Sophia University Junior College Division Faculty Journal
第 43 号, 2022, 1-17

Opportunities for Empathy: Journalistic Accounts of Migration and Migration Crises

Chris Oliver

Abstract

This paper considers how journalistic writing, particularly in the form of news articles, serves to provide readers with opportunities to empathize with refugees, asylum seekers, and other migrants and displaced persons. Toward this end, the paper considers a number of articles on migration and migration crises published since the mid-2010s in three major, English-language news outlets: the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, and the *Guardian*. Examining how various articles incorporate migrants' voices and portray migrants' experiences of attempting to flee their home countries for a destination country or region, the paper shows how empathetic opportunities are tied most often to in-the-moment accounts of migrants' journeys, and less so the local cultural particularities that inform migrants' backstories.

Introduction

"This border is like a river of death." In a newspaper article, those are the words used by a Moroccan migrant to describe the thickly forested area between Belarus and Poland (Glensk & Vulliamy, 2021). He had walked for two nights through this border zone in an effort to enter Poland without being detected and captured by Polish border patrols. Like many other migrants in 2021, he had been attempting to make his way into the EU by way of the Belarus-Poland border. Those found by the Polish troops deployed to the border zone would be unceremoniously deported to Belarus, whose own guards would force migrants back into the forest, where some would spend weeks and some die (Henley, 2021; Morris & Dixon, 2021). Media reports on this migration crisis and others over the past several years have, at times, presented the more individually "human" aspects of migration crises, giving readers a sense of what it is that migrants go through in attempting to flee their home countries.

In this regard, it can be said that journalistic writing, particularly that found in news articles, provides readers with opportunities to learn about and in a sense vicariously experience what it is like to be a migrant or similarly displaced person in the

world today. Reporters regularly position themselves at sites where migration crises are unfolding, so as to not only provide description and analysis of the various geopolitical factors contributing to migration and migration crises, but to also present the stories at a more individual, human level. For those of us reading from afar, journalistic writing provides a readily accessible medium to learn about the experiences of migrants and even opportunities to empathize with them.

Yet the facilitation of empathy, through what could be called journalistic empathy, is no mean feat. Often enough, the words that migrants use to describe their experiences point to a realm of desperation and suffering that, for undoubtedly many readers including myself, is far removed from one's own world of lived experience. To what extent can most readers of a news article even begin to comprehend what it is like to have made one's way on foot through "a river of death"? Or, what it is like to have been kidnapped in the process of migrating and been held hostage for ransom, where the kidnappers "threatened to kill my son and sell his organs" (Lakhani, 2017)? Or, to be a newly married young man living in a refugee camp who can bluntly state "It's better to die without children in Syria than it is to bring children into the world as refugees" (Sullivan, 2013)? Such statements do offer a glimpse into the mindsets of displaced people, but they do not readily lend themselves to us putting ourselves in the shoes of the people who uttered them. This may be true for people like myself, having moved from one developed country and now residing in another, but also even for people whose parents fled their home countries under much more precarious circumstances. As one 14-year-old put it, referring to the manner in which her parents had left El Salvador for the U.S. in fear of gang-related violence, "I don't know how to connect to that" (Miller, 2018).

In this paper, my aim is to ascertain not whether or in what ways readers may actually empathize with the people described in media reports on migration crises, but instead how journalistic writing—particularly in the form of news articles—provides *opportunities* for readers to empathize with migrants and other displaced people.[1] By necessity, this entails examining how news articles variously draw close to the very people who are at the heart of migration crises: migrants themselves. It includes, for instance, how news articles incorporate individual migrants' stories and own words, how they depict migrants' motivations and reasoning behind their decisions to leave their home countries, and migrants' own narratives of and perspectives on the migration experience itself. Migrant activists and others sometimes serve as proxy voices for migrants, but it is most often migrants' own accounts of their in-the-moment difficulties

during their journeys—rather than the cultural or other influences shaping their backstories—that provide the points of opportunity for empathy.

Orientation to empathy

Empathy is a subject about which much has been written in the last decade or so from a variety of perspectives, including psychological (Davis, 2018), philosophical (Coplan & Goldie, 2011), educational (Henshon, 2019), anthropological (Hollan & Throop, 2008), and even biological (de Waal, 2009). In common parlance, empathy is often paraphrased as putting oneself "in the shoes" of another person, to see and feel things from the perspective of that other (e.g., Empathy Museum, n.d.). In academic literature, a distinction is often drawn between affective empathy and cognitive empathy, with the former referring to feeling the same emotions that another person is experiencing, and the latter indicating the taking of another person's perspective such that one can understand what that person is feeling (Shamay-Tsoory et al., 2009; Hoffman, 2011). Strictly speaking, empathizing does not mean aligning oneself with or taking the "side" of the other—e.g., one can empathize with someone who is ideologically opposed to one's own political views without ultimately agreeing with that person—and neither does it mean having feelings of pity or concern for someone in a difficult situation. Such reactions are better understood as sympathy and compassion (Young, 2012).

In recent years, there has also been a significant upswell in societal discourse on empathy. As I have discussed elsewhere, this is reflected in a pronounced increase in news articles explicitly referring to empathy (using the word itself), in training programs offered to corporate employees and medical practitioners, and in debates over immigration (Oliver, 2018). In popular discourse, empathy is generally characterized as a social and moral good, and a large amount of the popular literature on empathy is accordingly prescriptive in tone (e.g., Krznaric, 2014). Among journalists, too, empathy is talked about and sometimes advocated as an important element of professional journalistic practice (Bodin, 2021; Bui, 2018; Herman, 2016; Terceros, 2018). A "Journalism of Empathy" course at Northwestern University, for instance, offers to teach students to report in a way that "giv[es] voice to those without, introducing readers to people they otherwise would never have reason to meet" (Kotlowitz, n.d.). It should thus come as no surprise that news reporting on migration and migrant crises is often empathetic in tone.

In this paper, I use the term empathy in relation to journalistic writing dealing with

migrants and how the writing draws close to the lived experiences of migrants. This may variously include their state of mind when in the process of deciding and preparing to leave their home countries, or in some cases leave again from an intermediary country, the often perilous journeys they make in attempting to make their way to a destination country, and their struggles after making their way to a destination country, at times including their efforts to reunite with family members who did not make the journey themselves or who became separated *en route*. Rather than attempting to evaluate whether or to what extent a particular journalist, news article, or news outlet is empathetic or exhibits empathy, here I am interested in how the words and sentences used in the articles provide opportunities for readers to empathize with the migrants under discussion, how they provide a window to the particular circumstances and experiences of migrants such that readers might be able to put themselves in the "shoes" of those people.

Methodological considerations

Toward this end, the present study examines a number of English-language news articles from the last several years dealing with migrants, would-be migrants, and migrant crises. Apart from news articles, there are of course many types of media and channels of communication that give voice to migrants' experiences. These include novels, such as Dina Nayeri's *Refuge* (Nayeri, 2017), non-fiction books and long-form journalism (e.g., McDonald-Gibson, 2016), documentaries (e.g., Ingarasci & Temple, 2015), and reports from governments and other organizations (e.g., United Nations, n.d.). News articles, however, as short-form journalism, can exhibit empathetic perspectives accessible to a broad range of people without the investment in time and concentration needed to consume a novel or non-fiction book or watch a documentary. They provide a vehicle for empathetic opportunity that can be readily utilized by significant numbers of people.

The articles considered here were all drawn from three sources: the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, and the *Guardian*. All are news articles rather than opinion pieces, analysis-opinion essays, or photo- or audiovisual-based works appearing on news outlets' websites (e.g., Kirkpatrick, 2015; Ponomarev, 2015). Although the photos accompanying articles in some cases are more empathetically inclined than the written article content itself (e.g., Miroff & Sacchetti, 2021), I restrict my discussion to the written content. All articles were selected because they employ empathetic devices to a greater or lesser extent; thus, excluded were articles that discuss a refugee crisis only

in terms of, say, the political machinations of certain governments without attempting to draw close to the experiences of migrants themselves. Articles selected either came up organically in my own regular reading of the news or were found through online searches.[2] The three above-mentioned news outlets were chosen because of the presumed likelihood that they would provide articles suitable for the present study; no assertion is made that similarly empathetic articles are not also published by other news outlets. It is possible that certain news outlets may, by choice, be inhospitable to empathetic reporting, but it is not the purpose of the present study to ascertain the extent to which this is true.

Migration news without empathy

Among the many articles related to migration crises published by the three news outlets used for this study, the majority seem to be written from the premise that the essential story can be told without incorporating an empathetic touch. Many such news articles, after all, take as their subject matter the more broadly political, economic, and other factors at play in migration crises, including how developed countries have contributed or responded to them. A *New York Times* article, for instance, on the 2021 American withdrawal from Afghanistan and the desperation of many Afghans wishing to leave their country, focuses not on the would-be migrants themselves but on American public sentiment toward refugees and the unlikelihood that the U.S. government would back a mass resettlement effort (Jordan, 2021). Although one Afghan man, an interpreter who had worked with the U.S. military and who had been evacuated to the U.S., is briefly quoted, his voice is but a minor embellishment to the article. In many articles dealing with migration crises, migrants' experiences simply do not figure prominently.

In other cases, even when migrants do figure prominently, the apparent purpose of the article may limit the development of an empathetic tone. A *Washington Post* article features seven Afghan refugees in the United States from various walks of life. A section of the article is devoted to each person, with a photo portrait, a description of the person's background and route out of Afghanistan, and their views on the unfolding crisis in the country. One man stated, for instance: "'It's like you are watching the people you love the most in the world from afar and they are staring at the future, and there's nothing but a big, black void,' he said in tears. 'There is no hope'" (Villegas, 2021). The interviewees' words are sometimes almost poetic, sometimes more dryly analytical. Yet, as the overall thrust of the article seems to be to introduce a multiplicity of Afghan

voices so as to illustrate that there is no singularly "Afghan" perspective on the complex situation in the country, each person's view is simply introduced as a quotable snippet. With no attempt to inquire further into any one person's thoughts, the article briskly moves on to the next person profiled.

In a similar vein, in articles where the reporters were positioned close to where migration crises were unfolding on the ground and had first-hand access to migrants themselves, often the articles do not draw especially close to particular migrants. In a *Guardian* article on the 2021 migrant crisis developing on the Poland-Belarus border, a reporter at the border zone came face to face with a Syrian family that had just managed to slip through to the Polish side and, therefore, into EU territory. They begged not to be reported to police. The article initially describes them in a curiously detached, aloof manner, almost as if they were figures in a painting: "The infant was still, though not asleep. They looked like waxen figures, their faces blank, though one woman's face was covered in bruises" (Glensk & Vulliamy, 2021). The article goes on to give accounts from other migrants regarding that border zone, including one who said that the people in his group resorted to drinking water from mudpuddles after Polish guards refused them water. And yet, the article does not linger on any one migrant or migrant family in a way that might help allow readers to more fully grasp what that person or family had been through; instead it provides brief snapshots of various migrants' experiences of attempting to traverse the border zone.

In-the-moment empathy

Where news articles on migration seem to draw closest to migrants is in recounting their in-the-moment experiences of travel, especially crucial moments that were exceedingly difficult or where something went terribly wrong. The narratives are sometimes long and detailed and can be gut wrenching. "My wife and baby, they were dead," one man recalled, after losing his loved ones when the boat they had been on, in an attempt to migrate to Europe, capsized. "They drank the water of the ocean when the boat went down" (Alderman, 2016).

Stories dealing with migrants attempting to reach Europe by boat from northern Africa are rife with accounts of migrants paying large sums to smugglers promising to ferry them across the Mediterranean, only to find themselves on overcrowded, unseaworthy vessels, or even abandoned at sea with no shelter and insufficient provisions. From one article on Lebanese and Syrian migrants crowded by smugglers onto a small boat in Triploi:

> The smugglers collected the passengers' bags of clothing, food, water and phones and said it would all be carried in a second craft that would meet them a few miles offshore. No second boat ever appeared. For hours, and then days, they drifted without fuel in the searing sun.
>
> Mohammad Sofian, 21, was aboard with his pregnant wife and 2-year-old son. Without water, his wife was eventually unable to nurse the boy. After agonizing days, they gave him seawater to drink. On the fourth day, he died.
>
> "I wrapped him in clothing," said Sofian, who is now back in Tripoli with his wife. "After a few days, I put him over the side." (Hendrix & Durgham, 2020)

Although most readers surely have not experienced a similar journey or lost a young child in such a way, the article provides a detailed narrative of what the migrants on the boat were going through, creating an opening for readers to imagine what it was like to have been on the boat in that desperate predicament.

The article goes on to describe the actions of a 22-year-old man named Lisheen, who, after the boat had been adrift for a week and the situation had become increasingly desperate, went into the water to try to swim for help.

> Lisheen swam and floated for days, stung by jellyfish, bitten by unknown sea creatures. On two occasions, he said, he tried to let himself sink to oblivion, only to find himself floating again. (Hendrix & Durgham, 2020)

The article does not explicitly state what had been going through Lisheen's mind at the time, but the account nevertheless allows one to sense that the situation for him had gone beyond desperate, and that he was at this point willing to succumb to the ocean.

While it is typically interviews with migrants and their own narratives of their ordeals that provide the most gripping accounts of migration experiences, sometimes other people quoted in articles serve as proxy voices for migrants. At times this concerns the general character and motivations of migrants, such as expressed by the mayor of a Polish town near the Belarus border: "These people are not criminals and have not disturbed order in any way in my town. They are peaceful, desperate people who just want to cross to a better life" (Higgins, 2021). In other cases, activists and others working on behalf of migrants describe aspects of migration that, most likely, only migrants themselves have experienced. An emergency medical worker in Poland, for

instance, described the migration on foot through the forested border region thus: “It was pitch black, in a densely forested area, with everyone trying to navigate through the darkness by holding on to each other,” adding that the migrants she had encountered were “scared, hungry, and cold” after having spent four nights in the forest (Henley, 2021).

In some articles on migrants, it is actions of parents toward or on behalf their own children that provide windows of opportunity to empathize. One article features a Haitian man named Jeff Pierre, father to a young son, and his efforts to flee the dire circumstances in Haiti. He had paid $250 for a risky trip by sea that he hoped would take him to the United States, where he could find work and provide for his family from afar. After four days into the journey, with the boat adrift on the ocean and taking on water, the captain apprised his passengers of their fate:

> There was nothing but darkness around them. Darkness and desperation.
>
> “We are lost,” the captain told four dozen men, women and children squeezed tightly together on a flimsy wooden boat somewhere in the Caribbean Sea. “There is no hope.”
>
> Jeff Pierre thought of the 2-year-old son he left back in Haiti. He imagined what it would be like for the boy to grow up without a father and started crying. (Mérancourt & Villegas, 2021)

Here, by way of the man’s recollections of that attempt to leave Haiti, the article provides a glimpse of the interiority of the man as he imagined himself dying at sea and leaving behind a child with no father. His concern for the boy is palpable, even if the prospect of dying adrift at sea is likely far less easy for readers to relate to.

In other cases, in-the-moment acts of parental care provide opportunities to empathize. In one article an Afghan woman, whose toddler daughter had been trampled to death at the Kabul airport in the chaotic final days of the American occupation of the country, recalled how she had earlier told her daughter that the gunshot sounds they could both hear were firecrackers rather than weapons, and how her daughter had been so brave whenever they heard the sound of “crackers” (Zucchino, 2021). Although the situation was far more dire than what most readers have themselves likely experienced, the act of a parent telling a white lie to her child to soothe her fears is something that many parents can likely relate to.

Another article features an Afghan man residing in the U.S. who had ended up in

a desperate predicament when his wife and children, who had made a return trip to Afghanistan to visit family, found themselves unable to leave as the American military withdrew from the country. In an earlier video chat that the man recounted to the reporter, the man's young son had begged his father to save them:

> "Why can't you just buy a plane to bring us home? When will you buy this plane for us?" the 4-year-old had asked.
>
> "He thinks it is a decision I've made not to bring him," Mohammad said with a sigh. As horrible as it made him feel as a father, he decided it was better than explaining to his son the danger surrounding them.
>
> "I told my son, 'I am collecting my money now. I will let you know when I have enough for the plane.'" (Wan, 2021)

Here as well, although the grave situation itself is likely to be far removed from the direct experiences of most readers, the man's act of lying to his son in order to not worsen the boy's fears is an act of fatherly concern that those of us who are parents can perhaps readily relate to and empathize with. While it may certainly be difficult to empathize with the totality of a migrant's experiences in such extreme situations, the parental acts of devotion revealed in articles about them is something that readers can more easily identify with; we can perhaps see ourselves doing the same thing for our own children.

Backstory empathy

While news articles can thus provide opportunities to empathize through in-the-moment descriptions of immigrants' ordeals, they less often seem to provide an empathetic take on migrants' backstories—e.g., their motivations for migrating, their thought processes at the time of resolving to undertake a journey that could well be perilous, their rationales for undertaking the journey alone versus together with other family members, or their feelings about leaving behind a social world of family, friends, and others. To an extent, this may result from the fact that one major concern amid migration crises is the immediate hazards that migrants face as well as the potential for the loss of lives. Migration crises are accordingly often regarded by Oxfam, Doctors Without Borders, and other relief agencies as humanitarian crises calling for responses that treat migrants first and foremost as fellow human beings.

Many news articles do address in fairly broad terms the political, economic, and

other factors fueling surges in migration. A *New York Times* article, for instance, on the mass deportation of Haitians trying to enter the U.S. refers to an overlapping set of problems driving many Haitians to flee their country, including widespread impoverishment, political instability resulting from the assassination of the country's president in July 2021, and a devastating earthquake a month later that left hundreds of thousands in need of emergency assistance (Isaac & Porter, 2021). A *Guardian* article discusses the surge in migrants seeking to enter the EU through Belarus in terms of the Belarusian government actively encouraging migrants from the Middle East to enter the country and cross through the border with Poland, thus deliberately provoking an EU migration crisis as a means to exact revenge for sanctions that had been imposed by the EU (Tondo & Chulov, 2021).

Overall, however, in the articles considered for this study, far less attention is devoted to migrants' own voices considering their particular backstories, and where they are taken up, it tends to be with little probing. In a 2018 article on the thousands-strong convoy of Central Americans traveling together on foot in hopes of making their way into the U.S., the reporter seems to have briefly talked with one woman who was walking with her two five-year-old grandsons in tow:

> Orellana did not seem equipped for such an epic journey: her only luggage was a shoulder bag with a few clean clothes; on her feet, she wore a pair of ageing espadrilles.
>
> But she said she had no choice: the boys' father was murdered, and no one would employ a 65-year-old domestic worker. "I can't feed them any more," she said, gesturing at the two boys. "I'm too old. I can't get a job."
>
> So she was heading to Texas to be reunited with her daughter, who migrated from their home in northern Honduras three years ago in search of work. She had written her daughter's phone number on her hand so she wouldn't lose it. (García, 2018)

The exchange with the reporter seems to have been brief, and while it provides a glimpse into the woman's motivations for deciding to migrate, it leaves it up to readers to fill in what is unstated about the woman having "no choice": e.g., that she was without a support network of extended family or others who could help provide for her grandchildren, that her daughter had migrated before due to poverty, that she did not view other Central or South American countries as viable migration destinations, and

so on. There is no mention of whether the woman's daughter was residing legally in the U.S., in which case her view on the prospect of an extraordinarily long migration on foot might be brightened by the hope that there could be legal channels available to facilitate the reunion with her daughter in Texas. Such gaps in the woman's backstory, while certainly not crucial to the telling of a news article, may nevertheless limit the way in which it serves to invite readers to empathize with the woman.

Omissions related to migrants' backstories, while easy enough to skim over, can provoke questions that some readers may find disconcerting or even alienating. A *New York Times* article features an Iraqi Kurdish man, Karwan, who had been attempting with his family to make their way through the heavily patrolled border zone into Poland. Here, the article states, he faced a wrenching choice: whether or not to request urgent medical care from the Polish side for his ailing two-year-old daughter, which would alert Polish authorities to the group's presence and could well jeopardize their journey. "Worried that his ailing daughter and others in the group might not survive," the article states, "Karwan decided it would be best to seek medical help" (Higgins, 2021). One thing that struck me when reading this episode is that while the man had been traveling with his family, presumably including his wife, there is no mention of a wife and the decision about how best to deal with the child's medical issues is presented as a choice for Karwan alone. Was not the child's mother involved in deciding such an important matter, as would surely be the case in many readers' families? The article at once seems to invite empathy for Karwan and "[t]he choice for the father" that he faced, while leaving unaddressed the role and status of the child's mother.

Such omissions related to migrants may be tied to cultural, religious, or ideological issues that reporters or news outlets are reluctant to delve into, either because they require excessive additional words to describe adequately or because they detract from the presumably more newsworthy content of the story. One exceptional article in this regard appeared in the *New York Times* and profiled a 23-year-old Senegalese man named Samba Thiam who was on the verge of becoming a Europe-bound migrant. With his brother having drowned the year before in an attempt to reach Europe, Thiam was now considering whether he himself should try to migrate as well. Even at the young age of 23, Thiam was now the oldest male in the family, the article tells us, and as such was now "expected to support his brother's widow and three daughters, not to mention his mother and his own wife and son" (Searcey, 2016). While the article does not directly state that this is a culturally rooted expectation, readers can infer that it is so. Unable to provide for all these people by working his small farm, he moved 400 miles away from

his home village to Dakar in hopes of finding work. If unable to do so, he said, he would attempt the risky journey to Europe. Another man, sharing a crowded room with Thiam in Dakar, summed up their predicament thus:

> "If you don't have money in our society, they don't even see you as human. If your kids come to you and want even just one dollar and you can't give it to them, you are ashamed. What if your parents need something and you can't support them? At a certain point you become overwhelmed with bitterness. To take the risk will be better than doing nothing. Even if you die, it's worth the risk." (Searcey, 2016)

Here as well, this expression of what compels these Senegalese men to migrate, even knowing that it could cost them their lives, would appear to reflect local cultural sensibilities about the responsibility of men to provide for their extended family. Accounts such as those appearing in this *New York Times* article help provide a fuller picture of the motivations and inner dialog informing individual migrants' decisions to migrate, and thereby invite readers to empathize with them. At the same time, articles that delve into local cultural particularities may throw into relief to some readers that they are inescapably unlike the people they are reading about in certain ways. Drawing close to migrants, particularly concerning their culturally shaped backstories as opposed to their in-the-moment experiences of hardship and suffering while traveling, paradoxically can expose differences that may not be bridged so easily by readerly empathy.

Empathetic restraint

As I have discussed elsewhere, in societal discourse today empathy is widely characterized "as a basic social good—as something that is intrinsically tied to bringing about positive effects in our relations with others" (Oliver, 2018, p. 5), whereby a lack of empathy or failure to empathize is often depicted as a moral, human shortcoming. In this paper I have attempted to highlight some of the ways that journalistic writing on migrants and migration crises may provide opportunities to empathize, but it is not my intention to suggest that highly empathetic news articles on migrants are necessarily "better" than those that are less so, or to advocate a more empathetic tack in journalistic writing. Indeed, empathetic restraint may be the more morally defensible choice in some cases. This is not because I believe that empathizing with others has a detrimental effect

on our ability to think rationally about socially charged issues, as some have argued (most notably Bloom, 2016), but because the interlocutory work required to attain empathy has the potential to harm vulnerable others.

Consider the example of a group of Honduran migrants, mentioned briefly in the introduction to this paper, who were kidnapped and held for ransom. The group of five—a mother with her 15-year-old daughter and eight-year-old son, as well as two adult male neighbors—were ambushed by several men with guns while walking along a road. They were subsequently stripped, beaten, and held captive. The mother and daughter were both raped. With the mother having left Honduras with only $30 in her possession, the group was forced to provide phone numbers of relatives at home who could be contacted for ransom payments. The mother later recounted, after her brother had paid a ransom and they had all been released: "They said they would kill us and our families if we told anyone. We're terrified – my son cannot get what happened out of his head" (Lakhani, 2017).

While the article as written provides a gripping, horrifying account, a reporter with access to the victims *could* have plied them with further questions about the ordeal and its aftermath. Doing so could conceivably result in a more richly descriptive report on the trauma those migrants experienced and the psychological scars it may have left them with, thus allowing readers to more fully put themselves in the migrants' shoes. Yet, while pressing the mother to relive the experience and to reveal her innermost thoughts and feelings about it could have resulted in a more "empathetic" written account through which readers could vicariously experience what the migrants had gone through, this would likely have come at the cost of inflicting further harm on a woman already in a highly vulnerable position. Empathetic restraint may thus be the more morally sound choice when questioning and writing about displaced persons and others in states of vulnerability.

Notes

[1] For the sake of simplicity, hereafter I will use the term migrants as a shorthand for refugees, asylum seekers, would-be illegal immigrants, and other similarly displaced people who are routinely the subjects of migration crises in recent years.

[2] In the process of selecting articles to use for this paper, I read dozens of articles related to migration published since the mid-2010s. In the end, approximately 20 are cited in the discussion herein.

References

Alderman, L. (2016, April 22). Survivor tells of Mediterranean sea disaster that may have killed 500 migrants. *New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/22/world/europe/survivor-tells-of-sea-disaster-that-may-have-killed-500-migrants.html

Bloom, P. (2016). *Against empathy: The case for rational compassion*. Bodley Head.

Bodin, M. (2021, June 11). *Empathy as the prime directive in writing about displaced people*. Nieman Storyboard. https://niemanstoryboard.org/stories/empathy-as-the-prime-directive-in-writing-about-displaced-people/

Bui, P. K. (2018, April 26). *The empathetic newsroom: How journalists can better cover neglected communities*. American Press Institute. https://www.americanpressinstitute.org/publications/reports/strategy-studies/empathetic-newsroom/

Coplan, A., & Goldie, P. (Eds.). (2011). *Empathy: Philosophical and psychological perspectives*. Oxford University Press.

Davis, M. H. (2018). *Empathy: A social psychological approach* (1st edition). Routledge.

de Waal, F. (2009). *The age of empathy: Nature's lessons for a kinder society*. Crown.

Empathy Museum. (n.d.). *A mile in my shoes*. Empathy Museum. https://www.empathymuseum.com/a-mile-in-my-shoes/

García, J. A. (2018, October 18). One step at a time: Desperate families join migrant caravan. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/oct/18/one-step-time-desperate-families-migrant-caravan-us-border-america

Glensk, U., & Vulliamy, E. (2021, November 7). On the frozen frontiers of Europe with the migrants caught in a lethal game. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/nov/07/on-the-frozen-frontiers-of-europe-with-the-migrants-caught-in-a-lethal-game

Hendrix, S., & Durgham, N. (2020, September 26). Fleeing chaos and hardship, Lebanese have begun braving perilous seas. *Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/lebanon-crisis-migrants-refugees/2020/09/25/246295fc-fe4c-11ea-b0e4-350e4e60cc91_story.html

Henley, J. (2021, October 31). "People treated like weapons": More deaths feared at Poland-Belarus border. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/oct/31/poland-belarus-border-migrants-deaths

Henshon, S. E. (2019). *Teaching empathy: Strategies for building emotional intelligence in today's students* (1st edition). Routledge.

Herman, M. (2016, July 6). *Why reporting on refugee crises requires empathy for mental*

health issues. Columbia Journalism Review. https://www.cjr.org/first_person/refugee_crisis_mental_health_journalism.php

Higgins, A. (2021, October 6). An asylum seeker's wrenching choice: Stay on the run or save his child's life. *New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/06/world/europe/poland-belarus-border-crisis.html

Hoffman, M. L. (2011). Empathy, justice, and the law. In A. Coplan & P. Goldie (Eds.), *Empathy: Philosophical and psychological perspectives* (pp. 230–254). Oxford University Press.

Hollan, D., & Throop, C. J. (2008). Whatever happened to empathy?: Introduction. *Ethnos*, *36*(4), 385–401.

Ingarasci, Z., & Temple, C. (2015). *Salam neighbor* [Documentary]. http://salamneighbor.org/

Isaac, H., & Porter, C. (2021, September 19). Haiti protests mass U.S. deportation of migrants to country in crisis. *New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/19/world/americas/us-haitian-deportation.html

Jordan, M. (2021, August 21). 50 years after Vietnam, thousands flee another lost American war. *New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/21/us/refugees-history-afghanistan.html

Kirkpatrick, N. (2015, September 8). Photos by refugee children: How their spirits shine through. *Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2015/09/08/through-the-eyes-and-cameras-of-syrian-refugee-children-the-story-of-life-in-the-camps/

Kotlowitz, A. (n.d.). *Journalism of empathy*. Medill School of Journalism, Media, Integrated Marketing Communications, Northwestern University. Retrieved November 25, 2021, from https://www.medill.northwestern.edu/journalism/undergraduate-journalism/curriculum/journalism-of-empathy.html

Krznaric, R. (2014). *Empathy: Why it matters, and how to get it*. Perigee.

Lakhani, N. (2017, February 2). Mexican kidnappers pile misery on to Central Americans fleeing violence. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2017/feb/21/mexico-kidnappings-refugees-central-america-immigration

McDonald-Gibson, C. (2016). *Cast away: True stories of survival from Europe's refugee crisis*. The New Press.

Mérancourt, W., & Villegas, P. (2021, November 20). As Haiti's crisis worsens, a rising number flee by sea: 'There is nothing for me here.' *Washington Post*.

https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2021/11/20/haiti-dangerous-sea-voyages/

Miller, J. (2018, October 2). American girl: A story of immigration, fear and fortitude. *Washington Post Magazine*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/magazine/wp/2018/10/02/feature/a-14-year-old-prepares-for-life-without-her-immigrant-parents/

Miroff, N., & Sacchetti, M. (2021, March 22). Migrant teens and children have challenged three administrations, but Biden faces rush with no precedent. *Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2021/03/22/unaccompanied-minors-immigration-obama-trump-biden/

Morris, L., & Dixon, R. (2021, September 3). Trapped between Poland and Belarus, 32 Afghans—and their cat—have become symbols of Europe's new border crisis. *Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/afghan-refugees-poland-belarus/2021/09/03/396c2fe0-0c00-11ec-a7c8-61bb7b3bf628_story.html

Nayeri, D. (2017). *Refuge*. Riverhead Books.

Oliver, C. (2018). The social terrain of "empathy": A preliminary consideration. *Sophia University Junior College Division Faculty Journal*, *39*, 1–14.

Ponomarev, S. (2015, September 16). Desperation and conflict in the migrant crisis. *New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/slideshow/2015/09/16/world/europe/desperation-and-conflict-in-the-migrant-crisis.html

Searcey, D. (2016, June 16). Desperation rising at home, Africans increasingly turn to risky seas. *New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/17/world/africa/african-migrants-mediterranean-sea.html

Shamay-Tsoory, S. G., Aharon-Peretz, J., & Perry, D. (2009). Two systems for empathy: A double dissociation between emotional and cognitive empathy in inferior frontal gyrus versus ventromedial prefrontal lesions. *Brain: A Journal of Neurology*, *132*, 617–627.

Sullivan, K. (2013). *Wedding day: Samah al-Saud*. Washington Post. http://www.washingtonpost.com/sf/syrian-refugees/2013/12/02/wedding-day/

Terceros, B. A. (2018, November 7). *How can we tell migrants' stories better? Here are 10 ways*. Bright. https://brightthemag.com/ways-to-tell-migrant-stories-better-journalism-caravan-refugees-immigration-journalism-c0d006dcaacd

Tondo, L., & Chulov, M. (2021, November 12). Tourist visas and flights from Syria—the route to Europe via Belarus. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2021/nov/12/its-risky-but-ill-go-anyway-migrants-desperate-to-reach-europe-via-belarus

United Nations. (n.d.). *Refugees and migrants*. Retrieved November 27, 2021, from https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/

Villegas, P. (2021, August 18). Afghan refugees in U.S. despair from afar: "There is no hope." *Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2021/08/18/afghan-immigrants-us-reaction/

Wan, W. (2021, August 24). He took his wife and kids to Afghanistan one last time. Now he can't get them out. *Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/dc-md-va/2021/08/24/philadelphia-family-afghanistan-airport/

Young, A. (2012). Empathetic cruelty and the origins of the social brain. In S. Choudhury & J. Slaby (Eds.), *Critical neuroscience: A handbook of the social and cultural contexts of neuroscience*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Zucchino, D. (2021, August 21). Desperation as Afghans seek to flee a country retaken by the Taliban. *New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/21/world/asia/afghanistan-kabul-fear-taliban.html