnete die jahrgangsgemischte 3-4 aus Stockdorf den Abend. Die Klasse ist ein gutes Beispiel für friedliches multikulturelles Zusammenleben, sind doch Schüler aus Jamaika, Ungarn, der Türkei und der Ukraine dabei. Und dann sang sich die siebenjährige Sarah aus Afghanistan in die Herzen der Zuhörer. Mit dem Adventslied 'Schneeflöckchen, Weißbröckchen', das sie sehr sicher in klarem Deutsch vortrug, verzauberte sie alle."

Example: "Oskana Elbe, ukrainische Flüchtlingshelferin in Neufahrn, erfuhr vom spontanen Anliegen der Gruppe über einen Kontakt mit der Ukrainisch-Griechischen Pfarrei München. Den Besuch in Deutschland will 'Zhyttya' mit einigen BenefizAuftritten verbinden. Elbe war schnell klar, 'dass eine Veranstaltung in Neufahrn eine tolle Möglichkeit wäre, die ukrainische darstellende Kunst den Neufahrnern etwas näher zu bringen und gleichzeitig der Tanzgruppe eine Plattform für einen BenefizAuftritt zu bieten.' Die Darstellung ist eine Symbiose verschiedener Genres Wort, Tanz, Musik, Poesie, Video und Licht."

9: Economic benefit. Does the article mention how immigration may improve economic conditions?

Example: "Das heißt auch: Viele von den in der Regel gut ausgebildeten Menschen lassen sich als Arbeitskräfte einplanen. Das sind gute Nachrichten für ein Land, dem wegen Alterung und Kindermangel in gut zehn Jahren sieben Millionen Arbeitskräfte fehlen könnten. Sie lernen Deutsch, was ihre Chance auf einen Job stark verbessert."

Example: "An Arbeitsstellen für die oft gut ausgebildeten Kriegsflüchtlinge mangelt es nicht. Die Erlaubnis zur uneingeschränkten Erwerbstätigkeit werde in die Aufenthaltserlaubnis eingetragen., Für eine erfolgreiche Integration in den deutschen Arbeitsmarkt ist das eine Art Grundvoraussetzung. Dort zeichnete sich zuletzt eine Entspannung ab, heißt es aus dem Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales. Im Februar ist die Arbeitslosigkeit um 34.000 auf rund 2,43 Millionen gesunken, die Quote liegt nun bei 5,3 Prozent. Eine Zahl in der Statistik lässt aufhorchen."

Example: "Von den Ukrainern im erwerbsfähigen Alter fanden seither 18 Prozent eine sozialversicherungspflichtige Arbeit insgesamt 30 100 Menschen. Fortschritte sahen die Minister auch bei der Arbeitsmarktintegration von anerkannten Asylbewerbern. Aber es sei möglich, in Beschäftigung zu wachsen und sich weiterzuqualifizieren. Er erwarte, dass sich jeder auf dem Arbeitsmarkt einbringe, in Vollzeit oder, wenn nicht anders möglich, in Teilzeit oder mit einem Minijob."

10: Immigration policies and integration. Does the article bring up the relationship between immigration policies or government actions and immigrant integration?

Example: "Dachau hofft wie viele Kommunen auf Hilfe aus Bayern und Berlin. An diesem Mittwoch treffen sich Bundeskanzler Olaf Scholz (SPD) und die Ministerpräsidenten der Länder zum ersten gemeinsamen Flüchtlingsgipfel. Denn nach der europäischen 'Richtlinie über vorübergehenden Schutz', werden nur jene Ukrainerinnen und Ukrainer anerkannt, die nachweisen können, erst nach Kriegsbeginn am 24."

Example: "So steht das in einer EU-Direktive, die auf Deutsch unter dem sperrigen Namen 'Massenzustrom-Richtlinie' bekannt ist. Sie wurde als Antwort auf die Fluchtbewegung nach dem Balkankriegen geschaffen, blieb in der

Flüchtlingskrise 2015 ungenutzt und soll jetzt Europas historische Antwort sein auf die vielleicht größte Flüchtlingswelle, die der Kontinent seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg erlebt."

Example: "Sofern Flüchtlinge aus der Ukraine keinen Asylantrag stellen, können sie sich nach Bewilligung der Aufenthaltserlaubnis auf Arbeitssuche machen. Direkt nach Ankunft sollten ukrainische Flüchtlinge das Online-Formular 'Selbstmeldungen von Kriegsflüchtlingsen aus der Ukraine' auf der Homepage des Landratsamts ausfüllen, dies ist auch in ukrainischer Sprache möglich."

I will provide you with a newspaper article, and you will determine whether it matches any of the above themes. Label each theme with a 1 if it occurs substantially in the article (2-3 or more sentences) and a 0 if not. For example, if only theme 3 is mentioned, your response should be: "Theme1": 0, "Theme2": 0, "Theme3": 1, If the

article is not primarily concerned with immigration, code all themes as 0s.

Your response should be structured like this: ["Theme1": 0, "Theme2": 0, "Theme3": 1,]

Do not include any output other than the JSON structured response. The newspaper article is below:

Poland:

Consider the following themes that may be present in newspaper articles. For each theme, I provide an explanation and then a few example texts embodying that theme.

1: Humanitarianism, empathy, and perspective-taking. Does the article portray immigrants as vulnerable victims of circumstance or focus on their poverty, victimhood, and lack of choice? Does the article attempt to make the audience see life from an immigrant's point of view? Does it provoke sympathy for immigrants?

Example: "Stwierdził, że 'politycy wszystkich krajów bardzo ogromnie nam dziekuja,

za to, co robimy dla Ukrainy'. Dla nich zrobili'smy cos', co wydawało się niemożliwe, nierealizowalne. Polacy przyjęli do swoich domów miliony rzeczywistych uchodźców ukraińskich. Bez żadnego tworzenia obozów, bez żadnych reguł, które sprawiały, że obudowuje się to administracyjnie – oceniał."

Example: "Przedstawiciele ONZ odwiedzili trzy lotniska na południu Polski i postanowili, że to właśnie w Pyrzowicach będą dowodzić wiekszość samolotów przywożących pomoc humanitarną dla walczącej z rosyjskim najazdem Ukrainy. Lotnisko w Pyrzowicach uczestniczy też w ewakuacji uchodźców, Od 28 lutego do 6 marca z lotniska odleciało 5428 cudzoziemców ewakuowanych drogą lądową z Ukrainy. Teraz jest ich ponad 7 tys., w tym 180 dzieci poniżej drugiego roku życia. Samoloty, które przylatują po uchodźców, przywożą pomoc humanitarną dla Ukrainy."

Example: "'Małżeństwo z siedmioletnim synem szuka pracy i dachu nad głową. Musieli uciekać z Ukrainy. Teraz mieszkają w samochodzie na granicy. Może ktoś pomóc?', 'Potrzebny ktoś z autem do pomocy z wydostaniem się z Kamieńca Podolskiego do granicy. To jedna kobieta i dwoje 14-letnich dzieci z porażeniem mózgowym. Jedno z dzieci jest na wózku', To tylko kilka z całej masy ogłoszeń, które pojawiają się na kolejnych grupach pomocowych. Odzew jest niemal zawsze natychmiastowy. Politycy gadają, pomagają zwykli ludzie."

2: Refugee status. Does the article describe immigrants as refugees, fleeing persecution or extreme poverty?

Example: "Taki niespodziewany sygnał byłby ogromną traumą dla tysięcy Ukraińców, którzy znaleźli u nas schronienie. Pamiętajmy, że w ostatnich tygodniach ukrywali się oni w swojej ojczyźnie przed bombami najazdów w piwnicach i schronach, a sygnał alarmowy za każdym razem przypominał im, że ich zdrowie i życie są realnie zagrożone. To działanie niszczące pracę mieszkańców wspólnot lokalnych na rzecz naszych gości oraz destrukcyjne dla pracy rzeszy psychologów i terapeutów od tygodni pracujących w celu zmniejszenia traum wojennych dzieci i

dorosłych, przebywających na terenie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej."

Example: "Nawet po wybuchu wojny w Donbasie w 2014 r. dla większości Ukraińców potencjalna wielkoskalowa agresja ze strony Rosji była raczej straszną wizją, niż realistycznym scenariuszem. Po 24 lutym br. wszystko się zmieniło. Rakiety docierają do najodleglejszych miejsc Ukrainy. Rosjanie często atakują obiekty cywilne, w tym szkoły, szpitale i przedszkola. Groźba nowej ofensywy z północy (z Białorusi) po-

zostaje realna i utrzymuje zachodnie części Ukrainy w permanentnym napięciu. Życie z ciągłymi alarmami przeciwlotniczymi i regularnymi atakami raketowymi jest zupełnie inne niż to, o jakim marzyli Ukraińcy."

Example: "Warszawskie parafie przyjmują uchodźców z Ukrainy, obie kurie udostępniły dla nich ośrodki rekolekcyjne, a księża otwierają plebanie. W warszawskich kościołach nie tylko modlitwy o pokój na Ukrainie i śpiewana na kolanach suplikacja "Święty Boże, święty mocny", ale też konkretna pomoc dla naszych sąsiadów zaatakowanych przez Rosję."

3: Health issues and threat of disease. Does the article relate issues of health and disease spread to immigration?

Example: "Jest ogromne ryzyko epidemii spowodowanej brakiem przestrzegania wymogów sanitarnych, uchodźcy sami mówią, że brzydzą się bractwo posiłki. Urząd wojewódzki nie jest w stanie dostarczyć nam podstawowych środków higieny, prosimy codziennie o klapki pod prysznic, setki osób myją się pod tym samym prysznicem i już mamy przypadki grzybicy. Wojewoda musi zagwarantować stałe dostawy tego typu produktów. Już są przypadki COVID (w tym koordynator wolontariuszy), nikt nie przestrzega reżimu sanitarnego."

Example: "Ośrodki dla cudzoziemców w woj. lubuskim kontrolowali posłanka Anita Kucharska-Dziedzic z Nowej Lewicy i Tomasz Aniszek z Zielonych. Oboje wyszli wstrząśnięci. Pokazywali mi swoje rany, blizny, chore oczy, chore zęby, opuchnięte

nogi. Niektórzy mają wysypkę skórna od stóp do głów."

Example: "Samorządowcy zrzeszeni w Ruch Samorządowy Tak Dla Polski nie zgadzamy się na umieszczenie w przygotowywanej ustawie o pomocy obywatelom Ukrainy paragrafu, który zwalnia z odpowiedzialności i gwarantuje bezkarność urzędnikom, którzy łamali prawo walcząc z pandemią Covid-19. Sam Duda na swoim profilu na Facebooku nie szczędzi też słów o „segregacji sanitarnej” i „covidowym terrorze”, czyli obostrzeniach, które miały na celu zmniejszenie liczby zakażeń. To opinie zbierane z różnymi profilami antyszczepionkowymi, które teraz rozpowszechniają, proklemlowską propagandę w sprawie Ukrainy."

4: Economic issues, resource scarcity, and threat. Does the article mention how immigration may lead to worse economic outcomes, such as job loss, lower salaries, or less access to public services for citizens?

Example: "Najpierw był nacisk na wzbudzenie chaosu i negatywnych emocji w społeczeństwie. Przez pogłoski, że zabraknie benzyny, żywności i że załame się polska gospodarka. Potem trendy się zmieniły i zaczęło straszyć uchodźcami – że zajmą miejsca w pracy i w szkołach, że będą się starć o 500+ i że przez nich będzie utrudniony dostęp do szpitali."

Example: "Po tym, jak uchodźcy z ogarniętej wojną Ukrainy zaczęli przyjeżdżać do Polski, konieczne okazało się zapewnienie im wszechstronnej pomocy, od wyżywienia, zakwaterowania po pomoc medyczną. Granicę przekracza bowiem sporo kobiet z dziećmi, część z nich jest w zaawansowanej ciąży."

Example: "Obiekty, nie tylko samorządowe, ale też prywatne, z noclegami dla uchodźców w Warszawie są już pełne. Ludzie przyjeżdżają do stolicy, podczas gdy wolne miejsca noclegowe są w innych miastach, i koczują na dworcu, bo państwo polskie nie istnieje i nie jest w stanie ich rozlokować w kraju. Jakby tego było mało, wszystko trzeba załatwiać sposobem albo się wyklócać. Pogotowie, mimo wezwania przez medyków, nie chciało przyjechać do ciężko chorej kobiety."

5: Issues of crime and violence. Does the article mention how immigration lead to increases in violence, crime, or physical insecurity? Does the article specifically talk about immigrants or foreigners committing crime or being terrorists?

Example: "Migranci płać tysiące euro za to, by znaleźć się w UE. Ogromne pieniądze zarabiają na tym przestępcy, wykorzystując szlaki, którymi szmuglowali dotychczas narkotyki. Ci ludzie przychodzą z rejonów, w których toczą się wojny. Część z nich może być uzbrojona."

Example: "Na Opolszczyźnie zauważono cztery takie zdarzenia., Pierwsze dotyczy września 2020 roku, kiedy w Dobrodzieniu zdemolowano cmentarz żydowski na ulicy Lublinieckiej. Wszystkie organizacje złożyły zawiadomienie do prokuratury o podejrzeniu popełnienia przestępstwa przez nieznaną osobę, polegającego na stosowaniu bezprawnej groźby wobec grupy osób [ci narodowej, tj. przestępstwa penalizowanego w art. 119 KK."

Example: "Pretekstów nie trzeba było szukać – wystarczyło choćby przypomnieć wczorajszego procesu w sprawie pobicia Pakistańczyka, napadniętego przez trzech mieszkańców jest muzułmaninem. Albo historie z Wielkanocnego poniedziałku, gdy na bar z kebabem napadło czterech przypakowanych mężczyzn, którali pracującego tam obywatela Bangladeszu, a później jeden Polak, a drugi ciskał krzesłami."

6: General instability and threat. Does the article connect political or societal instability to immigration? Does it use the size of immigration flows to provoke worry or fear (for example, "hordes of immigrants" or "massive immigration flows")?

Example: "Tresci, które mają wprowadzać w błąd, antagonizować, wzbudzać niechęć czy nienawiść pojawiają się głównie w komentarzach i na portalach społecznościowych od 24 lutego, kiedy wybuchła wojna w Ukrainie. Najnowsze fake newsy o preferencyjnym traktowaniu Ukraińców w szpitalach i masowo zjadających 500+ powstały na bazie dyskusji wokół specustawy, która jest procedowana w Sejmie i określa pomoc państwa dla uchodźców."

Example: "Z kolei migracja oficjalnie zmniejszyła populację o 0,9 mln osób, ale w

rzeczywistości aż 3,5 mln Ukraińców w wieku produkcyjnym było uważanych za migrantów zarobkowych, a 2,7 mln było niewidocznych dla systemu podatkowego, co oznacza, że duża część z nich mogła przebywać za granicą, nielegalnie."

Example: "Uchodźcy opowiadają o dantejskich scenach w kolejkach do przejść granicznych w Polsce. Potworzyły się mafie, policjanci i pogranicznicy są bezradni opowiada nam lekarz z Drohobycza. Na wejście lub wjazd do Polski Ukraińcy czekają w gigantycznych kolejkach. Według uciekinierów, z którymi rozmawiała wczoraj 'Wyborcza', kolejki samochodowe do Medyki i Krosćienka miały odpowiednio długość 30 km i 20 km. W pieszych stało 2 tys. i ponad 1 tys. osób."

7: Cultural replacement, incompatibility, and threat. Does the article mention how immigration may harm or replace the host country's culture and values? Does it state that immigrant values are incompatible with those of the natives?

Example: "Otoż to, co się dzieje z uchodźcami, nie jest w gestii naszego kraju., Przypomnij, że w tej relokacji naprawdę chodzi o dwa do czterech tysiący ludzi. Tymczasem – nie wspominając nawet o milionach Ukraińców, którzy tu są, ale dla prezesa mają własny kolor skóry – w Polsce jest około 100 tysięcy ludzi z innych krajów, którzy mają więcej pigmentu w skórze."

Example: "Patrik Nowakowski z KOD uderzał w hipokryzję. Przypominał, że Polska przyjęła 4 mln uchodźców z Ukrainy, często bez żadnych dokumentów. Na granicy kawałek dalej jest taki sam człowiek, ale jego nie przyjmujemy, tylko wyrzucamy do lasu albo zamykamy w obozie, bo ma inny kolor skóry i wyznaje inną religię. Najbardziej zawstydzające jest to, że polskie władze próbowały ich odczłowieczyć, pokazując spreparowane filmy i zdjęcia, które miały wskazywać, że uchodźcy gwałcą dzieci i zwierzęta powiedział Nowakowski."

Example: "W tej sprawie PiS wpadł we własne sidła. Pląca się na każdym kroku. Strasza uchodźcami z Afryki, a jeśli zapytać co np. z Koptami, którzy są przesładowani za to, że są chrześcijanami, oni wtedy mówią: 'A nie, tych

bierzemy!'"

Example: "Jednak model multikulturowy, który historycznie powstał we Francji z Arabami z Magrebu czy w Niemczech z Turkami, to coś zupełnie innego. Tego ludzie w Czechach nie chcą, tego się obawiają. O tym, kto tutaj będzie żył i mieszkał, powinniśmy decydować sami."

8: Cultural benefit. Does the article mention how immigration may contribute to cultural diversity, the arts, and society?

Example: "Dzieci muzułmańskie z osłodka dla uchodźców w Grotnikach malowały przed Wielkanocą pisanki i jadły szynkę, oczywiście drobiową, opowiadała licealistom Grażyna Suchocka ze Stowarzyszenia Ethnos. Pomagali im w tym przedstawiciele służby celnej i Grażyna Suchocka ze stowarzyszenia Ethnos, która pracuje z uchodźcami w osłodku w Grotnikach. O akceptacji dużej o moze opowiadać Grażyna Suchocka."

Example: "Czyli współistnieniu różnorodności w miłości do kraju i szacunku do siebie nawzajem. A nie odcinania wszystkiego, co nie jest wystarczająco ukraińskie i dążeniu do homogeniczności: w języku, religii, zwyczajach, kształtowaniu wspólnej historii. Ludzie są dobrzy i są zli, są chamy i są bohaterowie – takie powinny być kry-

teria. Żeby uświadomić sobie, jak ogromnym, a przez to zróżnicowanym krajem jest Ukraina, wystarczy sprawdzić, że z Doniecka do Lwowa jest tysiąc dwieście kilometrów."

Example: "Dezerter przyjechał do Kijowa w roku 1988, gdy Ukraina wciąż była częścią ZSRR być może z powodu pokrewieństwa z duchem ukraińskiego podziemnego oporu. Hütz zakończył swoją wiadomość patetycznie: 'Teraz już bardzo, bardzo długo Polacy i Ukraińcy będą się świetnie rozumieć. Dużo miłości i szacunku dla naszych tamtejszych przyjaciół i dla wszystkich Polaków, którzy już tak bardzo pomogli Ukrainie w walce z okupantem. Dziękuję polskim braciom i siostram! Na zdrowie & budmo!' ('budmo', czyli po ukraińsku

'dzieki')." "

9: Economic benefit. Does the article mention how immigration may improve economic conditions?

Example: "Przyjmujemy uchodźców wojennych z Ukrainy, przyjmujemy imigrantów zarobkowych. Ci ludzie żyją obok nas, prowadzą firmy, pracują na nasze emerytury. Natomiast nie możemy zapominać, że nasza gospodarka tych ludzi potrzebuje, i to bardzo."

Example: "Obecnie przy współpracy z Kieleckim Parkiem Technologicznym wsparciem objęliśmy 50 osób. Biorą udział w szkoleniach, korzystają z doradztwa gospodarczego. Podpowiadamy im, jak założyć działalność gospodarczą. Obserwowałem ukraińskie fora i zobaczyłem, że mnóstwo uchodźców – szczególnie kobiet – wzięło sprawy w swoje ręce. Wielu z nich prowadziło w Ukrainie swoje biznesy, mają koncepcje, czasem środki."

Example: "Na razie uczą się intensywnie naszego języka, zatrudniają się w centrach medycznych i wykonują prace, w których da się przeskoczyć ten element. Przyjechało do nas wielu psychologów czy pediatrów. Dobrze się złożyło, bowiem placówki medyczne już teraz zgłaszały nam chęć zatrudnienia ich, bo do szpitali trafiały dzieci po wypadkach czy z traumą wojenną."

10: Immigration policies and integration. Does the article bring up the relationship between immigration policies or government actions and immigrant integration?

Example: "'Wojewoda Mazowiecki zwrócił się do nas z prośbą o wskazanie miejsc na minimum 400 osób z przeznaczeniem na kwaterowanie uchodźców z Ukrainy. Az tylu miejsc nie mamy, ale gdyby zaistniała taka potrzeba, zapewnimy miejsca w internatach, domach pomocy społecznej, placówkach opiekuńczych dla mniejszej liczby osób' – odpowiada starosta płocki Sylwester Ziemkiewicz. 'Jako miejsce umożliwiający zakwaterowanie uchodźców został wskazany Hotel Olimpijski, który posiada niezbędną i adekwatną infrastrukturę, w tym sanitarną. Można pomieścić 80 osób' – odpowiada Paulina Rybczyńska, rzeczniczka prasowa Urzędu Miasta

Ciechanów."

Example: "Podobnie postępują ministrowie ds. wewnętrznych landów Niemiec graniczących z Czechami i Polską oraz jedna z partii opozycyjnych w Bundestagu. Chcą przywrócenia kontroli granicznych, które są przez nich tak lubiane, bo dają możliwość pokazania, kto tu rządzi."

Example: "'Cash for Work' to program zatrudnienia interwencyjnego uchodźców, w tym przypadku z Ukrainy. Miasto Białystok 20 kwietnia podpisało porozumienie z Fundacją Polskie Centrum Pomocy Międzynarodowej w zakresie realizacji programu w jednostkach oświatowych prowadzonych przez magistrat. W ramach 'Cash for Work' zawierane są umowy zlecenia z uczestnikami i porozumienia trójstronne."

I will provide you with a newspaper article, and you will determine whether it matches any of the above themes. Label each theme with a 1 if it occurs substantially in the article (2-3 or more sentences) and a 0 if not. For example, if only theme 3 is mentioned, your response should be: "Theme1": 0, "Theme2": 0, "Theme3": 1,

If the

article is not primarily concerned with immigration, code all themes as 0s.

Your response should be structured like this: ["Theme1": 0, "Theme2": 0, "Theme3": 1,]

Do not include any output other than the JSON structured response. The newspaper article is below:

E 8 Label Models Across Countries

In the following figures, I visualize the immigration media coverage of Brazil, Germany, and Poland using the more specific, 8 label specifications. While these show similar overarching trends as their corresponding figures in the main text, they allow for a more fine-grained look into the specific patterns making up each media coverage theme.

Figure 17: Brazilian Coverage of Venezuelans (8 Label)

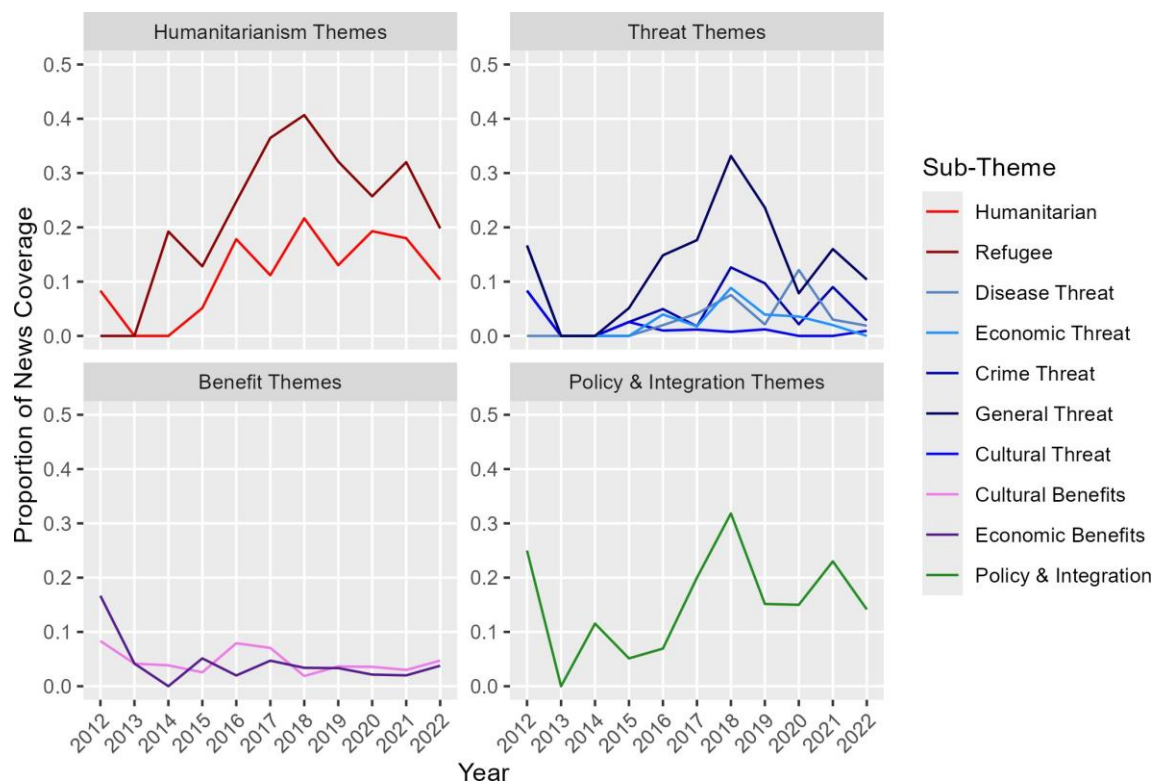


Figure 18: German Coverage of Syrians (8 Label)

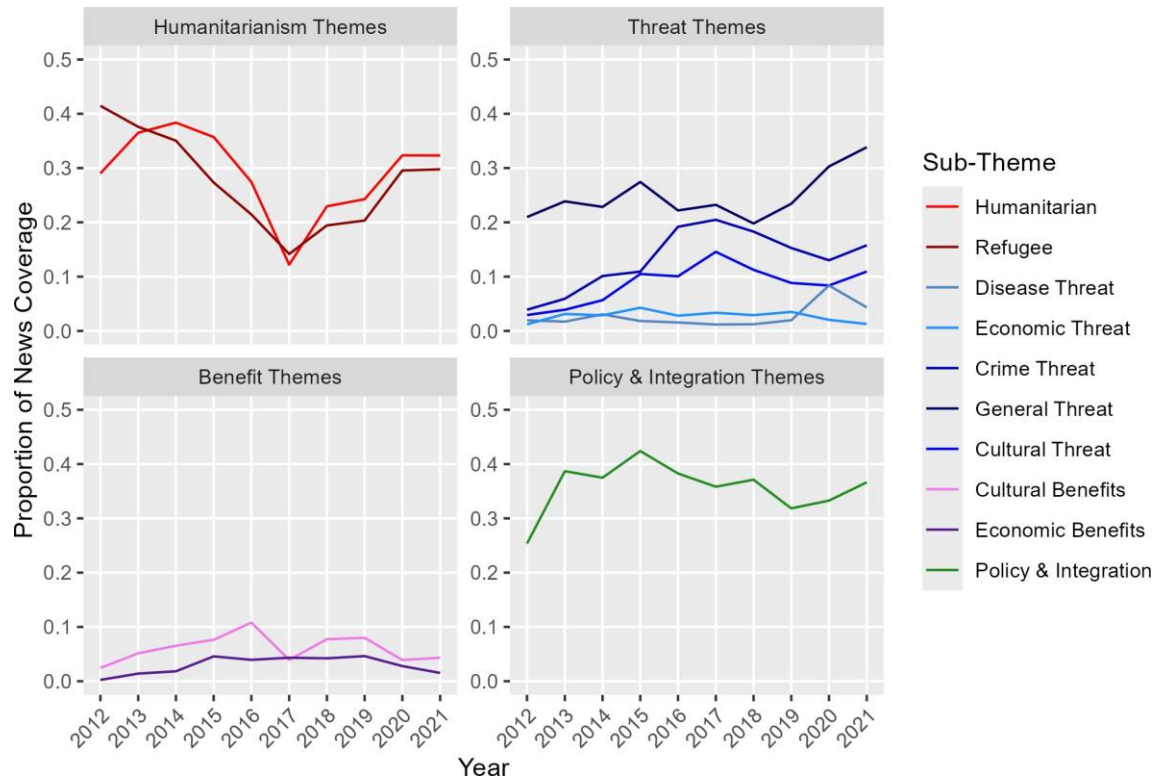


Figure 19: German Coverage of Ukrainians (8 Label)

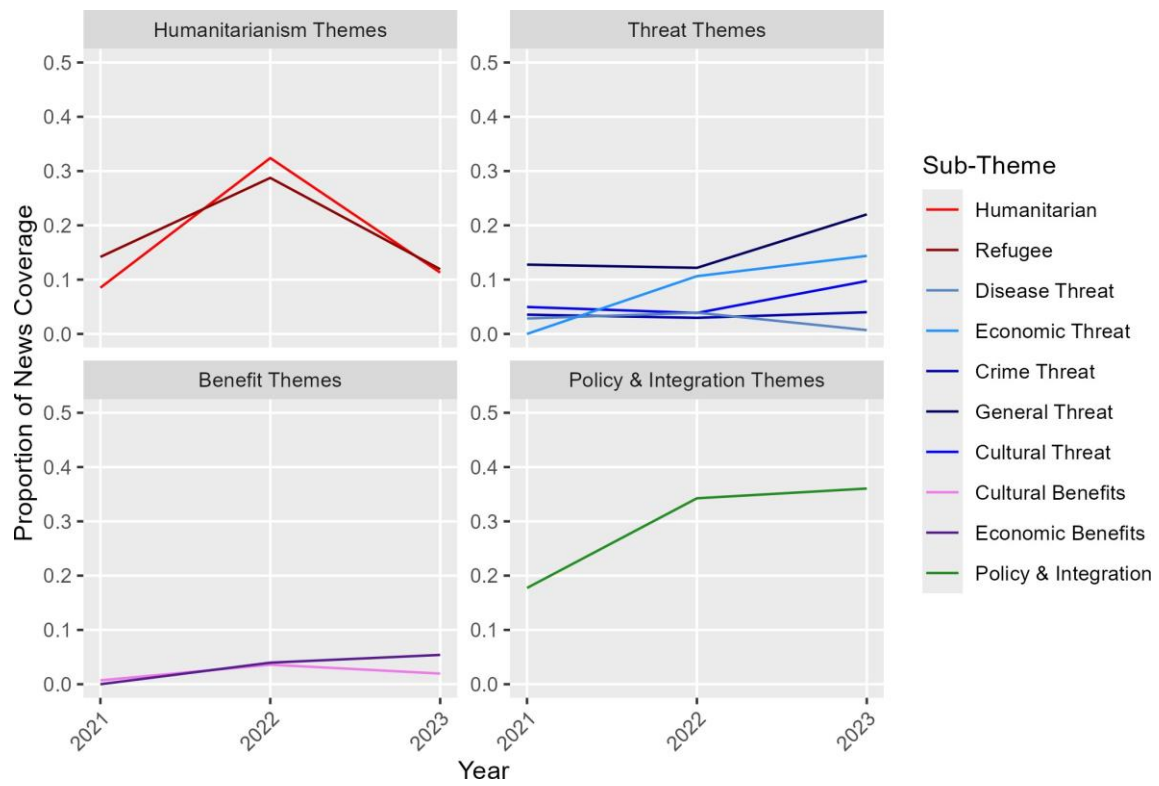
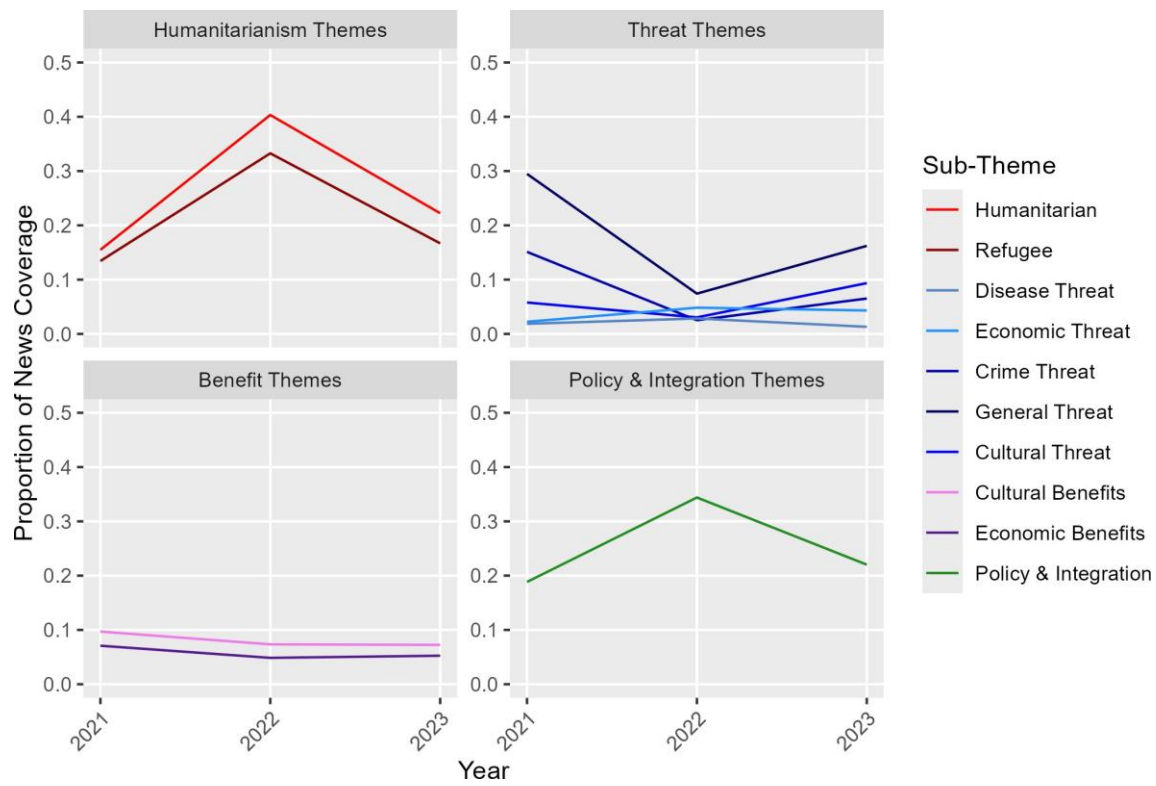


Figure 20: Polish Coverage of Ukrainians (8 Label)



F Media Coverage by Publisher

Finally, I exhibit how immigration media coverage varies in each country by publisher using the 4 label specification.

Figure 21: Colombian Coverage of Venezuelans by Publisher

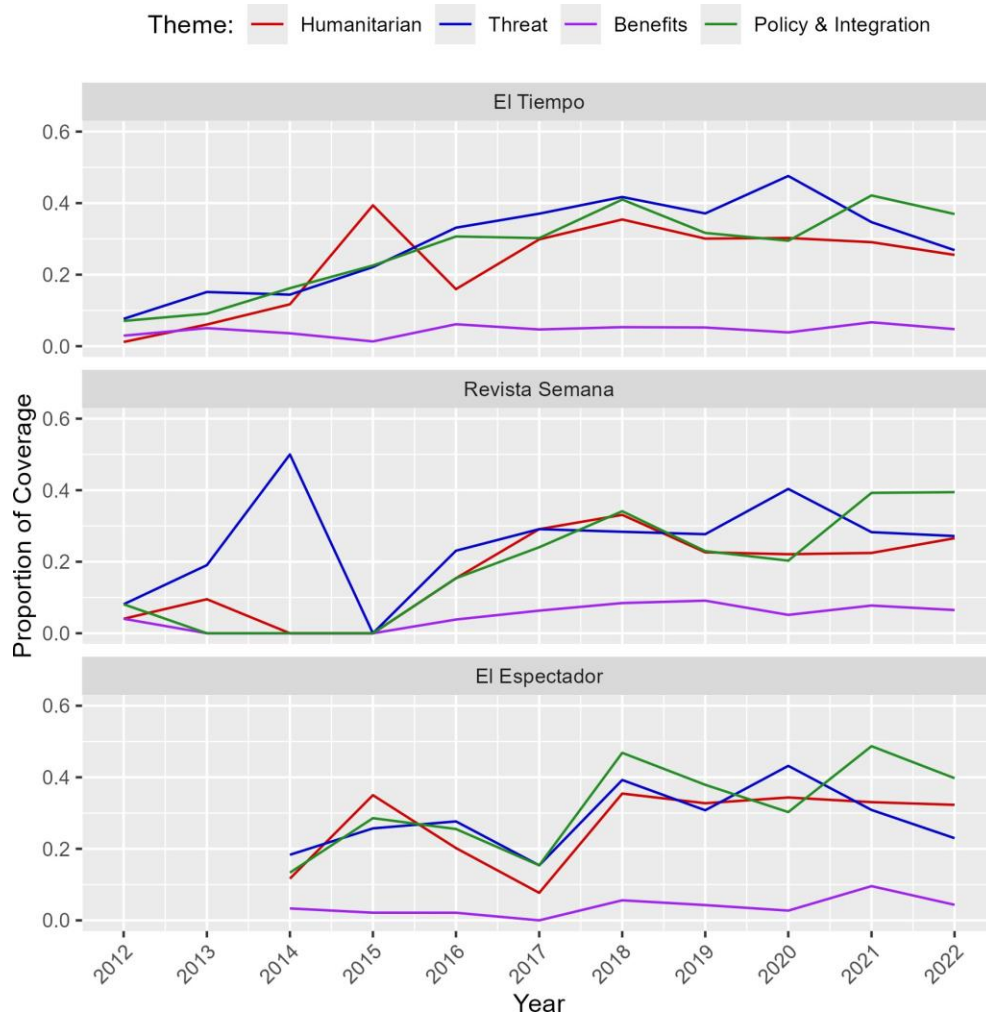


Figure 22: Brazilian Coverage of Venezuelans by Publisher

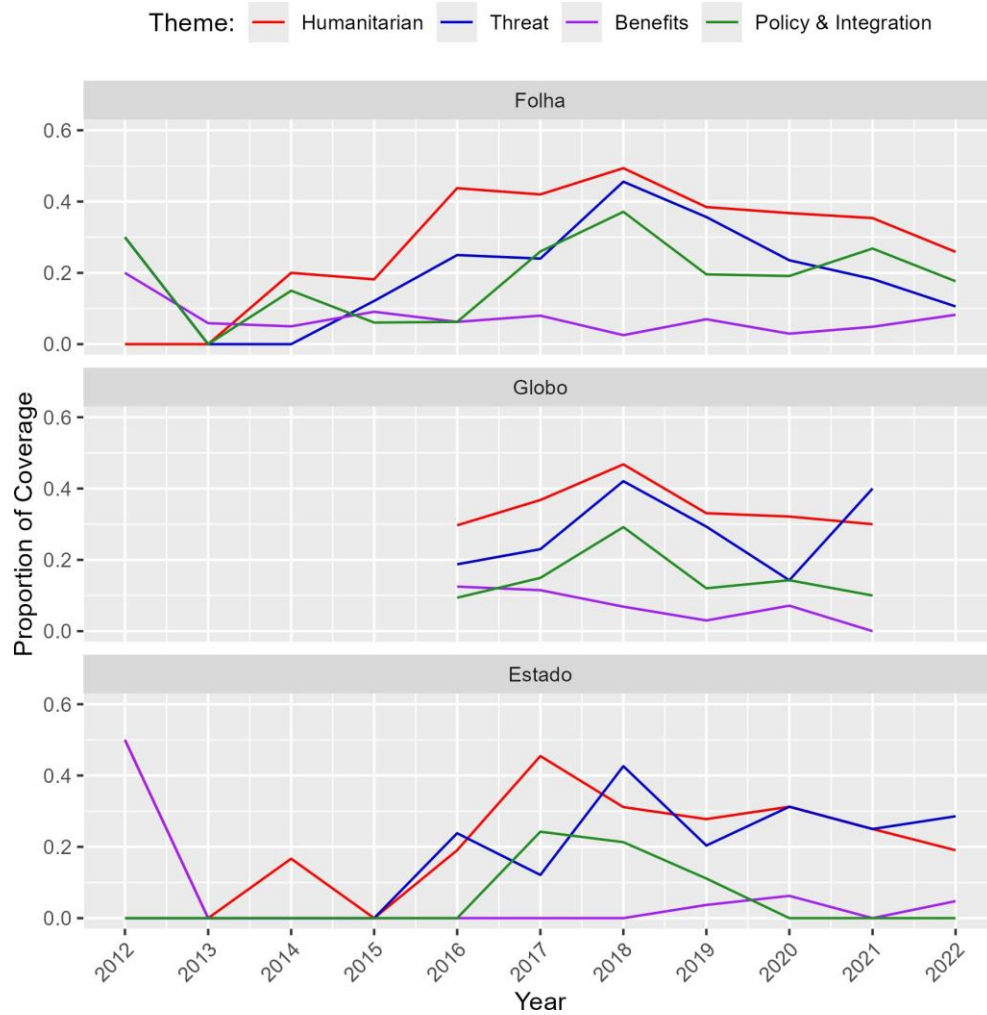


Figure 23: German Coverage of Syrians by Publisher

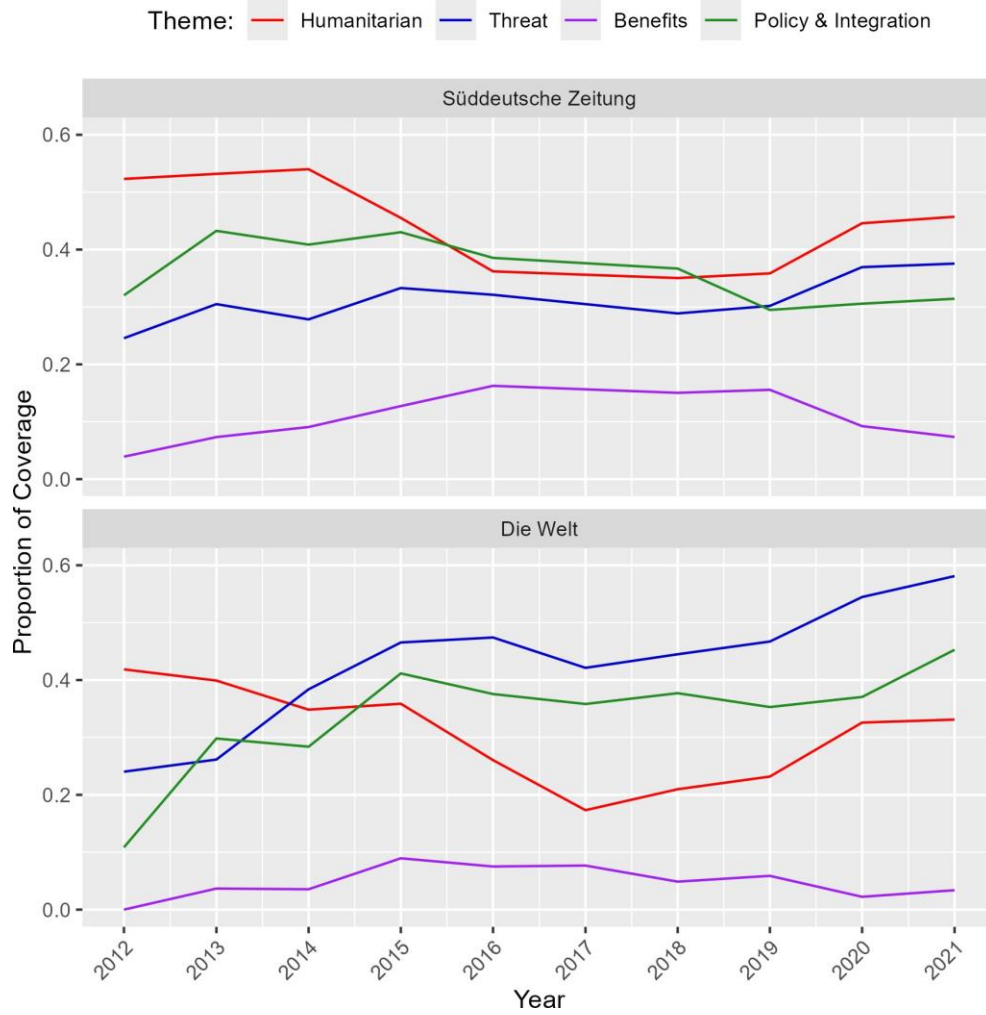


Figure 24: German Coverage of Ukrainians by Publisher

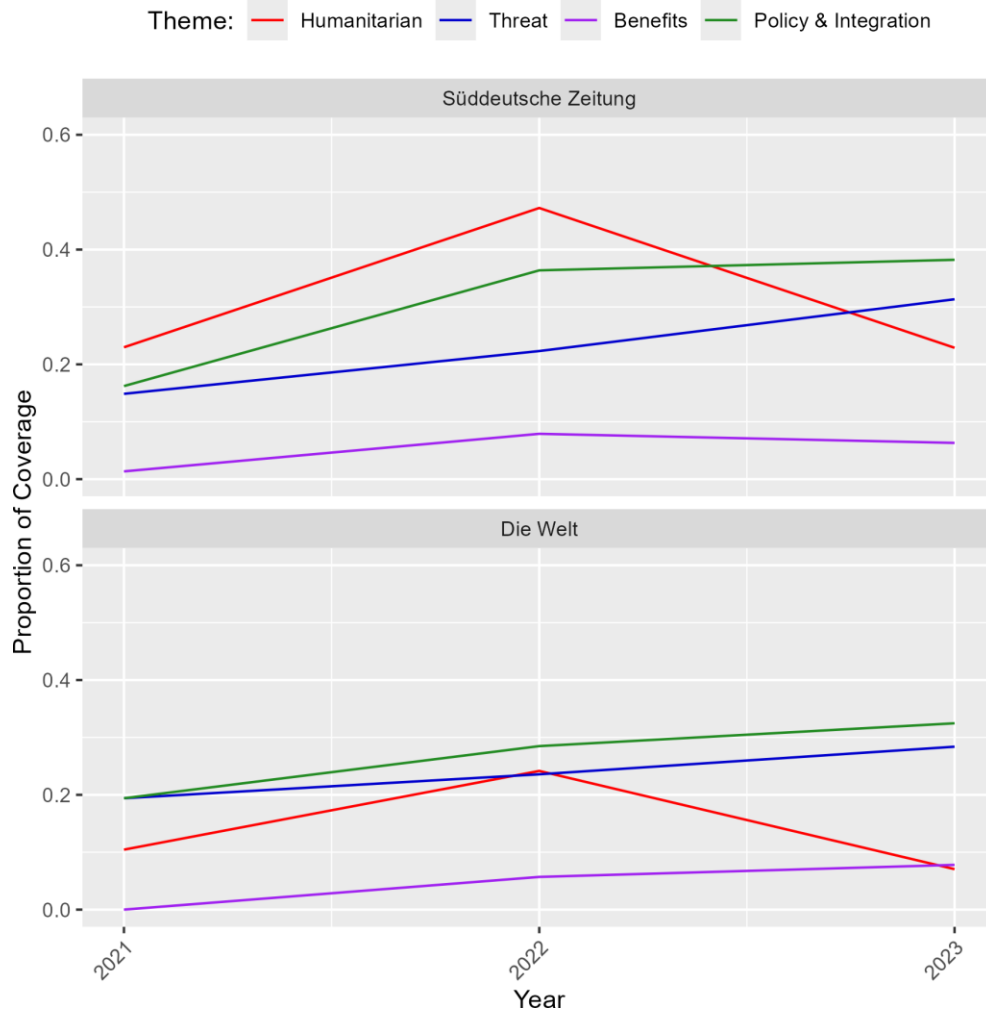
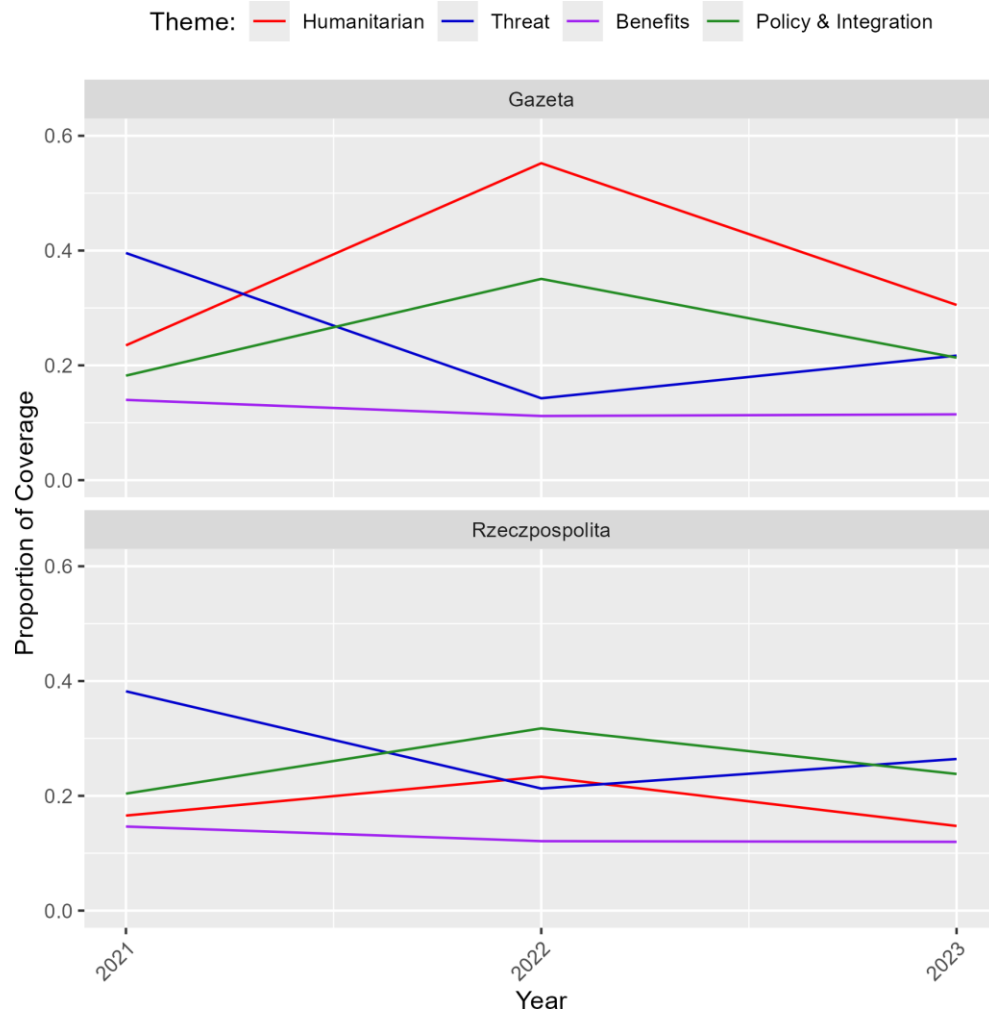


Figure 25: Polish Coverage of Ukrainians by Publisher



G Comparisons to Null Hypotheses

In this section, I display how coverage of Venezuelan migration to Colombia and Brazil compares with coverage of non-Venezuelan migration. I expect that the trends over time will not show any systematic patterns or major changes, as Venezuelan migration was the most pressing migration issue for both countries during this time period.

Figure 26 displays this comparison in Colombia. As expected, we see that Colombian coverage does not vary as dramatically in the non-Venezuelan coverage as it does in the Venezuelan coverage, providing evidence for systematic changes in the strategy of Colombian political and media elites in response to the extended shock of Venezuelan immigration.

Figure 26: Comparison of Venezuelan and Non-Venezuelan Coverage in Colombia

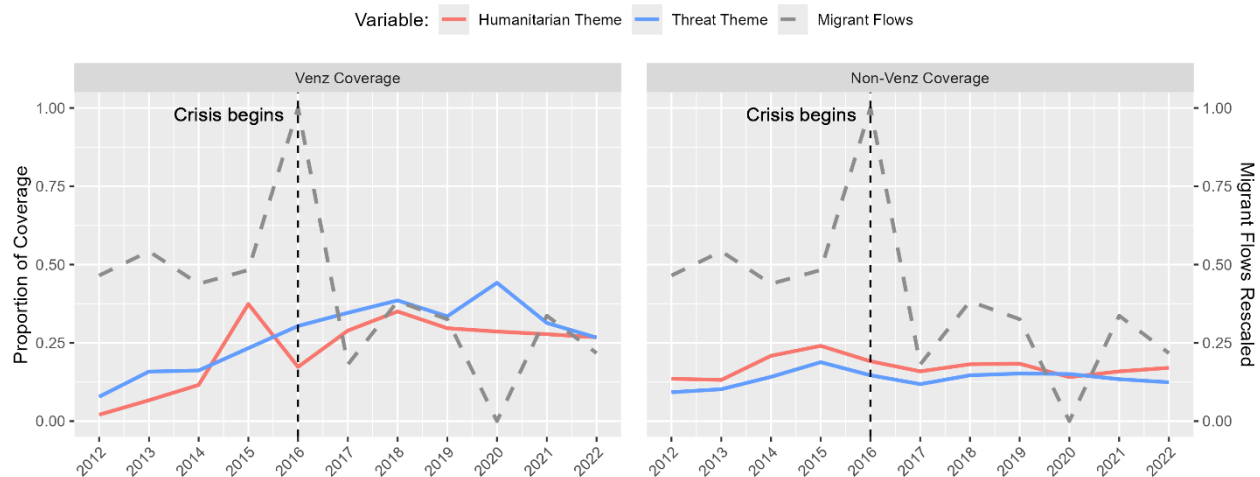


Figure 27 shows a similar comparison in Brazil, this time with subnational newspapers instead of the national newspapers displayed for Colombia in Figure 26. Again, there are systematic differences in the coverage of Venezuelan immigration, as non-Venezuelan newspaper coverage does not vary widely in its framing of immigration over time.

Figure 27: Comparison of Venezuelan and Non-Venezuelan Coverage in Brazil

