Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries

In 2014, more than 200,000 refugees and migrants fled for safety across the Mediterranean Sea. Crammed into overcrowded, unsafe boats, thousands drowned, prompting the Pope to warn that the sea was becoming a mass graveyard. The early months of 2015 saw no respite. In April alone more than 1,300 people drowned. This led to a large public outcry to increase rescue operations.

Throughout this period, UNHCR and other humanitarian organisations, engaged in a series of largescale media advocacy exercises, aiming at convincing European countries to do more to help. It was crucial work, setting the tone for the dramatic rise in attention to the refugee crisis that followed in the second half of 2015.

But the media was far from united in its response. While some outlets joined the call for more assistance, others were unsympathetic, arguing against increasing rescue operations. To learn why, UNHCR commissioned a report by the Cardiff School of Journalism to explore what was driving media coverage in five different European countries: Spain, Italy, Germany, the UK and Sweden.

Researchers combed through thousands of articles written in 2014 and early 2015, revealing a number of important findings for future media advocacy campaigns.

Most importantly, they found major differences between countries, in terms of the sources journalists used (domestic politicians, foreign politicians, citizens, or NGOs), the language they employed, the reasons they gave for the rise in refugee flows, and the solutions they suggested. Germany and Sweden, for example, overwhelmingly used the terms ‘refugee’ or ‘asylum seeker’, while Italy and the UK press preferred the word ‘migrant’. In Spain, the dominant term was ‘immigrant’. These terms had an important impact on the tenor of each country’s debate.

Media also differed widely in terms of the predominant themes to their coverage. For instance, humanitarian themes were more common in Italian coverage than in British, German or Spanish press. Threat themes (such as to the welfare system, or cultural threats) were the most prevalent in Italy, Spain and Britain.

Overall, the Swedish press was the most positive towards refugees and migrants, while coverage in the United Kingdom was the most negative, and the most polarised. Amongst those countries surveyed, Britain’s right-wing media was uniquely aggressively in its campaigns against refugees and migrants.

This report provides important insights into each country’s press culture during a crucial period of agenda-setting for today’s refugee and migrant crisis. It also offers invaluable insights into historical trends. What emerges is a clear message that for media work on refugees, one size does not fit all. Effective media advocacy in different European nations requires targeted, tailored campaigns, which takes into account their unique cultures and political context.

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Introduction: The Crisis in the Mediterranean

On August 16 2015 the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, gave an interview to the German public broadcaster ZDF. In the interview, Merkel stated that 'the issue of asylum could be the next major European project', one that would 'preoccupy Europe much, much more than the issue of Greece and the stability of the euro' (*AFP*, 16 August 2015). Merkel's comments came in response to the extraordinary rise in the number of refugees and migrants attempting to enter the European Union since the beginning of 2014. Figures from the UNHCR (2015), revealed that in the first six months of 2015 137,000 refugees and migrants attempted to enter the EU, a rise of 83% on the same period in 2014. This increase is largely attributable to the sharp rise in people using the Eastern Mediterranean route from Turkey to Greece, the great bulk of whom are refugees fleeing the wars in Syria and Iraq. Since the beginning of the Syrian civil war, the number of refugees in Turkey has risen to more than 2 million. As the UNHCR (2015) notes this has placed enormous pressure on the country's infrastructure and economy and made it increasingly difficult for refugees to access, work, shelter and education. Faced with the deterioration in conditions in Turkey, increasing numbers of refugees have opted to pay people smugglers to help them make the perilous journey across the Aegean to Greece. Unsurprisingly, the rise in migration across the Mediterranean, often in heavily overcrowded small boats or dinghies, has coincided with a sharp increase in the loss of life. In the first three months of 2015, 479 refugees and migrants drowned crossing the Mediterranean crossing in comparison to 15 during the same period in 2014 (UNHCR, 2015). However the death toll reached a peak in April 2015 when 1,308 refugees and migrants were lost at sea (UNHCR, 2015).

This increase in migration and refugee flows has prompted EU states to adopt two responses. One, as Natalie Nougayrède notes, has been to strengthen EU internal and external borders so as to prevent refugees and migrants making their way to Northern and Eastern Europe:

> Throughout Europe, leaders are succumbing to the keep-them-out syndrome. Hungary is building a fence (along its border with Serbia). Spain has done the same (in Ceuta and Melilla). Bulgaria followed suit (on the border with Turkey). More fencing is springing up in Calais. In Macedonia, which is not in the EU, they are deploying armoured vehicles against migrants. (*Guardian*, 21 August 2015)

A second approach has been to try and prevent refugees and migrants making the Mediterranean crossing by restricting the activities of people traffickers. On 23 April 2015, an emergency meeting of the European Council was held in Brussels. The main priorities on the agenda were 'strengthening our presence at sea', 'fighting traffickers in accordance with international law', 'preventing illegal migration flows' and 'reinforcing internal solidarity and responsibility'. The first phase of the action agreed

at the EU Council was to target people smugglers and to 'disrupt the business model of human smugglers in the Mediterranean' through what is known as the 'EUNAVFOR Med' response [1]. According to Federica Mogherini, The High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy:

> The targets of this operation are not the migrants, the targets are human smugglers and traffickers, those who are making money on their lives and too often on their deaths. EUNAVFOR Med is part of our efforts to save lives. (Council of the European Union, 2015; European Council of the European Union, 2015a)

However, NGOs and other refugee advocacy organisations have argued that this approach fails migrants by predominantly focusing on the challenges posed to the EU, rather than on those faced by the human beings whose lives continue to be lost at sea (cf. European Council on Refugees and Exiles, 2015; Refugee Council, 2015). On 27th April 2015, the UNHCR issued a joint statement with the Special Representative of the UN Secretary General for Migration and Development and the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) in response to the decisions of the EU Council. It stated:

> Efforts to deter smuggling will be in vain unless measures are adopted to address overly restrictive migration policies in Europe, as well as the push factors of conflict, human rights violations and economic deprivation in many of the countries of origin and transit...The international community has a shared responsibility to ensure the protection of migrants and refugees who are making the journey across the Mediterranean Sea. The scale, complexity and sophistication of the response should be in line with the scale and complexity of the problem. We need a truly comprehensive response that will serve as a testimony to those lost at sea and those who have survived to recount the experience.

The Media and the Refugee Crisis

A key reason for the unwillingness of EU leaders to take a more decisive and coherent approach to the refugee crisis has been the high levels of public anxiety about immigration and asylum across Europe. As will be discussed in more detail in the literature review, across the EU attitudes towards asylum and immigration have hardened in recent years. There are many factors underlying this shift in attitudes. It is partly due to an increase in the numbers and visibility of migrants in recent years. Economic factors are also likely to be important. Austerity policies enacted since the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, have fed feelings of economic and social insecurity. In a

1 EUNAVFOR Med is responsible for the 'surveillance and assessment of human smuggling and trafficking networks'.

number of countries in Europe including Greece, France and some Scandinavian countries these financial strains plus concerns over national security and cultural assimilation have encouraged the growth of far-right anti-immigrant parties and movements such as Golden Dawn, the Swedish Democrats, the National Front and Pegida.

However, it is impossible to ignore the role of the mass media in influencing public and elite political attitudes towards asylum and migration. The mass media can set agendas and frame debates. They provide the information which citizens use to make sense of the world and their place within it. As we will see in the next chapter, research in many countries has found that refugees and migrants have tended to be framed negatively as a problem, rather than a benefit to host societies. However it also true that, on occasion, media can have positive impacts on public attitudes and policy. As we complete this report, the front pages of newspapers across the world have been dominated by images of a drowned three year-old Syrian boy, washed up on a beach in Turkey after his family's attempt to reach Greece ended in tragedy. Broadsheet and tabloid, conservative and liberal, the image made the front page: 'Somebody's Child' read the simple red image caption of the *Independent*, picking out the colour of the boy's red t-shirt as he lay face down in the sand; 'Tiny victim of a human catastrophe', headlined the *Daily Mail*; 'Unbearable' reported the *Daily Mirror*. In Italy, 'A picture to bring the world to silence', reported *La Repubblica*. In Spain, 'An image that shakes the awareness of Europe', said *El País*. 'Aylan 3, experienced only wars', reported *Aftonbladet* in Sweden, and in Germany's *Süddeutche Zeiting*, 'Aylan Kurdi, three years old, drowned in the Mediterranean Sea'. Many outlets spoke of a 'turning point' for European migration politics or an 'awakening' in the awareness or consciences of the public. 'Everyone who saw these pictures last night could not help but be moved' said the UK Prime Minister David Cameron on *Sky News*. Whether the image contributes to a fundamental shift in the willingness of EU states to agree on a comprehensive solution remains to be seen, but the reporting of Aylan's death changed, temporarily at least, the media debate on asylum.

The Focus of this Research

The research in this report examines how the press in five EU states reported on the refugee and migration crisis in 2014 and 2015 in two major samples of news coverage. The first sample examines a broad cross section of reporting across 2014 and early 2015. The second sample focuses on a case study of a week's reporting in the wake of the 18 April 2015 boat disaster in the Mediterranean. The states chosen for the study were the UK, Germany, Spain, Italy and Sweden. Italy and Spain were chosen on the basis that they have been key entry points for refugees and migrants trying to enter the EU. Italy, in particular, has seen the majority of 'boat' refugees and migrants pass through its territory and has played a key role in the search and rescue operations in the Mediterranean. Germany and Sweden were selected because they

have been the countries which have agreed to take by far the largest proportion of refugees in the EU, whilst the UK has been a major voice within the EU on the subject of immigration and asylum. Across the five countries, we surveyed a range of quality and tabloid newspapers from a wide political spectrum in order to examine differences in reporting, both between and within EU states. The central focus of our analysis was seven key questions about reporting:

- Who are the key sources in coverage?
- Which political parties are most cited?
- Where are refugees and migrants identified as coming from?
- What terms are used to describe those trying to enter the EU?
- What is the prevalence of different themes in coverage?
- What explanations are offered for why people trying to enter the EU?
- What solutions to the migration crisis are present in coverage?

This report thus captures the range of actors, themes, explanations and arguments that appear in each newspaper. However the presence of arguments or explanations does not mean they are necessarily endorsed by the newspaper which featured them, since they may have come from a source who is quoted in the article. The report therefore goes beyond identifying the editorial line of newspapers by exploring the range of perspectives on the crisis that circulate in different publications. This has allowed us to map both the key actors, themes, explanations and arguments that appear in coverage, and those that are absent.

After presenting our headline empirical findings and conclusions, chapter 1 will examine the research literature on the reporting of asylum and immigration. Particular attention will be paid to studies which have examined reporting in the five countries in this report. In chapter 2, we explain the methodological basis of the research. Chapters 3 to 7 present the findings for the first sample which consist of a broad overview of coverage for each of countries in our sample. Chapters 8 to 12 present the country by country data for the case study week in April 2015. Finally, in chapter 13 we draw some conclusions about reporting patterns across the European Union.

Headline findings

Key empirical findings by Country

1. Patterns of sourcing showed significant variation between countries. Domestic politicians – which research has consistently found as being the key most accessed source category in news accounts – were most prominent in Sweden (39.4% of all source appearances) followed by Germany (32.8%), Italy (31.4%), Britain (20.4%) and Spain (11.1%). Foreign politicians were key sources in Spain (16.7%) and the UK (9.1%) but much less significant in Sweden (3.3%) and Italy (3.2%). The voice of the citizen was pronounced in Germany (25.4%) and the UK (16.5%) but relatively muted in Italy (6.5%) and Spain (5.3%). The proportion of migrant voices was higher than in previous research, and fairly static across the sample, ranging from 9.3% of source appearances in Germany and Italy to 11.7% in Spain. The presence of NGO and civil society groups was strongest in Spain and the UK and weakest by far in Sweden (Spain 9.9%, UK 8.4%, Italy 7.7%, Germany 6.7%, Sweden 2.9%). A similar pattern held for the UN/UNHCR (Spain 2.7%, UK 2.7%, Italy 2.5%, Germany 2.5%, Sweden 1.3%)

2. Patterns of political sourcing indicated that governing parties or coalitions tended to dominate political sourcing, with in most cases the key challenger or challengers coming from the anti-immigration right. In the UK 68.6% of political sourcing came from the coalition government whilst the main voice explicitly opposing government policy came from UKIP (9.3%). In Spain, where political sourcing was unusually low, the People Party was dominant with 78.9% of source appearances. In Italy, Matteo Renzi's coalition secured 62.7% of political source appearances with the main opposition coming from the anti-immigrant right (Northern League and Forza Italian 19.7%). In Sweden, the 2010-2014 coalition featured in 51.3% of political source appearances with the main opposition coming from the far right Swedish Democrats (20.6%). Germany was unique in that the main opposition to the Merkel's grand coalition (79.6%) came from the left in shape of the pro-immigrant Left/Greens (18.0%).

3. The great bulk of articles featured some information on the country of origin of refugee and migrants, though this varied by country. Whilst almost all articles in Spain (89.1%), the UK (87.4%) and Germany (86.5%) included this background, in Sweden (72.5%) and Italy (69.6%) the proportion was lower. All countries most frequently identified Syria as the key country of origin, followed by Eritrea, Iraq and Afghanistan in varying orders. The UK and Spain were most likely to use vague geographical descriptions (Africa, North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East) whilst Sweden was the least likely.

4. The use of labels (migrant, refugee, immigrant etc.) varied markedly by country. Both Germany (91.0%) and Sweden (75.3%) overwhelmingly used the terms

refugee (flüchtling(e)/ flykting) or asylum seeker (asylsuchende(r)/asylsokande). In contrast migrant (migrante) was the most used term in Italy (35.8%) and especially the UK (54.2%). Refugee (profugo/ rifugiato) was used 15.7% of the time in Italy and 27.2% of the time in the UK. In Spain, the dominant term was immigrant (immigrante) which was used 67.1% of time whilst refugee (Refugiado) was used 12.5% of the time.

5. In terms of the range of themes in coverage there were some clear differences between countries. For instance, humanitarian themes were more numerous in Italian coverage (50.6%) than in Swedish (47.1%), British (37.3%), German (37.1%) or Spanish reporting (32.5%). When humanitarian was coded as a main theme in coverage (rather than just an element) then the differences were even more stark, with nearly a third of Italian coverage (31.3%) focused to a significant extent on the ordeals of refugees and migrants as opposed to between 9.0% and 13.1% for the other countries in our sample. This is most likely due to the high proportion of stories in the Italian Press which focus directly on the events in the Mediterranean and often report on the experiences of refugees and migrants. There were also significant differences in the prevalence of threat themes. Refugees and migrants were discussed as threats to national security in 10.1% of articles in Italy, 9.2% in Spain, 8.5% in Britain, 4.8% in Germany and 2.3% in Sweden. The discussion of refugees and migrants as a cultural threat or a threat to community cohesion was most prevalent in the British press (10.8%), followed by Swedish (8.2%), Italian (8.1%), Spanish (7.4%) and German (5.3%) newspapers. Another noticeable finding was the high incidence of threats to welfare/health systems in the UK press (18.3%) which was much higher than the other countries in the sample (Sweden 11.4%, 7.9% Germany, 7.3% Italy, 6.7% Spain). The prevalence of negative refugee frames could also be seen in the greater tendency for the British press to link refugees and migrants to crime (8.2%) than in other countries (Italy 4.3%, Germany 3.7%, Italy 2.6%, Spain 1.7%). Some findings were relatively predictable. So, for instance, post arrival integration was a much larger theme in Germany (appeared in 19.7% of articles), Sweden (12.6%) and Italy (7.6%) than in either Spain (3.7%) or the UK (2.6%). Perhaps more surprisingly migration figures were least likely to appear in Italian newspapers (30.9%) and most likely to be cited in the British (67.4%) and German (61.0%) press. Also perhaps somewhat surprising was how much a focus was placed on discussion of political responses/policy in the Spanish press (69.7%) in comparison with the other countries in the sample (Sweden 51.8%, Germany 44.1%, Italy 37.5%, UK 35.7%).

6. Explanations for migration flows appeared at the highest level in the UK press (featured in 57.5% articles) and at the lowest level in the German (39.0%) and Italian press (32.9%). By far the most cited issue was people fleeing wars (UK 43.4%, Sweden 41.2%, Germany 34.6%, Spain 34.2% and Italy 29.1%). Other push factors cited included repressive regimes (UK 12.6%, Germany 7.3%,

Spain 6.9, Sweden 6.4%, Italy 3.8%) and IS/terrorism (Sweden 5.6%, UK 4.4%, Germany 3.9%, Italy 3.5%, Spain 2.5%). Economic pull factors were much more likely to be cited in both Spain (28.5%) and the UK (23.4%) than the other countries in the sample (Italy 8.6%, Germany 8.1% and Sweden 4.4%). Spain (5.7%) and the UK (6.4%) were also more likely to frame the crisis as a consequence of weak border control, a factor that was barely cited in other countries.

7. Discussion of solutions to the crisis was most frequent in Italy (appeared in 62.5% of articles) and Spain (57.3%) and least frequent in Sweden (43.6%) and Germany (42.4%). In terms of how to address the crisis, the most frequently cited responses were vague calls for the adoption of a united or Europe wide solution to the problem (Italy 33.9%, Spain 28.8%, UK 12.9%, Sweden 9.4%, Germany 7.3%) or the provision of more assistance or aid (Sweden 19.9%, Spain 16.4%, Italy 15.4%, UK 13.9%, Germany 9.8%). The argument that the EU should open up more places for refugees or create safe migration routes appeared in between one in eight and one in 11 articles in the sample (Spain 13.9%, Sweden 12.6%, UK 12.1%, Germany 10.4%, Italy 8.9%). Conversely the view that more refugees and migrants should be rejected for asylum or deported if their claims were unsuccessful appeared at a slightly lower rate overall (Spain 12.4%, UK 11.3%, Italy 8.1%, Germany 7.6%, Sweden 4.4%). Arguments in favour of targeting people smugglers were most prevalent in Spain (12.9%) and Italy (10.4%) and least frequent in Germany (5.6%) and Sweden (3.2%). However the focus on people smugglers was primarily a feature of the second sample, having barely appeared in the first, and reflected the greater attention paid to the issue by EU policy elites. The second sample also saw the issue of people smuggling being explicitly blamed for the deaths in the Mediterranean, thus divulging politicians of some of their responsibility for the loss of life. The suggestion that access to benefits and welfare should be restricted in order to discourage migration appeared in both Sweden (9.4%) and the UK (7.7%) but was barely featured in other countries (Spain 2.0%, Italy 0.8%, Germany 0.0%). Overall very little attention was paid to the push factors that were driving population flows. For instance, the argument that action should be taken against IS or other jihadi groups was rarely featured (UK 1.5%, Spain 1.5%, Italy 1.5%, Germany 0.6%, Sweden 0.3%). Although there was some space given over for arguments in favour of conflict resolution as a strategy (UK 9.3%, Italy 7.8%, Spain 5.2%, Germany 2.8%, Sweden 1.8%), almost all of these related to the arguments which surfaced in the second sample, which advocated pacifying or stabilising Libya using military power. There were only a handful of articles across the nearly 2000 articles in the sample which focused on the need to resolve the conflict in Syria or address the abuse of human rights in states such as Afghanistan, Eritrea, Sudan or Iraq.

Key Conclusions

1. **There are wide variations in how the press in different countries report on asylum and immigration.** Sweden was the country whose press system was the most positive towards refugees and migrants. Despite significant representation for the far-right Swedish Democrats and a low proportion of NGO sources, it featured a preponderance of humanitarian themes, few examples where refugees and migrants were framed as a threat, and strong advocacy of a more liberal and humane EU asylum and immigration policy. In contrast, coverage in the United Kingdom was the most negative. Despite the presence of newspapers such as the *Guardian* and *Daily Mirror*, both of which were sympathetic to refugees, the right-wing press in the United Kingdom expressed a hostility towards refugees and migrants which was unique. Whilst newspapers in all countries featured anti-refugee and anti-migrant perspectives, what distinguished the right of centre press in the UK was the degree to which that section of the press campaigned aggressively against refugees and migrants. This could be seen in the preponderance of negative frames and the editorialising in favour of Fortress Europe approaches.

2. **There are significant differences in the level of variation within national press systems.** That is to say, in some countries the press, whether left or right of centre, reported on asylum and immigration in broadly similar ways, whilst in other countries reporting was highly varied. The most homogenous press systems were those of Spain, Italy and Sweden. Newspapers within these countries tended to use the same language, report on the same themes and feature the same explanations and responses. Furthermore whilst there were some variation, which can be attributed to different editorial guidelines and target audiences, in general there tended to be more differences between these countries than within them. So, for instance, the content of *El País* tended to look more like *ABC*, than any Italian or Swedish newspapers, even though one newspaper is left of centre and the other right. Germany's press showed more variation, in particular there were some clear differences between reporting in *Die Welt* and *Sűddeutsche Zeitung*. However, it was the press in the UK which was again the clear outlier, in exhibiting by far the most polarised coverage.

3. **The European Union's response to the crisis was widely seen as inadequate, yet it was still defined as the key institution responsible for solving the crisis.** Newspapers in continental Europe agreed that the crisis should be solved collectively, at the EU level, rather than by individual member states. Coverage frequently highlighted the national divisions within the EU and the different approaches to the crisis. As a consequence the institution was often presented as slow, bureaucratic and divided. In Italy it was seen as unwilling to share the burden for search and rescue operations, and the reception of refugees and migrants. In Germany and Sweden, there was extensive criticism over the

unwillingness of EU states to share the burden of refugee settlement. In Sweden, newspapers went so far as to directly blame the EU for the deaths in the Mediterranean.

4. **The degree to which asylum and immigration is subject to political contestation is a key factor structuring coverage.** The prominence of domestic political sources varies significantly between states and newspapers within states. Where the issue becomes politicised it will tend to pull in more political actors from both incumbent and challenger parties, whilst consensus will tend to produce coverage more focused on governing parties. In much of the EU, the controversial nature of immigration and asylum issues has meant that there are few parties with policies that are explicitly pro-refugee and migrant. This has meant that in Sweden, Italy and the UK the challenge to government policy has come from the far-right. In Spain the issue is not a significant campaigning issue amongst mainstream parties, which is reflected in the low level of domestic political sourcing and the high proportion of People's Party sourcing. Germany, without a far-right party in the Bundestag, is the only country in our sample where the incumbent grand coalition is challenged from the left by the Greens and the Left parties. Though it should be noted that one part of the coalition, the Christian Social Union, has struck a noticeably harder line on immigration and asylum issues than its partners. In countries, such as the UK, where mainstream political actors are unwilling to make the case for more liberal policies it is often left to NGOs, the UN and journalists themselves to make the case.

5. **The rise of the far-right has been reflected in uneven media coverage.** In Germany the rise of the far-right has not been reflected in any significant media access. Without Bundestag representation, the far-right lacks a political voice in the German press. In Italy the far-right has a prominent voice because of its electoral legitimacy, whilst in Sweden, the recent electoral success of the Swedish Democrats opened up access. However its arguments were usually challenged in the press by journalists and a range of other sources. In Britain, the rise of UKIP has been reflected in significant source access all newspapers, though they are effectively challenging from the right what is already one of the most restrictive asylum and immigration systems in Western Europe.

6. **There was a substantial shift from the first sample to the second in relation to how the conflict was explained and what solutions were visible.** Whilst the first sample primarily viewed the crisis as stemming from migration flows driven by wars, human rights abuses and repressive regimes, the second sample – particularly in the UK, Italy and Spain – focused much more on the chaos in Libya and the role of people smugglers. This meant that the solutions to the crisis, reflecting the debate within EU elites, were more focused on Fortress Europe approaches such naval blockades, destruction of trafficking boats and military stabilisation plans for Libya. These militarised solutions to the crisis

tended to be more prominently featured and endorsed by right of centre publications such as the *Daily Telegraph*, *ABC* and the *Daily Mail*.

7. **Overall there were few instances where reporting focused on the benefits that asylum seekers and migrants could bring to host countries.** This could be seen in the very low proportion of stories which concentrated on migrant success stories. It could also been seen in the fact that few stories discussed the economic or cultural benefits that migration brings to host countries. The few occasions where such benefits were discussed tended to appear in the Swedish and German press.

8. **The local context is vital in shaping how news is reported**. This can be seen, for instance, in how particular national journalistic conventions determine the appropriate labels or angles that are taken on stories. It can also be seen in how a strong political tradition, such as social democracy in Sweden, impacts on how the rise of the far right is treated in media discourse. In Sweden's case, far right parties are given a voice, but are usually balanced by either another political source or a journalist. Local contexts are also linked to specific events which exert a particular pull in coverage. So the UK General Election campaign, which was in its latter stages in the second sample, shifted the coverage in directions that weren't evident in other countries in the study.

9. **There were very few articles which focused on the need to address the push factors driving population flows.** Despite the fact that the crisis was primarily explained as one created by conflict, human rights abuses, and to a lesser degree economic inequality, the need to address these issues was relatively rarely addressed in coverage. Whilst we found some articles which talked vaguely about the need for more aid or assistance, in our main sample only 3.1% of articles mentioned the need to address these push factors directly via conflict resolution strategies.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

Immigration has become an increasingly salient political issue in many European countries over recent decades. In part, this has been due to increasing numbers of migrants arriving in Europe. However it has also been exacerbated by a lack of coherent policy amongst EU member states. Recent research has identified a widespread public belief that there should be closer cooperation between EU countries on managing migration flows, although it is not clear what kinds of cooperative policy agendas are favoured. Opinion polls have found a range of attitudes towards migration, although overall public perceptions have been negative. A European Commission report in 2006 noted that overall, 'public perception of migration tends to be increasingly negative throughout Europe' (Beutin, et al., 2006: 2) and widespread feelings of insecurity associated with immigration have been highlighted in European public surveys (cf. European Commission, 2010). This is perhaps unsurprising given that in recent years the public debate on migration in many European countries has been heavily influenced by populist anti-immigration politicians and negative media coverage. Research from the European Commission found that both the general public and migrants believe that governments have a negative impact on the integration of migrants and that there needs to be closer cooperation among EU countries on managing the flow of migrants and refugees (European Commission, 2011, 2014). Both groups were also found to believe that 'negative migrant stereotypes are a result, at least in part, of negative press coverage', although they also saw 'the potential to reverse the trend and create a more positive view of migrants and their contribution to society through a more accurate, unbiased and realistic portrayal of migrants' (European Commission, 2011: 9).

Arguably, the negative and hostile debate around migration in Europe is partly due to the rising popularity the far right, who often have anti-immigrant rhetoric at the centre of their politics. As Richardson and Colombo (2013) argue, this has shifted mainstream political debate on migration significantly to the right. Inflammatory and dehumanising language about migration and migrants is now increasingly heard, not just from politicians representing populist anti-immigration parties, but from mainstream national politicians. For example, in July 2015 UK Prime Minister David Cameron was criticised for describing migrants seeking to reach Britain as 'swarms of people coming across the Mediterranean' (BBC News, 2015a). Under the previous, New Labour government, Home Secretary David Blunkett was also criticised for referring to child asylum seekers as 'swamping' some British schools (BBC News, 2002).

How migrants and migration are described, categorised and represented matters. Indeed it matters a great deal when it is done by politicians who represent us, and by news media whose 'cultural authority' is premised upon speaking truth to power and representing the world of events to us (Chalaby, 1998). Reporting and commentary does not just reflect the events that are happening and views that are already 'out

there', it actively contributes to and constructs our understanding of what events mean (Hall, 1997). In this way it shapes the range of possibilities for understanding what the story *is* on migration, and the way we perceive migrants and refugees.

Commenting on the US media, Newton notes that the language of immigration politics can prevent immigrant groups from being seen as deserving support in receiving countries (Newton, 2008). Drawing upon political scientist Murray Edelman's (1974: 6) work on 'condensation symbols', Newton notes how 'the word 'immigrant' has long served as a condensation symbol for economic uncertainty, poverty, immorality, hard work, social mobility, remaking of the self, and the embodiment of the 'American dream' (Newton, 2008: 19). Australian research has also pointed to the role of stereotyping and social categorisation in media accounts, and how support for punitive immigration policies have come to override concerns about migrant lives in peril at sea (Bleiker, Campbell, Hutchison, & Nicholson, 2013; Every & Augoustinos, 2007; O'Doherty & Augoustinos, 2008; Sulaiman-Hill, Thompson, Afsar, & Hodliffe, 2011; Tazreiter, 2003; Ward, 2002)

Public attitudes towards immigration are both reflected in and influenced by news. However, research also demonstrates that the 'real world' political and policy context conditions how news accounts are received and read (Boomgaarden, 2007; Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2009). Whilst the impact of the media on public ideas, perceptions and attitudes are difficult to disentangle from other causal factors, the research literature suggests that the greater 'visibility' an issue (such as asylum or immigration) has, the more significant the effects of the media coverage are likely to be (Koopmans, 1996). This is especially the case when the 'information environment' (of which the news is a part) presents a message which is consistently biased in one direction (e.g. negative towards migration and/or migrants), or which cumulatively 'cultivates' attitudes or expectations about a particular subject (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, Signorielli, & Shanahan, 2002; Vergeer, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2000). The media effects research has also found a greater likelihood of violence being perpetrated against cultural 'others' who are represented as either the perpetrators (Scheufele & Brosius, 2001), or victims of violence (Esser & Brosius, 1996).

However, existing patterns of media coverage are also likely to influence the kinds of stories that journalists subsequently tell. For example, examining how events of violence against asylum seekers in Germany were reported, Brosius and Eps (1995) argue that journalistic storytelling is subject to 'a prototyping process, that is, an interaction between attributes of events and news-gathering routines of journalists'.

Migration Discourse in the UK

Since the early 1990s, dominant mainstream public discourses surrounding immigration in many European and other relatively wealthy 'migrant receiving'

nations have been predominantly negative, typified by hostility and suspicion towards migrants, including asylum seekers and refugees (Buchanan, Grillo, & Threadgold, 2003; Coole, 2002; Gross, Moore, & Threadgold, 2007; ICAR, 2004; Kaye, 1994; Kaye, 1998, 2001; Moore, 2012; Moore, 2013; Saxton, 2003; Smart, Grimshaw, McDowell, & Crossland, 2007; Speers, 2001).

In the UK, the volume of mainstream news coverage on asylum and refugee issues increased markedly in the early 2000s (Moore, 2012). Under the New Labour government (1997-2010) political and policy attention intensified with the introduction of successive pieces of legislation designed to deter, restrict and deport unwanted migrants (Balch & Balabanova, 2011; Thomson, 2003). Dominant news media narratives about asylum seekers and refugees reflected and reproduced the idea that migration represented a 'problem' and in the tabloid press it was defined as a 'crisis' issue facing Britain (Moore, 2012). Coverage constructed a largely dehumanised image of migration, focusing on increasing numbers of migrants and clandestine methods of entry (R. Cohen, 2006; Cohen, 2003). Those seeking to reach Britain were often associated with threatening, unfair or duplicitous behaviour and/or a drain on social welfare and other public resources including education, housing and healthcare (S. Cohen, 2006; Cohen, Humphries, & Mynott, 2002; Jordan & Brown, 2006). Opinion polls and the British Social Attitudes survey have consistently revealed a generally negative and hostile attitude towards immigration and immigrants (Crawley, 2009)

Coverage regularly conflated asylum seekers and refugees with other categories of migrant via inaccurate labelling. Indeed, confused and confusing terminology became an important focal point for both those campaigning against, and researching the negative myths associated with asylum seekers and refugees (Bleasdale, 2008; Buchanan, et al., 2003; Gross, et al., 2007; ICAR, 2004; Smart, et al., 2007; Speers, 2001; Tyler, 2006). A 'culture of disbelief' surrounded the motives of those seeking asylum, exemplified by frequent use of the construct, 'bogus asylum seeker' in the right-wing press (ICAR, 2008; Souter, 2011; Threadgold, 2006; Weber & Gelsthorpe, 2000). As questions about the control of national borders and security came to the fore, the distinction drawn between supposedly illegitimate ('bogus', 'fake', 'cheats') and legitimate ('genuine', 'deserving', '*bona fide'*) asylum seekers became an important way of justifying punitive public policy. Increasingly the press constructed the image of an immigration system, and by extension, a nation manipulated, 'abused' and compromised by 'illegal' migrants who were prone to criminality and even terrorism (Kilby, Horowitz, & Hylton, 2013; Muller, 2004; Philo, Briant, & Donald, 2013; Weber, 2006; Wilson, 2006). Indeed, commentators have highlighted how sensationalist press coverage, anti-immigrant political rhetoric and increasingly hostile public attitudes were akin to a 'moral panic' (Cohen, 2004 [1972]; Grillo, 2005), although others in the UK (and Italy) have refuted evidence of a 'fully iterated' moral panic (Taylor, 2014).

The expansion of the EU in 2004, led to a rise in economic migration from accession states. This renewed and rearticulated a narrative of anxiety about pressures on public services, competition for jobs, organised crime and cultural changes to areas of migrant settlement. While the central focus may have shifted from asylum seekers and refugees, the new threats associated with migration found new iterations in the 'culturally racist' representation of EU and other economic migrants (Fox, Moroşanu, & Szilassy, 2012; Moore, 2015).

The framing of migrants and refugees has been determined less by ethical and humanitarian concerns than by neoliberal and securitising agendas (Balabanova & Balch, 2010; Diez & Squire, 2008; Huysmans & Buonfino, 2008; Moore, 2012; Moore, 2013; Wilson, 2006). However, although neoliberal or securitising themes may be dominant, humanitarian concerns continue to feature in mainstream news accounts. Frequency is important, but so are the *contexts* in which humanitarian frames appear and *how* they are used. Multiple, mixed and even seemingly contradictory frameworks of understanding may appear within a single news narrative. Key terms or ideas, usually found within one type of frame, may appear, potentially translated in their meaning, when recontextualised within another. Certain frames may, when combined or linked with others, reinforce or otherwise subvert and transform familiar meanings. Moreover, as Chouliaraki has argued, humanitarian discourses may not *always* encourage a sense of proximity so that audiences *necessarily* empathise with the suffering of others (Chouliaraki, 2006; 2011; 2012). Understanding this complexity associated with *how* migration news can and might resonate through a humanitarian register is therefore important for understanding the range of ideas about migration and migrants that the news might perpetuate and how these might be critically addressed, re-thought, influenced or changed.

Migration Discourse in Sweden

Sweden has historically enjoyed a reputation as 'the model of a tolerant, egalitarian, multicultural welfare state'. However in recent years some analysts have argued that this has changed, especially in relation to migration (Schierup & Ålund, 2011). Sweden's liberal multicultural welfare state, once shielded from global economic pressures by protective national policies, has increasingly been subject to the logic of the market, and has subsequently become more conditional and less generous. Over the previous two decades, Swedish 'exceptionalism' has been shaken by 'the erosion of a comprehensive citizenship pact', with the 'breaking point' of these shifts identified with the urban riots of 2008-9 in Malmö, Gothenburg and Uppsala (Schierup & Ålund, 2011: 56). For many commentators the culprit was 'Multiculturalism' and a discourse arose which blamed the unrest on the cultural difference and deviancy of young migrants. However, further riots in 2013 in Stockholm were read rather differently, as a protest against police brutality, youth

marginalisation and urban inequality, with, by contrast, 'an absence of references to the "problem of immigration"' (Schierup, Ålund, & Kings, 2014: 16).

However, some have suggested that the 2008 financial crash and the subsequent pursuit of austerity policies has made Swedes feel more insecure and created an environment conducive to scapegoating. For instance, Mylonas argues that inadequate political explanation for the economic crisis has allowed for 'cultural racist' explanations championed by far right parties to gain purchase, providing a discursive context receptive to anti-immigration discourse (Mylonas, 2012). It would appear that a rise in cultural scapegoating has accompanied such heightened social anxieties and pessimism, leading to what Hage (2003) has termed 'paranoid nationalism'. Although some scholars highlight the continuation of Sweden's comparatively liberal approach to labour migration, both towards migrants from EU accession countries (only Sweden, Ireland and the UK amongst EU member states immediately allowed citizens restriction free labour market access in 2004 and 2007) and third country nationals (Berg & Spehar, 2013), others argue that conditions for migrant labour have become more precarious (Woolfson, Fudge, & Thörnqvist, 2014).

As a consequence of such pressures, some commentators argue that the 'threshold of racist speech in the public sphere' has been reduced (Lentin & Titley 2001, cited in Askanius & Mylonas, 2015: 56). Others have argued that the media continues to 'other' minorities. For instance Horsti's research suggests that representations continue to be stigmatising, 'othering' African migrants (Horsti, 2008). Indeed, recent research suggests that the normalisation of dominant public discourses positioning migrants and migration as a 'problem' in Sweden is such that migrants' own biographical accounts exhibit evidence of their internalisation and reproduction of such discourses (Cederberg, 2014).

Migration Discourse in Germany

Immigration to Germany has been categorised into several phases. Post-war ethnic German repatriation, East to West migration and guest worker schemes in the 1950s, and 1960s involving nationals from Italy, Greece, Spain, Morocco, Portugal, Turkey, Tunisia and Yugoslavia. Until the early 1980s, the numbers of asylum seekers seeking refuge in Germany were negligible in comparison to labour migration, although numbers rose into the early 1990s with the disintegration of the Soviet bloc and war in former Yugoslavia. It is not, however, until the early 2000s that nationality and immigration politics becomes an 'issue' in Germany. The Nationality Law of 2000 marked a step change, which enshrined the principle of *jus soli* and placed an emphasis on integration. At the same time highly skilled migrants were encouraged through a 'green card' scheme, and, post the September 11 attacks security became part of the political discussions leading to the Immigration Law of 2005 (Kohlmeier & Schimany, 2005).

As Bauder (2011) notes, a key concern in the migration debate in Germany up until the 1980s was that the presence of migrants should be a benefit to the national economy and positive for the labour market. However this priority has since declined, perhaps because migrants evidently do make a net contribution to the German economy, (Kohlmeier & Schimany, 2005). Nonetheless, integration continues to be a policy priority and as Joppke notes, across several European countries, including Germany, there has been a convergence in approach to civic integration, obliging migrants to signal their efforts to integrate through sitting national tests and citizenship courses – measures some critics label 'repressive liberalism'(Joppke, 2007). On the other hand, other research has noted how migrants themselves are more likely to participate and have a voice in the public debate on migration, in policy contexts that are more inclusive and conducive to their integration (Koopmans, 2004). In Germany there has been some recognition of a need for diversity and inclusion of those with a migrant background within journalism, in order to enhance integration and challenge the normalization of a 'palemale' gaze (Bayer, 2012).

When proposals for new immigration laws are debated, news media make sense of the issues for the public through different forms of framing and contextualisation. For example, in the German press in the early 2000s, arguments about the negative and positive economic impacts of immigration dominated, but the supposed dangers of immigration were also contextualised by reference to the threat of terrorism and recent terrorist attacks, such as the Madrid bombings (Bauder, 2008, 2012).

Migration Discourse in Spain

Spain has experienced major changes in patterns of inward migration over the last few decades. Migration flows reversed in the last third of the twentieth century (from emigration to immigration), leading to a major increase in migration levels between 1990 and 2010 (Cebolla Boado and González Ferrer 2013). Fernández (2014) estimates that during the 1990s and 2000s Spain constituted the main entry point of irregular migrants into Europe. By 2005, at the height of the property bubble that preceded the 2008 economic crash, the country was, worldwide, the tenth largest recipient of inward migration (Cebolla Boado and González Ferrer 2008). Using data from the Spanish National Statistics Institute, Reher et al. (2011) demonstrate that the number of immigrants living in Spain multiplied sixfold between 1996 and 2009, bringing the proportion of immigrants in the Spanish population from under 3% to almost 14%. Such flows have fluctuated with the economic cycle, 'with inflows tripling between 2000 and 2007 before subsequently decreasing to a third of the 2007 peak' (OECD 2014: 2), so that the country actually lost 40,000 migrants in 2011.[2]

2 'From 2008 the growing rates of immigrants residing in Spain slowed down. From 750,000 in 2007, it halved in 2008 (380,000), and then reduced to 60,000 in 2009, to fewer than 4,000 in 2010, and during

According to 2012 data (Arroyo Pérez et al. 2014), Spanish inward migration comes most from (in descending order) Romania, Morocco, the United Kingdom, Ecuador and Colombia. Overall 47% of migrants are of European origin (mainly coming from Romania, but also from other EU countries such as the UK, Germany and Italy). When it comes to political refugees, however, and in spite of its geographic position in the Western Mediterranean, Spain only received 5,947 applications for political asylum in 2014, out of the 625,000 applications received in the EU (CEAR 2015).

Images of migrants crossing the strait of Gibraltar (or arriving in the Canary islands) by boat or climbing the fence in Melilla are common in the Spanish media, despite the fact that most migrants—even irregular migrants—use other channels to enter the country (De Haas 2008). Although estimates suggest that only 5% of migrants use dinghies to enter Spain, research has found that images of dangerously overcrowded boats, and stories about migrants crossing the strait, often with tragic consequences, are a key feature of the national media (Siurana, 2014; Tortajada 2007; Igartua et al 2013). At times the media has spoken of migration as a crisis such as during 2005-2006 when a major surge of arrivals in the Canaries was dubbed *'crisis de los cayucos'* (the crisis of dinghies). Research has also pointed to a fixation with migration figures in coverage, as well as the transformation of this issue into an opportunity for the main political parties to attack the policy proposals of their opponents (De Botton et al. 2006). Other key features of reporting have been: links between immigration and crime, a focus on migrants' journeys, the suffering of migrants, and the integration of migrants into the job market and society more generally (Igartua et al. 2013). Giró et al. (2006), have suggested that the coverage has become more 'caring', since it had moved from presenting migrants as a threat to Spain and Europe, to framing them either as victims of the authorities, or as desperate individuals fleeing a continent dominated by poverty and violence.

The public perception of migration has changed significantly in recent years. Whilst the CIS Barometer[3] regularly listed immigration as one of the three main problems affecting Spanish society – peaking in September 2006, when 59.2% of informants believed it was one of such problems – this prominence has steadily reduced, and has stayed within single digits (normally below 5%) since September 2011 (CIS 2015). According to the very same data, in June 2015, only 2.7% Spaniards believed immigration was amongst the country's three main problems, with unemployment (78.2%), corruption (47.1%), economic problems (25.4%), politicians and political parties (20.7%) the national health service (11.2%) and social problems (10.7%) seen

2011 there was a reduction of 40,000 in the number of non-Spain born residents in the country' (Arroyo Pérez et al. 2014: 76).

3 The Centre for Sociological Research (CIS) is a public research institute carrying out sociological research, mainly through the use of surveys. They carry out monthly opinion surveys (called Barometers) monitoring the opinion and attitudes of Spaniards with regards to current events. Further information, and methodological details can be found in http://www.cis.es/cis/opencms/EN/11_barometros/metodologia.html (accessed July 2015).

as far more pressing.[4] Increases in the perception of immigration as a problem seem to be linked to specific events, such as the controversial amnesty granted to 700.000 irregular migrants by José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero's government in 2005, or the aforementioned *crisis de los cayucos* in September 2006.

The fact that immigration is not perceived to be amongst the main problems affecting Spanish society does not necessarily mean that it is not widely viewed as a problem. Between 2008 and 2011, more than 70% of Spaniards consistently stated that the number of immigrants living in Spain was either 'high' or 'excessive'—the latter never going below 40% (Méndez et al. 2013, using CIS data). In a similar vein, during the same period more than 70% of Spaniards stated they believed that immigration laws were either 'lenient' or 'too lenient'—once again, the latter never rating below 40% (Méndez et al. 2013, using CIS data). Méndez et al. (2013) also note that more than 50% of the public believe that migrants receive more from the state than they contribute. Despite this the research also highlights how almost 90% of the public believes migrants should have the right to claim jobseeker's allowance (a figure that has not varied between 2007 and 2011, despite the recession and the period of austerity that followed). According to van Dijk, whilst the media discourse surrounding immigrants in Spain in the early 2000s shared some similar traits with the negative discourses of other European countries (notably the use of stigmatising labelling for migrants such as 'illegals' and the disproportionate focus on crime stories in relation to migrants), the discourse of overall racism in the Spanish press was 'less radical and less widespread than elsewhere in Europe'. Although racism was 'rooted in an age-old tradition of anti-Arab, anti-Jewish and anti-Gitano prejudices and exclusion as well as colonialism of the Americas', the legacy of leftist forms of solidarity in political opposition to the Franco dictatorship, coupled with the absence of an explicitly racist political party or newspaper had served as an effective countervailing force to racism (van Dijk, 2005: 4)

Traditionally, the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) [5] has been more welcoming to immigration than the People's Party (PP),[6] its centre-right counterpart. Immigration no longer constitutes the hot political question it was in the 2000s, when an extremely controversial amnesty that regularised around 700,000 migrants was launched by Rodríguez Zapatero's government (Tremmlet 2005). Whilst immigration was a key element in the televised 2008 election debates (Hamilos 2008), the word 'immigrant' was only mentioned three times (and in relation to education exclusively) in the televised debates during the general election in 2011. Despite this, the centre-right government of the People's Party has promoted controversial measures to keep

4 This question asks for the three main problems affecting Spanish society, and asks for multiple response.
5 This centre-left party held the national government between 1982 and 1996 (between 1993 and 1996 it was a minority government), and between 2004 and 2011, under the leadership of Felipe González and José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, respectively.
6 The People's Party has led the Spanish national government between 1996 and 2004 (under José María Aznar's leadership), and has been in office since 2011 under Mariano Rajoy.

migrants out, such as the re-introduction of the razor-wire fence in Melilla in 2013, which had been decommissioned by Rodríguez Zapatero's government in 2007 (Cembrero 2013). The most controversial measure, however, has been the approval of the Public Security Law in March 2015, which legalised the summary expulsion of migrants (known as 'hot returns' in Spain). This measure has been opposed by all parties in opposition,[7] NGOs,[8] the Spanish Ombudsperson,[9] the Council of Europe,[10] and the UN[11] because it is believed to be in conflict with the European Convention on Human Rights. Another controversial area in Spanish politics has been the issue of EU migrant quotas. In particular the current government has fiercely opposed the European allocation of 9.1% of EU refugees to Spain, arguing that the country's high unemployment rates (above 20%) make this goal unrealistic (Borger et al. 2015).

These changes in public attitudes and the centrality of immigration in political debates may be (partially) explained by the significant reduction in numbers of irregular arrivals through the Western Mediterranean route (whilst near 40,000 migrants arrived to Spain through this route in 2006, these figures were reduced to 3,235 by 2013), whereas the Central Mediterranean route has experienced a significant increase – mainly affecting Italy and Greece since 2010.[12]

Migration Discourse in Italy

Over the last few decades, Italy has experienced large-scale immigration and now has one of the largest foreign-born populations in Europe. Immigration became an increasingly politicised as an issue from the late 1980s - early 1990s. This has been attributed to the arrival of large numbers of undocumented economic migrants, social concerns regarding the regularisation and integration of migrants and the perceived need to manage and/or restrict new arrivals (M. Colombo, 2013). Colombo notes that from the early 1990s, immigration was 'redefined as an emergency issue that needed to be somehow faced and regulated' with measures introduced to handle the sudden increase in numbers of refugees from Albania, Yugolsavia and Somalia, as well as to meet the requirements of European Union agreements (especially Schengen in 1990 and the Maastricht Treaty in 1991)

7 See, for example: http://elpais.com/elpais/2014/12/12/inenglish/1418379884_767333.html (Accessed July 2015).
8 See, for example: http://ecre.org/component/content/article/70-weekly-bulletin-articles/918-spanish-parliament-passes-legislation-allowing-for-unlawful-summary-returns-in-ceuta-and-melilla.html (Accessed July 2015).
9 See, for example: http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2014/10/22/actualidad/1413971061_083799.html (Accessed July 2015).
10 See, for example: http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2015/01/16/actualidad/1421437466_544673.html (Accessed July 2015).
11 See, for example: http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2015/01/23/actualidad/1422027395_118685.html (Accessed July 2015).
12 See data in http://www.unhcr.org/pages/4a1d406060.html (Accessed July 2015).

Since then, immigration has grown significantly as an area of public policy with the first comprehensive immigration law, the 'Turco-Napolitano Act' passed in 1998, establishing, amongst other measures, an administrative immigration detention regime. Further restrictive measures were later introduced such as the Bossi-Fini law under Silvio Berlusconi's right-wing coalition in 2002. Thus the focus of public policy has also increasingly been focused on immigration control rather than promoting integration (A. Colombo, 2013).

Italy has a history of media driven public hostility towards migrants that long predates the current crisis (Tsoukala, 2005). The push and pull forces driving migration have often been represented in the Italian press in pejorative terms, as: 'a tidal wave of desperate people fleeing poverty and warfare at home trying to enter the elusive European El Dorado' (de Haas 2008: 1305, cited in M. Colombo, 2013). Elites (including politicians and journalists) have arguably legitimated anti-migrant hostility and ethnic prejudice in a number of ways, such as the use of threatening language and imagery which evokes war and disease, or the negative labeling of immigrants as 'illegals', 'irregulars' or "clandestinos" (Quassoli, 2013; Sciortino & Colombo, 2004; ter Wal, 1996, 2000). Elite anti-migrant discourses also employ more subtle rhetorical strategies, such as 'positive self presentation' which facilitate and seek to justify exclusionary actions against migrants (e.g., the eviction of the *Pantanella* in Rome) (ter Wal, 1996). Such anti-migrant discourses therefore can be seen to carry material consequences. They also reinforce, in culturalist terms, clear distinctions between those who legitimately belong and those who do not. Montali et al. (2013) examining the coverage of migration in *Corrieredella Sera between* 1992 and 2009, for example, found that the themes and discursive strategies defined 'a common sense of cultural belonging and a shared construction of ethnic relations' together with 'a racist interpretation of inter-group relations'.

Public discourse has tended to talk about migrants within narratives about the control of borders, illegal immigration, alleged security threats and the need to regulate 'immigration flows'. Fears surrounding competition for jobs, illegitimate claims for welfare benefits, and the erosion of cultural identity have also been articulated. There is a dominant focus in the news media on recent migrants, that seems to eclipse the contribution and successful integration to Italian society of those who have already settled, which, as Clough Marinaro and Walston note: 'serves to perpetuate the myth of a clear split between a unified national culture and identity, and "them", the foreigners.' (Clough Marinaro & Walston, 2010: 6, cited in M. Colombo, 2013)

Conclusion: Shifting European Media Narratives on Migration

Too often easy assumptions are made about how news media narratives might be changed to encourage a more unbiased, fair or accurate representation of migrants and migration. For example, as one recent European Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) asserts: 'The media needs to be actively engaged and encouraged to help

increase the participation and visibility of migrants, contributing to a more positive overall narrative' (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2014). However, as existing research demonstrates, there have been times of intensely negative media coverage about migration where the ‘visibility’ of migrants has certainly not been lacking. The participation of migrants in media (as sources or indeed as journalists) may or may not make a difference to the media narratives in which they are involved, although as our research will show the voices that are heard in the news form an important component of how narratives are constructed, they are not the only element that it is important to consider.

Chapter 2: Methodology

Sampling

The purpose of this study is to capture media coverage of migration issues in five European countries, with the aim of exploring the range of debate over the entry of migrants and refugees into the EU. Countries were selected on the basis that each had played a significant role in the current migration crisis affecting Europe. Spain and Italy have been two key entry points for refugees and migrants crossing the Mediterranean. Germany and Sweden have agreed to accept by far the largest number of refugees, whilst Britain has been the most high profile advocate for changing EU rules on immigration and asylum.

The brief for this project was to focus on press content across the continent. We selected newspapers that combined both high readership, and a range of political views. In the cases of Germany, Sweden, and the UK, we included both tabloids and broadsheets with the aim of capturing the similarities and differences between the quality and popular press. In Spain and Italy we only included broadsheets as no tabloids are published.

Country	Newspaper	Political stance	Quality/Tabloid
Germany	*Bild*	Populist right	Tabloid
Germany	*Süddeutsche Zeitung*	Centre-left	Quality
Germany	*Die Welt***	Centre-right	Quality
Italy	*Il Corriere della Sera*	Centre-right	Quality
Italy	*La Repubblica*	Centre-left	Quality
Italy	*La Stampa*	Centre	Quality
Spain	*El País*	Centre-left	Quality
Spain	*El Mundo*	Centre-right	Quality
Spain	*ABC*	Centre-right	Quality
Sweden	*Dagens Nyheter*	Centre-left	Quality
Sweden	*Aftonbladet*	Left	Tabloid
Sweden	*Sydsvenska Dagbladet*	Centre	Quality
United Kingdom	*The Sun*	Centre-right	Tabloid
United Kingdom	*The Daily Mail*	Centre-right	Tabloid
United Kingdom	*The Daily Mirror*	Centre-left	Tabloid
United Kingdom	*The Daily Telegraph*	Centre-right	Quality
United Kingdom	*The Guardian*	Centre-left	Quality

Table 2.1: Newspapers in the sample

*Newspapers listed by circulation (highest first) within each country
**We initially intended to include *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* but had problems accessing it through a database, and so switched to *Die Welt*.

We generated a sample of approximately 300 news stories per country to give an overall total of 1500 news articles. Since the volume of coverage varied significantly by country – for instance it was much heavier in Spain and Italy – we had to adopt multiple sampling periods and procedures
The news articles were accessed using a number of databases:

- Nexis was used to capture *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Sun*, *The Daily Mirror*; *El País*, *El Mundo*, *ABC*, *Il Corriere della Sera*, *La Stampa*, *Die Welt*.
- Retriever was used to sample the Swedish newspapers *Dagens Nyheter*, *Sydvenska Dagbladet*, and *Aftonbladet.*
- Factiva was used to access the German titles *Bild* and *Süddeustche Zeitung.*
- MediaLibrary was used to draw from the Italian newspaper La Repubblica.

To create the samples for each country, we retrieved a large number of stories using broad search strings with the aim of capturing *all* relevant stories, which were then sifted manually to eliminate false positives.

The criteria for our search strategy was to capture:

- All stories about any Middle Eastern or African migrants, refugees, immigrants, or asylum seekers arriving, travelling or living within the EU.
- All stories about immigration and asylum policy

The sample does not contain:

- Stories about Middle Eastern or African refugees, migrants, or asylum seekers who are either in the Middle East, or in Africa.
- Stories about migrants, refugees, immigrants or asylum seekers who are not identified as being of either African or Middle Eastern origin, unless they are travelling across the Mediterranean and it is obvious that they are probably from the Middle East or Africa even if this is not stated in the text.

In order to capture this data we used the following search strings[13]:

13 Although the search strings contain essentially the same elements for all languages, we adapted them so that they could capture stories using terms that were only used in a specific country. In the case of Spain, for example, in addition to 'barco' and 'barca', which would be the most direct translations of 'ship' and 'boat', we also searched for 'cayuco' and 'patera' (two words commonly used in the Spanish press to refer to the boats migrants use to cross the Mediterranean).

Britain - migra! OR asylum! OR emigra! OR immigra! OR refugee! AND ship! OR boat! OR vessel! OR syria! OR iraq! OR Palestin! OR Africa

Germany - Migra! OR Immigra! OR Flücht! OR Einwander! OR Zuwander! OR Asyl! OR Illegal! AND Syrie! OR Irak! OR Iraqi! OR Palest! OR Afrika! OR Schiff! OR Boot! OR Frachter! OR Schlepper! OR Kahn!

Spain - migra! OR asil! OR emigra! OR inmigra! OR refugi! AND barco! OR barca! OR patera! OR cayuco! OR embarc! OR lanch! OR siri! OR iraq! OR irak! OR palestin! OR africa!

Sweden - Flyktingbåtar OR Migranter OR Invandrare OR Asylsökande OR Flyktingar) AND (Flyktingmottagande OR Flyktingfartyg OR Båt OR Irakier OR Irak OR Afrikaner OR Afrika OR Palestinier OR Palestina OR Syrier OR Syrien

Italy – for *La Stampa* and *Il Corriere della Sera*, we used: (immigra! OR migra! OR profug! OR rifugiat! OR richiedent! OR asilo! OR emigra! AND barc! OR gommon! OR traghett! OR Africa! OR Siria! OR Libi! OR Palestin! OR Iraq

Italy - for *La Repubblica* whose search engine (MediaLibrary) does not accept Boolean searches we searched with any of the following key words- migranti, rifugiati, profughi, richiedenti, naufragio, siriani.

The periods we sampled together with the total number of articles generated for each country are show below in table 2.2. In all newspapers except *Süddeutsche Zeitung* we included all stories generated by our search string. However in the case of *Süddeutsche Zeitung* this generated 712 stories in our German sampling period. In order to obtain a proportionate sample from *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, we systematically sampled within the 712 stories to leave a total of 165 stories.

Country	Start	End	Total N
Germany	1 June 2014	1 April 2015	278
Italy	1 August 2014	3 March 2015	300
Spain	1 April 2014	9 March 2015	307
Sweden	1 August 2014	1 April 2015	303
UK	1 December 2013	2 March 2014	289
Total number of stories:			1477

Table 2.2: Sampling dates and country totals.

As a complement to our newspaper analysis, we also coded a selection of relevant stories covered in the two main evening news programmes in the UK (BBC News at

Ten and ITV News at Ten) between 1 January and 31 December 2014.[14] There were 9 stories on BBC and 14 on ITV (23 in total).

Our study also analysed a week's coverage following the 18 April 2015 shipwreck that killed 800 migrants in what was described by UNHCR's spokesperson Adrian Edwards as 'the deadliest incident in the Mediterranean that we have ever recorded' (UNHCR 2015: np). For this element of our study, we analysed a sample of around 100 stories per country, published during the seven days after the disaster (18-25 April 2015). The stories – published in the same newspapers listed in Table 2.1 above – were retrieved using the same search strategies outlined above, and were sifted manually using the same criteria. In the case of Italy, since the number of relevant stories exceeded the 100 stories we aimed to code for each country (there were 190 stories meeting our criteria), we then used a second level of systematic sampling to reduce to a final 95. In the case of the UK, there were 144 relevant stories, which again were subject to a second level of systematic sampling to obtain a sample of 100 stories. There were 78 relevant stories in Germany, 96 in Spain, and 39 in Sweden.

Coding process, training of coders, and reliability of coding

The sample was analysed using a coding framework that sought to capture:

- the sources that dominated media discourses
- the labels used to describe refugees and migrants
- countries of origin identified in news accounts
- themes in coverage
- explanation for the factors driving population flows
- solutions to the refugee and migrant crisis

These variables were built into a coding sheet (see appendix) which was repeatedly piloted until it effectively captured all possible values amongst the variables.

Coding was carried out by seven coders, all of whom were native speakers of the language they were coding in. There were, respectively, two coders for Germany and the UK, and one for Italy, Sweden, and Spain. All coders familiarised themselves with the coding framework during the training sessions that were held, and had the opportunity to discuss difficulties and doubts during the coding process. The training was done in English, a language all coders are fluent in. The reliability checks were also carried out in English, using subsets of relevant British news stories.[15] We carried out four rounds of reliability checks, which led to successive refinement of two problematic variables (Typology of sources and Themes, which were very detailed

14 We would like to thank Richard Thomas (Cardiff University) for giving us access to his systematic classification of all news stories broadcast in these two news bulletins during 2014.

15A commonapproachtoassessingintercoderreliability in cross-nationalcontentanalyses (see, forexample: Vliegenthart et al. 2010. For a discussion, see: Peter and Lauf 2002).

and complex). The last round of checks yielded an average Krippendorff's Alpha[16]of 0.811, with coefficients of 0.693 and 0.642 for Typology of sources and Themes, respectively.

16 Krippendorff's Alpha Coefficient is a measure of the reliability of coding that allows for any number of coders to be included in the calculations. Although there are no common standards for reliability, and some reputable researchers deem coefficients above 0.60 acceptable for comparative content analyses (see, for example: Van Spanje and de Vreese 2014), it is agreed that coefficients above 0.80 are advisable (see Neuendorf 2002; Lombard, Snyder-Duch and Bracken 2002).

Chapter 3: The UK Press

Introduction

In order to capture a broad sweep of the British national press we have opted to examine a range of both tabloid and broadsheet newspapers from both the left and right of the political spectrum. Our sample of the UK Press covers five titles: two broadsheets (*The Guardian* and *The Telegraph*) and three tabloids (*The Daily Mail*, *The Sun* and *The Daily Mirror*). Our sample period ran from 1 December 2013 to 2 March 2014. Turning to the broadsheet end of the continuum, the *Guardian* is Britain's leading centre-left quality newspaper. Owned by the independent Scott Trust the newspaper has a daily circulation of approximately 175,000 copies. It also has one of the world's most popular news websites which means that its total daily reach is more than 2.2 million people (*Guardian* 2014). It attracts an elite audience, heavy in opinion formers and senior managers in the public sector, and has a reputation for the quality of its investigative journalism. For instance, in recent years it was the newspaper to break both the Wikileaks and Edward Snowden stories. The *Telegraph* is Britain's best selling right-wing quality title with a daily print circulation of 480,000 copies and a total online and offline reach of 2.1 million readers per day (*Guardian* 2014). The newspaper is owned by the billionaire Barclay brothers. The newspaper's politics is that of the free market right and it is seen to be very close to the Conservative party whom it campaigned for vigoursly during the 2015 General Election.

Turning to the 'popular' end of the press continuum the *Daily Mail* is Britain's second highest circulation (by hard copy) newspaper daily selling approximately 1.7 million copies, accompanied by a prominent website. It is owned by the Daily Mail and General Trust and has been edited by Paul Dacre since 1992. It is the only newspaper whose demographic is more than 50% female and it combines a mix of hard news with crime, scandal, celebrity and health stories. Politically it is free market right and has traditionally been openly hostile to the EU, not least where asylum and immigration issues are involved. The *Sun* is Britain's biggest selling newspaper, generating print sales of approximately 1.8 million copies per day. It is owned by Rupert Murdoch's News International Group under whose proprietorship it moved from a left of centre Labour supporting broadsheet in the late 1960s to a hard right free market tabloid by the 1980s. Recent years have seen it reduce the scope of its hard news and political coverage in favour of a stronger focus on sensationalist stories focused on celebrity, scandal and crime. Like the *Mail* it has consistently been adverse to immigration and asylum in editorial terms. The *Daily Mirror* is Britain's only national centre-left tabloid maintaining a circulation of approximately 900,000 copies. It is owned by Trinity Mirror Group and has tended to follow closely the political line taken by the Parliamentary Labour Party. With respect to asylum and

immigration issues, it typically provides space for more balanced appraisals evidently reflecting the diversity of its target readership.

Prevalence and Location of Refugee Stories

Our analysis found that stories on African or Middle Eastern refugees attempting to enter the EU were most prevalent, by a wide margin, in the *Guardian*, followed by the *Daily Mail*, *Telegraph*, *Sun* and *Mirror*. This should not be taken as an indication that there is a greater focus in the Guardian on refugee or migrant stories per se, however. Rather it may be a function of the fact that we used a particular keyword search strategy (see discussion of methods, chapter 2), which located stories based on the concurrence of words used to describe refugees (e.g. refugee, asylum seeker, migrant etc) with either nationality descriptors (Syrian, Eritrean, Afghani etc) or words indicative of events in the Mediterranean (e.g. boat, ship, Mediterranean). Thus the sampling procedure would not have picked up more general stories about refugees or migrants which were not focused on the Mediterranean or did not mention an incomers' country of origin.

Guardian	*Telegraph*	*Daily Mail*	*Sun*	*Daily Mirror*
104	57	62	42	24

Table 3.1: UK Total stories 1 December 2013 – 1 March 2013

The UK is unique in that its coverage is divided between reports which focus on people crossing the Mediterranean and articles which concentrate on refugees and migrants attempting to enter the UK through the port of Calais. The reporting of refugees and migrants secretly trying to cross into the UK aboard ferries and Eurotunnel trains has been a persistent feature of British press coverage since the late 1990s. In 1999 the French authorities built a refugee centre near the entrance to the Channel Tunnel which was run by the Red Cross. Dubbed 'Sangatte' by the British press, the centre provided shelter for up to 2000 refugees and migrants who had been sleeping rough in Calais and the surrounding area. In 2002 Sangatte was closed after the UK agreed to take some of the refugees living at the Centre. Since 2002 refugees have lived in squats and outdoor camps which have been dubbed 'jungles'. Despite the repeated bulldozing of camps by the French authorities, thousands of refugees still live in camps in the Calais area and periodically attempt to enter the UK.

Table 3.2 provides a breakdown of the geographical location of stories that featured in the UK Press. Stories which had a different geographical focus, or which didn't have a location, such as the reporting of government statements or changes in policy were coded as 'other'. As can be clearly seen in Table 3.2 the *Guardian* overwhelmingly focused on events in the Mediterranean with only 7.7% of its articles reporting on Calais. The *Mirror* also concentrated on the Mediterranean in more than 40% of its stories but with a more tabloid agenda, it also focused on Calais to a greater extent. This gave it a similar profile to the broadsheet *Telegraph*.

	Guardian	*Telegraph*	*Daily Mail*	*Sun*	*Daily Mirror*	Total UK Press
Mediterranean	44.2%	42.1%	25.8%	21.4%	41.7%	36.3%
Calais	7.7%	15.8%	38.7%	16.7%	12.5%	17.7%
Other	48.1%	42.1%	35.5%	61.9%	45.8%	46.0%

Table 3.2: Geographical location of UK press stories

The two right-wing tabloids in our sample had a radically different focus. Here, between one in four and one in five stories concentrated on the Mediterranean whilst the *Daily Mail* focused on Calais in nearly 40% of its coverage. This differential focus on the location of refugees had major impacts on the kinds of themes that appeared in stories and the explanations and solutions that were offered for refugee flows.

Who Gets to speak?

Patterns of source access are vitally important in influencing how debates are structured and who has the power to define issues. Reporting in this area was not dominated by elite domestic political sources to the same degree as it is in some other parts of the news agenda (see Wahl-Jorgensen et. al. 2013), though they were still the most prominent source. Politicians, and particularly Conservative politicians (see table 3.4) were heavily represented in the *Sun* and in particular in the *Mail*. Politicians also tended to appear early in news reports with the effect that they set the initial terms of debate. In addition, political sources were more likely than other sources to be used as definers of policy options. Overall this means that their voice has more weight than is indicated by the raw data in Table 3.3.

Whilst foreign politicians are prominent in the broadsheets, the EU does not have a major presence across the UK sample. The representation of refugee voices, and what they said varied significantly between newspapers. Refugee voices were most likely to be featured in the *Guardian* and the *Mirror* and when they did appear they were sometimes quoted at length within the context of sympathetic stories which reported on why they had to flee their countries' of origin, or their ordeals on their way to the EU:

> Syrian businessman Hani, 59, at the centre with wife Samah, 40, and their three children, tells me he paid £15,000 to get here. 'We had no choice but to leave Syria so I gave them what they asked for,' he says. 'It was an old fishing boat. There were about 500 of us. We were under the deck - they were asking even more to be on deck in the open air. If you don't have enough you are put below deck, in the hold, which they nail shut. It was hot and very crowded. One night the crew - three Egyptian men - jumped in a motor boat tied to the back and left us. For seven days we were floating. We had hardly any food.

> The water we had taken had run out. I felt helpless as a father, I just thought, We're going to die' (*Daily Mirror*, 4 January 2015)

Although some refugee voices in the right-wing press sometimes did feature accounts of suffering they were more likely, to merely state that they were determined to get to the UK because they would be safe, or provided for by the British state:

> Almaz, 23, from Eritrea, said: 'Every night I try to get into a truck going to England. I have been arrested by the police many times, beaten and had gas sprayed into my face. But I will get to England or die trying.' Mustafa, 24, also from Eritrea, said: 'I have lived through a year of hell to get this far. I am not going to stop now. I have crossed the desert, jailed in Libya and crossed the sea to Italy in a small boat. But I will forget it all when I get to England. I will be safe and free.' (*Daily Mail*, 5 September 2014)

> He arrived in the UK a month ago after hiding in a fridge inside a lorry from Calais. He had packed himself in with four others he had met during his journey from East Africa. 'My uncle told me Britain is the best place for refugees,' said Mero. Everyone in Eritrea knows you have to get to Britain, not Italy or France. I have friends there sleeping on the streets, and they have nothing to eat. In Calais, people are sleeping in the street. I know in the UK I will get something to eat and a bed to sleep in.' (*Daily Mail* 19 September 2014)

The UNHCR/UN tends to have a relatively low presence in the British Press and the manner in which the organisation was presented varied significantly between newspapers. This can be seen in the reporting of the organisation's criticism of the Conservative government's moves to change the immigration laws in December 2013. In the *Guardian* (26 December 2013) the story was given front page status and UNHCR head, Antonio Gueterres's, arguments that the legislation would lead to 'ethnic profiling' and the 'marginalisation' of refugees and asylum seekers were covered in detail. In contrast in the *Daily Telegraph* (26 December 2013) the intervention was framed as an example of the UN 'interfering' in UK politics. In the article the UNHCR's criticisms were overshadowed by a series of comments from Labour and Conservative spokespersons that the UNHCR was being 'ridiculously hysterical' and 'undermining the sovereignty of nations'. The article ended with a comment from the Conservative MP Bob Neill who argued that 'we will not take any lectures about how to manage our borders from a failed Portuguese socialist turned unelected UN bureaucrat.' A similar pattern could be observed in *Daily Mail* (27 December 2013) where Conservative criticism of the UNHCR's intervention dominated reporting including a comment from the MP, Peter Bone, that the comments from the UNHCR amounted to 'left-wing garbage' which 'should be treated with utter contempt.'

The presence of other refugee advocacy groups, NGOs and members of civil society are most concentrated in the Guardian. Here they were usually interviewed discussing the conditions of refugees or commenting on policy issues such as the withdrawal of the Mare Nostrum:

> Mare Nostrum showed it was possible to rescue tens of thousands of people, especially vulnerable people like pregnant women and children,' said Michele Prosperi, spokesperson for Save the Children Italy. 'Whatever shape or form the [new] system takes, it must guarantee the same capacity.' 'If the result were a reduced presence', he added, this would 'be a contradiction that we cannot accept' given the worsening situation this year in Libya and the Mediterranean. (*The Guardian,* 29 August 2014)

Although the *Telegraph* appears to feature significant space for NGO most of these appearances relate to a single article which reported on the contents of a letter protesting Government refugee policy which had been jointly signed by nine charities.

	Guardian	*Telegraph*	*Daily Mail*	*Sun*	*Daily Mirror*	Total Press
Domestic political	16.7%	12.9%	37.1%	20.8%	13.9%	20.3%
Citizen	11.0%	17.7%	15.1%	40.6%	27.5%	17.5%
Refugee/Migrant	11.3%	7.5%	6.9%	8.3%	27.5%	10.4%
Foreign Politician	10.8%	10.9%	6.9%	2.1%	3.9%	8.6%
NGO/Civil Society	10.2%	10.2%	5.7%	3.1%	3.9%	8.6%
Journalist / Media	5.4%	6.1%	2.5%	6.3%	3.9%	5.0%
UNHCR/UN	6.2%	2.1%	2.2%	0.0%	2.0%	3.9%
Academic / Expert	4.2%	4.1%	3.1%	3.1%	2.0%	3.7%
Police	1.4%	2.0%	1.3%	5.2%	2.0%	2.0%
MEP	0.8%	4.1%	1.9%	1.0%	3.9%	1.9%
IOM	2.5%	0.7%	0.6%	2.1%	0.0%	1.6%
Church / Religion	1.4%	4.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.6%
EU Commission	1.7%	0.7%	2.5%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%
Law / Judiciary	1.1%	2.7%	1.3%	0.0%	2.0%	1.4%
National Rescue Team	1.4%	1.4%	0.6%	0.0%	3.9%	1.2%
Trafficker/Smuggler	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	4.2%	0.0%	1.0%
FRONTEX	1.7%	0.7%	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
Think Tank	0.8%	1.4%	1.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.9%
Business	0.6%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%
Other	9.3%	8.2%	9.4%	3.1%	3.9%	7.8%
Total N	353	147	159	96	51	806

Table 3.3: Sources by UK newspapers (each source as a proportion of total sources)

The *Telegraph* was unusual in sourcing some opinion from religious figures, with most coverage centred on comments from the Pope or leading figures in the British church. These were either supportive of better treatment for refugees or critical of the treatment of Christians in the Middle East. The right-wing tabloids feature the perspective of migrants and their supporters relatively infrequently and are much more likely to frame stories around the perspectives of Conservative politicians, and the usually negative opinions of citizens expressed through vox pops or the letters pages. The letter pages themselves contain the great bulk of citizen voices and tend to reflect the overall editorial stance of the paper hosting them, with the majority of letters in the *Guardian* and *Mirror* expressing positive views about refugees and the majority of letters in the right-wing newspapers expressing negative perspectives.

Table 3.4 breaks down the domestic political sources by party allegiance and shows that in line with most previous research, incumbents dominate coverage, particularly in relation to the main opposition party. Conservative MPs were predominately opposed to taking in more refugees and migrants and instead argued that the UK should primarily be supplying financial aid. They also strongly advocated restricting migrants' and asylum seekers' access to state benefits, a stance that sometimes brought them into conflict with their collation partners, the Liberal Democrats:

> Backbencher Peter Bone said Mr Cameron should defend his policies, which include ensuring that migrants cannot claim benefits for their first three months in the UK. 'He's got to come out and say we're not the nasty party,' he said. We're not racists, we're not targeting foreigners. That's completely and utterly ridiculous. Someone should be out there saying that. If Vince Cable was a Conservative minister he would have been fired already.' (*Daily Mail*, 24 December 2013)

Conservative MPs were also sometimes critical of NGOs and in favour of the scrapping of the Mare Nostrum rescue ship which it was argued encouraged migratory flows across the Mediterranean. Labour appeared reticent to speak positively about migration and asylum. When it did speak on the subject it was primarily to criticise government policy on subjects such as the dispersal of refugees or the 'crisis in asylum housing' (*Daily Mirror*, 5 November 2014)

Our data also highlights the rise of the anti-immigrant UKIP Party which had a significance presence, especially in the *Daily Telegraph* where nearly 90% of political views were sourced from either the Conservatives or UKIP. Although UKIP has traditionally taken a hard line against migrants and asylum seekers, in our sample a significant degree of UKIP focused on comments by its leader, Nigel Farage, that the UK should take more Syrian (later qualified to 'Christian Syrian') refugees – a stance that drew much criticism from UKIP supporters:

> Nigel Farage. UKIP leader Nigel Farage attacked by his own party yesterday for demanding that Syrian refugees are allowed into Britain. Mr Farage, right, is stridently against fully opening our borders to Romanians and Bulgarians but said there is a 'responsibility' to give refuge to some Syrians fleeing the civil war. But hundreds of UKIP supporters blasted his call on the party's Facebook page. Lisa Mussett wrote: 'No, sorry, we are full. It's not our problem.' Andy Cotterill said: 'The civil war is not our fault, let them sort themselves out.' (*The Sun*, 30 December 2013)

Parties with more liberal attitudes towards immigration and asylum such as the Liberal Democrats, and particularly the Greens, struggled to be heard across the press - though the Liberal Democrat business secretary, Vince Cable, was repeatedly cited criticising government asylum and immigration policy. Overall this meant that when domestic political voices were heard they were overwhelmingly talking about refugees or migrants in a negative way.

	Guardian	*Telegraph*	*Daily Mail*	*Sun*	*Daily Mirror*	Total UK Press
Conservative	47.3%	57.9%	63.6%	52.2%	36.4%	54.0%
Labour	21.8%	5.3%	16.4%	30.4%	27.3%	19.6%
UKIP	12.7%	31.6%	10.9%	13.0%	36.4%	16.0%
Liberal Democrat	16.4%	5.3%	9.1%	4.3%	0.0%	9.8%
Green	1.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%
Total N	55	19	55	23	11	163

Table 3.4: Proportion of Political sources by UK Newspaper (each source as a proportion of all political sources)

Where do the refugees come from?

A significant issue in relation to coverage concerns which countries are identified as the places of origin for refugees. For instance, if the country of origin was identified as Syria this may be linked in some viewers' minds with the media coverage of the devastating war in that country. This identification may influence judgements about the factors underlying population movements and whether the individuals are seen as refugees or economic migrants. In contrast if no country or origin is identified or else very general labels such as African or North African are employed this may have different effects on how refugees and migrants are viewed. Research has found that the absence of political context can leave audiences badly informed about the factors behind refugee flows. For instance, audience research carried out by the Institute for Public Policy Research in 2005 found that 'virtually no participant mentioned events such as the wars in Iraq or Afghanistan as potential drivers of asylum' (Lewis, 2005:14, cited in Philo et. al. 2013: 4).

In table 3.5 we present the top six countries of origin identified across the press and the proportion of articles in which no country of origin is identified. Across all the papers and television broadcasts, except the *Daily Mail*, Syria is by the far most cited country of origin for refugees. Most of the press coverage thus at least approximately corresponds to UNHCR estimates of which countries are generating the largest refugee flows across the Mediterranean. A couple of other patterns are worthy of note. Whilst the left leaning newspapers tend to list exact countries of origin, right-wing titles are more likely to speak of general regions such as Africa, North Africa or the Middle East. Right-wing titles are also more likely not to list country of origin. This is significant because it effectively serves to detach refugees from an indentified country of origin and the push factors within that state.

Guardian		*Telegraph*		*Mail*		*Sun*		*Mirror*	
Syria	59.1%	Syria	49.1%	Africa	30.6%	Syria	50.0%	Syria	70.8%
Africa	21.2%	Africa	21.1%	Eritrea	25.8%	Africa	15.7%	Eritrea	16.7%
Eritrea	21.2%	Iraq	17.5%	Syria	24.2%	Afghanistan	9.5%	Sudan	8.3%
Somalia	11.5%	Eritrea	14.0%	Sudan	17.7%	Middle East	7.1%	Iraq	8.3%
Palestine	9.6%	North Africa	10.5%	Middle East	14.5%	Eritrea	7.1%	Africa	8.3%
Egypt	9.6%	Middle East	7.0%	Ethiopia	12.9%	Iraq	4.8%	Afghanistan	8.3%
Iraq	9.6%	Sudan	7.0%	North Africa	9.7%	North Africa	4.8%	Nigeria	4.2%
No country of origin identified	7.7%	No country of origin identified	10.5%	No country of origin identified	14.5%	No country of origin identified	14.3%	No country of origin identified	8.3%

Table 3.5: Identified Countries of Origin By UK Newspaper (Proportion of newspaper articles listing each country of origin)

What labels are used to describe refugees?

Refugee or migrant? Asylum seeker or illegal immigrant? Such labels are important because they indicate the protections afforded to newcomers under international law. Previous research on the UK press has highlighted the problematic use of terms such as ‘illegal migrant’ or ‘illegal immigrant’ as well as the consistent conflation of ‘refugees’ with ‘economic migrants’ (Alia and Bull, 2005; ICAR, 2012). A recent report from the UNHCR found that the majority of those making the sea crossing to Europe would qualify as refugees because they are ‘fleeing from war, conflict or persecution at home, as well as deteriorating conditions in many refugee-hosting countries’ (UNHCR, 2015: 2). This the UNHCR notes is particularly the case for those fleeing Syria, Eritrea and Afghanistan who are usually granted asylum in EU states:

> In 2014, the 28 Member States of the EU gave 95 per cent of Syrians protection in the first instance, the highest percentage of any nationality, according to Eurostat. The second and third highest countries of origin were Eritrea and Afghanistan, accounting for 12 per cent and 11 per cent of maritime arrivals respectively. In 2014, the 28 EU countries gave 89 per cent of asylum-seekers from Eritrea protection, and 63 per cent from Afghanistan. Arrivals from other top countries of origin, including Somalia, Iraq and Sudan, may also be in need of international protection. (UNHCR, 2015: 6)

The data presented in table 3.6 shows the different patterns in the use of labels across the UK press. A key difference is how often the terms migrant or immigrant were employed as opposed to refugee or asylum seeker. Amongst the two broadsheets the *Guardian* used migrant/immigrant slightly more that refugee or asylum seeker (51.5% vs. 47.1%) and it rarely used the terms 'illegal migrant' or 'illegal immigrant'. In contrast the *Telegraph* was considerably more likely to use terms such as migrant or immigrant (57.9% vs. 36.1%) as opposed to refugee or asylum seeker and was nearly six times more likely than the Guardian to refer to 'illegals', 'illegal migrants' or 'illegal immigrants'. When we turn to the tabloid press the differences between left and right publications are even more pronounced. Whilst the *Mirror* again tended to use the 'migrant/immigrant' labels more frequently (55.6% vs 40.2%), this disparity was much more pronounced in the *Sun* (62.1% vs 21.1%) and particularly the *Daily Mail* (75.9% vs 20%). It is also noticeable that the *Sun*'s use of the terms 'illegal', 'illegal immigrant' or 'illegal migrant' was at a level much higher than that in other parts of the media.

	Guardian	*Telegraph*	*Daily Mail*	*Sun*	*Daily Mirror*	Total UK Press
Migrant	46.6%	41.7%	65.8%	38.8%	47.9%	49.2%
Refugee	40.8%	29.9%	12.2%	14.3%	26.5%	29.9%
Immigrant	5.2%	16.2%	10.1%	23.8%	7.7%	9.8%
Asylum Seeker	6.3%	6.2%	8.5%	6.8%	13.7%	7.3%
Illegal	1.0%	5.9%	3.4%	16.3%	4.3%	3.8%
Total N	860	321	377	147	117	1822

Table 3.6: Labels by UK Newspapers (proportion of times each label is used as a proportion of total labels)

A couple of further points are worthy of note. First, that it doesn't matter if individuals were identified as Syria or Eritrean nationals who as the Eurostat data shows are overwhelmingly granted refugee status, they were still usually described as 'migrants', 'immigrants' or 'illegals' in most of the press. For instance the following excerpt is from a report in the *Sun* (16 January 2015) on the opening of the new Sagatte 'supercentre' in Calais:

> The supercentre even has banks of sockets so *migrants* can charge their phones – between attempts to stow away on UK-bound trucks. It is yards from the lorry routes where 3,000 *illegals* from countries including *Eritrea, Libya* and *Syria* live in a camp dubbed the The Jungle... Tory Philip Davies insisted the centre would tempt more *illegals*. He said: This will do nothing to stem the tide of *Illegal immigrants*" (Our italics)

In a similar vein the *Daily Mail* (22 October 2014) reported on the arrest of four Syrians in Kent:

> Four suspected *illegal immigrants* were discovered yesterday clinging to the roof of a lorry on a motorway...The men-believed to be from *Syria*- are thought to have resorted to climbing on top of the lorry from Poland after being found among its cargo of tyres. (Our italics)

Secondly, there is a tendency for newspapers to switch between using labels which have very different meanings often within the same article. For instance a report from the *Daily Telegraph* (1 January 2015) entitled '*Migrants* saved from deliberate shipwreck: 970 rescued after boat is abandoned and set on collision course with Italian coast' begins:

> Nearly 1000 *refugees* were safely brought ashore in Italy yesterday after being abandoned by suspected smugglers on a merchant ship that was locked on automatic pilot and set on a collision course with the coast...The *migrants* bundled up in hooded jackets and coats against freezing winds, smiled and gave the thumbs up as they disembarked before dawn from the merchant vessel in the port of Gallipoli. (our italics)

And in the *Guardian*:

> Eritreans make up a large proportion of the *illegal migrants* arriving in Southern Europe each year. The UN refugee agency, UNHCR, says the number of Eritrean *asylum seekers* rose threefold to over 37,000 over the first 10 months of 2014. (4 February 2015)

Across our newspaper sample we found that 42% of all articles used the terms migrant/immigrant and refugee/asylum seeker interchangeably within the same article, with the *Guardian* (57.7%) being the newspaper whose content most often followed this trend.

<u>Key themes in coverage</u>

As part of our analysis we coded for the kinds of themes which appeared in coverage. A full list of all the themes and how we coded for theme can be found in Appendix 1 (p. 274) All articles contained at least one theme and most contained multiple themes: 94.5% of newspaper articles featured at least two themes, 49.5% featured four or more themes and 13.5% of articles featured six or more themes. Themes could present refugees in a positive, negative or relatively neutral light. So for instance themes focusing on search and rescue operations we would generally classify as relatively neutral. Other themes such as refugee success stories in their host country or broadly empathetic humanitarian themes which concentrated on individual stories of suffering we would classify as broadly positive. Themes which stressed the threat posed by refugees whether this was cultural, linguistic, economic, health or security related we would classify as negative. Some themes such as political response/policy or human rights could be either positive or negative towards refugees depending on context.

	Guardian	*Telegraph*	*Daily Mail*	*Sun*	*Daily Mirror*	Average UK Press
Migration Figures / Levels	69.2%	71.9%	75.8%	54.8%	50.0%	64.3%
Search and Rescue / Aid Supplies	47.1%	42.1%	32.3%	31.0%	54.2%	41.3%
Receiving / Rejecting	44.2%	28.1%	40.3%	42.9%	41.7%	39.4%
Political Response / Policy	41.3%	29.8%	33.9%	38.1%	33.3%	35.3%
Mafia / Traffic	36.5%	26.3%	38.7%	21.4%	37.5%	32.1%
Mortality / Mortality Figures	41.3%	33.3%	25.8%	14.3%	20.8%	27.1%
Humanitarian (Elements)	41.3%	29.8%	16.1%	7.1%	29.2%	24.7%
Threat to Welfare / Benefits/ Resources	8.7%	15.8%	41.9%	26.2%	4.2%	19.4%
Threat to Communities / Cultural Threat	12.5%	14.0%	22.6%	9.5%	12.5%	14.2%
Journey	15.4%	8.8%	19.4%	7.1%	16.7%	13.5%
Threat to National Security	11.5%	7.0%	16.1%	11.9%	0.0%	9.3%
Crime	7.7%	7.0%	14.5%	7.1%	4.2%	8.1%
Human Rights	14.4%	7.0%	12.9%	0.0%	4.2%	8.1%
Humanitarian (Key Theme)	16.3%	8.8%	4.8%	0.0%	4.2%	6.8%
Health Risk for Country of Destination	1.9%	0.0%	4.8%	9.5%	4.2%	4.1%
Migrant/Refugees/Asylum Seekers Success	3.8%	5.3%	0.0%	4.8%	4.2%	3.6%
Post-arrival Integration	4.8%	1.8%	3.2%	2.4%	0.0%	2.4%
Total N	435	189	243	121	77	1065

Table 3.7: Themes by UK Newspaper (proportion of articles featuring each theme)

Table 3.7 shows the prevalence of different themes across our newspaper sample. Certain patterns are easily discernable. For instance some themes such as details of migration numbers, policy prescriptions, discussion of trafficking and the reception or rejection of refugees are covered widely across the press. This fits very much with previous research which has, for instance, noted how migration and asylum issues are commonly framed around (often disputed) numbers. Other patterns such as the tendency for the *Sun* and the *Mail* to feature less information about both mortality rates and search and rescue operations are partly a function of the fact that less of their coverage focused on events in the Mediterranean and more of it concentrated on Calais, than the other newspapers in the sample. In general both the *Daily Mail* and *Sun* featured a much greater concentration of threat themes than the other newspapers with threats to welfare, benefits and resources being particularly prevalent. These were usually linked to statistics emphasizing the size of refugee and migrant flows. A comment piece by the Sun's political editor, Trevor Kavanagh, was typical of this kind of coverage:

> In government the Tories talked big about controlling the flood, even as they welcomed 280,000 new arrivals each year. That number excludes those swarming across the Channel each day from Africa via Calais and countless others trafficked in through the back door. Angry voters see the results each day in overcrowded hospitals, schools and doctors surgeries were once forced to remain silent. Now, thanks to UKIP they have found their voice and keep shouting. For the first time, Labour MP squeal about migrants jumping the housing queue, undercutting wages, filing schools with a bedlam of languages and sending welfare handouts to families back home' (*Sun*, 13 October 2014)

Other articles combined health and economic threats such as a *Daily Mail* report entitled 'Immigrants, HIV and the True Cost to the NHS'. This claimed that 60% of the 7,000 new HIV cases diagnosed each year in the UK were among African migrants and that the prospect of free NHS treatment was drawing these people to Britain:

> In Britain doctors report increasing numbers of legal migrants and asylum seekers, particularly from Africa, who have HIV and other serious diseases. No one know exactly what health tourists cost the taxpayer each year. Professor Meirion Thomas, an eminent consultant who has worked for the NHS for 44 years and who has researched the issue thoroughly, believes the cost to the taxpayer to be billions of pounds annually...His words have been echoed by Professor Thomas, who says Health tourists come to the UK with pre-existing illnesses with the sole purpose of accessing free NHS care, and that our health service is being 'bled dry' by people suffering serious diseases such as HIV that require lengthy and expensive treatment. (*Daily Mail*, 11 October 2014)

Threat themes focused on the numbers of refugees trying to get to the UK or the violence of migrant groups in Calais were also prominent in headlines across the right-wing press as the following examples demonstrate:

> 30,000 Migrants Heading for UK are Held in Calais (*Daily Mail* 11 February 2015)
>
> Target Britain; Eritrean Immigrants who risk death to enter UK. Record wave of African war refugees behind Calais riots (*The Sun* 14 September 2014)
>
> Hooded anti-fascists clash with right-wing protestors as tempers reach boiling point over migrant invasion of port (*Daily Mail* 8 September 2014)
>
> Check your cars for migrant stowaways; Drivers urged to be extra vigilant as dash to reach Britain escalates. Cameron hits back in row with Calais mayor over a city 'taken hostage' (*Daily Telegraph* 6 September 2014)
>
> Hundreds of migrants try to storm ferries at Calais in a desperate dash for Britain (*Daily Telegraph* 5 September 2014)
>
> 400 migrants caught heading to UK from Calais in one weekend (*Daily Mail* 2 September 2014)
>
> Migrants step up attempts to get to Britain from 'war zone' Calais (*Daily Telegraph* 2 September 2014)

Other headlines suggested that refugees were being pampered, were ungrateful or were seeking 'El Dorado' within the UK:

> Living in comfort in a holiday hotel (at taxpayers' expense). The Calais lorry migrants (*Daily Mail* 27 September 2014)
>
> The Madness of Hotel Asylum (*Daily Mail* 19 September 2014)
>
> Hot Meals and Tennis Courts: Calais Camp for Migrants (*Daily Telegraph* 16 January 2015)
>
> Britain an El Dorado for migrants (*Daily Mail* 29 October 2014)
>
> Anyone for Sangatteau?; Sangatte 2 Opens with Michelin Chef £400k Calais Migrants Bill 3-Course Dinners Every Day (*The Sun* 16 January 2015)
>
> Cameron must come and tell them UK is no El Dorado says Calais mayor (*Daily Mail* 5 September 2014)

> Now Calais immigrants turn away free food because it's not spicy (*Daily Mail*, 8 May 2014)

The idea that refugees and migrants posed a 'cultural threat' or a threat to social cohesion also appeared in articles across our sample. Some of these alleged threats related to the UK but a number focused on France and Germany. For instance a number of papers reported on the rise of the German anti-Muslim group Pergida who have claimed to be standing against the 'Islamification' of Europe. A *Guardian* article entitled 'Muslims in Europe fear anti-Islamic mood will intensify after Paris attacks' took a wider sweep by focusing on the rise of a range of populist far right political parties across Europe, including that of Holland's Party for Freedom:

> Geert Wilders, the Dutch politician who faces trial for inciting racial hatred, repeated the sentiment that Europe is now 'at war'. He called for the 'de-Islamisation' of the west, adding in a statement: 'We have to close our borders, reinstate border controls, get rid of political correctness, introduce administrative detention and stop immigration from Islamic countries.' Wilders' Party for Freedom was once on the fringe of politics, but nowadays enjoys strong support in the polls. (*Guardian* 15 January 2015)

Another key negative theme involves the linkage of refugees with violent crime, property crime or terrorism offences. As can be seen from the data this is particularly prevalent in The *Daily Mail* which is twice as likely as any other newspaper to feature this theme. Criminality in the *Daily Mail* was repeatedly linked to violent and property crime allegedly committed by migrants/refugees in Calais, the entry of foreign criminals into the UK and the difficulty in deporting refugees and asylum seekers who had committed a crime in the UK.

Although the Guardian appears to feature a significant number of threat themes these usually only refer to statements that are made by Conservative/UKIP politicians or foreign groups such as the German anti-immigrant organisation Pegida, which are then often challenged within the body of the article.

Although the issue of human rights receives some coverage in both the right and left wing press, the way in which the issue was framed varies considerably between publications. In all six *Daily Mail* articles where the theme appeared, human rights legislation was framed negatively as an impediment or foreign imposition preventing Britain taking action against 'illegal' 'migrants' or 'immigrants'. In the *Telegraph* human rights were framed both positively and negatively whilst in the *Guardian* they were discussed overwhelming in a positive light.

A key theme which differentiates left and right wing newspapers in the UK is the presence (or absence) of humanitarian themes. We have classified humanitarian

themes as empathetic reporting which focuses on the suffering of refugees. This could involve for instance reports on the ordeals refugees had suffered in trying to escape war, enforced conscription or repressive regimes. Alternatively it could feature accounts of death and survival for those making the journey to the EU from their homeland. Sometimes, as in the following example from the *Guardian*, it can feature both these aspects:

> [Khalid] a Pakistani journalist... fled death threats after his investigations touched on corruption among powerful elites...In the Libyan capital he was kidnapped, held prisoner at gunpoint, and sold on to another armed group who put him into forced labour in agriculture. Whenever he tried to escape the dawn-to-dusk hard labour in the fields, he was brought back by armed guards. He described being subject to torture where his hands were tied over his head while his feet where placed on oil until his legs did the splits. Eventually he was helped to escape and taken to the coast. 'I had been running for months, I thought: death is behind me, death is in front of me, so I might as well try the sea' (*The Guardian*, 31 October 2014)

We also classified statements from human rights groups advocating more protection for refugees as part of this theme. Finally we note that humanitarian themes can involve statements which stress our obligations to those seeking sanctuary, or our shared humanity with refugees:

> This politics of denial over immigration is feeding a growing inhumanity: The cowardice and dishonesty of politicians means we now talk about people as if they were a virus. (Headline, *Guardian*: 29 November 2014)

> I want to give asylum seekers in Britain the chance to tell their own story; Asylum seekers are rarely presented as individuals with names, lives, skills and histories – they are simply vilified as we become increasingly insular and suspicious. (*Guardian*, 14 January 2015)

We have differentiated this theme by coding when these humanitarian themes constituted a relatively brief mention – maybe three of four sentences – and when it featured extended accounts which were a central feature of the article. As can be seen in Table 3.7 humanitarian themes could be found in more than half of coverage in the *Guardian* but in about a third of articles in the *Telegraph* and *Mirror*. However in the *Mail* such themes only appeared in one in five reports and in the *Sun*, one in 13.

Explanations for Population Flows

In this section we examined the explanations offered for refugee flows in news accounts. Are refugees fleeing from war or persecution? Are they escaping repressive regimes or forced conscription by ISIS? Alternatively are they drawn to the EU

because of economic opportunities or the welfare benefits available? In table 3.8 we provide data on the range and frequency of different explanations for refugee flows.

	Guardian	*Telegraph*	*Daily Mail*	*Sun*	*Daily Mirror*	UK Press Average
War/Conflict/Atrocities	58.7%	43.9%	35.5%	26.2%	45.8%	42.0%
Poverty/economic/ welfare	21.2%	21.1%	40.3%	14.3%	8.3%	21.0%
Repressive regime	16.3%	8.8%	8.1%	2.4%	8.3%	8.8%
Absence of border control	7.7%	1.8%	9.7%	0.0%	4.2%	4.7%
Isis/terrorism	2.9%	3.5%	4.8%	2.4%	0.0%	2.7%
Enforced conscription	2.9%	0.0%	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.9%
EU-US foreign policy stoking conflict	1.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%
Pull factors of Mare Nostrum/patrols	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%
No reason in article	34.6%	42.1%	35.5%	64.3%	54.1%	46.1%
Total N	117	35	45	15	16	228

Table 3.8: UK Explanations for population flows (proportion of articles featuring each explanation)

As can be seen from the table the *Guardian* featured explanations for refugee flows at a much higher level than other newspapers. On average each *Guardian* article featured 1.1 explanations for refugee flows whilst each *Daily Mail* article featured 0.73 explanations, each *Telegraph article* 0.61 explanations and each *Sun* article 0.35 explanations. The *Guardian* overwhelmingly presented refugee flows as being driven by people attempting to escape war, conflict or repressive regimes:

> With conflict, violence and persecution continuing in countries including Syria, the Palestinian territories and Eritrea, this year has seen a huge increase in the number of people trying to reach Europe by sea (*Guardian* 1 November 2014)

Amongst the right of centre titles this explanation is much less prominent appearing in just over a third of articles in the *Mail* and approximately a quarter of articles in the *Sun*. The second most popular explanation for population flows was that people were driven by economic factors. This could involve arguments that people were fleeing poverty, coming to the EU to work, or more pejoratively were attracted because of welfare benefits. All newspapers stressed to some degree the economic basis of migration though in the left wing papers this tended to be linked to the desire to find work (or escape poverty), whilst the right wing press was more likely to stress the alleged pull of government welfare, housing and the NHS. As the data shows this was particularly the case in the *Daily Mail* which was the only publication to give more weight to economic pull factors over humanitarian push explanations. The *Daily Mail*

was also more likely than other newspapers to frame the arrival of migrants in the UK as being due a failure of border control, primarily at Calais.

Solutions to the Migrant/Refugee Crisis

The question of how to deal with refugees attempting to enter the EU is deeply controversial. Many governments under pressure from domestic public opinion have advocated a policy dubbed 'Fortress Europe' which has involved attempts to prevent refugees and asylum seekers entering the EU (Amnesty, 2014). In contrast NGOs and human rights groups have advocated a unified EU policy which would see European states agree to take in more refugees. Other options that have been put forward recently include proposals to destroy trafficking vessels before they set sail, and the restriction of welfare benefits to refugees. Table 3.9 provides data on the range of solutions which were featured in newspaper accounts.

	Guardian	*Telegraph*	*Daily Mail*	*Sun*	*Daily Mirror*	UK Press Average
Aid/assistance	20.2%	19.3%	9.7%	9.5%	0.0%	11.7%
Reduce migration/remove migrants	10.6%	8.8%	12.9%	9.5%	4.2%	9.2%
Greater restrictions on benefits/aid	2.9%	5.3%	24.2%	11.9%	0.0%	8.9%
Taking in refugees/more legal channels for migration	12.5%	12.3%	3.2%	7.1%	0.0%	7.0%
More security at borders	7.7%	12.3%	6.5%	2.4%	4.2%	6.6%
UN Syrian Vulnerable Persons Relocation Scheme	9.6%	5.3%	0.0%	2.4%	12.5%	6.0%
United/EU Response	13.5%	10.5%	3.2%	0.0%	0.0%	5.4%
Conflict resolution	9.6%	5.3%	0.0%	2.4%	4.2%	4.3%
Act against jihadis/ISIS	0.0%	3.5%	1.6%	2.4%	0.0%	1.5%
Search and rescue operations should be increased	1.9%	0.0%	3.2%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
Change foreign policy	2.9%	0.0%	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.9%
Action/prevention taken on smugglers/traffickers	1.0%	1.8%	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.9%
Replacing Mare Nostrum	2.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%
No solution in	44.2%	42.1%	48.4%	61.9%	83.3%	56.0%

article						
Total N	101	50	44	21	6	222

Table 3.9: UK Solutions to the refugee/migrant crisis (proportion of news articles featuring each response)

As the data in table 3.9 shows, a large proportion of press stories did not discuss any potential solution to the crisis of migration, and this is particularly so in the *Sun* and the *Mirror*. The most prominent solution involved general statements about the need to provide more aid or assistance for refugees such as these comments from the Pope captured in the *Daily Telegraph*:

> We cannot allow the Mediterranean to become a vast cemetery. The boats landing on the shores of Europe are filled with men and women who need acceptance and assistance. (Pope Francis cited in the *Daily Telegraph,* 26 November 2014)

The argument that the crisis requires a united EU response was featured infrequently in our sample in comparison to other countries such as Sweden, and particularly, Spain and Italy. This may be because Britain has been largely successful in preventing refugees and migrants from reaching the UK and so any concept of burden sharing, quotas or a unified European response would involve taking large numbers of refugees. When such calls were made they came principally from European politicians and NGOs who were given some space in the broadsheets but almost no representation in the tabloids.

Calls to reduce the number of migrants coming to the UK or to deport those whose asylum cases had been refused were another prominent response. These arguments were put forward by columnists, Conservative and UKIP spokespersons as well as members of the public in vox pops and the letters pages. Once again although the *Guardian* featured such perspectives, it was only in the context of reporting on the views of politicians or other sources. Calls to 'get migration under control' were also made by foreign politicians as in the following example where an Italian MP advocates the policy as a response to alleged security threats:

> ITALY has warned Europe to expect an exodus of migrants 'without precedent' if Islamic State is allowed to get a stronger grip in Libya. Rome also said there was a risk of jihadis 'slipping into Europe' after boarding boats crossing the Mediterranean. Interior minister Angelino Alfano insisted the North African state was an 'absolute priority', warning there was 'not a minute to lose'. Speaking after 2,164 migrants were rescued at sea in a 24-hour period at the weekend, he said: 'If migration is not brought under control there is a risk of jihadis slipping into Europe. The Libyan question is vital for the future of the West.' (*Daily Mail* 17 February 2015)

Restricting the right of newcomers to claim benefits was another response advocated prominently in parts of the right-wing press. This has been a key issue for the Conservative Party who have been in conflict with the European Union over the right to deny EU citizens state benefits. It was also prominently advocated by the Mayor of Calais, Natacha Bouchart, whose view, that Britain had such generous benefits that it was seen as an 'El Dorado' by migrants and refugees, was reported across the entire sample:

> Britain is an 'El Dorado' for thousands of migrants flocking to Calais because of generous handouts, the French port's mayor has told MPs. Blaming the UK for the crisis, Natacha Bouchart said lavish benefits and the prospect of illegal work and accommodation were magnets for immigrants determined to get across the English Channel... 'The weekly benefits of £36 that are given to migrants or asylum seekers is a huge amount for people who have nothing in their lives'... She added: 'There has not been a message from the British government saying, "This is not El Dorado". If it is not true you need to be saying it very loudly and clearly in our country and across and throughout Europe.'...Mrs Bouchart said Britain was a 'soft touch', telling MPs to 'take responsibility' and that 'if you have conditions that are attractive to migrants you need to be thinking about changing those'. (*Daily Mail,* 28 2014)

> Mayor of Calais Natacha Bouchart blames British benefits system for migrant influx: Politician in charge of the French port tells British MPs that generous handout to asylum seekers in Britain is major factor in crisis (Headline, *Daily Telegraph,* 28 October 2014)

> Britain's 'favourable' benefits magnet for 'violent' migrants says Calais Mayor (*Daily Mirror,* 28 October 2014)

> BRITAIN'S 'soft-touch' benefits system encourages immigrants to risk their lives trying to sneak into the country, the Mayor of Calais said yesterday... The mayor sparked fury by suggesting a centre be built there to house the 2,500 currently waiting but argued: 'The real magnet is not Calais, it is the UK benefits process.' (*Sun*, 29 October 2014)

Bouchart's views were challenged in the left of centre titles, however. The *Guardian* published a comment piece from an academic, Philippe Marlière, who denounced Bouchart's comments as a 'travesty' and pointed out that Britain took relatively few asylum seekers, and that Europe's poor history of conflict resolution was a bigger factor in driving population movements than its benefits system:

> Migrants do not come to our shores to take a pleasant break from their working lives. The large majority of them have fled their countries because of wars and persecutions; they are homeless and penniless. Most of the asylum

> seekers in Calais, living in abject conditions, come from Libya, Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria. In those areas, American and European military interventions have resulted in making the local populations less safe and less prosperous. Those who lament the increase in asylum seekers' applications fail to understand that there is a correlation between those rising figures and the hopeless manner in which European governments manage crisis resolution in zones of conflict (*Guardian*, 29 October, 2014)

The *Daily Mirror* was also highly critical of Bouchart's comments and in an editorial also took aim at the Conservative government's attitudes towards refugees:

> THE right-wing Mayor of Calais Natacha Bouchart - a French Tory - must not be allowed to get away with passing the buck on migrants in the Channel port. She should be demanding that the national authorities in Paris do something about the 2,500 people she claims are not asylum seekers instead of coming over here and whining that Britain is to blame. She is ignorant of our toughened-up benefits system if she thinks it's a 'magnet'. But perhaps the attraction of an English language spoken around the world would be too humiliating for a French nationalist to acknowledge. Britain has no open door when our Government is prepared to let refugees drown in the Mediterranean. Now that is a real scandal. (Editorial, *Daily Mirror* 29 October 2014)

The argument that Britain should take in more refugees or create safe routes for migration appeared most prominently in the *Guardian* and *Telegraph*. This position was advocated by the UNHCR, NGOs, columnists and the Guardian itself in its editorials:

> Aid agencies accuse Government of closing its borders and say it must do more to resettle people fleeing the conflict. The United Nations hosted a conference in Geneva yesterday aimed at encouraging countries to pledge to take more refugees from Syria, which faces the biggest humanitarian catastrophe in modern history.' The [British] numbers are pitiful, and dwarfed by the need in the region,' said Karla McLaren, government and political relations manager with Amnesty International. (*Daily Telegraph*, 10 December 2014)

> The *Guardian* view on Syrian refugees: More should be allowed to come to the UK: All governments promise more humanitarian aid than they can deliver. But the inadequacy of the Home Office response to the most vulnerable Syrian refugees is shaming. (Headline, *Guardian* 1 February 2015)

Despite the fact that migration and asylum were primarily attributed to people fleeing conflict, persecution and poverty there were very few instances where solutions to these push factors were proposed. Instead most of the focus, particularly in the right-

wing press was concentrated on turning people away, reducing eligibility to claim benefits or strengthening border security. There were a handful of articles in the *Guardian* and *Telegraph* citing the need to stabilize Libya or to protect human rights in Eritrea as in this piece which cited comments from the UN's special rapporteur:

> Sheila Keetharuth, the UN's special rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Eritrea and a member of the commission, said: 'I have had the opportunity to speak to many Eritreans who have fled their country. I am not surprised that the number of Eritreans choosing this path keeps increasing - simply because I have not seen authorities committing to changing the root causes of this exodus. My work has highlighted the lack of rule of law, breaches of fundamental rights, with scores of reported cases of extrajudicial executions, enforced disappearances, arbitrary detention and torture in detention - all of which give reasons to Eritreans to flee. The protracted national service, under conditions that often turn it into forced labour and create a fertile ground for other violations, is another compelling one.' (*Guardian* 21 November 2015)

However such arguments were very much in the minority. The problem of migrants and refugees was primarily presented as one to be solved within the EU with together borders and more punitive restrictions.

UK Broadcast Coverage

Our broadcast coverage examined BBC and ITV news reporting of the crisis during 2014. We have selected the BBC Ten O'clock and ITV Ten O'clock broadcasts because these are the bulletins with by far the largest audience on television, and are thus likely to have the greatest impact on public knowledge and attitudes. Due to a shortage of time and resources we were not able to have a researcher view the entirety of the year's bulletins in order to identify where reporting of the crisis appeared. Instead we had to rely on a list of news stories for 2014 produced by one of our doctoral students. This means that we cannot be certain that we have picked up every single story on the topic that appeared on these bulletins during 2014. However we have no reason to suspect that this sample is skewed in any systematic fashion so should be indicative of broad trends in news coverage.

BBC Coverage

We identified 16 stories in our BBC coverage during 2014 which were centred on a variety of geographical locations. The largest proportion of bulletins (5 stories) reported on events at the port of Calais. In its geographical focus then, the BBC, like the British tabloids, was strongly focused on what happened at the French port. Three stories featured location reports from North African transit countries such as Libya and Egypt, whilst another three focused on policy discussions at Westminster. Three further stories concentrated on people who had arrived in Britain. Only two stories across the whole of 2014 focused on specific events in the Mediterranean, whilst one reported on the experiences of refugees in France.

Key themes in Coverage

Policy debates

The three BBC reports from January 2014 (27 January, 28 January, 29 January 2014) concentrated on the political manoeuvrings at Westminster over government asylum policy. It was reported that the Liberal Democrats and the Conservatives were split over policy, with the Conservatives wanting to stick to providing aid and the Liberal Democrats pushing to take a number of refugees – 'in the hundreds probably' (BBC News at Ten, 27 January). It was further reported that the Home Office wanted to stay out of a UN refugee settlement scheme because it would 'set a precedent' and could allow the UN to 'up its demands to ask for more numbers and from other crisis areas as well.' The following day the BBC reported that the Government had backed down in the face of a Commons rebellion and agreed to take 'several hundred' of the 'most vulnerable people' from refugee camps in the Middle East , though it had given 'no target' and 'no quota' on how many would be accepted. The final report on 29 January 2014 was effectively a follow up on the new government policy. It featured statements saying that the UN was happy the UK was taking some refugees and a brief statement from a UNHCR representative saying that the UK had the facilities to help traumatised refugees.

A lead story on 28 October 2014 also focused on a key policy issue in the crisis: what kind of EU search and rescue mission should be operated in the Mediterranean? This reported on what it described as 'urgent talks' in Brussels to deal with the 'growing number of migrants coming from North Africa'. The report discussed plans to scale back patrols in the Mediterranean, and cited comments from refugee groups that such moves were 'morally reprehensible'. The bulletin then featured arguments from 'Europe' and the Home Office that 'a wider mission will only end up encouraging more migrants'. However the journalist then balanced these statements by remarking that 'some say desperate people will not be deterred by risk' against the backdrop of images of refugees trying to scale barbed wire fences in the Spanish enclave of Mueta. The report also featured a brief interview statement from Michael Diedring, (member of the EU Council On Refugees and Exiles), who stated that 'the position of not supporting search and rescue is deplorable because if people are in danger they need to be rescued. That needs to be the first priority', and comments from the refugee council that 'Europe was in the grip of the greatest refugee crisis since the second world war' and noted that the UNHCR stated that half of those trying to get to Europe were Syrian or Eritrean. This comment from the UNHCR was not developed by indicating that such nationalities typically qualify for refugee status.

Overall discussion of policy was limited. Only four articles discussed the EU or UK response in any detail and three of these focused exclusively on the policy positions of the three main parties at Westminster over taking a few hundred refugees. The fourth focused entirely on the question of what kind of search and rescue mission should be employed in the Mediterranean. Other broader debates which appeared across the rest of our sample, such as the need for more legal migration routes or the need to address push factors, did not appear in coverage.

Death in the Mediterranean

Two stories concentrated on disasters in the Mediterranean (BBC News at Ten, 25 August 2014, 15 September 2014). Both were very brief accounts presented by a news anchor with no location report. For instance, this is the September report in its entirety:

> It's feared that more than 700 migrants from Africa and the Middle East may have drowned in the Mediterranean in the past week, according to the International Organisation for Migration. In the worst incident, 500 are believed to have died when their boat sank near Malta. There are claims traffickers deliberately sank the vessel after an argument'

The August report which was even more brief merely reported that 170 'African migrants' had drowned 30 miles from Triploi.

Refugees in the UK: The Afghan 'stowaways'

There were three consecutive days of coverage (BBC News at Ten, 18-20 August 2014) which focused on the fate of a group of Afghan refugees who entered the UK in a sealed shipping container. One of the refugees had suffocated during the journey and it made clear on BBC News that the others, who included a number of children had suffered a traumatic journey:

> Traumatised and cold for 18 hours, men, women and children were crammed inside this container...although 34 immigrants were rescued one man died (BBC News at Ten 18 August 2014)

One of the three reports also contained some context on why these people had fled Afghanistan. It was said that in Afghanistan 'the situation for Sikhs is getting worse' and that the community was being subject to threats. A journalist commented:

> Sikhs have lived in Afghanistan for two centuries and in the 1970s were thought to number around 200,000 but due to persecution and decades of conflict their population has fallen. Some estimates put it at just 2000 (BBC News at Ten 18 August 2014)

However, despite the fact that it was stated that the Sikhs were claiming asylum BBC repeatedly framed the issue as one of 'illegal immigration':

> More than 30 illegal immigrants found in a shipping container in Essex have begun the process of claiming asylum in Britain (BBC News at Ten 18 August 2014)

> A second man has been arrested in connection with the death of an immigrant found in a shipping container at Tilbury docks... The suspect, aged 33 and from Londonderry, is to be questioned on suspicion of manslaughter and facilitating illegal entry into the UK.

Thus, although the coverage adopted a somewhat sympathetic stance towards the plight of the refugees and even provided some context on their decision to flee Afghanistan, reporting still worked within a framework which saw the problem as being one of illegal immigration.

Disorder in Calais

As previously noted Calais was the focus for five of the 14 articles in the studies. These dealt with a variety of angles such as the arrest of migrants and refugees for trying to get aboard ferries (BBC News at Ten, 3 September 2014), the destruction of their makeshift camps (BBC News at Ten, 28 May 2014) and protests against 'heavy handed' French policing (5 September 2014). The situation at Calais was consistently referred to as a problem of 'illegal' 'migration' or 'immigration' rather than an issue

that related in part to the resettlement of refugees. This can clearly be seen in relation to how the BBC framed the issue:

> Britain and France are attempting to bolster security at Calais in an attempt to help tackle the problem of illegal immigrants trying to enter the UK. (BBC News at Ten, 9 October 2015)

> Extra [French officers] have been deployed in the town [Calais] to deal with the increased number of migrants trying to get into Britain illegally (BBC News at Ten, 5 September 2015)

This tendency to exclusively frame the crisis of one of illegal migration or illegal immigration can also be seen in other coverage not centred on Calais. For instance a lead report on 30 May 2015 opened with these words:

> The number of migrants reaching Europe illegally rises dramatically. More than 40,000 have made the journey so far this year, often using people smugglers. (BBC News at Ten, 28 May 2015)

With the coverage tending to define the issue as one of illegal migration, it is unsurprising that much of the coverage centred on the question of how to strengthen borders to prevent 'migrants' reaching Britain. For instance a bulletin on 4 September 2015 reported that France was sending police reinforcements to Calais after 'crowds of men desperate to reach the UK' were reported trying to enter private cars. It was said that 'confrontations between police and migrants were notching up' and that French 'police say migrants are becoming more forceful'. The report also featured comments from a British traveller who spoke about people trying to enter vehicles and an interview with the Mayor of Calais on how Britain needed to do more to deal with the problem.

Four out of the five bulletins did feature the voice of refugees. Only one of these gave any significant context as to why these people had left their homelands, the rest dwelt more on people's motivation and determination to reach Britain. For instance a report on 28 May 2014 spoke of the desire of 'migrants' to get 'across to the promised land' and featured brief interviews with two individuals who spoke of their desire to join family in the UK or find work. Another report featured a very brief interview with a young Eritrean man who expressed his determination to reach the UK. The reporter states he 'is 21, an engineering student from Eritrea, he says he doesn't speak French and will try again tonight to reach British shores.' There is no explanation about why he might have fled Eritrea or whether such nationals might qualify for refugee status (BBC News at Ten, 4 September 2015). Another bulletin featured an interview with an African 'John' whose brother had died in Sudan, and who had spent five months trying to enter the UK. 'John' stated that he had been assaulted by French police and that they (refugees and migrants) were not respected in France, unlike Britain. In concluding, the report clearly adopts a sympathetic tone but exclusively frames the situation as one of economic migration:

> But for most this is not the end but the last stage of a long journey, over deserts and over seas driven by a desire for work, a common language, simple hardship and that powerful human emotion, hope. (BBC News at Ten, 5 September 2015)

This tendency to frame those at Calais as economic migrants can also be seen in article from 30 May 2014 when a journalist remarked:

> I was with the migrants who were being evicted from camps by the French authorities earlier in the week and it was clear that they come from absolutely everywhere. Lots and lots of Syrian refugees as you would imagine, but also lots of migrants, economic migrants from West Africa and all the sub Saharan countries from the Horn of Africa, from Eritrea in particular from Iran and Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Aside from the Syrians all the other nationals were categorised as economic migrants. However, some of these were likely to qualify for refugee status. The countries that the journalist cited are at the top of the EU table for asylum applications. Furthermore some claims, particularly those from Eritrean asylum seekers, are usually accepted. Human Watch note that:

> In line with global refugee recognition statistics for Eritreans in recent years, 89 percent of the 15,900 Eritrean asylum seekers whose cases were resolved in the EU in 2014 received some kind of protected status. Sixty percent received refugee status and 27 percent received subsidiary protected status based on human rights grounds. (Human Rights Watch, 2015)

However, one bulletin did report on the conditions Eritreans were fleeing and this did provide significant context (BBC News at Ten, 9 October 2014). Although this was the bulletin that began by reporting on attempts to 'bolster security' to prevent the arrival of 'illegal immigrants' at Calais, it also featured a location report which examined the experiences of Ida, a 17 year old Eritrean woman who was living in the camp at Calais. The journalist spoke of life in the 'squalid camps', where the 'most ruthless can thrive' and the hopes of those who lived there to get to Britain, which was described as a 'mirage, tantalising but unreachable'. The journalist stated that 'growing numbers are Eritreans like Ida fleeing a regime that imposes mass conscription'. A short interview with Ida followed:

> Journalist: Why did you leave your country?
>
> Ida: I can't live. I can't live because they have all the time fights. Life is in danger
>
> Journalist: She made a journey of 4500 miles across desert and sea in the company of people traffickers and predatory men.

> Ida: Yes I pass so many problems. I can't explain now but I have a lot of problems to be here. So it's very hard especially for a girl.

The journalist talked about tensions between local residents and those living in the camp before noting that:

> This queue of hungry and desperate people comes from all over the world. Their presence here in Europe is testament to the crises enveloping so many countries but also to an almost mythic idea of Britain, the place that they see as the answer to all their problems.

Aside from this account there were a further four articles which discussed the experiences of migrants and refugees. It is to these that we will now turn.

The Experiences of Refugee and Migrants

Although BBC reports featured almost no advocacy of a more open and liberal asylum policy, that didn't mean that reporting wasn't empathetic towards the plight of refugees and migrants. Aside from the account above, a further three reports featured location reports which examined, through interviews, the experiences of those trying to enter the EU. One report from the port of Alexandria involved an interview with a Palestinian family who said that they had fled Gaza because of Hamas (BBC News at Ten, 28 October 2014). The family revealed that they had lost many of their relatives when traffickers rammed a boat carrying refugees and migrants. They stated that although they had warned their relatives of the dangers, their relatives believed there was no future in Gaza or Egypt. A second report examined the plight of what were described as '400 illegal immigrants from Africa and beyond' being held in camps in Libya (BBC News at Ten, 30 May 2014). The journalist noted the very poor conditions in the camp and visited a morgue which is 'full' of 'migrants'. The journalist stated that the 'these men have risked everything to get this far. Libya warns without action more will follow'. A final report examined the experiences of a Syrian family which was seeking asylum in France.

Language and Labels

As Table 3.10 shows, the dominant label in BBC accounts was 'migrant' which was used more than all the other labels combined. Often, as in many press accounts, the labels migrant and refugee were used interchangeably in the same bulletin. It was also clear that sometimes those classified as 'migrants' or 'illegal immigrants' were actually very likely to qualify for refugee status, as with the Eritrean refugee, Ida, cited above.

Migrant	50.7%
Refugee	28.2%
Illegal	9.9%
Immigrant	9.9%
Asylum Seeker	1.4%
Total N	71

Table 3.10: BBC Labels (each label as a proportion of all labels)

As already discussed, there was a marked tendency to frame the crisis as one of 'illegal' migration or migrants and this shows up in the frequency of the use of the word 'illegal' which was used seven times in the 14 reports.

Sources

As can be seen in table 3.10, the most frequently accessed sources were refugees and migrants who were primarily featured discussing their experiences of trying to enter the EU or UK or to a lesser extent why they had to leave their countries of origin. Citizens were the next most featured sources and these were primarily those passing through Calais and had come into contact with refugees or migrants, such as lorry drivers or holidaymakers.

Migrant / Refugee	37.0%
Citizen	22.2%
Domestic Politician	11.1%
NGO	7.4%
Foreign Politician	3.7%
UNHCR/UN	3.7%
Libyan coastguard	3.7%
Trafficker	3.7%
Italian navy	3.7%
EU Council	3.7%
Total N	37

Table 3.11: BBC Sources (Each source as a proportion of all sources)

Domestic Political sources were not featured, apart from the three reports in January, which looked at the debates at Westminster. The low level of domestic political sourcing indicates that the issue was not one that involved any real degree of political contestation amongst the main parties. The Conservatives were pursuing a very restrictive approach towards immigration and asylum and the opposition Labour party, aware of the deep hostility amongst much of the population on the issues, were unwilling to challenge government policy. Other voices opposed to the position of the UK government, such as NGOs or the UNHCR were rarely featured, especially so in relation to policy. Ultimately this meant that government, and to a large extent EU, policy was largely uncontested.

Reasons and Solutions

The BBC featured some form of explanation for population movements in eight out of 16 of its reports. The most frequently cited factor was the need to flee conflict which was mentioned in six reports. Usually these references were very brief and rarely extended further than a single sentence or two. Economic pull factors such as the search for jobs or a 'better life' in Europe were mentioned in three articles, whilst the impact of repressive regimes or the pull factor of search and rescue patrols were each mentioned in a single article.

War/conflict/atrocities	37.5%
Economic Pull factors	18.8%
Repressive regimes	6.2%
Pull factor of Mare Nostrum/sea patrols	6.2%
No reason given	50.0%

Table 3.12: BBC Explanations (proportion of articles featuring each explanation)

Strengthen borders	25.0%
EU Help/Funding	6.2%
Increase search and rescue patrols	6.2%
No solution offered	68.8%

Table 3.13: BBC Solutions (proportion of articles featuring each solution)

Discussion of how to respond to the crisis was relatively muted. Only six out of 16 articles referred to any kind of solution and by far the most referenced response (in four articles) was to strengthen border security at Calais. Calls for more EU help and the need to expand search and rescue operations were mentioned in a single article.

ITV Coverage

Across 2014 we found 12 bulletins on the crisis on ITV News at Ten. Of these, four focused primarily on the experiences of migrants and refugees who had reached the UK, and another three looked at events in the Mediterranean. Two were mainly concerned with events at Calais and a further two focused on policy debates. The final article reported on the movement of migrants and refugee through transit countries in North Africa. ITV coverage then looked similar in terms of its focus to that produced by the BBC.

Policy Debates

Two of the three articles which covered policy debates focused on debates at Westminster between the three main parties. An article from 28 January 2014 reported on an agreement between the main three parties to run an 'independent scheme' which would take a few hundred of the 'most vulnerable refugees' from camps in the Middle East. It was reported that aid agencies 'welcomed the move' but

said the numbers were ‘not enough’, and a representative of Save the Children stated that Britain ‘should be looking at the thousands’. A second briefer report on 29 January 2014 featured a statement from the Home Secretary, Teresa May, stating that the UK would take the most vulnerable refugees but would retain control over the number of people granted asylum. The final report which mentioned policy was built around a statement from the UN:

> The United Nations says Western countries must take in more refugees escaping the fighting in Syria. It wants 130,000 to be given new homes in the next two years. So far Britain has taken 84. (ITV News at Ten, 9 December 2014)

This report also featured a sympathetic interview with a refugee family who had been granted leave to remain in the West Midlands under the UK government resettlement programme. The reporter referring to a refugee child spoke of how ‘her mother hopes her eyes will never have to see what she witnessed. The horror of war. Life as a prisoner daily threatened with death’. The refugee then spoke of having witnessed ‘beating, massacres, people killed right in front of us.’ The journalist then stated that the ‘United Nations says tens of thousands of refugees urgently need to be resettled’ before adding the Government says that hundreds will be allowed to come in the next few years and that ‘charities say to date the number is just 84’. The report concluded with the reporter citing a call from the pressure group Citizen UK that Britain should take 1500 refugees per year. Overall then, discussion of policy was quite limited, aside from the December 2014 article which reported on the call from the UN.

Death in the Mediterranean

Of the three articles focused on events in the Mediterranean, one consisted of a very brief statement from a news anchor which merely stated that a boat had sank and gave an estimate for the loss of life. The other two were much more extensive and featured location reports. One reported on an incident in the Mediterranean in which people smugglers were said to have deliberately rammed a refugee boats leading to the deaths of 500 people. The report gave details of the scale of migration flows and mortality statistics and stated that the conflict in Syria is ‘part of the reason for the rise in numbers’. The bulletin also reported that there had been calls for the EU to give more help and resources for the countries in southern Europe, and included a statement from a UNHCR spokesperson who said that ‘there needs to be a concerted effort by the European countries to do more in the Mediterranean. The Italians have mounted an incredible effort. They have saved thousands of people’. The final bulletin, which was a follow up report on the disaster in September, was by far the most empathetic and moving bulletin in the sample. It consisted of a series of interviews with survivors of the tragedy. The report began with the following words:

> There is a tide of humanity sailing towards Europe this autumn. Refugees from Iraq, Syria, Gaza, Libya, Egypt. From every conflict that’s filled our

> news bulletins all year come the frightened, the displaced, the dispossessed. All preferring to risk their lives on the open seas rather than live in homelands ravaged by war. (ITV News at Ten, 6 October 2014)

The reporter then spoke of refugees who 'still have nightmares about watching their friends and family die...one man says he was powerless as his wife and children died in front of him'. Survivors spoke about being rammed by the trafficker's boat and in an interview with a man who lost his wife and two children, a reporter commented 'all Shukri has left of the family lost in the Mediterranean are a few photos on a phone.'

The reporting on events in the Mediterranean tended to be empathetic and provided important context about the factors driving people to make the perilous journey across the Mediterranean. However, there wasn't any real discussion of what could be done to resolve the issue - such as creating safe routes for migration - and British government policy wasn't subject to any significant critical scrutiny.

Refugees in the UK: The Afghan 'stowaways'

Like the BBC, ITV news featured the story of the Afghan refugees in three separate bulletins. All three provided some explanation, however brief, for why they had to flee Afghanistan. The first bulletin stated that 'persecution in Afghanistan was so appalling they were prepared to die rather than return.' (ITV News at Ten, 18 August 2014) The second report spoke of people escaping 'death threats', whilst the third spoke of Afghans 'fleeing persecution' (ITV News at Ten, 19 August 2014, 20 August 2014). All three bulletins also featured coverage which emphasised the suffering that the 'stowaways' had endured. One spoke of 'harrowing accounts' of 'appalling conditions' whilst another spoke of the 'horror they have endured' in their 'journey for a new life' (ITV News at Ten, 18 August 2014, 20 August 2014). One bulletin framed them as the victims of 'exploitation' from people traffickers. In this bulletin there were interviews with the survivors which centred on the networks of smugglers who had helped get them to Europe and how they had sold all their possessions to afford the journey, whilst one refugee spoke of his fear of dying and not seeing his children again. Yet despite the repeated mention of the fact that the survivors were fleeing persecution, the issue was consistently framed as a problem of illegal immigration and discussion of responses concentrated on what security measures could be put in place to stop people reaching the UK. For instance a journalist commented that:

> At the port of Zeebrugge where the container carrying those discovered in Britain passed through, investigations continue. 1.2 million containers pass through Zeebrugge every year. Around 18000 of those, that's less than two percent, are scanned. Given the desperation of those in search of a better life, the challenge facing the authorities is immense (20 August 2014).

In another bulletin two journalists discussed potential solutions.

> News anchor: What could be done to prevent stowaways like this?
>
> Journalist: It's not just what but where. We've always traditionally focused on that Calais-Dover route but there's a lot going on there. There's thermal imaging and a lot of attention. There's large fines for lorry drivers who take people in the back but still as we saw in Somerset we do have a problem with people getting into the back of those lorries. Then you have an entirely different scenario when you look at the container ports in Tilbury and along that East coast. They're not set up to look for people. They do spot checks but they couldn't possibly be a position where they check every container, it would choke up their business. And we simply don't know how many people are taking the risk and getting through on those routes.

Thus, again whilst the coverage frequently features harrowing accounts of the ordeals suffered by refugees and migrants, the question of response is once more almost exclusively framed on how we can keep people out.

Disorder in Calais

The reporting of events in Calais is in many respects very different from coverage of the Mediterranean. Although coverage was at times sympathetic to the plight of people living in camps in Calais, there was a strong focus on the nuisance that refugees and migrants cause to British citizens. Coverage also tended to again frame the issue as a problem of 'illegal' migration or immigration. For instance a report from 4 September 2014 spoke of Calais being like a 'war zone' and of British hauliers 'running a gauntlet' to reach ferries. The report featured interviews with truck drivers who stated that they were '99% certain that if you stop or park up, immigrants will try and get in your trailer'. Over footage of a person failing to get into a truck a journalist comments 'migrants may think it's funny but drivers like Lee face a £2000 fine for each stowaway found in their vehicle. Thankfully this time Lee's padlocks keep them out'. The report then featured a video of 'dozens of migrants on the rampage' and complaints that the French do not fingerprint those detained 'despite British recommendations'. The report concluded by unambiguously framing the issue as one of 'illegal' immigration:

> More people are trying to reach Britain. The number of illegal immigrants in the UK is up 12% this year and a key entry point into the EU, Italy, right opposite the anarchy of Libya. Frontex, the new border agency, saying in the first six months of this year 60,000 migrants entered illegally. The first quarter of 2014 saw a sevenfold increase in illegal crossings compared to the same quarter last year. No one knows how many end up in Calais and crucially no one knows how many end up in Britain

The second ITV report clearly illustrated the contradictions inherent in much reporting (ITV News at Ten, 3 November 2014). The report begins again by defining the problem as one of immigration:

> Now in the battle to stop non-EU immigrants trying to get into Britain from Calais there has been some support from a French government minister today. He said other EU countries should do their bit to help.

The report then moves to Calais where the journalist notes that 'children as young as two are living amidst appalling conditions at the makeshift camp at the edge of Calais' and that 'many have travelled with their families for months, even years, fleeing repressive regimes like Eritrea in East Africa. It's why some adults didn't want to show their faces'. The journalist then defined the issue as one of people seeking asylum in a brief exchange with a refugee:

> Journalist: Most people in Britain are thinking that the asylum seekers here want to come for government benefits, for money. Is that the case?
>
> Refugee: No, we have profession, we need to work, we are coming to work. I don't want benefits from any government

However the report soon shifts tone again and in a brief interview with a French minister it reverts to being defined as a problem of illegal immigration – and then asylum, and then illegal immigration again:

> Journalist: Today, France's interior minister came to Calais to look at the stretch of water so many would be migrants are desperate to cross. He also met the city's mayor who last week complained to British MPs that part of the problem was that illegal immigrants saw the UK as a soft touch which is why they ended up in her town.
>
> Journalist [talking to minister]: Don't you think if more European countries did more to grant asylum seekers, legitimate asylum seekers, asylum, less would come through France in order to try to get to Britain?
>
> Bernard Cazeneuve (French interior minister): We are trying to do our best with all the countries in Europe to find good solutions. With Great Britain we have found an agreement concerning the necessary fight against illegal immigration and we are working together to overcome these problems.
>
> Journalist: But not quickly enough as the number of would be migrants living here in miserable conditions suggest with more arriving each day.

There is another point worth highlighting in this exchange. The journalist puts the onus on other European countries to resettle those seeking asylum as though the UK itself doesn't share the same obligations under the 1951 Refugee Convention. In fact across all broadcast coverage the legal responsibilities to resettle refugees are never discussed.

Language and Labels

The language used in ITV reports was very similar to that used by the BBC with migrant being by far the most popular label followed by refugee. ITV used the term 'illegal' less frequently than the BBC and didn't employ the term immigrant.

Migrant	59.5%
Refugee	35.7%
Illegal	2.4%
Asylum Seeker	2.4%
Total N	42

Table 3.14: ITV Labels (Each label as a proportion of all labels)

Sources

As can be seen in Table 3.15 the types of sources that were used by ITV were again broadly similar to those used by the BBC. There was a strong concentration on the voices of refugees and migrants as well as citizens. Domestic political sources were used at a higher percentage than on the BBC which reflected the fact that the Westminster policy debates on ITV featured a greater number of sources. However in general, as on the BBC, most of the reports focused on specific news events, rather than political contestation, again highlighting the fact that there was little political debate between the main parties over how to respond to the crisis.

Refugee/Migrant	48.5%
Domestic Politician	24.2%
Citizen	12.1%
Foreign politician	9.1%
UN/UNHCR	3.0%
NGO/Civil Society	3.0%
National Rescue Team	3.0%
Other	6.1%
Total N	33

Table 3.15: ITV Sources (Each source as a proportion of all sources)

Reasons and Solutions

ITV reported on the factors driving refugee flows in three quarters of articles as opposed to half of bulletins on BBC News. As with BBC, by far the most commonly cited factor was fleeing war/conflict whilst one sixth of articles mentioned economic pull factors.

War/conflict/atrocities	50.0%
Repressive regimes	25.0%
Economic Pull factors	16.7%
Family reunification	8.3%
No reason given	25.0%

Table 3.16: ITV Explanations (proportion of articles featuring each explanation)

Strengthen borders	25.0%
EU Help/Funding	8.3%
Take in more refugees	8.3%
No solution offered	66.7%

Table 3.17: ITV Solutions (proportion of articles featuring each solution)

Like the BBC, solutions to the crisis were much rarer on ITV than explanations for why people were fleeing their countries of origin. Three quarters of bulletins contained no details of possible responses, whilst the most touted solution was, again, the suggestion that it should be made more difficult for people to enter the UK/EU. ITV did however feature a single bulletin where calls from the UN to take in more refugees was mentioned.

Conclusion

What is perhaps most striking about the broadcast coverage of the crisis in 2014 is how similar the bulletins from both news organisations were. Both covered almost exactly the same stories on exactly the same days. Both had a similar geographical focus and both used similar language to describe refugees and migrants. Sourcing was also very similar as was the framing of the crisis and the discussion of what should be done about it. Some of this, such as the concentration on the scenes of disorder at Calais, can be explained by straightforward news values such as the need for dramatic pictures. However the similarities were also a function of two other factors. One is the lack of political contestation over the issue at Westminster. The lack of a major political party making the case for a more liberal immigration and asylum policy means that this perspective is not routinely referenced by journalists. The second factor is the awareness amongst broadcasters that the public at large are hostile to immigration and asylum. Thus although many bulletins featured highly empathetic accounts of the suffering of refugees and migrants, these were not accompanied by calls for more refugee places or the creation of safe migration routes. Instead the issue was primarily framed as a problem of ‘illegal’ migration which required the hardening of borders.

Chapter 4: The Spanish Press

Introduction

El País was established in 1976, and is a social democrat, pro-European newspaper, close to the Socialist Party (PSOE). It is published by Prisa, a leading Spanish conglomerate. *ABC* was published for the first time in 1903, and is a conservative, monarchic, Catholic newspaper. It is currently owned by Vocento, another major media conglomerate. *El Mundo* appeared in 1989 as a modern centre-right newspaper. *ABC* is more traditional in its conservatism, whereas *El Mundo* is more liberal (it supports same sex marriage, for example). In spite of these differences, both papers are close to the People's Party (PP). *El Mundo* is published by Unidad Editorial, which is a subsidiary of the Italian media conglomerate RCS (publisher of *Il Corriere della Sera*, amongst other publications). These three national newspapers are the three most read general newspapers in the country. There are no tabloids in Spain, but the most read newspaper is *Marca (*a sports newspaper).

Prevalence of stories

The coverage of migration flows in the Mediterranean was more prominent in *El País* than in the centre-right newspapers *El Mundo* and *ABC*, and constituted almost half of the sample. This may have been a consequence of the sampling strategy for our study, which privileged stories focusing on migration (sea) routes and countries of origin rather than on national perspectives on immigration and immigrants.

El País	*El Mundo*	*ABC*
138	90	79

Table 4:1: Spanish total stories 1 April 2014 – 9 March 2015

The editorial stance each newspaper adopts on a particular issue is clearly stated in their editorial articles. Whilst different voices may be found in the columns and opinion articles published by a newspaper, editorials carry the views endorsed by the publication itself and here we find significant differences between publications. In its editorials, *El País* has repeatedly called for a common European policy which went beyond the arguments of extremist, populist anti-immigration movements, transcended electoral calculations at the national level, and guaranteed the protection of human rights for all migrants (*El País* 4 March 2014, 16 May 2014, 15 January 2015). Conversely, *ABC*'s editorials have underlined the need to control borders in Spain (and by extension, in the EU), pushed for summary returns, and discussed migration flows from the Mediterranean in terms of 'avalanche' (*ABC* 6 May 2014, 17 November 2014). *El Mundo*'s approach has, perhaps unsurprisingly, been closer to that of its right-wing rival than *El País*. Its editorials have suggested that the legality of summary returns should be determined by the relevant court (*El Mundo*, 8 August

2014) and that greater commitment is needed from the international community (*El Mundo*, 22 June 2014). *El Mundo* has also called for improving the living conditions in the countries of origin (*El Mundo* 22 June 2014) and fighting against human trafficking mafias (*El Mundo* 5 April 2014).

Who gets to speak?

Deciding who gets to speak in news stories is a key prerogative of journalists, which not only provides legitimacy and credibility to news stories, but also assigns to certain sources the power to shape how stories are reported. The selection of sources in the Spanish news stories underlines the journalistic construction of the crisis as a political problem. One in every four sources is a politician in *El País* (26%), whilst in *El Mundo* (30.7) and *ABC* (36.8%) the proportion is even higher. This pattern of sourcing indicates that journalists see politicians as key definers of migration stories at either the national, or international level. It is also noticeable that foreign politicians feature more prominently in coverage than domestic politicians. This is because the issue is defined primarily as a problem for the EU as a whole rather than Spain in particular. Spain is not one of the main countries of arrival for migrants and the single external border created by the Schengen agreement underlies the construction of this crisis as a pan-European problem. In a similar vein, debates about the onus, reach, and funding for search and rescue operations or the question of country quotas explicitly define the crisis as an issue that affects the whole of the EU.

In spite of the oft proclaimed need for a common EU migration and refugee policy the presence of EU Commission sources is sparse, and is that of MEPs, especially in *El Mundo* (0.5%) and *ABC* (0%). Both the UN and UNHCR are also featured relatively rarely across the Spanish press.

	El Mundo	*ABC*	*El País*	Spanish Average
Foreign Politician	17.2%	21.8%	11.7%	15.3%
Domestic political	13.0%	15.0%	11.8%	12.8%
Migrant / Refugee	13.5%	11.9%	10.3%	11.7%
NGO/Civil Society	13.0%	7.9%	11.8%	11.5%
Police	8.9%	1.0%	7.5%	6.8%
Journalist / Media	5.7%	7.9%	5.7%	6.0%
Academic / Expert	4.2%	2.0%	7.5%	5.4%
National Rescue Team	3.1%	7.9%	4.6%	4.7%
Citizen	3.1%	7.9%	4.3%	4.5%
Law / Judiciary	5.2%	3.0%	4.3%	4.4%
EU Commission	3.1%	3.0%	4.3%	3.7%
UNHCR/UN	1.0%	4.0%	2.5%	2.5%
FRONTEX	0.5%	0.0%	1.8%	2.3%
Church / Religion	1.6%	3.0%	1.1%	1.6%
IOM	0.5%	1.0%	1.4%	1.0%
MEP	0.5%	0.0%	2.5%	0.9%
Think Tank	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%	0.5%
Business	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.2%
Other	6.3%	2.0%	6.8%	5.7%
Total N	192	101	281	574

Table 4.2: Sources by Spanish newspapers (each source as a proportion of total sources)

The voice of migrants themselves is at a comparable level with most other countries in this study. Their voice comes primarily through direct quotes, which focus primarily on their experiences of attempting to reach the EU. This could involve discussion of their journey across North Africa or the Middle East or the perilous passage across the Mediterranean:

> They kept us locked up in a commercial unit in the outskirts of Tripoli. On Saturday, with no previous warning, they came to look for us. They were all armed, and they forced us to leave and took us to a small beach in Tripoli (*ABC*, 12 February 2015)

> [When I reached the shore I assumed] the Red Cross, officers, or someone else would come to help us, but they opened fire against us. Their goal was not to

> disperse us nor to frighten us: they were just shooting at us (*El Mundo*, 6 February 2015)

Sometimes the experiences of migrants were also articulated through the voice of citizens, who themselves witnessed the journey or the arrival of migrants. For instance, André Jonsen, an Icelandic seaman who had encountered dinghies overloaded with migrants on a number of occasions was reported as stating that:

> Many of them were kept in cages for animals. Some of them showed signs of dehydration. Others were freezing. [I have seen three of these boats since last December] The conditions were equally bad in all three boats: these boats are not suited for humans (*El País*, 12 February 2015)

Citizen voices are thus constructed very differently from say the British media where they are often involved in heated polemical debates (often in the letters pages) over the pros and cons of migration. NGOs (10.9% in *El Mundo*; 6.9% in *ABC*; 10.7% in *El País*) and members of national rescue teams (3.1% in *El Mundo*, 7.9% in *ABC*, and 4.6% in *El País*) were also fundamental in raising concerns about the conditions in which migrants travelled. For instance, Helena Maleno, of the NGO Caminando Sin Fronteras (travelling without borders) commented:

> [After a migrant boat reaches the shore of Almeria] the main priority is to take care of women. Five of them are pregnant, although they are still in the early stage of their pregnancies, but they are feeling poorly and suffer from anxiety attacks...[embarking on a migration trip] is not an arbitrary decision. We must bear in mind the risks these people take, on occasions at the cost of their life (*ABC*, 6 December 2014)

Table 4.3 provides a breakdown of domestic political sources by party. It shows the dominance of the PP in coverage - even in the left of centre *El País*. This is partly due to the fact that foreign affairs, immigration and border control are not devolved to Autonomous Regions (despite the high degree of decentralisation of the Spanish state).[17]

However it also indicates, together with the high relevance of foreign political sources, that migration is mainly constructed as a foreign problem, since population flows into Spain have reduced significantly, and the pressure has now moved to Italy and Greece. Rather than reporting migration as a controversial issue that generates major debate and division amongst national political parties, the sourcing strategy evident in the Spanish coverage suggests that the current refugee crisis is constructed

[17] The Regional government of the two main regions receiving irregular migrants through the sea has never been led by the People's Party. In the case of the Canary Islands, the government has been led by CoalicióńCanaria (a regionalist party) since 1993, whereas Andalusia has had Socialist governments since the establishment of the region in 1982.

as a state/international issue, which is dealt with by the relevant ministers of national governments.

	El Mundo	*ABC*	*El País*	Spanish Average
PP	83.3%	88.9%	66.7%	76.2%
PSOE	8.3%	11.1%	14.3%	11.9%
UPyD	8.3%	0%	9.5%	7.1%
IU	0%	0%	9.5%	4.8%
Total N	12	9	21	42

Table 4.3: Proportion of political sources by Spanish newspaper (each source as a proportion of total domestic political sources)

The number of politicians of the main opposition party featuring in the coverage was very low, and were primarily cited discussing migration into Spain, calling for a more humanitarian EU migration policy, opposing summary returns, or questioning specific policy decisions.

Members of the Andalusian government (controlled by PSOE) were the main PSOE voices advocating for a more effective EU policy. After nine migrants had lost their lives when crossing the Strait of Gibraltar, Susana Díaz (president of the Andalusian government) was quoted as saying:

> What is the EU waiting for to adopt solutions? How desperate must a mother be to risk her life (and her baby's life) in the Strait! We cannot turn a blind eye on this tragedy! … The death of people attempting to cross the Strait in a dinghy hurts badly. What is needed for the EU to find a solution? (*ABC*, 21 December 2014)

Similarly, the Andalusian minister of Justice and the Interior was quoted asking for 'greater support' from EU authorities so that the 'social emergency [of migrants arriving in Spain]' could be appropriately tackled (*El Mundo*, 13 August 2014).

PSOE politicians were quoted questioning governmental policy on only two occasions which highlights the relative consensus on domestic policy. First, Antonio Trevín (MP representing PSOE in the Select Committee for Interior) called into question the national government policy of reducing the number of police officers in Ceuta and Melilla (which could be supplemented by support when needed): it 'will not be enough to address the issue, since the problem is structural, rather than circumstantial' (*El País* 22 July2014). Second, PSOE representatives (together with representatives of United Left–a left party, and UPyD–a centre party), argued that summary returns 'violate the fundamental rights of migrants' (*El País*, 27 July 2014).

<u>Where are migrants from, and how are they referred to in the coverage?</u>

In table 4.4 data is provided on the top six countries (or regions) of origin for migrants identified by newspapers. The table shows that reporting identifies Sub-Saharan Africa, and countries such as Syria and Eritrea as key sources of population flows. Unlike most other countries in our sample Syria is not identified as the key state generating population movements, with it being cited as a country of origin in between one in 7 and one in 11 articles. The presence of Morocco (7.4% in *El Mundo*; 9.8% in *ABC*; 11.6% in *El País*) shows that reporting covers not only migration involving the Central and Eastern Mediterranean routes, but also stories about Moroccan migration into Spain. However the proportion of stories mentioning Morocco is relatively low, which underlines the fact that the coverage of the refugee crisis in the Mediterranean is mainly constructed as a distinct crisis affecting other countries, which is independent from migration flows into Spain.

El Mundo		*ABC*		*El País*	
Subsahara	19.4%	Subsahara	18.7%	Subsahara	16.1%
Syria	12.0%	Africa	12.2%	Syria	15.1%
Morocco	7.4%	Morocco	9.8%	Morocco	11.6%
Eritrea	5.1%	Syria	8.9%	Africa	7.4%
Mali	5.1%	North Africa	4.1%	Eritrea	4.2%
Africa	4.6%	Turkey	2.4%	North Africa	3.9%
North Africa	4%	Sudan	2.4%	Nigeria	3.2%
No country of origin identified	8.7%	No country of origin identified	8.0%	No country of origin identified	9.4%

Table 4.4: Identified countries of origin by Spanish newspapers (proportion of newspaper articles identifying each country of origin)

Use of labels

Journalists' professional societies (such as the Catalan Society of Professional Journalists – see Col·legi de Periodistes de Catalunya 1996 and Col·legi de Periodistes de Catalunya 2013), regulatory bodies (such as Catalonia's Broadcast Council – see Consell de l'Audiovisual de Catalunya 2002), and NGOs (such as Rescate – see Rescate 2013) have issued recommendations for the coverage of migrants and individuals from ethnic minorities.[18] The style guides of some media outlets have gone further and endorsed the use of certain labels, whilst discouraging the use of others.[19] These prescriptive documents have raised concerns about the implications that the use of certain words and labels may have - for instance the

[18] Most of these documents can be found here: http://www.entredosorillas.org/contenidos /contenido.aspx?IdContenido=1446 (Accessed July 2015).

[19] In the case of *El País*, for example, the style guide recommends the following with regards to the use of the word 'illegal' when referring to migrants: "it should not be used to refer to migrants with no work or residence permit in a foreign country. Individuals are not illegal: their actions may be. Say instead 'undocumented immigrants' or 'in illegal situation'. 'Without papers' (*simpapeles*) can be used too. These prescriptions apply to the word 'irregular' too" (*El País* 2014c).

identification of migrants / ethnic minorities with criminal activities. This awareness, together with the fact that all newspapers in the sample are considered to be quality newspapers (there are no tabloids in Spain), written by professional journalists, and addressed at a reduced but sophisticated readership (see Hallin and Mancini 2004) may explain why most labels with negative connotations (see table 4.5) are rarely used.

The high prevalence of the words 'immigrant' (71.9% in *El Mundo*; 81% in *ABC*; 63.5 in *El País*), followed by 'undocumented/without papers' in the case of *El Mundo* (11.3%), and 'refugee' in *ABC* and *El País* (5.4% and 14.3%, respectively) is an indicator of the professional consensus around the use of language. Although the words 'immigrant' and 'emigrant' may be used to stress that certain individuals have a different origin, they do not have negative connotations *per se*, and belong in stories discussing migration flows. The words 'immigrant', 'emigrant' and 'migrant' are the most neutral words in the Spanish language to refer to people who move their residence from one country to another, regardless of their legal status. The suitability of the word 'immigrant' in this crisis, however, may be questioned, since many of the refugees in the coverage have not reached their country of destination yet, and are technically still migrating. The use of the word 'illegal' is low in coverage. It appears in 1% of stories in *El Mundo*, 1.7% in *ABC*, and 1.1% in *El País*.

The use of the label 'undocumented' or *sin papeles* (without papers) is not derogatory in Spain, and simply reflects the fact that an individual migrant has not regularised their status in the country.

	El Mundo	*ABC*	*El País*	Spanish Average
Inmigrante (*Immigrant*)	71.9%	81.0%	63.5%	69.9%
Refugiado (*Refugee*)	7.9%	5.4%	14.3%	10.4%
Sin papeles (*Without papers*)	11.3%	2.0%	9.0%	8.1%
Inmigrante irregular (*Irregular/irregular immigrant*)	1.0%	1.4%	4.1%	2.6%
Emigrante (*Emigrant*)	2.8%	4.7%	1.1%	2.4%
Solicitante de asilo (*Asylum Seeker*)	0.8%	0.7%	3.3%	2.0%
Ilegal (*Illega*l)	1.0%	1.7%	1.1%	1.2%
Migrante (*Migrant*)	0.5%	0.3%	1.7%	1.0%
Extranjero (*Foreigner*)	2.3%	0.3%	0.6%	1.0%
Clandestinos (*Clandestine*)	0.5%	1.4%	0.8%	0.8%
Prófugo (*Fugitive*)	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.2%
Paterista (*immigrant arriving in mainland Spain or Canaries*)	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%	69.9%
Total N	391	295	631	1,317

Table 4.5: Labels by Spanish Newspapers (proportion of times each label is used as a proportion of total labels)

All labels are neutral, except 'ilegal' and 'clandestino' and 'prófugo' which have negative connotations. The label 'prófugo' refers to someone who is escaping from justice - its closest equivalent in English would be 'fugitive'

Whilst the dominant use of a neutral set of terms when referring to migrants and refugees is preferable to negative or derogatory labels, the relatively low use of the terms 'refugee' (7.9% in *El Mundo*; 5.4% in *ABC*; 14.3% in *El País*) and, especially, 'asylum seeker' (0.8% in *El Mundo*; 0.7% in *ABC*; 3.3% in *El País*) reveals the reluctance to acknowledge the difficult political contexts individuals may be fleeing. Whilst a purely legalist approach might advocate that the label 'refugee' should not be used until such status is officially conferred by the relevant state, it can also be argued that migrants fleeing conflict zones should be correctly identified as 'refugees' or 'asylum seekers'. This would both raise awareness about the circumstances motivating their migration and indicate the protection they are entitled to under international law.

Although there are few major differences in the use of labels across the Spanish press, it is noticeable that *El País* uses the terms 'asylum seeker' and 'refugee' more often (3.3% and 14.3%, respectively) than other newspapers. This probably constitutes a sign of its more welcoming attitude towards migration, in line with its centre-left leaning, and its editorial line. Similarly, *ABC* is the newspaper which uses the negative labels 'illegal', '*prófugo*' (fugitive), and '*clandestino*' (clandestine) more often (1.7%, 1%, and 1.4% respectively). This is once again in line with this newspaper's centre-right (more to the right than *El Mundo*), editorial line.

Themes in Coverage

Our study clearly shows that the most prominent themes in the Spanish coverage are the political response to the crisis, the rescue of migrants/provision of aid, and migration figures. Also receiving substantial attention are mortality statistics, the role of mafias and descriptions of the journeys that migrants make. The coverage is fairly homogeneous in the three newspapers, the most significant difference being the lower prominence of the 'Political Response/Policy' theme in *ABC* (45.6%), which was present in 70% and 71% stories in *El Mundo* and *El País*, respectively. In contrast, *ABC* focused more on mortality rates (44.3%), in comparison to *El Mundo* (36.7%) and *El País* (29.7%). These differences indicate that *ABC* tends to focus more on news events and less on discussion or analysis of policy.

The three areas that dominate the coverage clearly present migration flows from the Mediterranean as a pressing issue that Western European societies need to address, in order to ensure that migrants are provided with satisfactory standards of care upon arrival and that destination countries can manage the influx of people. It also clear that there are different political/policy positions on how these objectives can be achieved.

The political debate in the coverage is dominated by disagreements between the EU states over responsibility for control of the EU's borders, respect for human rights, and the provision of humanitarian aid to migrants. Much of the discussion focuses on the question of whether this is the duty of individual member states or the EU as a whole.

In coverage the Italian prime minister, Matteo Renzi, is quoted stating that 'the Mediterranean is not the sea of Italy: it is the European border. That's why a European policy is needed, whilst in the same article, José Manuel Durão Barroso (then president of the EU Commission) argued that 'neither the EU Commission nor the European institutions had boats' to police the border (*El País*, 5 July 2014). The debate over the responsibility to control the EU's borders also drew threats from Italian politicians that unless the burden was shared more equitably there will be serious consequences for other EU states. For instance, Angelino Alfano (Italian minister for the Interior) is quoted in *ABC* (12 January2015) as saying 'either Europe

helps Italy control the border, or Italy will ensure that the right to asylum recognised by Italy can be exercised throughout the EU.'

Another key area of dispute in coverage concerned the withdrawal of the Mare Nostrum and its replacement with Triton. This move drew criticism from the mayor of Lampedusa:

> It may be true that more immigrants reached us under Mare Nostrum [EU-supported Italy's rescue operation, replaced by Triton], but they were alive when they arrived. They get here dead now. Triton is not a humanitarian operation. Its only aim is to protect the border

However the EU was reported as trying to pass the responsibility for the withdrawal of the Mare Nostrum rescue missions onto Italy with Cecilia Malmström (European Commissioner for Home Affairs) stating that 'The future of Mare Nostrum is an Italian decision" (*El País*, 19 October2014). Reporting also highlighted the fact that there was no consensus amongst Italian politicians about the desirability to keep Mare Nostrum with some far-right Northern League politicians bluntly criticising the operation. Marco Rondini, a Northern League MP, stated: 'Mare Nostrum is an insurance policy for illegal migrant traffickers. The Government guarantees them earnings of 150,000 euros per trip, whilst spending nine million euros from the public purse every month' (*El País* 16 August2014). The debate over the withdrawal of the Mare Nostrum also led to criticism of the UK's stance on the affair with José Ignacio Torreblanca, senior policy fellow at the European Council of Foreign Relations, criticizing David Cameron's Conservative government:

> Thanks to the British government we have learned that rescue operations constitute a pull factor for irregular migration. That is why Her Majesty's Government will no longer fund them. The impeccable logic of this argument must be recognised: the more that migrants drown, the more dangerous the journey to Europe becomes, the fewer people will dare to start the journey…Something odd is taking place in the UK when a prime minister educated in the elitist school of Eton competes in populism with Nigel Farage, a vulgar pint lover who indulges tasteless remarks (*El País* 30 October 2014)

Other key areas of political debate included the question of the appropriate asylum and refugee policy for the EU. Some voices in coverage such as Cecilia Malmström were quoted as pointing to the need for more legal channels for migration: 'people take boats to reach Europe because there are few legal channels (if any) to reach that destination'(*El País*, 8 July 2014).

	El Mundo	*ABC*	*El País*	Spanish Average
Political Response / Policy	70%	45.6%	71%	62.2%
Immigration Figures / Levels	55.6%	53.2%	63%	57.3%
Search and Rescue / Aid Supplies	57.8%	63.3%	52.9%	58.0%
Mortality / Mortality Figures	36.7%	44.3%	29.7%	36.9%
Mafia / Traffic	27.8%	24.1%	31.2%	27.7%
Journey	28.9%	20.3%	18.8%	22.7%
Humanitarian (Elements)	18.9%	21.5%	18.8%	19.7%
Receiving / Rejecting	18.9%	11.4%	15.2%	15.2%
Human Rights	15.6%	10.1%	15.9%	13.9%
Humanitarian (Key Theme)	14.4%	5.1%	8%	9.2%
Threat to Communities / Cultural Threat	7.8%	6.3%	8%	7.4%
Threat to National Security	5.6%	5.1%	8.7%	6.5%
Welfare / Benefits / Resources	3.3%	3.8%	10.9%	6.0%
Health Risk for Country of Destination	7.8%	5.1%	2.9%	5.3%
Post-arrival Integration	1.1%	2.5%	6.5%	3.4%
Crime	2.2%	1.3%	2.9%	2.1%
Migrant/Refugees/Asylum Seekers Success	2.2%	0	0.7%	1%
Total N	337	255	504	1096

Table 4.6: Themes by Spanish Newspapers (proportion of articles featuring each theme)

Other coverage focused on the alleged costs of migration and the issue of quotas. Silvio Berlusconi claimed that 'irregular immigration cost Italy 12,000 million euros every year, and a system of quotas should be adopted so that each EU member state is required to accept a share of immigrants.'(*ABC*, 13 May 2014). Even though the well being of migrants is mentioned on occasion, the main policy debate is driven by the policing of the border, and the attribution of responsibilities amongst EU member states.

These political debates show how migration flows in the Mediterranean are mainly constructed as a problem. The coverage in Spanish newspapers, however, did not give (much) room to arguments presenting migrants as threats to the countries of destination, nor as (potential) criminals. The representation of migrants as threats to national security (5.6% in *El Mundo*; 5.1% in *ABC*; 8.7% in *El País*), as a threat to welfare or benefits (3.3% in *El Mundo*; 3.8% in *ABC*; 10.9% in *El País*), or as a threat to communities or local culture (7.8% in *El Mundo*; 6.3% in *ABC*; 8% in *El País*), is relatively infrequent. Although these arguments were marginally more prominent in *El País* (the newspaper whose editorial line is more welcoming to migrants), it must

be said that these discourses are not endorsed by any of the three newspapers in the sample. Rather, they are present in quotes from primarily right-wing politicians, or in references to the opinions held by certain political parties and/or some sectors of society.

Although prominent in other countries (such as the UK), claims about migrants constituting a threat to the welfare system were not common in the Spanish coverage. In our sample, the only national politician who was quoted expressing such views was Javier Maroto (mayor of Vitoria, PP), who was quoted stating: 'the fraud in the welfare system amongst certain nationalities [Algerians and Moroccans] is scandalous. They live off benefits, and are not at all interested in working' (*El Mundo*, 16 July 2014). This view is primarily expressed by foreign politicians, such as Marine Le Pen, who claimed that 'the problem in Melilla will be over as soon as illegals cannot access healthcare, schools for their children, and benefits' (*El País*, 27 April 2014), or Nicolas Sarkozy, who stated that 'if Europe's migration policy is not redressed, the French welfare system will collapse' (*El Mundo*, 22 May 2014). Other instances where this discourse was displayed involved the discussion of the different discourses populating the public sphere: 'the party [Sweden Democrats – Sverigedemokraterna] has connected with sizeable sectors of the Swedish public…who believe that the economic cost of hospitality must be limited' (*El País* 4 December 2014). This perspective was sometimes raised only to be challenged or debunked within the article. For example:

> The economic crisis has contributed to extend the perception that migrants are a threat for our life standards and welfare system. This constitutes another strait to cross, and another fence to jump over. Immigrants, instead, are indispensable engines for our economic system. In France, for example, two out of every third doctors are foreigners (*El País*, 22 October 2014)

Significant concern was expressed about mafias involved in trafficking (28.9% of stories in *El Mundo*, 20.3% in *ABC*, and 18.8% in *El País*), as well as about the protection of the human rights of migrants (15.6% in *El Mundo*; 10.1% in *ABC*; 15.9% in *El País*). Although not hostile to migrants, the coverage could not be described as explicitly sympathetic to the situation of migrants either, since the presence of humanitarian themes was not especially prevalent in the sample as a key theme (14.4% in *El Mundo*; 5.1% in *ABC*; 8% in *El País*), and only one in five stories contained humanitarian elements (18.9% in *El Mundo*; 21.5% in *ABC*; 18.8% in *El País*).

Different themes are often combined in coverage. The following excerpt, published in *El País*, includes discussion of trafficking/organised crime and the dangerous journeys made by migrants. It also includes a broadly empathetic framing of the refugee who is fleeing Syria.

> When Michel Dahoud decided to desert the army of Bashar al-Assad, he knew he would not return to Syria for a long time. His father arranged everything. He sold the family home in the north of the country and gave the money to a *mujarreb*, one of the traffickers, available to any desperate person who is willing to pay. "My parents sold everything in Syria to save my life," said Dahoud, already on European soil. For 12,000 euros, a multinational criminal network led him across Europe to reach Sweden, his destination. To get there, he had to walk at night to Turkey, raining, guided by his *mujarreb*. He then travelled 24 hours by bus to Istanbul, where he was locked in a flat. After five days he was released in a forest with a deflated dinghy, oars, and a pump. He spent four days in the forest, with no food and almost no water, hidden under a bridge of helicopters and motorcycles policing the border. 'It was bitterly cold. We were soaked and shivering. I was dying.' Finally he came to Athens and from there to Stockholm…hundreds of thousands of refugees and immigrants quietly travel through European woods and lodgings towards a safe destination, helped by a dense network of traffickers, who are enjoying their highest season. This constitutes the macabre and illegal version of a travel agency, now thriving. The conflicts in Syria or Eritrea, and the instability in Libya (the main markets for traffickers), have boosted the number of people hoping to reach Europe. The Leninist principle that 'the worse, the better' is strictly enforced in the case of the mafia. The more wars and famine, the more customers. The more crowded and more dangerous dinghies, also the more revenue. Paradoxically, smugglers also become more necessary when there are greater walls, more police dogs, and tighter borders. That is, they become more necessary when the obstacles to reach Europe increase (*El País*, 22 October 2014)

Overall coverage was predominantly factual, and driven either by migration/mortality statistics, or by international political divisions and EU policy debates.

What is driving migration flows?

The coverage of the refugee crisis in the Mediterranean in Spanish newspapers also includes explanations for migration flows, as well as prescriptions for managing or resolving the crisis. These explanations and solutions may have found their way into the coverage in the form of direct or indirect quotes, and are not necessarily endorsed by the newspapers themselves. Quantifying them, however, helps us identify the range of perspectives in coverage, as well as their prominence. The data in table 4.7 shows that *ABC* is less likely than the other two newspapers to feature explanations for population flows, which reinforces the point made earlier that *ABC* tends to be less analytical and policy focused than the other two newspapers. Providing explanations in coverage does not only contribute to a more comprehensive, understanding of the issue, but it also contributes to raising awareness about the humanitarian crisis which is driving much of the human traffic into the EU.

	El Mundo	*ABC*	*El País*	Spanish Average
War/Conflict/Atrocities	31.1%	17.7%	29.0%	25.9%
Poverty/Economic	38.9%	24.1%	22.5%	28.5%
Isis/terrorism	2.2%	0.0%	0.7%	1%
Repressive regime	8.9%	3.8%	5.8%	6.2%
Absence of border control	5.6%	5.1%	3.6%	4.8%
Pull factors of Mare Nostrum/patrols	3.3%	2.5%	1.4%	2.4%
Family reunification	0.0%	1.3%	0.7%	0.7%
No reason in article	47.8%	58.2%	52.9%	53.0%
Total N	47	33	65	145

Table 4.7: Spanish explanations for population flows (proportion of articles featuring each explanation)

The data also shows that although war/conflict/atrocities are often cited as key factors driving population movements, these kinds of explanations appear much less frequently than in other countries in our sample. The Spanish press is also unusual in attributing population movements to economic pull factors at a much higher level than other countries in our sample. Other reasons are offered, such as the activities of repressive regimes in the countries of origin or the absence of effective border controls, but these are not nearly as prominent in reporting.

Unlike in its European counterparts, 'poverty/economic' factors feature more often as a reason for migration in the Spanish coverage. This is particularly so in *El Mundo* (38.9%), but this factor is also very prominent in *ABC* (24.1%) or *El País* (22.5%) either. This can be explained by the fact that some of the stories in our sample cover migration flows from Northern African countries (mainly Morocco) to Spain (either to the mainland, to the Canary Islands, or to the autonomous cities of Ceuta and Melilla):

> Everyone is aware that the new legislation [legalising summary returns] will not solve the migration pressure in Ceuta and Melilla: no law will ever do it, because these people are hungry, and desperate to reach Europe, and believe that this is their only chance to have a better future (*ABC*, 24 January 2015)

> The tempest that kept the boats moored in Melilla's harbour yesterday did not stop the will of 20 immigrants to fulfil the European dream against all odds…they are the clearest reflection of the despair of these *sin papeles*, who want to have a better life no matter the costs (*El Mundo*, 31 January 2005)

> …thousands of dinghies loaded with African migrants who are desperate to reach the Spanish coast so that they can start a new, better life (*ABC*, 9 December 2014)

There were also stories where migration flows were discussed as being a result of multiple factors, which were often combined with each other. In that vein, economic reasons were often listed alongside other reasons for migration, such as war, dictatorships, or oppression:

> The only thing we know about migrants is that they come from afar, and they are risking their lives in their attempt to reach Europe so that they can leave behind wars, dictatorships, starvation, and other atrocities (*El Mundo*, 16 May 2014)

> The real pull factor is the profound imbalance in wealth and welfare between Africa and Europe. This is the most powerful magnet for a young African population running away from poverty and violence (*El País*, 3 January 2015)

> They [migrants] all suffer from the injustice that places us enjoying an abundance of rights, freedom and wealth, as privileged democratic Western citizens. In fact, they are not citizens, and have no rights. The only thing they are is hungry, poor, and starving (*El País*, 9April 2014)

Some stories also highlighted a change in why people were migrating into Europe. Whereas immigration to Spain and Italy has traditionally been in relation to poverty and economic factors, more recent migration is more a product of wars and conflict. This was explicitly acknowledged in the newspapers:

> The profile of immigrants has changed completely: the political refugee fleeing Syria and the Arab Springs–above all Libyans–has replaced the Subsaharan migrant that migrated for economic reasons (*ABC*, 6 February 2015)

> Angelino Alfano underlines that the migration phenomenon has changed in the recent years: 'Whilst migrants used to leave their countries for economic reasons, they now come from war zones, and most of them apply for asylum' (*El País*, 26 December 2014)

The policy debates that dominated the coverage in the Spanish newspapers focussed essentially on border control, rather than exploring mechanisms to address the main reasons that – according to the very coverage in the newspapers – motivated migration flows: economic inequalities, and war and conflicts in the countries of origin. This disconnection is even more evident when the reasons in table 4.8 are compared with the solutions in table 4.9.

How to Solve the Problem?

Table 4.8 shows once again that *ABC* was much less likely than the other titles to provide context and analysis. The data also shows that the most common response that is advocated – a 'united' or 'EU' response appear in approximately one in five articles across the sample. Also prominent, as in other countries, were general calls for more aid and assistance. There was almost equal number of articles arguing for more and less migration into the EU, with most of the arguments for curtailing migration coming from politicians and the majority of voices advocating a more open policy coming from NGOs and civil society.

Across the press there was significant space given over to 'hard' security based responses such as tightening border controls or taking action against people smugglers. There were also some very specific solutions in our Spanish sample that we didn't find in other countries such as the debates over whether to continue the controversial policy of 'hot returns' where migrants who have crossed the border into Ceuta and Melilla are immediately handed over to the Moroccan authorities.

In spite of the fact that war and conflict constituted one of the main reasons explaining why migrants embark in their journey, few stories advocated conflict resolution (2.2% in *El Mundo*; 1.3% in *ABC*; 1.4% in *El País*), and only 0.8% of the stories outline solutions to the crisis which involve acting against ISIS or other jihadi groups.

	El Mundo	*ABC*	*El País*	Spanish Average
United/EU response	22.2%	21.5%	21%	21.6%
Aid/assistance	16.7%	10.1%	21.7%	16.2%
Bring migration levels under control/ Reject/deport more refugees	8.9%	10.2%	16.7%	11.9%
Taking in refugees/more legal channels for migration	8.9%	8.9%	15.9%	11.2%
More security at borders	8.9%	5.1%	6.5%	6.8%
Action/prevention taken on smugglers/traffickers	4.4%	5.1%	7.2%	5.6%
Change foreign policy	2.2%	3.8%	9.4%	5.1%
Search and rescue operations should be increased	4.4%	2.5%	5.8%	4.2%
Undertaking 'Hot Returns'	4.4%	1.3%	1.4%	2.4%
Greater restrictions on benefits/aid	2.2%	0.0%	2.9%	1.7%
Conflict resolution	2.2%	1.3%	1.4%	1.6%
Prohibiting 'Hot Returns'	1.1%	0.0%	2.2%	1.1%
Act against jihadis/ISIS	1.1%	0.0%	1.4%	0.8%
EU propaganda campaign to deny Europe as the paradise	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%	0.2%
No solution in article	45.6%	59.5%	39.9%	48.3%
Total N	49	33	84	166

Table 4.8: Solutions in Spanish newspapers (proportion of articles featuring each solution)

The idea that a change to foreign policy could affect refugee and migrant flows featured on a number of stories - particularly in *El País* (2.2% in *El Mundo*; 3.8% in *ABC*; 9.4% in *El País*). This involved calls to reduce economic inequalities or invest in the economic development of the countries of origin:

> The foreign ministers of Southern European countries – now constituted in the Mediterranean Group – believe that Brussels should adopt the necessary funding mechanisms that will simultaneously act against migratory pressures, and promote the social and economic development of countries of origin and transit (*El País*, 17 April 2014)

> In the global economy, what Africa needs are productive investments that stimulate the economy. It is okay to build a road, but it is still better to help economic activities develop alongside that road. If we don't, what will the 300 million young people between 15 and 30 who are unemployed and not in school do? Many of them will try to get on a boat. Others will jump over the fences in Melilla…we should intervene with greater boldness in the causes that trigger these migratory waves (*El País*, 7 April 2014)

> There will never be a fence high enough in Ceuta to stop men and women to look for a better future as long as the scandalous economic and demographic differences between Europe and Africa persist (*El País*, 2 April 2014).

> The key is to improve the social and economic conditions in their countries of origin, so that emigrating will become a voluntary option, rather than a necessity (*ABC*, 4 April 2014)

The homogeneity of the coverage, together with the prevalence of official discourses is probably the most striking element of the Spanish coverage. The three newspapers, in spite of their editorial differences, construct the issue with remarkable similarity. The parties in opposition have a low presence in coverage and do not significantly expand the debate by challenging the government's positions. In spite of the political focus of the Spanish coverage, this issue is constructed as if it should primarily be solved in Europe. There is some political debate, but overall the coverage tends to call for endogenous solutions in spite of the fact that the issue is constructed as having exogenous reasons – in spite of some calls for a improving the economic conditions in Africa. As such, most of the solutions offered do not help to solve the root causes of the problem, but instead aim at mitigating some of its negative consequences for Europe.

Chapter 5: The Italian Press

Introduction

Immigration in Italy is commonly characterised in the literature as a relatively new phenomenon. Traditionally a country of emigrants, migration flows started to reverse in the mid-seventies following the oil crisis in 1973, and this process accelerated in the 1990s (Colombo and Sciortino 2004). It was, however, during the first decade of the 21st century that Italy became one of the most popular destinations in the EU. Between 2001 and 2011 immigration rates rose threefold, and the 1,334,889 immigrants registered in Italy in 2001 had become more than 4 million by the time of the 2011 census (Palma 2012). These migrants were predominantly European (53.1%), African (21%), Asian (17.7%), and American (8.2%). The most common countries of origin for migrants heading to Italy has been Romania (20.5%), Albania (11.3%), Morocco (10.1%), China (4.8%), and Ukraine (4.4%) (ISTAT 2012).

Italy has also seen a sharp increase in its asylum applications in recent years. According to UNHCR (n.d.), the number of asylum claims received in 2014 (approximately 65,000) was more than twice that in 2013 (approximately 28,000), and four times the level of that seen in 2012 (17,350). These figures, however, do not capture the migrants who arrive in Italy, but then continue their journey towards other European countries, such as Germany or Sweden. Centro Astalli (the Jesuit organisation for refugees) calculates that more than 170,000 refugees arrived in Italy in 2014, out of which more than 100,000 left for northern European countries (Centro Astalli 2015).

The attitudes of political parties towards migration vary, but these differences get diluted as a consequence of the bargaining involved in the process of forming coalitions (Cetin 2015). Such compromises are common in the polarised, highly volatile party system that has dominated Italian politics in recent decades. According to Cetin (2015), right-wing politicians (particularly Northern League but also Forza Italia) capitalised on immigration as a political issue during the 1990s, by blaming social and economic problems on the rise in immigration. Whilst left and right-wing politicians speak about immigration differently, when in government, parties adopt similar policy positions (Zincone 2006; Cetin 2015). For example, the largest regularisation of migrants ever carried out in Italy took place in 2002 under a centre-right government led by Berlusconi (Finotelli and Arango 2011), whereas the first bilateral cooperation agreements with Egypt and Libya were set up by a centre-left coalition, despite these countries' poor human rights records (Cetin 2015).

Our sample is composed of Italy's three most popular national newspapers (excluding sports and business newspapers, such as *La Gazzetta dello Sport* or *Il Sole 24 Ore*). *Il Corriere della Sera* was founded in Milan in 1876. It has traditionally been a centrist newspaper, historically aligned with the establishment, though in recent years it has

adopted more critical positions on certain issues (for example, during Berlusconi's governments). It is owned by the media conglomerate RCS Media Group, which controls a number of newspapers, magazines, publishing houses, and other media outlets, both in Italy and abroad. Stakeholders include the carmaker Fiat, banks (Mediobanca, Intesa San Paolo), and other companies, such as Pirelli. Its combined (online + offline) daily readership was 456,319 readers in 2013, according to the last data certified by Accertamenti Diffusione Stampa.[20] *La Repubblica* is published in Rome, and its editorial line is broadly centre-left. Founded in 1976, it is currently owned by Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, another important Italian media conglomerate. The main stakeholder in the group is Carlo de Benedetti, who controls more than 50% of the shares. *La Repubblica*'s combined readership in 2013 was 404,626 readers. *La Stampa* was founded in Turin in 1867 and is politically centrist. It is owned by the media group Italiana Editrice, which was created in 2015 through the merger of Editrice La Stampa and Società Edizioni e Pubblicazioni (publisher of *Il Secolo XIX*, a Genovese daily newspaper). 77% of the shares of Italiana Editrice are controlled by Fiat Chrysler Automobiles. Its combined readership in 2013 was of 232,110 readers. The involvement of large industrial firms in media ownership is a defining trait of the Italian media landscape, to the extent that even the Italian employers' federation (Confindustria) owns a newspaper (*Il Sole 24 Ore*). According to Hallin and Mancini (2004) this is because media ownership is seen as a means to influence the political process. All these newspapers are quality newspapers with a major investment in hard news and political commentary. In line with other Southern European countries, there are no tabloids in Italy.

Volume and positioning of stories

Our Italian sample contained 300 stories, a breakdown of which can be seen in Table 5.1. The fact that there are more stories in *La Repubblica* may be due to the paper's centre-left orientation and the fact that a segment of public opinion has traditionally been concerned with immigration, humanitarian causes, and the protection of human rights. Since all three newspapers are quality newspapers and Italy currently constitutes the entry point for most Mediterranean refugees, it is not surprising that the issue has received substantial coverage across our sample.

La Repubblica	*II Corriere della Sera*	*La Stampa*
121	105	74

Table 5.1 Italian total stories by newspaper

As the data in Table 5.2 shows, the majority of reports in our sample were classified as domestic stories. More than 80% of stories in *La Repubblica* were published in the

[20] All readership figures in this section have been extracted from: http://www.adsnotizie.it/_dati.asp (Accessed August 2015).

national section, whilst for *Il Corriere della Sera* the figure was 69.5% and in *La Stampa*, 56.8%. These differences can be explained by the fact that both *Il Corriere della Sera* and *La Stampa* were more likely to place migration stories in the international section.

However, a close look at the stories published in the international section shows that many of these could also be classified as domestic. For instance, a story on the transferral of migrants from the Lampedusa reception centre to Porto Empedocle in Sicily (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 19 February 2015), or another on the European Commission's decision to approve an additional 13.7 million euro grant to Italy to help it cope with its refugee influx (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 20 February 2015).

	La Repubblica	*II Corriere della Sera*	*La Stampa*
Front Page	5.0%	4.8%	6.8%
Domestic	81.0%	69.5%	56.8%
International	1.7%	12.4%	24.3%
Financial	0.8%	0.0%	0.0%
Opinion/Editorial	5.8%	8.6%	5.4%
Feature	1.7%	2.9%	1.4%
Letter to the Editor	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%
Total N	121	105	74

Table 5.2: Positioning of Stories in the Italian Press

Approximately one in twenty migrant and refugee stories were featured on the front page of Italian newspapers. These tended to focus on three themes. One theme was the loss of life in the Mediterranean:

> Migrants, the never ending massacre: 800 deaths in five days (Headline- *La Repubblica*, 16 September 2014)
>
> Slaughter on the boat (Headline- *La Repubblica*, 31 December 2014)
>
> Landing, the last decimation. More than 300 die on the sea (Headline- *La Stampa*, 12 February 2015)

On occasion headlines about shipwrecks or landings were linked to reactions from relevant political institutions, such as the Italian Ministry of the Interior:

> 'A tragedy condemned to repeat itself. The Ministry of the Interior fears for 2015' (Headline- *La Stampa*, 10 February 2015)
>
> '32 landings in 2015 already. The Ministry of the Interior: we will only intervene in international waters in critical cases' (Headline- *Il Corriere della Sera*, 10 February 2015)

A second theme highlighted in headlines was the pressure that the influx of people was placing on public services and how this meant that the authorities were struggling to provide migrants with adequate levels of care on arrival:

> Fewer asylum seekers in Milan Central Station. Chaos over identifications (Headline - *La Repubblica,* 29 September 2014)
>
> Asylum seekers' emergency: Police unions protest' (Headline- *Il Corriere della Sera,* 20 September 2014)
>
> 'Asylum seekers, the City Council appeals to doctors: "Come to the Central Station to provide voluntary help to the newly-arrived children' (Headline - *La Repubblica,* 21 September 2014)

The final theme which appeared in headlines was the role of the mafia and organised crime in trafficking refugees into Europe:

> 'Arrested in Rome the "treasurer" of the Libyan smugglers behind the tragedy in Lampedusa' (Headline - *Il Corriere della Sera*, 4 September 2014)
>
> 'The "super boss" behind the landings in Sicily has been identified: Judges in Catania issue an arrest order' (Headline - *Il Corriere della Sera*, 27 December 2014)

Who gets to speak?

The data in table 5.3 demonstrates that domestic politicians are by far the most accessed sources in coverage, a finding that is line with the results of most academic research (see, for example: Tuchman 1978; Gitlin 1980; Glasgow Media Group 1980). Domestic political sources appear in one third of the stories in *La Repubblica* (31.8%) and *La Stampa* (34.3%), and in one in four stories in *Il Corriere della Sera* (25.7%). Italy is currently governed by a multiparty coalition where the Democratic Party and New Centre Right hold the most important offices: Angelino Alfano (New Centre Right) is the minister of the Interior and Paolo Gentiloni (and before him, Federica Mogherini–both Democratic Party) is the minister of Foreign Affairs. In line with previous research these incumbents are dominant (see table 5.4) with the two main coalition parties, the Democratic Party (Partito Democratico) and the New Centre Right (Nuovo Centro Destra) receiving by far the most coverage.

A central issue in political debate concerns the responsibility of the EU to help Italy to deal with the large influx of refugees and migrants. The attitude of the ruling coalition is that the migration crisis is not just an Italian issue but something that affects the whole of the EU and because of this it needs international support. The Italian Prime

Minister for instance was cited as framing the debate not only in terms of humanitarian need but also in relation to the shared security concerns of EU states:

> Libya can become a powder keg as the Ukraine. We are all underestimating the crisis of a country which is on the borders of the EU. This is not just a problem of illegal immigration, but also a battlefield for Isis terrorists. This is not a national security issue for Italy only, but for the entire European Union (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 13 February 2015)

The need for greater cooperation from the EU when addressing the refugee crisis was also an argument frequently made by Angelino Alfano (minister of the Interior). Whilst prime minister Renzi's claims were often couched in the language of grand political ideas or basic moral principles, Alfano's interventions were normally more specific, and policy-oriented:

We cannot accept the idea that Brussels will say no [to funding a common operation to patrol European borders] with the excuse that they have no money. Does that mean that we have the money? No, we do not have the money either…Europe must address the issue of borders. If you refuse, Italy will have to take its own responsibility, because we cannot go on like this (*La Repubblica*, 25 August 2014)

	La Repubblica	*II Corriere della Sera*	*La Stampa*	Italian Average
Domestic political	31.8%	25.7%	34.3%	30.6%
Migrant / Refugee	7.7%	7.8%	10.7%	8.4%
NGO/Civil Society	10.6%	7.8%	5.1%	8.4%
Citizen	6.9%	9.0%	8.4%	7.9%
EU Commission	4.9%	7.1%	6.7%	6.0%
National Rescue Team	6.3%	4.9%	6.2%	5.8%
UNHCR/UN	3.8%	3.3%	3.5%	3.8%
Church / Religion	4.9%	3.0%	2.2%	3.6%
Foreign Politician	2.9%	4.5%	3.9%	3.6%
Police	2.6%	3.7%	3.4%	3.1%
Journalist / Media	3.4%	3.4%	2.2%	3.1%
Trafficker/Smuggler	4.0%	3.0%	0.0%	2.8%
Law / Judiciary	1.4%	4.5%	1.7%	2.5%
Academic / Expert	2.0%	1.5%	2.8%	2.0%
MEP	1.7%	1.9%	1.1%	1.6%
FRONTEX	0.6%	2.2%	0.6%	1.1%
IOM	0.9%	1.1%	1.1%	1.0%
Business	0.3%	0.4%	1.7%	0.6%
Think Tank	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%
Other	2.3%	5.2%	3.4%	3.5%
Total N	349	268	178	795

Table 5.3: Italian sources by newspaper (each source as a proportion of all sources)

Another key area of political debate was the question as to whether Triton [the Frontex joint operation to patrol the border] constituted a satisfactory replacement for Mare Nostrum [the Italian operation that preceded Triton]. This debate was often heated and at times descended into political points scoring:

Enrico Letta [Prime Minister who preceded Matteo Renzi in office. Letta resigned following tensions with Renzi] launched a hashtag on Twitter that constitutes a political jab to his successor: '#ReinstateMareNostrum. Whether other European countries like it or not. Whether it loses votes or not'. Renzi took some time to respond, but the reaction was severe: 'The exploitation of the dead is sad and also unjust. The problem is Libya, not Mare Nostrum or Triton'. Then the prime minister expanded his reasoning: 'the fact is that there were deaths with Mare Nostrum, as there are deaths with Triton…Then of course you can ask Europe to intervene. And we will.' The angry reaction of the Ministry for the Interior arrived in the evening: 'During Mare Nostrum 3,363 people died or went missing. There cannot be an operation that will defeat death at sea. Saying so is hypocritical and cynical (*La Stampa*, 12 February 2015)

There were also political voices critical of Italy partaking in any form of rescue operations. These views were mainly expressed by politicians of the far-right Northern League (Lega Nord) who appear in between one in six and one in ten articles. This party is against the 'invasion' of Italy–to the point that its leader, Matteo Salvini, claims that 'Europe is coordinating an operation of ethnic substitution…The Padani [term used by the Northern League to refer to the inhabitants of Northern Italy] are victims of ethnic cleansing' (*La Repubblica*, 18 February 2015). They also oppose Mare Nostrum–'a foolish idea' in the words of Salvini (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 18 October 2014), which they argue is partially responsible for the refugee crisis. After a boat capsized near Libyan waters, leaving 20 deaths and 170 missing refugees, Salvini stated on Facebook: 'more blood in the dirty hands of Renzi and Alfano' (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 24 August 2014). Forza Italia (the main right wing opposition party, led by Silvio Berlusconi) did not feature prominently in the coverage (*La Repubblica* 7.3%; *Il Corriere della Sera* 3%; *La Stampa* 4.2%). Their main argument was that Mare Nostrum and Triton were turning Italy into 'a paradise for clandestine immigrants' (*La Stampa*, 27 December 2014).

	La Repubblica	*II Corriere della Sera*	*La Stampa*	Italian Average
PD	38.5%	45.5%	45.8%	42.4%
NCD	17.7%	30.3%	16.7%	21.4%
Lega Nord	14.6%	12.1%	10.4%	12.9%
Italian minor party	9.4%	1.5%	6.3%	6.2%
SEL	5.2%	4.5%	8.3%	5.7%
M5S	5.2%	3.0%	8.3%	5.2%
Forza Italia	7.3%	3.0%	4.2%	5.2%
NPD	2.1%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
Total N	96	66	48	210

Table 5.4: Italian political sources by newspaper (each source as a proportion of all political sources)

In spite of the centrality of the role of EU in political debate, as sources, EU officials were not a major presence in coverage (*La Repubblica* 4.9%; *Il Corriere della Sera* 7.1%; *La Stampa* 6.7%). When they did appear it was often as voices in the debate over the Mare Nostrum, and its replacement Triton, as in these comments from EU Commissioner, Cecilia Malsmtröm:

> Mare Nostrum was born as an emergency operation, but that is clearly not an effort that Italy can carry out alone. The EU will do its best so that all member states play a role helping to manage migration flows in the Mediterranean. Together we are working intensely on a new Frontex operation aimed at increasing the assistance Italy currently receives (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 28 August 2014)

Foreign politicians also featured relatively rarely (*La Repubblica* 2.9%; *Il Corriere della Sera* 4.5%; *La Stampa* 3.9%) as were MEPs (*La Repubblica* 1.7%; *Il Corriere della Sera* 1.9%; *La Stampa* 1.1%).

Appearances by representatives of the UNHCR/UN (*La Repubblica* 3.8%; *Il Corriere della Sera* 3.3%; *La Stampa* 3.5%) were also infrequent despite the central role that they play within the crisis. The UN support for Mare Nostrum as an operation better suited to protect the lives of refugees was highlighted in the coverage–to the extent that a headline in *La Repubblica* (27 August 2014) read: 'UN backs Italy'. François Crépeau (UN Special Rapporteur for the Human Rights of Migrants), for example, was quoted extensively endorsing Mare Nostrum, as over its replacement Triton and therefore supporting Italy's position, as opposed to the EU's:

> Even though Triton aims to protect the Law of the Sea, it may also lead to new tragedies. I have had assurances from Triton staff with regards to rescue

> operations, but the resources and the infrastructure available are not enough. We cannot close our eyes…The Italian government's response to the migration emergency has been brave and bold, despite the dissent of those who were reluctant to devote €9 million a month in rescue operations at sea at a time of high unemployment and economic crisis…Without an operation like Mare Nostrum there is the fear that thousands of people will continue to die next summer…I plan to evaluate Triton in the coming months. But in the meantime I will keep asking the European authorities why they did not want to extend an experience so beneficial and positive as Mare Nostrum which has saved 160,000 people (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 6 December 2014)

In a similar vein, António Guterres (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) was quoted endorsing Mare Nostrum:

> There was a dramatic increase in the number of refugees who have taken these dangerous trips during 2014: at least 218,000 people crossed the Mediterranean, and out of these 3,500 were killed. Without the launch of the Mare Nostrum operation, the number of deaths would have been much higher (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 13 February 2015)

In spite of the occasional inclusion of international sources, the coverage was primarily conducted within the framework of domestic political debates. When present, the voices of EU or UNHCR/UN sources were filtered through a national lens, so that they fed into the key debates in the Italian polity – the question of burden sharing and the need to establish a common, EU-funded, search and rescue operations that would prevent further tragedies at sea:

> Nearly two thousand deaths from January to date. The appeal of the High Commission for Refugees of the United Nations is 'not to leave Italy alone.' UNHCR spokesperson, Melissa Fleming, from Geneva appeals to Europe: 'Mare Nostrum has been a successful operation, which has saved thousands of lives, but now the tragic situation on the sea border of Europe requires an urgent and concerted European action (*La Stampa*, 27 August 2014)

More prominent in our sample were the voices of migrants/refugees (*La Repubblica* 7.7%; *Il Corriere della Sera* 7.8%; *La Stampa* 10.7%) and citizens (*La Repubblica* 6.9%; *Il Corriere della Sera* 9.0%; *La Stampa* 8.4%). This is unusual since these sources have traditionally been relegated to subsidiary positions in journalistic practice (Gans 1979). As in the other countries in our sample, migrant and refugee voices were primarily talking about what made them leave their home countries, the ordeals they had suffered on the journey to Europe, or their experiences with traffickers:

> Mussah (20), whose family is in Mali, explains: 'we were more than 400 on Saturday. We were crammed into a shed near Tripoli, we were moved to the beach (Garbouli), and then forced into four old rafts by men armed with guns and sticks. The sea was hell, we could not oppose any resistance, we were threatened, and forced to do everything'… Buba, whose family is in Gambia, is thin but strong, explains how he spent two months in the desert, and the humiliations he suffered for three months in Tripoli…: 'I did not want to leave on Saturday. I worked as a labourer. But four Libyans captured me and took me to a beach where there were hundreds of people on four rafts. They stole everything from me, 600 dinars and a mobile phone, and beat me up until I went on board. We screamed because the sea conditions were not good for sailing, but those animals had to get rid of us… And now we are alive thanks to God and to you Italians (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 12 February 2015)

Citizens were primarily cited in relation to their experiences of, and attitudes towards, migrants and refugees. A number of articles in the Italian press focused on the perceptions and the attitudes of residents of the Corcolle, Tor Sapienza and Infernetto areas in Rome. These working class neighbourhoods had seen an influx of refugees and migrants in the autumn of 2014 which was bitterly resented by some residents. In addition to slogans such as 'let's defend our nation: we don't want any immigration' or 'for any underpaid migrant there's an unemployed Italian' (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 23 November 2014), there were also popular demands to limit the number of immigrants relocated to the area:

> There are too many immigrants. Around 1600 within one and a half kilometres. With the abusive occupation and the gypsy camp, we are more than 2500 people at risk in this degraded neighbourhood' (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 19 November 2014).

Reports stated that groups of vigilantes had been established in these areas. A citizen in Corcolle was reported as saying: 'We don't want any blacks here: they must leave…we started on Sunday evening, and we will continue to patrol our neighbourhood: immigrants should not walk around in our streets.' In the same story, another citizen claimed: 'we can't go on like this anymore. It's not racism: we cannot go down the street. The pavements are occupied by non-EU migrants sleeping rough' (*La Repubblica*, 23 September 2014). There were claims that immigration had led to an increase in crime, as well as criticism towards public funding (allegedly) offered to refugees:

> They [the welfare system] give 30 euro per day to refugees, while we don't have any jobs (*La Stampa*, 17 November 2014)

> I just lost my job. I was a delivery boy with TNT. Meanwhile, they [immigrants] go to the shops to top up their phones. I have a 20 euros Nokia

> phone, while they have tablets. The state gives them 40 euro a day. That's 40 euro for every black person (*La Repubblica*, 13 November 2014)

Another relatively prominent source were NGOs (*La Repubblica* 6.3%; *Il Corriere della Sera* 5.6%; *La Stampa* 4.5%) amongst whom the most heavily accessed were Caritas, Save the Children, and the Red Cross. NGOs were quoted in a number of contexts, including stressing the need to offer refugees aid and assistance, or pointing out deficiencies in the way states currently dealt with refugee and migrant issues. NGOs were also cited making statements about the legal status of refugees and their rights under international humanitarian law:

> Sergio Castelli, a representative of the City Angels [an NGO managing a shelter]: 'Even if 50 leave the shelter in the morning, I get a hundred more that evening. It's like emptying the ocean with a spoon' (*La Repubblica*, 16 September 2014)

> 'The only thing that matters is saving lives in the Mediterranean' says John Dalhuisen, who leads the work of Amnesty International in Europe and Central Asia. He does not want to say what would be the ideal solution, 'as long as it serves the purpose: [Whether it is] keeping Mare Nostrum or replacing it with a joint initiative of the European Union makes little difference' (*La Stampa*, 1 October 2014)

> Christopher Hein, from the Italian Council for Refugees (Consiglio Italiano per i Rifugiati): 'it is important that the Court [European Court of Human Rights] recognises that applicants belong to a disadvantaged and vulnerable population. We know that the reception system in Italy, in spite of the improvement experienced in recent months, still has very serious gaps' (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 9 November 2014)

Where do migrants come from?

Table 5.5 lists the migrants' countries of origin as identified in coverage. This shows that migrants and refugees are most often identified as coming from Syria and Eritrea. Although relatively common in the three newspapers, the newspaper leaning to the centre-left is the one that uses generic geographic labels (Africa, North Africa, or Sub-Saharan Africa) more often, as well as the one less likely to identify a country of origin for refugees: *La Repubblica* (31.4%) does not mention the country of origin of migrants as often as *Il Corriere della Sera* (21.0%) and *La Stampa* (21.6%). This contrasts with the pattern identified in the British coverage. Iraq is the third most common country of origin in *Il Corriere della Sera* (10.5%) and *La Stampa* (9.5%), whereas it does not feature amongst the seven top countries of origin in *La Repubblica*. The countries and regions of origin essentially coincide with the

countries of origin identified by UNHCR (2015), and do not match the top countries of origin of other migrants in Italy, suggesting that the coverage does not conflate migrants and refugees/asylum seekers.

La Repubblica		*II Corriere della Sera*		*La Stampa*	
Syria	34.7%	Syria	43.8%	Syria	40.5%
Eritrea	15.7%	Eritrea	16.2%	Eritrea	20.3%
Africa	8.3%	Iraq	10.5%	Iraq	9.5%
North Africa	8.3%	North Africa	8.6%	Sub-Saharan Africa	8.1%
Sub-Saharan Africa	5.8%	Africa	8.6%	Palestine	6.8%
Palestine	5.8%	Somalia	6.7%	North Africa	6.8%
Afghanistan	5.0%	Palestine	6.7%	Somalia	6.8%
No country of origin identified	31.4%	No country of origin identified	21.0%	No country of origin identified	21.6%

Table 5.5: Country of Origin by Italian newspaper (proportion of articles identifying each country of origin)

Use of labels

The use of labels to refer to migrants in Italian media has changed over the years. Whilst there was an initial division between those who were referred to as *foreigners* (*stranieri* - basically western and affluent) and those who were identified as *immigrants* (*immigrati* - every other migrant – often accompanied by the word *extracomunitario*, that is, non-EU), the term *foreigner* almost disappeared from media coverage in the nineties (Sciortino and Colombo 2004). According to Sciortino and Colombo (2004: 107), the term *immigrato* 'has entered the common language as the most popular and least problematic generic describer.' When it comes to *refugees*, the Italian language has two different words to refer to them: *profugo* and *rifugiato*. The Enciclopedia Treccani[21] defines the differences between both terms as follows:

A *rifugiato* is the individual who has left their country for the reasonable fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality or political affiliation and has applied for asylum and refuge in a foreign state. A *profugo* is an individual who for various reasons (war, poverty, hunger, natural disasters, etc) has left their country but is not in a position to request international protection. In practice, the two terms tend to be conflated, but only the label *rifugiato* indicates the protection accorded to an individual in international law since the Geneva Convention of 1951

In practice, Italian newspapers normally use *profugo* and *rifugiato* as equivalent, although the condition of *rifugiato* needs to be recognised by a state and has legal consequences, whereas an individual can be a *profugo* without any third party recognition. All the labels in table 5.6 have a descriptive nature, other than

[21] http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/profugo-rifugiato_(Lessico-del-XXI-Secolo)/ (Accessed August 2015)

clandestino, *illegale*, and *indocumentato*. Although *immigrato* is in principle a neutral label, *migrante* is considered by some a more suitable label (not because of its intrinsic meaning, but because of the negative connotations the word *immigrato* has attained after having been associated with discriminatory uses).[22]

	La Repubblica	*II Corriere della Sera*	*La Stampa*	Italian Average
Migrante *(Migrant)*	34.5%	36.4%	33.9%	35.1%
Profugo *(Refugee)*	24.4%	23.2%	13.7%	21.1%
Rifugiato *(Refugee)*	13.4%	17.6%	15.2%	15.6%
Immigrato *(Immigrant)*	12.3%	10.2%	19.5%	13.3%
Clandestino *(Clandestine)*	7.0%	2.6%	8.7%	5.7%
Richiedente asilo *(Asylum Seeker)*	4.2%	7.4%	4.7%	5.6%
Straniero *(Foreigner)*	3.9%	1.9%	0.4%	2.2%
Emigrante *(Emigrant)*	0.0%	0.0%	3.6%	0.9%
Senzadocumenti (*Without papers)*	0.0%	0.7%	0.4%	0.4%
Illegale *(Illegal)*	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%
Total N	357	431	277	1065

Table 5.6: Italian labels by newspaper (proportion of times each label is used as a proportion of total labels)

Migrante was the most commonly used term in our sample, constituting the label of choice in one in three occasions (*La Repubblica* 34.5%; *Il Corriere della Sera* 36.4%; *La Stampa* 33.9%). However, if we combine usage of *profugo*, *rifugiato* and *richiedente asilo* then refugee/asylum seeker is the mostly commonly used label in *La Repubblica* (42%) and, particularly, in *Il Corriere della Sera* (48.2%). *La Stampa* (32.4%), however, used *migrant* more often. *La Stampa* was also the newspaper which used the label *immigrato* more frequently than other publications. Even though the label *immigrato* does not necessarily have any negative connotations, its use in the context of this refugee crisis tends to mask the fact that many of those arriving in Italy are genuine refugees who will seek asylum in other European countries.

The most negative label (*clandestino*) was much more likely to be used in *La Repubblica* (7.0%) and *La Stampa* (8.7%) than in of *Il Corriere della Sera* (2.6%).

[22] For a discussion, see: http://www.parlarecivile.it/argomenti/immigrazione/immigrato.aspx#_ftnref1 (Accessed August 2015).

As was found in the British media, there was also a tendency to use words with very different meanings interchangeably. Whilst the combination of the word *migrante* with the terms *profugo*, *rifugiato*, and *richiedente asilo* could be justified, the use of *migrante* with any other words would misrepresent the legal status of these migrants. Despite this, in 35% of the articles in which the word *rifugiato* was used so was the term *immigrato.*

Themes in coverage

Italy, as the key transit point for migrants trying to get into Europe, occupies a key role in the migrant crisis. It bears responsibility - and costs - for many of the search and rescue operations as well as the care that is extended to an unprecedented number migrants, upon arrival. Such expenditures are politically controversial in a time of austerity, especially when other EU states appear reluctant to share the burden of dealing with the humanitarian crisis. Throw into the mix the prominence of the far-right in Italian politics, the role of mafias in people trafficking and it becomes clear that reporting has numerous potential angles it can focus on when reporting the story. This complexity is reflected in the numerous themes which appear in coverage - an average of 3.4 themes per story in *La Reppublica*, 3.6 in *Il Corriere della Sera*, and 3.7 in *La Stampa* – See table 5.7.

The most dominant theme in coverage was 'Search and Rescue/Aid Supplies', appearing in approximately two out of every three stories (*La Repubblica* 66.9%; *Il Corriere della Sera* 64.4%; *La Stampa* 63.5%). The stories featuring this theme consist primarily of factual accounts of the operations of the search and rescue teams:

The Sicilian Channel continues to be crossed daily by dozens of boats. In the night between Friday and Saturday, the Navy rescued 1,373 people and recovered a dead body, in six separate operations between Lampedusa, Agrigento and Catania, which were conducted in collaboration with the Port Authority. All migrants (40 percent were Syrians) were transferred to the frigate Fasan, which will arrive this morning in Reggio Calabria. The logbook declares about 159 children and four pregnant women (one in her ninth month) (*La Repubblica*, 24 August 2014)

The need to put in place (and appropriately fund) structures and services to tackle these arrivals justifies the prominence of the 'Political Response/Policy' theme too, which is present in one out of every three stories (*La Repubblica* 32.2%; *Il Corriere della Sera* 36.5%; *La Stampa* 33.8%). The capacity to address the challenge posed by the unexpected rise in arrivals is discussed in the coverage through the combination of both the search and rescue and the political response themes:

‘Sold out. The surge in arrivals is engulfing the machine of hospitality. We risk chaos.’ The Ministry of the Interior calculates the cost and sounds the alarm: ‘Our extraordinary plan was calculated to provide assistance and care

	La Repubblica	*II Corriere della Sera*	*La Stampa*	Italian Average
Search and Rescue / Aid Supplies	66.9%	64.4%	63.5%	65.0%
Mafia / Traffic	40.5%	47.1%	43.2%	43.3%
Political Response / Policy	32.2%	36.5%	33.8%	34.0%
Mortality / Mortality Figures	31.4%	32.7%	37.8%	33.3%
Immigration Figures / Levels	25.6%	30.8%	36.5%	30.0%
Humanitarian (Key Theme)	28.1%	26.0%	32.4%	28.3%
Human Rights	22.3%	26.0%	18.9%	22.7%
Humanitarian (Elements)	15.7%	25.0%	17.6%	19.3%
Receiving / Rejecting	14.9%	14.4%	14.9%	14.7%
Journey	11.6%	14.4%	17.6%	14.0%
Threat to National Security	8.3%	14.4%	10.8%	11.0%
Threat to Communities / Cultural Threat	9.9%	10.6%	9.5%	10.0%
Post-arrival Integration	7.4%	6.7%	12.2%	8.3%
Welfare / Benefits / Resources	11.6%	3.8%	6.8%	7.7%
Crime	4.1%	6.7%	4.1%	5.0%
Health Risk for Country of Destination	1.7%	6.7%	5.4%	4.3%
Migrant/Refugees/Asylum Seekers Success Stories	1.7%	0.0%	1.4%	1.0%
Total N	404	381	271	1056

Table 5.7: Themes by Italian Newspapers (proportion of articles featuring each theme)

to a maximum of 90 thousand refugees, but landings are already over 105 thousand, and the forecast for the end of the year has been raised to 140 thousand.’ In the past weeks, the Interior Ministry has circulated a telegram to the prefectures to activate 10 thousand more places, a request that has been distributed repeatedly. Many centres are collapsing, especially Siculiana, Crotone, Trapani. Funds from the regular budget have drained already…The government and local authorities have agreed a plan of hospitality, which is developed in three phases, involving the Interior Ministry, regions and municipalities. The state has allocated 370 million: 270 for the Interior Ministry, the other for unaccompanied minors. Each region must make its own

> budget, following quotas distributed at the national level *(La Repubblica*, 25 August 2014)

The need to replace Mare Nostrum, and the adequacy of Triton as a suitable replacement also featured prominently in coverage, to the extent that Pope Francis criticised the futility of 'the derby match between those who favour Mare Nostrum and those who favour Triton' (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 12 February 2015). Some examples:

> Triton is inadequate to tackle the human traffic of clandestine migrants and the humanitarian difficulties they go through. Italy can be proud of the lives it saved with Mare Nostrum. It is a mistake to accept the European Commission's decree and abandon that operation. It is time to return to a European Mare Nostrum (*La Stampa*, 18 February 2015)

> Triton does not work. Mare Nostrum was better (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 28 December 2014)

> We should be proud of the one hundred thousand lives saved by Mare Nostrum, while in London and other places the apostles of strong anti-immigration policies try to impeach our 'humanitarian excesses' now that the baton passes to the Triton operation (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 12 November 2014)

The debate Mare Nostrum v. Triton was often re-ignited when certain events tested the extent to which Italy's reception structures could cope with the magnitude of the flow of arrivals:

> It is inevitable to think of Mare Nostrum the day after 29 people died of cold…The 75 survivors will be housed in the reception centre of Porto Empedocle. They are all exhausted but in fairly good health. There are three minors amongst them…Everyone knows that tragedies like this will multiply in the coming months with the warmer weather, the increase in departures, and the lack of protection offered by Mare Nostrum…'It is going to be a very busy spring' warns Mario Morcone, head of the Department of Civil Liberties and Immigration (Ministry of the Interior) (*La Stampa*, 11 February 2015)

The second most prominent theme in the coverage was 'Mafia/traffic', which appeared in almost half of the stories in *Il Corriere della Sera* (47.1%), and in a slightly lower proportion of stories in *La Stampa* (43.2%) and *La Repubblica* (40.5%). This theme presented refugees in a sympathetic light, by underlining how mafias were not only profiteering from the despair of refugees, but also putting their lives at risk. Mafias were criticised in the coverage for their lack of scruples and humanity,

charging refugees extortionate prices for dangerous journeys, and abandoning refugees close to their destination. For example:

> Two boats packed with migrants from West Africa, embarked on the Libyan coast, sank with their human cargo. Nearly 300 dead. And nine survivors, who told how things went. After more than 200 passengers were swept away by the waves, and 29 others, left to themselves, they were killed by the cold…Yes, a tragedy, but once again with the same subject - the eternal return: misery in the home country, the need to leave to try luck. At this point the smugglers got involved, now turned into a well-organised mafia. Boarding, and then, after a few hours or a few days, the almost inevitable disaster. The problem is that migrants are aware, 90% know that their journey will end with death, but they still try the adventure. This is enough to realise how immense is their desperation…[the job of the police] is to hunt down these merchants of death, the mafia that bleed these people in despair and who are not ashamed to abandon them in the high seas (*La Repubblica*, 13 February 2015)

Although the virtues of Mare Nostrum over Triton and the need for a European joint operation to address the crisis were dominant issues in coverage, there were also critical voices suggesting that these rescue operations could in fact be fuelling the business of trafficking mafias: 'A new Mare Nostrum would be a tempting opportunity to feed this industry [of human traffickers]' (*La Stampa*, 16 February 2015). There were also voices calling for a stronger diplomatic effort in the Mediterranean, which could lead to the weakening of the trafficking mafias and the extremist groups they believed to fund - in particular ISIS:

> Those who died of cold in the Sicilian Channel do not only constitute an injury to the national consciousness of a civilised country. They also reveal the deficits of a foreign policy that blurs our role as a Mediterranean power. We are giving space to the monopoly of transnational mafias which in addition to the trafficking of migrants also run the illegal arms trade and other goods, contributing to the rooting of jihadists on the south shore of the sea (*La Repubblica*, 10 February 2015)

Questions were also asked about the procedure for claiming asylum in Europe, which, it was argued, could also be indirectly benefitting mafias because it is only when refugees are on European soil that they are allowed to apply for asylum. This system, it was argued, closes off legal channels to claim asylum and makes refugees reliant on mafias to bring them to Europe:

> The misfortune of Syrians, most of them wealthy, is a gold mine for the gangs. This exodus is paradigmatic of the contradictions of the system. European legislation obliges to request political asylum once individuals are on European soil. 'It's a Kafkaesque perversion, because in practice there is no

> legal way to get to Europe' criticises Michael Diedr, secretary general of the European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE). 'The result is thousands of deaths and millions of traumatised people, as well as millions of euros in the pockets of organised crime and human traffickers' (*La Stampa*, 21 October 2014)

The protection of the human rights of refugees was another prominent theme in coverage (*La Repubblica* 22.3%; *Il Corriere della Sera* 26%; *La Stampa* 18.9%). Although the discussion of asylum throughout coverage is, in itself, a reference to the human rights of refugees, in our study this theme was coded when there were explicit mentions of the human rights of migrants in coverage. A close inspection of the stories shows that this theme featured in multiple ways. First, the coverage referenced human rights through explicitly recognising refugees as holders of rights: '80% of the immigrants landing in Italy have the right to asylum or to international protection' (*La Repubblica*, 25 August 2014). The coverage also presented refugees as individuals who are fleeing countries where their human rights are at risk: 'these are flows of asylum seekers, of people who are fleeing from war and human right violations' (*La Stampa*, 25 August 2014). The coverage also explicitly condemned how human rights could be violated in countries of origin or transit countries:

> Thousands of future migrants are incarcerated in 19 shelters across Libya, many in precarious conditions (to say the least). Earlier this year, the Observatory for Human Rights denounced the presence of detainees in shipping containers, who were fed rotten food, and were constantly subjected to violence (*La Stampa*, 21 October 2014)

The coverage also recognises the human rights of asylum seekers once they reach their country of destination, as well as the responsibility for states to guarantee that these rights are respected:

> On 4 November the Court of Human Rights under Order 326 of 2014 instructed the Swiss state not to send back to Italy an Afghan family (parents and four minor children) who arrived in Europe after an odyssey on barges, trucks and trains because those refugees would risk not having adequate humanitarian assistance if they were returned to Italy: 'these asylum seekers are likely to remain without a place to live or be housed in unsanitary facilities' (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 9 November 2014)

In both *Il Corriere della Sera* and *La Stampa*, the presence of humanitarian themes (either key theme or elements) was present in half of the stories (51% and 50%, respectively). Although the proportion in *La Repubblica* was slightly lower (43.8%), it was still a significant theme which was prominently featured. When aggregated, this theme was the third most prominent theme in the three newspapers (following 'Search and Rescue/Aid Supplies' and 'Political Response/Policy'). The reporting of

the ordeals experienced by refugees in their countries of origin, together with the often traumatic experiences involved in their journeys (*La Repubblica* 11.6%; *Il Corriere della Sera* 14.4%; *La Stampa* 17.6%) was generally compassionate and humane, and underlined the need to help the refugees arriving in Italy:

> The commander Bilardo is in his tenth mission on a Mare Nostrum ship. He has saved more than 3,000 migrants already, but gets moved every time he saves another one. 'Every tragedy like this shakes us. We see men, women and their young children, little children on their own embarking on these journeys, facing inhumane conditions, with little food and water, wearing inadequate clothes, barefoot… And every life we save is a source of pride for us: we will continue to do so. We will apply the law of the sea whenever we find people who need our help (*La Stampa*, 25 August 2014)

> The rescuers were confronted by a shocking sight: at least ten corpses floating on the water. The rescue operations allowed the recovery of at least 55 people who swam in spite of being exhausted. The survivors, after having received first aid, said that there were at least a hundred on board. Merchant vessels have also started looking for the thirty people who were missing. The rescuers' hope to find any refugees still alive diminishes as hours go by into the night. This tragedy lengthens even more the already too long list of victims dying in the sea in recent months in the Sicilian Channel (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 22 September 2014).

In spite of the prominence of the humanitarian theme, there were also stories that featured threat themes, the most prominent one being the threat to national security (*La Repubblica* 8.3%; *Il Corriere della Sera* 14.4%; *La Stampa* 10.8%). These focused on the idea that amongst the refugees arriving on boats, could be dangerous extremists keen to infiltrate Europe:

> Amongst so many real immigrants there may be some extremists too. People who are not fleeing the conflict in Syria or Iraq: people who have been trained in these conflicts and who may now wish to bring the Jihad to Italy (*La Stampa*, 23 August 2014)

> The risk of terrorist infiltration 'was raised to the umpteenth power by misguided operations as Mare Nostrum', claims Maurizio Gasparri (Forza Italia!), adding that the government is 'guilty of having underestimated the possibility that amongst the many illegal immigrants there could be hidden fundamentalists and hate preachers' (*La Repubblica*, 23 January 2015)

It should be noted however that this idea that extremists were hiding amongst refugees was also questioned in coverage:

> The horrors of the Islamic Jihad were projected over the stream of people who were escaping from Jihad and war. Propaganda took over piety, and Mare Nostrum was under question: it was alleged that it opened the door to terrorists (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 12 February 2015)

> A hysterical and volatile public opinion who showed frustration after the double shipwreck in Lampedusa in October 2013 now seems ready to treat thousands of terrified refugees as mere cover-up of the infiltration of Jihadists (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 29 August 2014)

The coverage also featured the views of experts who debunked the suggestion that jihadi extremists could be hiding amongst refugees. These sources suggested that jihadis were much more likely to be benefitting financially from trafficking rather than using refugees as a cover to infiltrate Europe:

> Suggesting that Islamist terrorists use the barges to infiltrate Jihad soldiers and suicide bombers in Italy amongst thousands of illegal immigrants in search of a future, is both a risky and an unsubstantiated hypothesis. Franco Roberti, the national anti-mafia prosecutor, who coordinates research on human trafficking, and analysts and scholars studying what is happening on the other side of the Mediterranean do not believe in that idea. They think it is more likely for Islamic State to be amongst those who exploit the lucrative flow of migrants, and use those profits to fund civil wars that, in turn, lead to mass emigration to the European coasts (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 22 February 2015)

The notion of cultural threat/threat to communities (*La Repubblica* 9.9%; *Il Corriere della Sera* 10.6%; *La Stampa* 9.5%), can be directly linked to the extensive coverage of the anti-immigration riots in the areas of Infernetto, Tor Sapienza and Corcolle in Rome. Prominent amongst sources expressing this argument was Luca Zaia (Northern League), president of the Veneto region, who claimed: 'the never ending influx of migrants, who are unloaded as if they were parcels, is pushing local communities and city councils to the limit. The limit has already been reached' (*La Repubblica*, 18 February 2015).

Perhaps surprisingly, the threat to welfare featured in the centre-left newspaper *La Repubblica* (11.6%) almost twice as much than in *La Stampa* (6.8%) and almost three times as much as in *Il Corriere della Sera* (3.8%). This can be explained by the fact that these threats were commonly voiced by sources, such as the citizens in the stories covering the aftermath of the riots in some of Rome's working class neighbourhoods, by members of right wing social movements (such as CasaPound), or by right wing politicians (mainly from Northern League, Forza Italia!, or Brothers of Italy). Riccardo de Corato (Brothers of Italy), for example, was quoted in *La Repubblica* saying:

> A total of 184 thousand euro have been earmarked [in Milan] for immigrants in three months. That's 736 thousand euro in a year. In addition there are 5 million Euros that the Ministry of the Interior has allocated for the emergency. That's about 35 euro per person per day, at a time when the citizens of Milan are forced to look for food in the garbage (*La Repubblica*, 21 February 2015)

Health risks for the country of destination also featured in coverage, although not as prominently (*La Repubblica* 1.7%; *Il Corriere della Sera* 6.7%; *La Stampa* 5.4%), and was exclusively related to the Ebola crisis: 'the spectre of Ebola casts even more shadows over the Sicilian Channel: the rescue of refugees fleeing Africa with no previous sanitary control can unsettle many people' (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 18 October 2014).

Factors driving population flows

The factors driving population flows into the EU are not routinely featured in reporting. A majority of stories in the three newspapers did not mention any reason why people had left their country of origin and were trying to enter the EU. Only about a quarter of stories in *La Repubblica* and about forty percent of the articles in *La Stampa* and *Il Corriere della Sera* cited any explanation for population movements.

Approximately one in three stories in *La Stampa* (33.8%) and *Il Corriere della Sera* (32.4%), and almost one in four stories in *La Repubblica* (23.1%) suggested that refugees were fleeing their countries of origin in an attempt to escape from war, conflicts, atrocities or disease:

> They were running away from the war in Northern Africa, and dreamed of arriving in Italy soon (*La Repubblica*, 24 August 2014)

> They are clandestine migrants because they have no valid documents, but only a handful of them have economic reasons. They are in fact fleeing from the horrors of war and political crises. They are from Syria, Egypt, the Horn of Africa, Lybia, Mali, Nigeria. They are asylum seekers, refugees (*La Stampa*, 21 October 2014)

> There is a direct link between the conflicts currently taking place in Syria and other countries and the rise of deaths in the Mediterranean sea (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 16 September 2014)

The second most prominent reason in *La Stampa* (12.2%) and *La Repubblica* (5.8%) was poverty, a reason which was only mentioned in 3.8% stories in *Il Corriere della*

Sera. Often, news accounts suggested migration flows were driven by a number of push and pull factors, as in the following examples:

	La Repubblica	*II Corriere della Sera*	*La Stampa*	Italian Average
War/conflict/Atrocities	23.1%	32.4%	33.8%	29.8%
Poverty/economic	5.8%	3.8%	12.2%	7.3%
ISIS/terrorism	4.1%	2.9%	6.8%	4.6%
Repressive regime	0.8%	5.7%	4.1%	3.5%
Absence of border control	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.3%
Climate Change	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.3%
EU-US foreign policy stoking conflict	0.0%	1.0%	1.4%	0.8%
No reason provided	73.6%	61.9%	60.8%	65.4%
Total N	42	52	46	140

Table 5.8 Italian Explanations for population flows (proportion of articles featuring each explanation)

> People in despair, running away from war and poverty (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 28 December 2014)
>
> Hundreds of thousands of men, women and children running away from war and poverty (*La Stampa*, 12 February 2015)
>
> They run away from war and scarcity (*La Repubblica*, 12 January 2015)
>
> Human tides running away from war and poverty (*La Repubblica*, 22 September 2014)

The idea that people were fleeing ISIS/Terrorism featured as a reason in 4.1% stories in *La Repubblica* and 6.8% in *La Stampa*. Once again, it did not feature as much in Il *Corriere della Sera* (2.9%).

> Young men who landed in Italy with the hope of starting a new life, running away from the machetes of Boko Haram (*La Repubblica*, 14 August 2014)
>
> Syrian citizens running away from the Jihadist militiamen of ISIS, who are guilty of atrocities in Iraq and Syria (*La Stampa*, 21 September 2014)

The second most prominent reason in *Il Corriere della Sera* (5.7%) was the existence of repressive regimes, a reason which also appeared in 4.1% stories in *La Stampa* (and only in 0.8% in *La Repubblica*):

> The majority of people fleeing these countries are running away from persecutions that merit international protection (*La Stampa*, 1 October 2014)
>
> Coming from countries at war or afflicted by dictatorships (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 3 September 2014)

On occasion journalists group together countries which are seen to have specific push characteristics such as war or poverty:

> They run away from the wars in Syria, Palestine and Afghanistan; from poverty in Bangladesh and Senegal, and from oppression in Eritrea and Somalia (*La Stampa*, 21 October 2014)

Overall, a majority of articles across the Italian media do not feature explanations for migration and refugee flows, but the ones that do are likely to cite factors such as war, terrorism and repressive regimes rather than frame the crisis as a problem of porous borders.

How to manage/solve the crisis

As this chapter has shown, the three Italian newspapers in the study constructed the migration crisis primarily as a national challenge that Italy had to address, preferably with the help and cooperation of other EU countries. This 'domestication' of the crisis could be seen in how national politicians – as opposed to foreign or EU politicians – were the dominant sources and the most prominent themes that appeared in coverage dealt with issues such as search and rescue operations, combating mafias, and political debates over burden sharing and the replacement of the Mare Nostrum.

When we turn to the question of what to do about the crisis, it is clear that the Italian press featured a greater volume of solutions and responses than other countries in our study, with each newspaper on average featuring approximately one solution per article (*La Repubblica* 1.1; *Il Corriere della Sera* 1.1; *La Stampa* 1.0). One explanation for this is that because Italy, along with Greece, is one of the two key entry points for refugees and has had to bear the brunt of managing the majority of refugees trying to enter the EU, the question of how to resolve, or at least manage, the crisis is particularly urgent.

The solutions that were present in coverage were filtered through the same national lens that defined the rest of the Italian coverage. Thus, the solutions predominantly aimed at solving the problem(s) the crisis had created for Italy. This does not mean, however, that the Italian coverage was not humane, or did not stress the need to protect the welfare of refugees. However, it is clear that that much of the focus is on the need to reduce the pressure this crisis was placing upon its search and rescue operations, its reception structures and its welfare system.

	La Repubblica	*II Corriere della Sera*	*La Stampa*	Italian Average
United/EU response	22.3%	24.8%	24.3%	23.8%
Search and rescue operations should be increased	18.2%	15.2%	13.5%	15.6%
Aid/assistance	13.2%	17.1%	10.8%	13.7%
Bring migration levels under control /Reject-deport more refugees	11.6%	8.6%	5.4%	8.5%
Taking in refugees/more legal channels for migration	9.9%	6.7%	6.8%	7.8%
Conflict resolution	5.0%	5.7%	12.2%	7.6%
More security at borders	4.1%	7.6%	5.4%	5.7%
Action/prevention taken on smugglers/traffickers	7.4%	2.9%	5.4%	5.2%
Close down migration routes	0.8%	3.8%	9.5%	4.7%
Stopping/replacing Mare Nostrum	0.8%	4.8%	4.1%	3.2%
Change foreign policy	4.1%	1.9%	1.4%	2.5%
Act against jihadis/ISIS	1.7%	1.9%	2.7%	2.1%
Greater restrictions on benefits/aid	0.8%	1.9%	0.0%	0.9%
Amend/change the Dublin Convention	1.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%
UN Syrian Vulnerable Persons Relocation Scheme	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%	0.5%
Action on climate change	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.3%
No solution in article	38.0%	36.2%	43.7%	39.3%
Total N	132	119	76	327

Table 5.9: Italian Solutions to the refugee/migrant crisis (proportion of news articles featuring each response)

It is no surprise that a United/EU response was the most prominent solution in the coverage (*La Repubblica* 22.3%; *Il Corriere della Sera* 24.8%; *La Stampa* 24.3%), together with search and rescue operations (*La Repubblica* 18.2%; *Il Corriere della Sera* 15.2%; *La Stampa* 13.5%). It is difficult not to interpret the prominence of these two solutions in the light of the debates on the joint rescue operations, and on Mare Nostrum and Triton, two debates that dominated the coverage and have been largely documented above. In a similar vein, increasing aid/assistance (*La Repubblica* 13.2%; *Il Corriere della Sera* 17.1%; *La Stampa* 10.8%) can easily be interpreted within the context of the arrival of unexpected numbers of refugees, and the budgetary pressures that result from providing care to an ever growing number of people in need.

Solutions that would contribute to tackle the push factors forcing refugees to leave their countries of origin, such as conflict resolution, were higher in the Spanish Press

than in other countries in our sample. This was particularly the case for *La Stampa* where this solution appeared in one in eight articles:

> [Mare Nostrum] alone is not enough, because it treats the symptoms, not the disease. The disease is to be found in the reasons motivating the migration, and that's where we need to act more effectively: in reviving peace negotiations, in strengthening the processes of democratisation, in laying the foundations for a sustainable development in the most disadvantaged countries. Europe could play an important role, if it could unite and act together (*La Stampa*, 25 August 2014)

> The EU needs to adopt a single migration policy, but must also bring stability to countries such as Libya…the problem is solved at the root, that is, working towards pacifying Libya (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 13 February 2015)

> The situation will not change as long as, to quote Prime Minister Renzi, 'Libya stays out of control.' In short, if negotiations for peace do not produce positive results soon, we should expect hundreds of thousands of migrants this year too (*La Stampa*, 12 February 2015)

> The problem is real: the greater the violence in many countries, the more it is likely for the number of people fleeing to increase. The main effort should be directed to the solution of conflicts (*La Repubblica*, 7 March 2015)

As can be seen above, whilst some articles stressed the need to encourage conflict resolution so as to prevent people fleeing their countries for humanitarian reasons, the strong focus here on stabilizing Libya, in particular, is likely to be guided more by a sense of self-interest. Re-establsihing a strong central authority in Libya would mean that the state would then be able to control its borders effectively and prevent refugees and migrants making the sea crossing to Italy. Although this would potentially reduce the numbers making the central Mediterranean crossing it would nothing to reduce the push factors forcing people to flee their homelands. Furthermore if the Libyan sea route was closed, migrants, refugees and people traffickers would then probably just seek out another route into the EU.

Although the solutions offered in Italian newspapers largely outnumbered those offered in their European counterparts in our sample, these solutions still tend to locate solutions to the refugee crisis within Europe, rather than in the countries of origin of most refugees and migrants.

Chapter 6: The German Press

Introduction

Our sample of German newspapers contains three titles: *Bild* (Picture), *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (South German Newspaper) and *Die Welt* (The World). These newspapers were selected on the basis that they represented both the popular and quality press as well as a spectrum of left and right opinion. *Bild,* which is published in Berlin by the media conglomerate Axel Springer AG, is Germany's most widely read newspaper with a daily circulation of approximately 2.8 million copies. Often likened to the Britain's *Sun*, the tabloid relies on a format of celebrity gossip, sensationalism, images of topless women, and vivid reporting of crime and politics. Its stories tend to be brief and editorially it adopts a populist right of centre position. *Süddeutsche Zeitung* is owned by the Südwestdeutsche Medien Holding group and published in Munich, Bavaria. With a daily circulation of approximately 400,000 copies it is Germany's highest circulation quality newspaper and has a centre-left, liberal editorial policy with a specific focus on the Bavarian polity. *Die Welt* is again published by Axel Springer AG from its production offices in Berlin. Founded just after the Second World War by the British occupying forces, the newspaper was originally modeled on Britain's *TheTimes*. It currently has a daily circulation of approximately 200,000 copies and is widely considered to have a conservative orientation.

Prevalence and Positioning of Refugee Stories

In our German sample refugee stories were significantly more prevalent in *Suddeutsche Zeitung* than either *Bild* or *Die Welt*. This may be a function of the fact that as a left-liberal newspaper refugee stories may be seen as more newsworthy to their target audience.

Bild	*Sűddeutsche Zeitung*	*Die Welt*
43	165	70

Table 6.1: Total German stories by newspaper

There were significant differences in the type of articles published by the three newspapers. *Bild* stories were by far the shortest, were more likely to be sensationalist and often contained relatively little information. *Sűddeutsche Zeitung*, as a serious broadsheet featured longer, more in depth stories that drew in a greater range of sources. However, the longest and most analytical stories appeared in *Die Welt* which was also the title most likely to feature extended discussion of policy.

Who gets to speak?

In our German sample, quantity of sources appearing in articles is strongly correlated with average length of articles in each of our three newspapers. *Bild*, whose articles are much shorter than the other two newspapers, features an average of 1.0 sources per articles against 1.9 sources for *Sűddeutsche Zeitung* and 2.5 for *Die Welt*.

Die Welt features far more political sources than other newspapers because of the length of its articles and because its stories are more likely to feature in-depth discussion of policy. In many respects the prominence of elite political sources in German newspapers is similar to that found across other countries in our sample. However, if we drill down deeper into the data an interesting pattern emerges which differentiates the German media from the other countries in our sample. This concerns the degree to which political sources in our German sample are far more likely to be drawn from regional or local government, especially so in *Sűddeutsche Zeitung*. Across the German sample, regional or local politicians are featured more often than national politicians (91 to 84). No other country has this profile. Sweden, which has the next highest proportion of regional or local political voices, sees national politicians out-source regional/local political voices by 204 appearances to 100. There are three key factors underlying this pattern of source access. First, although newspapers such as *Sűddeutsche Zeitung* are national newspapers they also have a strong focus on regional politics, in this case what goes on in the Bavarian polity. Secondly, Germany has a more federal system of government so that a great deal of policy is devolved to the regional level. This gives regional political actors greater prominence in media accounts. Thirdly, substantial coverage in our German sample was focused on how a particular state, or city within a state, was dealing with refugees. In descending order of frequency these were the most common themes involving regional political actors:

- Requests from regional governments for more (mostly financial) support to deal with the settlement and integration of refugees.
- National debates taking part in the 'Bundesrat' (the representative body for states in Germany) over refugee and EU policy.
- Regional/local politicians supporting the activities of communities attempting to integrate refugees.
- Regional/local politicians responding to scandals and negative reports such as the mistreatment of refugees.

Table 6.2 also shows that citizen voices received substantial coverage, particularly in *Sűddeutsche Zeitung* and *Bild*. These primarily appear in the context of opinion pieces, the letters page or vox pops. Comments from members of the public are overwhelmingly neutral or positive towards refugees. Their most common appearance is in the context of stories on local activities to support refugees, such as interviews

with people working in refugee centres or those who are helping with language skills or the running of sports clubs:

> Uli Baab, who teaches refugees German, says the two Syrians not only try hard to learn German, they also translate for many other refugees in the arrival centre. This is why Baab supports the brothers in their wish to stay [in Germany]. She says there is enough space in the part of the elderly home that is set up for refugees and she demands: 'We should fill the house.' (*Sűddeutsche Zeitung*, 25 Nov 2015)

> [In an article discussing the creation of table tennis course set up for refugees] Rudi Lutzenberger is the leader of the local table tennis league. He had received a request from the city council. 'For me it was obvious that we have to do something' he says. (*Sűddeutsche Zeitung*, 2 January 2015)

Citizens were also featured criticising the activities of the Anti-Islam group Pegida as in the following example in *Bild*:

> Unfortunately these people [Pegida supporters] not only lack the minimal IQ, they also lack the imagination of how dysfunctional, intolerably narrow-minded and boring Germany would be without its migrants. (*Bild*, 6 January 2015)

Other contributions from citizens focused on the political handling of refugee issues such as the dispersion policy or the level of support offered to states or cities. Although there were some negative comments, these tended to be in the minority and were often challenged or discredited within the main body of the article.

Refugee voices appear most in *Sűddeutsche Zeitung* and least in *Bild*. When refugees do appear as sources it is usually within one of three contexts. The first involves refugees describing what caused them to flee their country of origin or the journey that they took to reach Europe. Such stories tend to cast refugees as victims and present their plight in a sympathetic light:

> The boy shows with his fingers that he is 9 years old. He doesn't say a word. He writes his name on a block of paper. Jan Mehterian. 'We are from Syria. We are Christians' the father says in the break. Christians from Syria. They have been in Görlitz for five days. 'Christians in Syria krrr…' Gorge Mehterian throws his head back and cuts his throat with a level knife-like hand. (*Sűddeutsche Zeitung,* 20 Feb 2015)

	Bild	*Sűddeutsche Zeitung*	*Die Welt*	German Average
Domestic political	32.6%	26.2%	46.2%	33.5%
Citizen	34.9%	31.9%	8.7%	24.5%
Migrant / Refugee	2.3%	9.9%	8.1%	8.7%
NGO/Civil Society	2.3%	8.6%	9.8%	8.7%
Journalist / Media	9.3%	4.5%	5.2%	5.1%
Foreign Politician	4.7%	2.6%	6.4%	4.0%
Academic / Expert	4.7%	4.2%	2.3%	3.6%
Church / Religion	4.7%	3.8%	2.3%	3.4%
Business	4.7%	1.6%	0.0%	1.3%
MEP	0.0%	1.0%	1.7%	1.1%
National Rescue Team	0.0%	1.6%	0.6%	1.1%
UNHCR/UN	0%	0.6%	3.2%	1.1%
FRONTEX	0%	0.6%	2.3%	1.1%
Police	0.0%	1.3%	1.2%	1.1%
EU Commission	0.0%	0.6%	1.2%	0.8%
Law / Judiciary	0.0%	0.6%	0.6%	0.6%
Trafficker/Smuggler	2.2%	0%	0.6%	0.6%
IOM	0%	0.0%	0.6%	0.2%
Other	0%	0%	0.6%	0.2%
Total N	45	313	174	532

Table 6.2: Sources by German newspapers (Each source as a proportion of total sources)

> A trafficker - 'the mafia', as Mustafa calls him – first brought him over the Turkish border. Together with 80 other refugees he traveled 8 hours over a mountain. 'We were up to our thighs in snow', Mustafa says. Even today he can recall his escape on foot, on trucks or boats through Turkey, Greece and Italy, which took one month, almost to the minute. Especially strong memories remain of dangerous situations – for example his journey in a rubber dingy through a rapid stream. (*Sűddeutsche Zeitung,* 17 Feb 2015)

The second main context in which refugee voices appear is in relation to statements they make about what their goals and aspirations are now that they have reached Germany.

> Usually, refugees that do an apprenticeship after school get financial support. But only if they have already been in Germany for four years. Rahmati learned German too fast. Despite of this bureaucratic unfairness, Rahmati aims higher. 'After the apprenticeship I want to go further, if possible, I want to go to university' Rahmati says and smiles. 'Let's see.' (*Die Welt,* 7 January 2015)

The final context involves discussion of their perceptions or experiences of living in Germany. These are mostly positive but can occasionally be negative as when refugees describe encountering racism, hostility or violence:

> The boy from Somalia is very quiet. He went through a horrible escape, through the desert, sometimes without water. Here, he sits at the window, looks outside and only says: 'It's nice here, a nice place.' (*Sűddeutsche Zeitung*, 27 December 2014)

> Khaled has been stabbed, that is what the police autopsy says… The apartment of Khaled is on the second floor. Eleven young men sit packed around a small table, only one of them speaks a bit of English, the other ones Tigrinya and Arabic. The men are shaken, because they saw the corpse of their friend, the body was already stiff with visible injuries. 'Khaled didn't hurt anyone', they say. 'We see the hatred in the eyes of the people here every day. We want to leave.' (*Sűddeutsche Zeitung*, 16 Jan 2015)

On the whole NGOs and representatives of civil society receive most coverage in the two German broadsheets. The UNHCR is usually quoted in relation to mortality statistics, sometimes coupled with commentary on those statistics as in these examples:

> The UN refugee agency UNCHR talks about 90,000 people, who reached Europe between July and September – and counts at least 2200 deaths. 'In the same time frame last year 75,000 people and 800 deaths were registered. In other words: The risk to lose your life in this dangerous transit is statistically twice as high' UNHCR said. (*Sűddeutsche Zeitung*, 22 October 2014)

> The UN refugee agency UNHCR confirmed reports of survivors: 'Nine survived, after four days in the ocean,' said Carlotta Sami, spokesperson of the UNHCR. '203 were swallowed by the waves.' She spoke of a 'horrific tragedy'. She said the number of victims in the past days was 232. (*Sűddeutsche Zeitung*, 12 Feb 2015)

The other key voices in this area are the German refugee NGO Pro Asyl and Amnesty International. Both of these organisations have been highly critical of EU refugee policy and have argued for more legal routes to be made available to those fleeing conflict. Pro Asyl has also criticised proposals from the German right to set up EU refugee centres in North Africa:

> The human rights organisation Pro Asyl also rejects the proposal of creating EU refugee centres in North Africa. These centres are used as a pure 'alibi' and were 'completely unsuitable to solve the catastrophe on Europe's

doorstep' said the president of Pro Asyl, Günter Burckhardt. (*Die Welt,* 13 March 2015)

Table 6.3 provides data on how the political sources in our sample broke down in terms of political affiliation. In line with most other research in this area the incumbents, the Christian Democrats (CDU) and their Bavarian sister party the Christian Social Union were well represented across the three newspapers. The CSU receive more attention in *Sűddeutsche Zeitung* because the paper has a strong focus on the Bavarian polity. The Social Democrats (SPD), the second biggest party in the German parliament and part of a grand coalition with the CDU/CSU are also well represented across the press. The most pro-refugee party, Bündnis90/Grünen, receives considerable space in both quality newspapers, but Die Linke, which has slightly more seats in the Bundestag struggles to have its voice heard. The only other party which gets a voice is the extreme right National Democratic Party of German (NPD) which appeared once in Die Welt. Aside from Die Linke, the degree of media representation roughly correlated with the relative strength of each party in parliament, with the exception of Sűddeutsche Zeitung, which understandably focused more on the Bavarian polity. We will now offer a brief overview of each political party source and a summary of some of their key arguments that we encountered in our sample.

	Bild	*Sűddeutsche Zeitung*	*Die Welt*	German Average
CDU	38.5%	2.2%	43.9%	28.2%
SPD	38.5%	24.4%	28.8%	28.2%
CSU	23.1%	51.1%	9.1%	25.8%
Bündnis90/Grünen	0.0%	22.2%	15.2%	16.1%
Die Linke	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.8%
NPD	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.8%
Total N	13	45	66	124

Table 6:3: Political sources by German newspapers (each source as a proportion of total political sources)

CDU/CSU: Angela Merkel's Christian Democrats and their Bavarian sister party officially see a responsibility for Germany to take refugees but also favours a joint EU programme where all countries agree to take in a proportionate level of refugees. Some CDU politicians have criticised delay in deporting those who have had their asylum applications turned down. In the sample, these issues were discussed quite excessively. The CSU has tended to take a much harder line with refugees with particular attention being given to Particular focus was paid to statements from its head, Horst Seehofer, who proposed setting up asylum centres in North Africa. Seehofer was also a critic of the Mare Nostrum patrols, because he said it attracted refugee 'tourism'. This position was criticised by other parties, citizen and NGOs as the numbers dying in the Mediterranean rose.

SPD: Like the CDU, the SPD has advocated policies which distribute refugees more evenly across the EU, though they generally see Germany as having a greater responsibility to settle refugees than the CDU does. Although currently in coalition with the CDU/CSU, the SPD has been critical of some CDU policies which it claims are too harsh and intended to prevent refugees from seeking asylum. SPD politicians tended to focus more on the social issues affecting refugees, whereas the CDU tends to take a more strictly economic perspective. The SPD was also a strong voice on issues around settlement and integration.

Die Linke: Die Linke states that it wants to work against the criminalisation of refugees, the barriers which prevent refugees from finding a safe passage to Europe and attempts to dissuade refugees from coming to Europe. On the party's only appearance in the sample, it argued that the current asylum process is akin to playing the lottery and thus needs to be changed to make it more equitable.

Bündnis90 / Die Grünen: Die Grünen ('The Greens') is the political party most supportive of refugees. They argue that German government and the EU have a responsibility to take action to create safe and legal routes for refugees to reach Europe so as to avoid taking journeys across the Mediterranean. They have also been a prominent voice arguing for more support (finding work, German courses, etc.) for refugees settled in Germany. Their views are very similar to NGO voices.

NPD: The NPD is a highly controversial far right nationalist party in Germany which has never won seats in the Bundestag though it currently has representation in the Mecklenburg-Vorpommern state parliament. The organisation is openly racist and seen by many in the German polity as being beyond the pale. There have been a number of unsuccessful attempts to have the organisation banned. The NPD is virulently anti-immigrant and opposes any settlement of refugees in Germany.

Where do the refugees come from?

Table 6.4 provides data on the most commonly cited countries of origin for refugees in our German sample. As can be seen Syria is the most commonly cited country of origin for refugees with between two thirds and three quarters of articles citing it as a country of origin. Other key hotspots such as Afghanistan, Eritrea and Iraq are mentioned frequently across our sample. Germany differs from the other countries in our sample in that the Balkans is cited as a region from which many refugees originate. Refugees from the Balkans have been a hot political issue in Germany with the CDU/CSU seeking to have Balkans nations classified as 'safe' countries so that refugees from those countries can be deported.

Bild		*Sűddeutsche Zeitung*		*Die Welt*	
Syria	65.1%	Syria	65.5%	Syria	75.7%
Africa	16.2%	Afghanistan	27.3%	Iraq	30.0%
Eritrea	14.0%	Iraq	24.8%	Afghanistan	21.4%
Iraq	14.0%	Eritrea	18.2%	Eritrea	17.1%
Serbia	9.3%	Nigeria	17.0%	Africa	14.3%
Afghanistan	7.0%	Africa	16.4%	Somalia	14.3%
Morocco	4.7%	Somalia	12.1%	Serbia	12.9%
No country of origin identified	9.3%	No country of origin identified	7.3%	No country of origin identified	11.4%

Table 6:4: Identified countries of origin by German newspapers (proportion of newspaper articles identifying each country of origin)

What labels are used to describe refugees?

In table 6.5 we provide data on the labels that are used to describe refugees. The German media is unusual in that it overwhelmingly uses the terms 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker' in its coverage. Whether tabloid or quality newspaper, right-wing or left of centre all newspapers use these labels approximately 90% of the time. More neutral or pejorative labels such as 'immigrant' 'illegal' or 'foreigner' are much more rarely used. The terms Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge (Economic Refugee) or Wirtschaftsmigranten (Economic Migrant) are very occasionally used in relation to people from Africa or the Balkans.

	Bild	*Sűddeutsche Zeitung*	*Die Welt*	German Average
Flüchtling(e) (*Refugee*)	77.0%	70.0%	70.1%	70.3%
Asylsuchende(r)/ Asylbewerber (*Asylum Seeker*)	15.8%	21.2%	19.4%	20.2%
Migrant(en) (*Migrant*)	4.6%	5.3%	3.4%	4.6%
Immigrant(en)/ Einwanderer(in)/ Zuwanderer(in) (*Immigrant*)	2.6%	2.6%	4.1%	3.1%
Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge (*Economic Refugee*)	0%	0.5%	1.1%	0.7%
Illegale(r) (*Illegal*)	0.0%	0.6%	0.7%	0.6%
Wirtschaftsmigranten (*Economic Migrant*)	0%	0%	0.9%	0.3%
Ausländer (*Foreigner*)	0.0%	0.1%	0.3%	0.1%
Total N	152	1264	705	2121

Table 6.5: Labels by German newspapers (each label as a proportion of total labels in each publication)

Labels	Connotation
Migrant(en)	neutral to negative; depending on circumstances/reasons for migration
Immigrant(en)/ Einwanderer(in) / Zuwanderer(in)	neutral to negative; depending on circumstances/reasons for migration
Asylbewerber	neutral to negative; depending on circumstances/reasons for asylum
Asylsuchende(r)	neutral; the emphasis on "seeking" can evoke empathy
Flüchtling(e)	positive to neutral; can evoke empathy more easily, especially during crisis
Ausländer	neutral to negative; depending on context
Illegale(r)*	Negative

Table 6.5a: Valence of German labels
*Cannot stand alone, would always be followed by one of the labels above

However, even here the usage of such terms is itself sometimes challenged within the article. So for instance, in an article in *Sűddeutsche Zeitung* (22 December 2014) a writer comments that ‘Only someone who has no clue about the situation would talk about ‘economic refugees.’’.

Patterns of labelling in the German press then stand in stark contrast to some of the other countries in our sample. Refugees are referred to as ‘refugees’ and there is almost no conflation, as occurs in the UK press, between asylum and immigration. The only other country which employs a similar pattern of labelling is Sweden. It is perhaps not a coincidence that the two countries in Europe which have been most accommodating to refugees are the two which are most likely to employ terminology the UNHCR defines as appropriate for the majority of persons attempting to enter Europe.

Themes in Coverage

In many respects the range of themes visible in the German press closely correspond to what we might expect, bearing in mind the split between left and right leaning newspapers. For instance, the right leaning newspapers - and particularly *Die Welt* - concentrate more heavily on refugee numbers. The focus on numbers is frequently linked to arguments that the scale of refugee flows is a problem which needs to be solved. Numbers are also tied to arguments that Germany is taking in a disproportionate quantity of refugees in comparison with other European nations. The prominence of this perspective is likely attributable to the editorial line of the newspapers, while at the same time reflecting the fact that some members of the CDU/CSU, who are the key political sources in the right-wing press, have questioned whether Germany is taking too many refugees. The right of centre titles are also considerably more likely to use threat frames than left of centre publications. Threats

to national security were present in approximately one in ten of the *Die Welt* sample but in only 1.2% per cent of *Sűddeutsche Zeitung*'s articles. Most security threat themes were based on the argument that IS fighters could be hiding amongst refugees trying to get into Europe as in the following examples in *Die Welt*:

> Abuse of the terrorists: How IS fighters want to mix with refugees so as to make their way to Europe (Headline, *Die Welt*, 24 February 2015)

> The Islamic State has announced they will put fighters amongst the refugees that come to Europe. How big is the risk? (Interview question put to Klaus Rösler (Frontex). *Die Welt*, 13 March 2015)

Economic threats were also approximately twice as prevalent in *Bild* and *Die Welt* as they were in *Sűddeutsche Zeitung*. Although there were some articles which argued that refugees were coming to Germany to access welfare services, the dominant themes here were the idea that the influx of refugees was putting a strain on public services or the idea that refugees sometimes received preferential treatment in comparison to German nationals:

> Hartz IV and similar social services are more and more the main income of many pensioners in Germany...Amongst them: Long term unemployed, pensioners, asylum seekers. (*Bild*, 2 December 2014)

> But the deciding factor was the question, particularly amongst people with low income: Why do people – using the word 'asylum'– have accommodation, doctors, cable TV on the tax budget - regardless of how much reason they have to seek asylum- whilst we are paying rent, medical insurance and GEZ [radio and TV license] fees? (*Die Welt*, 24 March 2015)

The issue of cultural threat again was a theme more likely to be highlighted in the right-wing press. This combined concerns about Islam, social cohesion and how the influx of refugees from Africa and the Middle East would either struggle to assimilate into German culture or would change it.

In contrast *Sűddeutsche Zeitung* was less likely to see refugees as economic, cultural or security threat and more likely to feature positive stories about refugee success stories. The paper was also far more likely to feature humanitarian themes which focused on the suffering and hardship that refugees were either fleeing from, or had experienced on their journey to Europe:

	Bild	*Sűddeutsche Zeitung*	*Die Welt*	German Average
Immigration Figures / Levels	58.1%	52.7%	82.4%	64.4%
Search and Rescue / Aid Supplies	32.6%	51.5%	35.1%	39.7%
Political Response / Policy	23.3%	27.3%	55.4%	35.3%
Humanitarian (Elements)	20.9%	33.3%	23.0%	25.7%
Mortality Figures	18.6%	7.9%	24.3%	16.9%
Post-arrival Integration	4.7%	33.9%	5.4%	14.7%
Mafia / Traffic	7.0%	9.1%	25.7%	13.9%
Welfare / Benefits / Resources	11.6%	6.1%	13.5%	10.4%
Humanitarian (Key Theme)	2.3%	13.3%	6.8%	7.5%
Receiving / Rejecting	2.3%	14.5%	4.1%	7.0%
Threat to Communities / Cultural Threat	9.3%	3.0%	8.1%	6.8%
Threat to National Security	7.0%	1.2%	10.8%	6.3%
Human Rights	4.7%	4.2%	9.5%	6.1%
Journey	9.3%	3.6%	4.1%	5.7%
Health Risk for Country of Destination	4.7%	3.6%	2.7%	3.7%
Migrant/Refugees/Asylum Seekers Success Stories	0.0%	3.0%	0.0%	1.0%
Total N	95	474	246	815

Table 6.6: Themes by German newspapers (proportion of articles featuring each theme)

> The almost 50 year old ship is under the flag of Sierra Leone and is said to belong to a Lebanese company. It is said that its previous use was for the transport of cattle. We can assume that these animals have been transported with more care...The European border agency Frontex, which is not exactly known for its emotional outbursts, said on Tuesday this is a 'new level of cruelty'...In 2013, 170,000 migrants reached Italy over the Mediterranean. Touching personal stories often appear in relation to these tragic stories. (*Sűddeutsche Zeitung*, 3 Jan 2015)

> As terrifying as the pictures of thousands of refugees are, you only really realise their tragic fate when you meet a person and hear their story of escape, fear and hope. (*Sűddeutsche Zeitung*, 13 January 2015)

Sűddeutsche Zeitung was also far more likely than other newspapers to focus on how refugees were being integrated into German society. This involved, for instance, discussion of German language classes, help for refugees to enter the job market or the provision of sporting and leisure facilities. These themes appeared in articles which were generally sympathetic to refugees and which provided spaces where refugees could discuss their hopes and ambitions for their new life in Germany:

> Since mid February there are two new refugees in Pullach. The 'Helferkreis Flüchtlinge und Integration' [Helper circle for refugees and migration] said the two young men had already moved to an apartment allocated by the local authority, which also provided wardrobes, desks and curtains. Both refugees have completed a university education and want to learn German as fast as possible in order to find a new job. (*Sűddeutsche Zeitung*, 3 March 2015)

There was also a stronger emphasis in *Sűddeutsche Zeitung* on the receiving/rejecting theme which in this context referred to a number of, generally sympathetic, stories about refugees whose asylum applications had been turned down and who were now facing deportation. For instance an article in November 2014 reported on a protest by students against the deportation of two of their classmates to Syria:

> No, it's not the black hole in washing machines that causes students from Tölz to wear different socks. With this initiative, they are protesting against the deportation of their two class mates Viana and Alan and their families to Syria. (*Sűddeutsche Zeitung*, 27 Nov 2014)

Policy was a key theme across the press but was particularly prevalent in Die Welt. Some of the key policy debates that were featured concerned the debate over African refugee processing centres, EU quotas for refugees and the question of whether the EU was doing enough to prevent deaths in the Mediterranean.

One final point about themes in our German sample is worthy of highlight. Unlike the United Kingdom where the issue of human rights was often talked about in a negative sense - as something which prevents Britain deporting asylum seekers or refugees - in our German sample the concept was only used in a positive way in relation to the human rights of refugees which needed to be protected. In Germany, unlike the UK, the European Convention on Human Rights is viewed in a generally positive light and its decisions do not generally generate political controversy.

Factors driving population flows

As can be seen in Table 6.7, *Die Welt* is far more likely than other German newspapers to provide reasons why refugees are trying to enter the EU. Whilst nearly three quarters of *Bild* articles and nearly two thirds of *Sűddeutsche Zeitung* stories

don't provide any explanations for refugee flows, in *Die Welt* this is the case in only a third of articles. This again, is a function of the fact that *Die Welt* articles tend to be longer, more analytical and provide more context. When explanations were provided they overwhelmingly focused on push factors such as war, repressive regimes and the rise of ISIS as in the following examples:

> The refugee agency [UNHCR] sees the reasons for the rise in asylum mainly in wars such as in Syria and Iraq. (*Die Welt*, 23 March 2015)

> Refugees from civil war countries such as Syria, who are expected to stay longer in the country, should have faster access to language and integration courses. (*Die Welt*, 3 March 2015)

> More and more people in the world are looking for protection from war and persecution. Germany is a place of longing for many, they are seeking the rare combination of freedom, safety and wealth – values we very often take for granted. Everyone who escaped war, persecution and displacement in their home country and is looking for safety in Germany should and must get that safety (*Die Welt*, 14 February 2015)

There was also a tendency to sometimes combine arguments about fleeing conflict with those which stressed poverty as a force driving refugee flows as in the following example:

> More and more people are making their way from Africa and the Middle East to Europe because their home countries are scarred by political upheavals, terror and great poverty. (*Die Welt*, 15 October 2014)

	Bild	*Süddeutsche Zeitung*	*Die Welt*	German Average
War/conflict/atrocities	27.9%	32.7%	54.3%	38.3%
Repressive regime	2.3%	3.6%	8.6%	4.8%
Poverty/economic	0.0%	6.1%	7.1%	4.4%
ISIS/terrorism	7.0%	1.2%	2.9%	3.7%
Enforced conscription	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	0.2%
Climate Change	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	0.2%
Pull factors of Mare Nostrum patrols	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	0.2%
Total N	16	75	51	142
No reason provided	72.1%	63.0%	37.1%	57.4%

Table 6.7: Reasons for population flows by German newspapers (proportion of articles featuring each solution)

The argument that those who claim to be refugees are actually economic migrants does appear in the German press but relatively rarely in comparison to some of the other countries in our sample. This argument tended to be made in relation to refugees from the Balkans, perhaps not surprisingly, as there is an apparent consensus amongst all papers that migrants from 'safe' countries in the Balkans should be deported. Thus, on occasion it is argued that population flows into the EU are driven by a mixture of humanitarian push and economic pull factors:

> Additionally, the huge difference in wealth between Europe and its neighbour continent has a pull effect: 60% of Africans live from less than $2 a day. For that reason, there are many economic migrants amongst the asylum seekers.' (*Die Welt*, 1 October 2014)

Solutions to the migrant/refugee crisis

Overall, there is relatively little space given over to discussion of concrete policies to resolve the refugee crisis. When solutions do appear they tend to focus on a number of key suggestions. As noted previously, a significant theme, particularly in *Die Welt* with its high proportion of CDU/CSU sources, is the argument that the EU needs to do more in this area. This is usually spoken of in terms of other EU countries taking a greater share of refugees or providing more financial support, though press reports are clear that there is no political consensus in other EU member states that would support such a move:

> Of course it is fair to provide financial support for some EU member states for their work when refugees first arrive, but this demands an evaluation of effort and compensation – with numbers and quota for economic migrants, for short term refugee help as well as for the granting of long-term asylum. But no consensus seems possible for such an overarching contract. (*Die Welt*, 7 January 2015)

On other occasions EU priorities are criticised. For instance *Sűddeutsche Zeitung* questioned an EU decision to spend over a million euros on a golf course in Melilla, whilst blocking refugees from crossing into the Spanish enclave:

> Here the golf players are hitting their balls into the watered greens, in the background African refugees are sitting on a fence a few meters high...The European Union supported the golf course in Spain's North African exclave with 1.4 million euros – on request from the Spanish government that itself contributed 3.5 million euros. The EU Commission justified the millions of support with arguments that must sound like mockery: The co-financing of the golf court is for sports promotion – and therefore meant to increase the quality of life for EU citizens in Melilla. (*Sűddeutsche Zeitung* 12 December 2014)

	Bild	*Sűddeutsche Zeitung*	*Die Welt*	German Average
Reduce levels/ Reject/deport more refugees/	7.0%	1.8%	22.9%	10.6%
Taking in refugees/more legal channels for migration	11.6%	5.5%	11.4%	9.5%
Aid/assistance	2.3%	13.9%	10.0%	8.7%
United/EU response	0.0%	3.0%	11.4%	4.8%
Create refugee processing centres in North Africa	0%	0%	12.9%	4.3%
Search and rescue operations should be increased	0.0%	0.6%	5.7%	2.1%
Close down migration routes	0.0%	0.6%	4.3%	1.6%
More security at borders	0.0%	0.0%	4.3%	1.4%
Action taken against smugglers/traffickers	0.0%	0.6%	2.9%	1.2%
Conflict resolution	0.0%	0.6%	1.4%	0.7%
Act against jihadis/ISIS	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%	0.5%
Amend/change the Dublin Convention	0.0%	0.6%	0%	0.2%
Total N	9	46	65	120
No solution provided	76.7%	72.7%	37.8%	62.4%

Table 6.8: Solutions by German newspapers (proportion of articles featuring each solution)

There is also space given over in all newspapers for arguments in favour of making it easier for refugees to claim asylum. These arguments in favour of more legal channels for migration are primarily made by politicians, NGOs and citizens:

> Additionally armed conflicts, human rights violations and the worsening humanitarian situation are a factor in many cases. UN refugee commissioner Antonio Guterres demanded that wealthy states do more to help victims of war and violence. The persecuted people needed help and protection. (*Die Welt*, 27 March 2015)

Die Welt is more likely to feature arguments that Germany should take a tougher stance towards refugees and migrants. This can be seen in the prominence given to arguments from CDU/CSU politicians that refugee processing facilities should be set up in North Africa. The newspaper is also far more inclined to feature the view that those who have been refused asylum should be deported, which appears in just over one in five *Die Welt* articles:

> The states [Bundesländer] have very different deportation enforcements. I expect a stricter deportation policy. There is national help with this, for example through mass deportations. We have set up a coordination office for this. (*Die Welt,* 26 Feb 2015)

> We have to have stricter and more concentrated deportations. (*Die Welt,* 24 Feb 2015)

Die Welt is also significantly more likely than other newspapers to argue for tightening up Germany's borders:

> If Germany doesn't want to put multiple thousands into deportation prisons, we have to consider another taboo: stricter controls of our borders. Other EU countries such as France and the UK also demand this. No convinced European likes this. But the rejection of asylum seekers from safe countries at the borders would be more humane than their imprisonment later. And it would create an immediate deterrent. (*Die Welt,* 21 November 2014)

What's typically missing from German accounts is a sustained discussion of what could be done to mitigate the push factors that are generating refugee flows. There are two very brief statements discussing the role of EU development aid and how this might or might not help to stabilize societies in conflict, but this theme is left undeveloped across our sample:

> Development aid, cooperation, support by the African Union are meant to limit reasons for migration. All this only helps long-term, if it does at all. It does not lessen the misery in the Mediterranean. But this is the approach that the EU is taking. (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 28 February 2015)

> Sigi Hagl (Green party): 'People from Syria or Iraq escape war and life threatening circumstances. They don't come voluntarily, they have no choice. To combat these reasons for migration with development aid politics of the EU, as the paper says, is falling short. (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 5 March 2015)

There is nothing in the German press linking population movements to climate change and advocating stronger measures to reduce greenhouse emissions. In a similar vein there is no real discussion of how conflict resolution strategies might help to stabilize war-torn countries. The closest that we get to this concern in the coverage is a brief comment from the Green MP Rezzo Schlauch:

> Should Germany intervene in Syria or Iraq or at least deliver some weapons to fight the murderous groups of the Islamic State – yes or no?" (*Süddeutsche Zeitung* 31 Jan 2015)

Thus, like the other countries in our sample, the German press - although in many ways very positive about migration and asylum issues - contains relatively little information on what could be done to mitigate the push factors driving refugee flows.

Chapter 7: The Swedish Press

Introduction

Three publications are included in our sample of Swedish newspapers: *Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter* (Today's News) and *Sydvenska Dagbladet* (The South Swedish). *Aftonbladet* is a daily evening tabloid owned by the Norwegian Schibsted Media Group and the Swedish Trades Union Confederation (LO). It is self-styled as an 'independent social-democratic newspaper' with the LO retaining power to appoint the Political Editor. It is one of the biggest daily newspapers in circulation in Sweden, with approximately 150,000 copies. *Dagens Nyheter*is a daily compact broadsheet newspaper owned by the Bonnier group. It describes itself as having an 'independently neutral' editorial stance, although historically it was affiliated with the Liberal party and is sometimes described as 'centre-left' in orientation. It is the largest morning daily with a circulation of approximately 282,000. *Sydvenska Dagbladet* is a daily compact broadsheet newspaper, also owned by the Bonnier group with an 'independently neutral' stance but is sometimes described as oriented towards the 'centre-right'. Based in Malmo, it has a circulation just under 100,000.

Prevalence and Position of Refugee Stories

In the Swedish press, more stories appeared in the broadsheet titles *Sydvenska Dagbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter* than in the tabloid *Aftonbladet*, and although this fits the trend across the countries studied (and should be expected of stories on any topic due to the relative sizes of broadsheet and tabloid publications), the ratio in the Swedish press is slightly more heavily weighted towards broadsheets than, for example, in the UK.

Sydvenska Dagbladet	*Dagens Nyheter*	*Aftonbladet*	*Total*
131	119	53	303

Table 7.1: Sweden Total stories 1 December 2013 – 1 March 2013

Refugee stories made the front page of Swedish newspapers on only four occasions – three of which were in the broadsheet title *Sydvenska Dagbladet* and one in *Dagens Nyheter*. The stories each draw attention to the projected number of refugees expected to arrive in Sweden over the coming months, but do so in slightly different ways. For example in *Dagens Nyheter*, an article entitled 'Refugees may live in module homes' (20 February, 2015), the focus is on how to accommodate newcomers, as the following extract illustrates:

> 'Asylum acceptance. Right now a record number of refugees are coming to Sweden because of the crisis in Syria and Iraq. The government is therefore trying to get the municipalities to build temporary module homes to be able to house the newly arrived refugees'.

The other three articles appeared in *Sydvenska Dagbladet.* Whilst one, appearing on 5 November, 2014 entitled '300,000 EXPECTED IN TWO YEARS' covered this very straightforwardly and factually, the other two articles, combined the focus on numbers with other themes. For example, in a *Sydvenska Dagbladet* (19August, 2014) article entitled: 'Here all the war victims meet – The world/Sweden. The migration office is expected to increase their Estimate of refugees Coming to Sweden', a harrowing image of a hospital scene in northern Iraq is included representing a mother and her child with others victimized by the war with Islamic State. A caption highlights that many children making the long journey from Sinjar to Europe are badly affected, and the narrative includes a quote from a refugee, Bessima Bader, who says: 'It hurts so much to see children suffer, they didn't choose to be born as Yazidis. They didn't choose to flee'. In this article, the migrant numbers Sweden anticipates are also a focus, with the Home Office spokesperson, Christer Zettergren, stating 'Refugees from north Iraq can't at this time reach Sweden, but they may come later this autumn'. However, the human interest angle of this front page story, focusing in particular upon the experiences of refugees and the suffering of children on their journeys, offers a clear explanatory narrative through which government policy concerns about anticipating and managing migrant numbers, can be viewed through a humanitarian lens.

In the final front page article, 'Integration – this is what we think' (8 February, 2015), the views of ordinary Swedish citizens from Arlöv - a small town with strong political affiliation with the anti-immigration Swedish Democrats party are given prominence, alongside those of refugees themselves. Although apparently set up to frame a polarized opposition of perspectives, a more nuanced range of voices are quoted. These encourage empathy with people coming as refugees and settling in Sweden:

> 'I have seen dead children. I have smelled the smell of war. I know what it means. I understand why people flee'.
>
> 'I was three years in the fire and know how horrible it is. Sweden has helped us a lot, for that I am thankful'.
>
> 'Obviously we in Sweden can't help that there is a war in Syria. But the people fleeing can't do that either'.

However, they also express a range of concerns about extending hospitality to new arrivals. These include the impacts of immigration on the labour market and supply of housing, as well as doubts about whether politicians are in touch with the concerns of Swedish citizens:

> 'Reinfeldt said that we should 'open our hearts'. But are there homes for everyone? Jobs?'

> ‘Somebody talks about ‘mass-immigration’. What does that mean? One never gets any real answers from the politicians’.
>
> ‘It feels like the politicians in Stockholm don’t really have any contact with reality’.
>
> ‘The whole society is affected. There are no jobs. And as an immigrant one has to respect the Swedish law’.

In contrast to previous research which showed coverage of migration to southern Europe positioned as an ‘foreign news’ story (cf. Horsti, 2008), our study finds that it is primarily situated as a story of domestic relevance. Although an international focus remains significant as a story frame, especially in *Dagens Nyheter*, news reports are more likely to be focused on the importance of events *in* or *to* Sweden. In this respect, the positioning of coverage (as more nationally than internationally focused) is comparable to that of the UK news, with the international focus notably a stronger feature in the broadsheet titles than in the tabloid. However, contrary to the tone and focus of domestically oriented tabloid articles in the UK, those of *Aftonbladet* appear largely to focus upon the positive contribution of refugees to Swedish society, concerns about approaches to policing irregular migration and how Sweden might tackle impediments to integration. In this, to some extent, the press discourse tracks that of the mainstream political debate where politicians adopt different positions in voicing opposition to the anti-immigration politics of the Swedish Democrats.

In an *Aftonbladet* article on 10 October 2014, concerns are raised about the proposed EU policy intended to track undocumented migrants, and its domestic implementation:

> ‘This project awoke a lot of worry - called super-Reva, it starts on Monday and continues until the 26th of October. It aims, according to the leaked documents from European councils, to capture paperless refugees and fight human traffickers. When the corresponding action, Reva, launched in Sweden last year the police chased dark haired people in the underground and required them to show their ID documents.’

	Aftonbladet	*Dagens Nyheter*	*Sydvenska Dagbladet*	*Swedish Newspapers*
Domestic	32.1%	26.1%	46.6%	36.0%
Opinion/Editorial	37.7%	22.7%	24.4%	26.1%
International	3.8%	20.2%	15.3%	15.2%
Feature	15.1%	21.8%	6.9%	14.2%

Other	7.5%	5.9%	0.0%	3.6%
Letter to the Editor	1.9%	3.4%	3.1%	3.0%
Front Page	0.0%	0.0%	3.1%	1.3%
Financial	1.9%	0.0%	0.8%	0.7%
Total N	53	119	131	303

Table 7.2: Positioning of Swedish Stories by newspaper

In the Swedish press, opinion and comment pieces are generally more frequent than, for example, in the UK sample. Overall, opinion pieces tend to offer the most sympathetic and empathetic coverage of migrants, often framing their pieces as human interest stories following the lives of migrants in Sweden. For example, one *Aftonbladet* opinion piece makes a case for municipalities such as Södertälje taking responsibility for welcoming refugees. In this, significant human-interest context is provided including examples which demonstrate the ongoing trauma experienced by refugees. First, a man who is now Chairman of the Assyrian National Association explains, 'When I go up in the mornings I usually don't know if I've slept or not. Mostly I just lie and toss and turn, it's like I never sleep or am awake'. There is then an account of two migrant children in school becoming acquainted: 'My father is dead, is yours too?' 'No, but my father's brother is dead. And two of my cousins' (*Aftonbladet*, 9 September 2014) Positive refugee integration is also signaled through their appreciation of freedom of political expression in Sweden:

> 'A couple of weeks ago we were outside of the British embassy protesting and urged them to act. One of the men participating had just arrived here from Aleppo, and he couldn't fathom how it could look like this here. A completely un-supervised road and one is free to say anything you want.' (*Aftonbladet*, 9 September 2014)

Whilst *Aftonbladet* appears most critical of the EU, Swedish politicians and citizens for their reluctance to help or find solutions, *Sydvenska Dagbladet* often produces strongly opinionated editorials and features making a case for the better treatment of refugees. For example, on 28 March, 2015 a *Sydvenska Dagbladet* opinion piece criticizes the lack of care taken by the police and Swedish society in dealing with cases of missing refugee children. Referencing a high profile case of two missing refugee boys, the journalist comments:

> From the thousands of children that the police tried to find between 2007 and 2014, 1252 are still missing. It's as if all the pupils from Bulltofta school, Djupadal school and Bladins primary school went up in smoke….The boys from Malmö C raise, unbeknown to them, questions concerning security guards' violence, online bullying and the society's reluctance to take care of vulnerable children. Five weeks later the debate is back to square one.'

On another occasion a Sydvenska Dagbladet opinion piece (24 March 2015) publicises the pro-migrant campaign 'Lund för fler' (Lund for more) which aims to make sure that Lund takes more refugees:

> The campaign has been going on for a couple of weeks with role play, town meetings and informative meetings with the goal of making sure that Lunds refugee intake expands… **'**Lund accepts 1.1 refugees per 1000 citizens. The national average is 4.7 refugees. This is not good enough, Amanda Angelöw from Save the Children said after handing in the petition'.

Who gets to speak?

Historically, the range of sources afforded a significant voice in migration news has tended to be rather narrow and often dominated by political elites and state officials. In particular, research has pointed to the centrality of national politicians, government spokespeople and law and order sources. Beyond this, a disproportionate reliance upon anti-immigration voices from civil society has also been noted (e.g., *Migrationwatch* in the UK), whilst migrants themselves (and those campaigning to support them) have tended to be somewhat marginalised. In the Swedish press, some of these tendencies are clearly evident, with political voices dominant (46.1% of sources across all newspapers). Domestic political sources were featured much more frequently than international political sources across the three publications. However, national political voices were proportionately more significant in *Dagens Nyheter* than in the other two titles. It is also worth noting how important journalist/media sources are in the reporting of migrant stories, especially in *Aftonbladet* where they account for just over a third (34.1%) of all sources cited, which suggests a self-referential tendency in journalistic story telling. If, as Aeron Davis (2007: 5) has argued, journalists can be 'all but 'captured" by their sources' as a result of their embeddedness in the 'issue communities' on which they report, then here, it seems, they are very largely captured by the formal mainstream political debate and their own previously articulated definitions of the story. However, as illustrated in an *Aftonbladet* article of 27 December, 2014, this can also involve a degree of reflexivity where journalists critically reflect upon the 'news values' in their stories:

> In reality migration - for us, not for those who die - is a marginal issue. But as it has created much media tension it has made its way up to the seventh most important question from previously having been the tenth. It is exciting. It is hot. It makes for an interesting read because it polarizes. Most of us wholeheartedly detest the representatives in parliament who are hostile to refugees, the Swedish Democrats, meanwhile 12.9% want to breach international conventions and close Sweden off from foreigners and scream "viva inbreeding!" It is an exciting story that journalists profit from.

Unlike in previous migration news research, migrants and refugees themselves are given a hearing in the debate (9.8%) as are ordinary citizens (7.8%), especially in *Sydvenska Dagbladet* (where they consist of 13.2% and 11.5% of all sources appearances). Migrant/refugee and citizens' voices also featured on the front page (as discussed above). It is worth noting that unlike the UK press, citizens' voices are not largely confined to the letters pages but are included in domestic news, features, opinion/editorials, as well as front-page stories.

	Aftonbladet	*Dagens Nyheter*	*Sydvenska Dagbladet*	Total Swedish Newspapers
Domestic Political	38.4%	41.1%	48.1%	43.5%
Journalist / Media	34.1%	20.4%	11.2%	19.2%
Migrant / Refugee	6.5%	7.8%	13.2%	9.8%
Citizen	11.6%	1.9%	11.5%	7.8%
Academic / Expert	2.9%	4.4%	2.7%	3.4%
Business	0.7%	7.0%	0.7%	3.1%
NGO/Civil Society	1.4%	3.0%	2.7%	2.6%
Foreign Politician	1.4%	3.0%	3.4%	2.8%
UNHCR/UN	0.7%	4.4%	1.0%	2.3%
Police	0.0%	0.7%	2.4%	1.3%
Other	0.0%	2.2%	1.0%	1.3%
Law / Judiciary	0.7%	0.4%	0.7%	0.6%
National Rescue Team	0.0%	1.1%	0.3%	0.6%
Think Tank	0.0%	1.1%	0.3%	0.6%
Church / Religion	0.7%	0.7%	0.0%	0.4%
IOM	0.0%	0.7%	0.3%	0.4%
EU Commission	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%	0.3%
Total N	138.0	270.0	295.0	703.0

Table 7.3: Sources by Swedish Newspaper (each source as a proportion of all sources)

International political sources, including voices from the EU Commission are not featured regularly in Swedish coverage (only 2.8% of the sources across Swedish newspapers), and whilst the UNHCR, NGOs and civil society voices are heard, they do not feature very often. When they do appear, this is more likely to be in the broadsheet press, and in the case of UNHCR, mostly in *Dagens Nyheter*.

	Aftonbladet	*Dagens Nyheter*	*Sydvenska Dagbladet*	Swedish Newspapers
Moderaterna (Moderate Party)	29.4%	19.5%	30.6%	26.6%
Sverigedemokraterna (Sweden Democrats)	23.5%	25.6%	17.1%	21.3%
Folkpartiet	19.6%	13.4%	17.1%	16.4%

(Liberal People's Party)				
Socialdemokraterna (Social Democratic Party)	11.8%	19.5%	15.3%	16.0%
Miljiopartiet (Swedish Green Party)	2.0%	8.5%	9.0%	7.4%
Kristdemokraterna (Christian Democrats)	5.9%	8.5%	2.7%	5.3%
Centerpartiet (Centre Party)	5.9%	2.4%	2.7%	3.3%
Vansterpartiet (The Left Party)	2.0%	2.4%	3.6%	2.9%
SPI (Swedish Senior Citizen Interest Party)	0.0%	0.0%	0.9%	0.4%
Sjöbopartiet (Sjöbo Party – right wing populist anti-immigration party from the Sjöbo Municipality)	0.0%	0.0%	0.9%	0.4%
Total N	51	82	111	244

Table 7.4 Sources' Political Affiliation (each political source as a proportion of all political sources)

Since the September 2014 General Election in Sweden, a centre left, minority coalition of Social Democrats (31% of the vote) and Greens (6.9%) have been in power, with Stefan Löfven of the Social Democrats as Prime Minister.[23] They replaced the centre right alliance which included the Moderate Party, the Liberal Party, the Centre Party and the Christian Democrats, who together gained 39.4% of the votes in 2014. In the context of rising hostility towards immigration the anti-immigration party, the Sweden Democrats, doubled their vote in the September 2014 General Elections to almost 13%, placing them in a 'swing vote' position (Swedish Institute, 2015).

Table 7.4 shows the political party allegiances of sources mentioned (as a percentage of all party political allegiances mentioned) for each of the newspapers. The data shows that where the party political affiliation of sources is identified, it is the centre-right Moderate Party (26.6% of sources) and the anti-immigration Sweden Democrats

[23] The Social Democratic party is the largest party in the Riksdag (113 Seats), followed by the Moderate Party (84 seats) and the Sweden Democrats (49 Seats). The Green Party have 25 seats, the Centre Party 22 seats, the Left Party 21 seats, the Liberal Party 19 seats and the Christian Democrats 16 seats.

(21.3% of sources) who feature most strongly, with the Social Democrats and Green Party the fourth and fifth most significant political sources overall (behind the Liberal Party). There is very little variation on this between the newspapers, with the centre left broadsheet *Dagens Nyheter* citing the Social Democrats slightly more frequently, making the Social Democrats the third most cited source (19.5% of sources) in that newspaper.

Mainstream political voices who advocate more negative or hostile positions towards immigration tend to get more coverage across the Swedish press in comparison to those who adopt a more liberal stance. Although incumbents do not dominate, as is usually the case in news accounts, this has to be viewed in the context of the change of government during our sampling period, and the fact that the current ruling parties form a minority government.

Where do refugees come from?

Table 7.5 shows the top seven countries of origin for migrants and refugees which are identified in press articles. The places of origin identified in the Swedish press are reasonably similar across the three publications in our sample. Syria is by far the most cited country of origin across our sample, followed by Iraq. The countries identified were broadly similar across publications, albeit with slight variations in order.

As with the UK news media, the top six places of origin identified did include some very general references (Africa/North Africa/The Balkans), and this way of contextualising migrants' backgrounds may carry important implications for how migrants/refugees and their possible motivations for migrating are viewed. Moreover, in just under a third of articles across the Swedish press (29.7%) no country of origin for refugees/migrants was identified.

Aftonbladet		*Dagens Nyheter*		*Sydvenska Dagbladet*	
Syria	68.6%	Syria	73.8%	Syria	76.5%
Iraq	51.4%	Iraq	26.2%	Iraq	36.7%
Somalia	14.3%	Eritrea	15.0%	Eritrea	18.4%
Afghanistan	14.3%	Africa	10.0%	Somalia	15.3%
North Africa	5.7%	Somalia	8.8%	Afghanistan	12.2%
Palestine	5.7%	Afghanistan	7.5%	Palestine	8.2%
Eritrea	1.9%	The Balkans	7.5%	Africa	7.1%
No country of origin identified	34.0%	No country of origin identified	32.8%	No country of origin identified	25.2%

Table 7.5: Country of Origin by Swedish Newspaper (proportion of newspaper articles identifying each country of origin)

What labels are used to describe refugees?

Table 7.6 shows patterns of labelling in the Swedish press. This is similar in many respects to what we find in the German media in that the terms refugee or asylum seeker are dominant. Overall, 72.1% of all terms identified labelled migrants as *Flykting* (refugees) or *Asylsokande* (asylum seekers), with no significant differences between newspapers. This picture is in line with UNHCR appraisals of the probable status in law of the majority of migrants crossing into Europe. More general labels (*Invandrare*, *Migrant*, *Invandring*, *Immigrant*) feature in 16.2% of articles across the three titles, but the use of the term 'illegal' is notably absent in comparison to the coverage of the UK. There is also a greater diversity of labels used than we find in other countries, with the term *Nyanlända* (newly arrived) (8.1% of terms used) and *Ensamkommandebarn* (unaccompanied children) featuring across all three titles. A set of more nationally/ethnically oriented terms, including *Utrikesfödda* (foreign born), *Nysvenskar* (new Swedes) and the racially pejorative term *Svarting*' (person with a dark complexion) each appear once in *Dagens Nyheter*. However, it should be noted that the context in which these terms are used is crucial. It is not necessarily the case that the use of a term signals journalistic endorsement. For example, the derogatory term 'svarting' was actually used by a Swedish Democrats politician who wrote on Facebook that he had purchased a weapon just in case he was attacked by a 'svarting' (4 August 2014).

The use of the term 'immigrant' appears in the minority of stories where citizens relate their concerns about migrants and refugees. For example, an article of 8 February 2015 describes a criminal assault, where a witness explains their suspicions of the perpetrators:

> It was immigrant boys. I clearly heard that they had a foreign accent when they talked

	Aftonbladet	*Dagens Nyheter*	*Sydvenska Dagbladet*	Swedish Average
Flykting (*refugees)*	63.5%	55.1%	53.0%	55.7%
Asylsokande (*asylum seekers)*	13.3%	15.7%	18.9%	16.6%
Invandrare (*migrants)*	11.9%	14.1%	18.9%	15.3%
Nyanlända (*newly arrived)*	8.8%	10.7%	4.8%	8.1%
Ensamkommande barn (*unaccompanied children)*	1.4%	3.8%	1.9%	2.6%
Papperslösa *(Without papers)*	0.4%	0.1%	1.5%	0.7%

Invandring *(immigrant)*	0.4%	0.1%	0.2%	0.2%
Nysvenskar (*new Swedes)*	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%
Människor på flykt *(people actively fleeing)*	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%
Svarting (*racist term for person with a dark complexion*)	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%
Utrikesfödda (*foreign born*)	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%
Total N	285	746	683	1714

Table 7.6 Labels by Swedish Media (each label as a proportion of all labels)

In the same article, a citizen uses the term 'immigrant' in a defensive mode as part of a denial of racism:

> I have many nice customers who are immigrants. And it's obvious that we must help those who flee from war and misery. I am not a racist.
>
> However, the term refugee is also used by citizens in a similar vein within this article, and interchangeably with the word 'foreigner':
>
> There are wars everywhere. Of course refugees should be able to come here. But I think that the debate has become very heated. Somebody is talking about 'mass-migration.'
>
> 'It's not OK to accept a lot of refugees. We have to take care of our own sick and unemployed instead. I am not racist. I have a lot of foreigners as work colleagues at the mill. But it's evident that we can't support everyone who comes here.'

However, overall, the terms 'refugee' or 'asylum seeker' are the labels used most frequently by journalists, and often in the context of critiquing refugee policy at the national or EU level for not being accommodating enough, as in the following examples:

> In the worst refugee catastrophe since WW2 there are rich countries that refuse to accept one single refugee from Syria. Sweden is not a part of this shameful list. EU-leaders are like the three apes, nothing to see and nothing to hear. They close their eyes to the thousands of people who drown in ramshackle boats in the Mediterranean amidst their efforts of fleeing war. They won't listen when Syria's neighboring countries close their borders

> because they simply can't take in more than the 3.8 million refugees they've already accepted. (*Aftonbladet*, 6 December, 2014)
>
> Nobody talks about who specifically they want to stop and how many. That would sound a bit churlish as 80% of all asylum seekers come from the world's worst hells: Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Eritrea, Gaza, Somalia. (*Sydvenska Dagbladet*, 16 November, 2014)

Themes in coverage

The main common theme in the Swedish press focuses on policy and the political response to the crisis in the Mediterranean. However, there is some variation in that the broadsheet *Dagens Nyheter* is slightly more likely to focus on immigration figures/levels - a theme in 50.4% of articles. Humanitarian themes are also strong across the coverage, being most prominent in the tabloid *Aftonbladet* where it is the second most important theme featuring in 43.4% of articles.

All articles in the Swedish newspapers were found to contain at least one theme and many contain multiple themes: at least two themes are present in 72.6% (220/303) articles, 18% of articles contain four or more themes and less than 1% contain six or more themes.

Themes	*Aftonbladet*	*Dagens Nyheter*	*Sydvenska Dagbladet*	*Swedish Average*
Political Response / Policy	58.5%	47.9%	48.9%	50.2%
Immigration Figures / Levels	41.5%	50.4%	47.3%	47.5%
Humanitarian (Elements)	43.4%	34.5%	29.8%	34.0%
Search and Rescue / Aid Supplies	5.7%	17.6%	18.3%	15.8%
Post-arrival Integration	20.8%	12.6%	11.5%	13.5%
Mortality / Mortality Figures	7.5%	16.8%	12.2%	13.2%
Welfare / Benefits / Resources	13.2%	6.7%	15.3%	11.6%
Mafia / Traffic	7.5%	12.6%	9.2%	10.2%
Threat to Communities / Cultural Threat	7.5%	9.2%	9.9%	9.2%
Humanitarian (Key Theme)	13.2%	7.6%	9.2%	9.2%
Human Rights	7.5%	8.4%	9.2%	8.6%
Receiving / Rejecting	3.8%	5.0%	6.1%	5.3%
Journey	0%	4.2%	3.8%	3.3%
Crime	1.9%	1.7%	4.6%	3.0%
Threat to National Security	3.8%	0.8%	3.8%	2.6%
Migrant/Refugees/Asylum Seekers Success	0%	1.7%	0.8%	1.0%
Health Risk for Country of Destination	0%	0.8%	0%	0.3%
Total N	125	284	314	723

Table 7.7: Themes by Swedish Newspapers (proportion of articles featuring each theme)

Table 7.7 shows how the political response/policy discussions are the most significant themes in the Swedish newspaper coverage – present in 50.2% of all articles. This is closely followed by immigration figures/levels (in 47.5% of all articles). Although there is some variation between newspapers, with *Aftonbladet* focusing rather more on politics and policy than numbers than the other two titles, the general trend of prominence for these two themes holds across the sample. As outlined above, policy and political discussions in the Swedish press tend to articulate a critical discourse towards policy that is not welcoming enough for refugees, and although there is a focus on immigration levels, the dominant message, unlike in the UK coverage, is not that these levels should be reduced. However, there are some exceptions to this general trend, where immigration levels are linked to issues surrounding welfare, benefits and social resources. These arguments are usually introduced to a story by reference to the Swedish Democrats. For example, in an article of 13 September, 2014 in *Sydvenska Dagbladet*, Swedish Democrats in the municipality of Burlöv are cited:

> We have accepted 2000 refugees during 30 years. The result is sky high social welfare costs and a school on the brink of collapse. We have to choose: do we want good schools and care for the elderly or shall we continue with the costly refugee acceptance?

There is also some significant variation between the titles in the degree to which post-arrival integration issues are focused upon, with the theme afforded the most weight in *Aftonbladet* (present in 20.8% of articles). The question of integration is significant because it opens up the possibility of discussing the positive contributions that refugees can make to Swedish society. For instance it was notable that in the build up to the general election of September 2014, in which the Swedish Democrats doubled their vote, a very different set of ideas surrounding refugees was being articulated by mainstream parties. Fredrik Reinfeldt, then Prime Minister and leader of the conservative liberal Moderate Party, is quoted in *Aftonbladet* discussing the possibilities for economically integrating those coming from Syria and Iraq:

> Now many are coming from Syria and we expect that many are coming from Iraq, many with good education and job market experience. Let us help them into work, then, in the long term, it will be beneficial for Sweden. (*Aftonbladet*, 2 September, 2014)

Similarly, in an *Aftonbladet* article of 31 January, 2015, the former finance minister, Anders Borg, also of the Moderate Party argues:

> It is a huge advantage for Sweden that ten thousands of people have arrived from Syria, Iraq, Iran and Somalia. They contribute in making Sweden better… Yes, there are problems with integration in Sweden. Yes, we have to build homes and make sure that all of these highly educated people from Syria, who don't want anything more than to get a job quickly get the chance to do so. But it's a huge betrayal from leading politicians that, in these days, don't say it like it is; that immigration is good for Sweden. And I mean from a non-humanistic, usefulness-maximizing, ice cold economic perspective.

Indeed, the comparatively welcoming attitude of most mainstream political debate also explains the focus on humanitarian themes in the coverage. Although for the most part humanitarian themes are infrequently key themes in the coverage, humanitarian elements are very prominent. However, when humanitarian key themes do appear, some powerful and difficult ideas are presented to readers. For example, in an editorial/comment piece in *Sydvenska Dagbladet*, the journalist asks the profound question 'What defines a human?'

> The question is relevant to ask, even today. Are you a human? I assume you answered yes. Is the begging migrant outside of the station a human? Is the

> parentless child refugee a human? Is the drowned refugee in the Mediterranean a human? The obvious answer would be yes, but quite often I wonder if our answer more truthfully would be: well (maybe). Speaking from how we act and talk about these humans.'

What is driving population flows?

The news media has often been criticised for decontextualized coverage, especially in focusing on the numbers of migrants without including any of the reasons and motivations for migration (Lewis, 2005). In the Swedish newspapers, 44.6% of articles (135/303) include information about the reasons and motivations for migration. As table 7.8 shows, across the three newspapers in articles that do feature explanations, 'war/conflict/atrocities' dominates, featuring in 39.9%. A slightly broader range of reasons for migration appears in the coverage of the broadsheets *Dagens Nyheter* and *Sydvenska Dagbladet* than the tabloid *Aftonbladet* overall. However, overwhelmingly the reasons represented for migration in the Swedish press focus on so-called 'push factors' rather than 'pull factors' for migrants (i.e., reasons for fleeing one's homeland rather than supposed attraction of the country of destination).

	Aftonbladet	*Dagens Nyheter*	*Sydvenska Dagbladet*	Swedish Average
War/conflict/atrocities	47.2%	42.9%	34.4%	39.9%
ISIS/terrorism	9.4%	2.5%	6.9%	5.6%
Repressive regime	7.5%	5.9%	4.6%	5.6%
Poverty/economic	0.0%	0.8%	2.3%	1.3%
Enforced conscription	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	0.3%
No reason in article	45.3%	54.6%	60.3%	55.4%
Total N	34	64	65	163

Table 7.8: Explanations for population flows in Swedish Newspapers (proportion of articles featuring each explanation)

'War/conflict/atrocities' is by far the most frequently cited example of this, present in 39.9% of articles overall, with the next most featured reason for people migrating featuring being ISIS/terrorism and fleeing repressive regimes. A *Dagens Nyheter* article of 19th February, 2015 mentions this amongst a range of reasons for refugees seeking to come to Europe and directly encourages an empathetic connection in the reader:

> What is happening globally affects us all. Terrorist organisation IS hunts fleeing families, children who get kidnapped by Boko Haram, repressive states who persecute journalists. These are actions which awaken disgust against the perpetrators, but also empathy to those affected… Think about if it was our children that heard the grenades during the night. Many in Sweden bear memories of repression that are now awakened again.

Nowhere in the coverage in Sweden was it suggested that people were primarily enticed to migrate by the conditions European countries have to offer.

How to respond to the migration crisis?

As can be seen in Table 7.9 the majority of articles (180/303, 59.4%) in our Swedish sample don't discuss any solutions or responses to the migration crisis. The most frequently cited solution - the need to provide more aid or assistance - appears in only one in five articles across our sample.

	Aftonbladet	*Dagens Nyheter*	*Sydvenska Dagbladet*	Swedish Average
Aid/assistance	18.9%	26.9%	15.3%	20.5%
Greater restrictions on benefits/aid	7.5%	13.4%	9.2%	10.6%
United response/EU help/funding	17.0%	10.1%	4.6%	8.9%
Taking in refugees/more legal channels for migration	7.5%	5.9%	9.2%	7.6%
Reject/deport more refugees	1.9%	5.9%	4.6%	4.6%
Close down migration routes	0.0%	0.0%	3.8%	3.3%
Conflict resolution	0.0%	1.7%	0.8%	2.6%
More security at borders	0.0%	0.8%	0.8%	1.7%
UN Syrian Vulnerable Persons Relocation Scheme	1.9%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
Act against jihadis/ISIS	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%	0.7%
Action/prevention taken on smugglers/traffickers	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%	0.3%
Change foreign policy	1.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
Amend/change the Dublin Convention	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	0.3%
No solution provided	60.4%	52.1%	65.6%	59.4%
Total N	30	78	65	181

Table 7.9: Solutions in Swedish newspapers by publication (proportion of articles featuring each solution)

Perhaps surprisingly, considering the fact that Sweden has taken in far more refugees per head of population than any other EU country, calls for a united/EU response to the crisis appear at a substantially lower level than in some other countries in our sample such as Italy or Spain. This may be due to the fact that refugees are not primarily defined as a problem or burden that needs to be distributed more equally. Instead as some of the examples above show they are often framed as a social or

economic benefit. This doesn't mean that some of the responses don't focus on the need to limit refugee numbers or reduce the level of benefits available to refugees. However, the presence of these arguments is not the consequence of editorialising by newspapers themselves but is primarily due to the inclusion of the anti-immigrant Sweden Democrats, who are a key political source in coverage. Despite this it is noticeable that arguments in favour of rejecting or deporting more people, closing down migration routes or hardening borders appear at a markedly lower level than in some other countries in our sample. This ultimately means that the migration crisis doesn't tend to be presented as a problem that necessitates pulling up the drawbridge on 'Fortress Europe'

Finally, we note that, in line with all the other countries in our sample, there is an almost complete lack of arguments advocating action to deal with the push factors driving population movements. Discussion of foreign policy, conflict resolution or climate change is almost non-existent which means that the migration crisis is overwhelmingly discussed as a problem that has to be solved within the borders of the EU.

Sample 2 Case Study April 18-25 2015

Chapter 8: The United Kingdom

The week immediately following the Mediterranean boat disaster on 18 April 2015 generated a total of 99 stories. Since we sampled from the day of the tragedy we also examined the Sunday editions of the newspapers in our sample: *The Observer*, *Sunday Telegraph*, *Mail on Sunday*, *Sun on Sunday* and *Sunday Mirror*. By far the largest number of articles appeared in the *Guardian*. As we will see, the Guardian also featured by far the widest range of angles on the story as well as the most detailed discussion of explanations and solutions.

Guardian	*Daily Telegraph*	*Daily Mail*	*The Sun*	*Daily Mirror*
42	18	13	14	11

Table 8.1: Total articles UK Press 18-25 April 2015

The reporting in the case study week differed from that in our main sample of coverage from 2014 and early 2015 in a number of significant respects. First, the fact that the disaster occurred during the final three weeks of the UK's 2015 General Election campaign meant the migration crisis became politically controversial. Secondly, the coverage focused exclusively on events in the Mediterranean - rather than Calais - and discussion of how to resolve the crisis was much more prominent. Thirdly, the types of explanation for refugee and migrant flows and the responses that were advocated were different from those we encountered in our earlier sample. In particular the migration and refugee crisis was much more likely to be framed in relation to the breakdown of the Libyan state and the activities of people smugglers. Consequentially, when solutions were discussed, these were much more likely to involve stabilizing Libya or destroying the vessels used by people traffickers. The reason for this shift was that this is how the crisis was discussed by key political actors, particularly during, and in the lead up to, the meeting of EU leaders on 23 April 2015. The fact that political elites are, as ever, key agenda setting sources is to be expected. However, what differentiates coverage between newspapers is how the views of these elites are treated. In the *Guardian* the views of elite political sources are consistently challenged by NGOs and journalists. Conversely in the right-wing papers, the views of political elites are likely to be endorsed – particularly if they are advocating a 'Fortress Europe' approach. We will now turn to the content of individual titles.

The Guardian/ Observer

As previously noted, the *Guardian* featured by far the largest quantity of reporting and the broadest range of views on how to respond to the crisis. The *Guardian* was also unique is featuring a range of supplementary sections to its newspaper which focused on areas such as 'Global Development' and the voluntary sector. This meant

that there were more spaces available for non-political elites such as NGOs and other sections of civil society. As can be seen below, in table 8.2, half of all stories were classified as World News though only a minority of these articles consisted of pure hard news reporting. Most took a particular angle on the crisis and provided background context or analysis of policy.

World News	21
Comment	5
Editorial	4
Politics	4
Global Development	3
Letters	1 day (9 letters)
Voluntary Sector Network	1
UK News	1
Media	1
Art and Design	1

Table 8.2: Positioning of stories in the *Guardian/Observer*

For instance a story in the *Observer* (20 April, 2015) focused on the plight of African children attempting to reach Europe. The report was built around extensive commentary from a representative of Save the Children and examined the factors causing children to flee their homelands and the fate that awaited them in Europe:

> Even before reaching the boats, many young migrants will have risked death in the Sahara and the danger of being robbed, kidnapped or tortured in anarchic Libya. So what drives them to make such a perilous voyage? 'The reasons are varied,' said Carlotta Bellini, Save the Children Italia's Head of Protection. 'Some of the minors from West Africa – Malians and Nigerians particularly – are escaping from conflict or persecution. I spoke to a boy recently who said, 'My mother was killed some time back. And then, a month ago, they killed my father.' It was because they were Christians.' Girls arriving from West Africa are likely to be on their way to a life on the streets. 'The female minors mostly come from poor families, are illiterate and lured with the promise of a job in Europe,' says Save the Children Italia's report. 'Hairdresser, shop assistant and babysitter are some of the more common phoney offers of employment they receive. To some, on the other hand, it is made clear before they leave that they will be prostitutes, but the girls often do not understand what it really means and what will be the real conditions of exploitation and control to which they are going to be subjected.'

In another report (21 April 2015), the journalist and cultural historian Philp Hoare took a long historical view by comparing the ordeals of contemporary migrants with those who had previously made the transatlantic crossing such as the Pilgrim fathers, African slaves and Irish fleeing the potato famine. Other angles taken within the category of World News included the rise of the far right and anti-immigrant sentiment across the EU, the role of private rescue operations, Australia's asylum

polices, the collapse of the Libyan state, and most commonly debates among EU leaders on how to respond to the crisis.

During the week's coverage there were also three *Guardian* editorials and one *Observer* editorial which mentioned the crisis. In two of the *Guardian* editorials (19 April and 24 April) the events in the Mediterranean were not the key focus. Instead both were mainly concerned with the role of foreign policy within the context of the General Election campaign. The editorial on the day after the tragedy stressed the importance of the UK working multilaterally – especially at the EU level which it suggested was easier for Labour than the Conservatives because of the Tories's history of Euroscepticism. The second editorial (24 April 2015) was a response to criticisms from the Labour leader directed at the Conservatives over Libya's post-intervention planning, which it was suggested, meant that the Government bore some responsibility for the drownings – a view endorsed by the *Guardian*:

> In the aftermath of that campaign, the country remains a catastrophic battleground. While few of the 700 migrants who drowned off the Libyan coast last week originated from Libya itself, this lawless patch of desert is now the chief passageway to the perils of the Mediterranean. William Hague accused Mr Miliband of making 'opportunistic' partisan points on a matter of national interest. That is absurd: the national interest has to be defined through democratic debate. If Britain bears some responsibility for Libya's mess, then it surely bears some responsibility too for the drownings.

The sole *Observer* editorial (19 April 2015) cited a range of factors behind the loss of life including the chaos in Libya as well as 'all-out war, Islamist insurgencies and climate change-related drought and famine'. The editorial was highly critical of EU's 'dithering' and the Conservative party's decision to support the withdrawal of the Mare Nostrum. The solution it suggested was to increase search and rescue operations, stabilise Libya and create 'safe, legal options' for migration. The final *Guardian* editorial (21 April 2015) was also highly critical of both the EU and British responses to the crisis, which it is argued, were more focused on creating 'Fortress Europe' than on saving lives in the Mediterranean. The editorial was also sceptical about the EU's plans to destroy traffickers' boats and follow Australia's example in 'subcontracting' the policing of its borders to third countries. Instead, it suggested the EU needed in the short term to save lives and resettle migrants, but in the long term address push factors:

> The 10-point plan agreed at Monday's council of ministers is all about enforcement. Measures such as destroying the traffickers' boats will not be easy to implement. Like the continuing attempt to curtail Somalian piracy, it may even involve a military element. There are signs that the EU would like to be able to subcontract its problem to third countries. Australia, which has faced acute migrant pressure for a decade, funds programmes in Nauru and Papua New Guinea to detain people in transit. But there are few countries on

> the south side of the Mediterranean that are likely to be either willing or able to do Europe's job for it. An attempt last year in Libya ended ignominiously, and a similar move in Tunisia is now reduced to a skeleton staff. Moving in order to do better is as old as humanity. So is fleeing persecution. The long-term answer for the Mediterranean boat people is to put global stability and economic prosperity at the heart of foreign policy. The short-term answer is a managed resettlement programme so that people do not have to risk their lives at sea. Until then, we have an unbreakable moral obligation to save them.

Similar arguments could be found in some of the five comment pieces in the *Guardian*. For instance, one written by the Liberal Democrat leader Nick Clegg (22 April 2015) argued the EU should immediately reinstate search and rescue operations, arrest traffickers, and destroy their vessels. In the longer term, Clegg argued the EU should focus on investment, aid, and opening up EU markets to African goods in order to create 'stable governments and thriving economies'.

A comment piece by Zoe Williams (*Guardian*, 19 April 2015) had a very different focus. It dealt with the question of how refugees and migrants are discussed by politicians and the media. Williams argued that migrants and refugees were only spoken of 'in terms of what they're worth: how much they grow the economy or take from it, how much wealth they create in student fees or investment, what they do to wages'. Missing from this, Williams argued, was a discussion of migrants and refugees as unique human beings with innate value. When pushed far enough Williams argued this dehumanised way of talking about people, ends with the comments made by the celebrity Katie Hopkins who described refugees as 'cockroaches'. Hopkins's remarks were also the subject of the only story in the Media section of the *Guardian* which reported on an online petition calling for Hopkins to be fired.

The third comment piece in our sample (23 April 2015) was from the freelance journalist Alex Duval Smith and focused on why so many Africans were trying to reach Europe. Smith suggested deterrence or targeting traffickers was not the solution, instead attention should be focused on corrupt, kleptocratic African rulers who, it was argued, were supported by misguided Western aid policies:

> People in Europe must not turn a blind eye to the drownings in the Mediterranean, but nor should they be guilt-tripped by these sickening scenes. The same politicians who, in the name of the taxpayer, demand nit-picking levels of austerity at home are failing to challenge the corrupt leaders whose citizens are fleeing. Aid worsens corruption, and corruption in turn deters investment. Taxpayers should not tolerate this either.

The issue of what drives population flows was also the core subject of the fourth comment piece in the sample by the playwright Anders Lustgarten. Lustgarten castigated the EU for a 'defacto policy' which 'is to let migrants drown to stop others

coming'. He also argued that it was the West's military and development polices which were partly to blame for the migrants and refugees desperately trying to cross the Mediterranean. The final comment piece (*Guardian*, 23 April 2015) in our sample was from the Australian journalist and lawyer Richard Ackland. The piece was essentially a warning not to follow the Australian model of forcing back boats full of migrants and refugees to Indonesia or to detention camps in the Pacific Islands. Ackland argued that refugees were being denied their rights under international humanitarian law, and instead were being held in camps where they were subject to 'physical and sexual abuse'. Ackland also argued that refugees who were refouled faced torture, and that there isn't 'an adequate reckoning of lives lost in places of persecution, because we have slammed shut the door on the escape route'

Although not strictly classified as comment pieces, four articles in the 'Global Development' and 'Voluntary Sector Network' sections offer space for extended analysis by NGOs. One feature article (Escaping Eritrea: If I die at sea, it's not a problem – at least I won't be tortured, *Guardian*, 21 April 2015) focused on the push factors driving Eritreans to make the long and dangerous journey to Europe. Another (*Guardian*, 23 April 2015) penned by MSF's Chiara Montalado focused on the suffering of those crossing the Mediterranean. A third by the UNHCR's Laura Padoan (*Guardian*, 24 April 2015) discussed the role of NGOs in helping refugees and lobbying EU states to institute policies which saved lives. The fourth piece written by Anti-Slavery International's Aidan MQuade (*Guardian*, 22 April 2015) took aim at both EU policy and how, he argued, it was disguised by the deliberate conflation of 'trafficking' with 'smuggling'. McQuade noted that trafficking, unlike smuggling, necessarily involved coercion and exploitation and thus to frame the Mediterranean crisis as being due to 'evil traffickers' helped to shift responsibility from culpable EU governments:

> The conflation of smuggling and trafficking conveniently obfuscates the issue and buys political breathing space. It is a classic public relations move by those faced with evidence of their complicity in human rights abuses – or in this case, arguably, a preventable atrocity. When faced with such horror, it is easier to make grand statements blaming migrant deaths on evil traffickers than to seek the causes and identify proper responses.

The voices of NGOs (and citizens) were also prominent in the letters pages of the *Guardian*. The edition of 23 April 2015 featured eleven letters, eight from citizens and three from NGOs. All were supportive of refugee and migrants and cited war, poverty, corruption and Western foreign policy as key drivers of population flows, whilst advocating more legal channels for migration, conflict resolution, and better access to EU markets as key solutions.

Table 8.3 shows the prevalence of different sources across the week's coverage in the *Guardian*. As in previous research, political elites tend to be the most accessed sources. Domestic political sources were dominated by Conservative politicians

(57.1% of domestic political sources) followed by Labour (21.4%), UKIP (10.2%) and the Liberal Democrats (10.2%). Foreign politicians were also very prominent with the most cited figures being Matteo Renzi and Tony Abbot.

Domestic political	17.0%
Foreign Politician	12.1%
Citizen	11.3%
NGO/Civil Society	8.5%
Journalist / Media	7.8%
EU Commission	7.8%
Migrant / Refugee	5.7%
Academic / Expert	5.0%
UNHCR/UN	3.5%
IOM	3.5%
National Rescue Team	3.5%
MEP	2.1%
Trafficker/Smuggler	1.4%
FRONTEX	0.7%
Law / Judiciary	0.7%
Think Tank	0.7%
Other	7.8%
Total N	141

Table 8.3: *Guardian/Observer* Sources (source as a proportion of all sources)

What is also clear from the data is the prominent space available to NGOs. In total, NGOs plus the UNHCR and the IOM account for 15.5% of all source appearances. As we will see when we examine the discussion of who was responsible for the tragedy and what the policy response should be, the voice of NGOs is crucial because it fundamentally challenges the 'Fortress Europe' responses advocated by domestic and foreign politicians as well as the EU Commission.

Table 8.4 below shows the prevalence of a variety of themes in coverage. Statistics on migration numbers and mortality figures appear in most articles. There is also a very strong emphasis on the role of trafficking which reflects the fact that political leaders chose to frame the deaths as being the fault of smugglers and to argue that combating them was the key way to resolve the crisis. Discussion of policy was also a key aspect of coverage which reflected the fact that a number of articles concentrated on both public pronouncements from domestic politicians and EU leaders. In line with results from the main study, the *Guardian* also featured humanitarian themes prominently. These tended to be either in the context of reports detailing the experiences of refugees and migrants who drowned, or through the comments of NGOs and citizens.

It is also notable that the *Guardian* was the only newspaper in our sample that featured discussion of the positive contributions that refugees and migrants could make, even if these were usually brief and only appeared in only three out of 42 articles.

> In 2012–13, the Australian humanitarian programme was increased to 20,000 places from 13,750 places in 2011-12...It's a mere drop. We could comfortably treble that annual intake, with great advantages to the economy and our nation building - quite apart from the need to do something about restoring our humanity. (*Guardian*, 21 April 2015)

> There is another way. There is a humanitarian solution. We can let these desperate people into Europe and welcome them as citizens. This is a rich continent. It's an ageing continent. There is work enough to be done here. (Letter, *Guardian*, 23 April 2015)

> Forget the fact that this society wouldn't work without migrants, that nobody else will pick your vegetables and make your latte and get up at 4am to clean your office. Forget the massive tax contribution made by migrants to the Treasury. (*Guardian*, 18 April 2015)

Mortality / Mortality Figures	90.5%
Immigration Figures / Levels	73.8%
Mafia / Traffic	71.4%
Search and Rescue / Aid Supplies	64.3%
Political Response / Policy	42.9%
Humanitarian (Key Theme)	31.0%
Human Rights	21.4%
Receiving / Rejecting	21.4%
Humanitarian (Elements)	16.7%
Journey	14.3%
Welfare / Benefits / Resources	4.8%
Health Risk for Country of Destination	2.4%
Threat to National Security	2.4%
Post-arrival Integration	2.4%
Crime	2.4%
Total N	194

Table 8.4: Themes in the *Guardian/Observer* (proportion of articles featuring each theme)

In terms of the labels used in *Guardian* coverage, we find that there had been a shift from the terminology use in the main sample in 2014 and early 2015. During the week following the drownings the *Guardian* was much more likely to use the term migrants which had become dominant. Meanwhile the use of the term refugee had halved.

Migrant	66.9%
Refugee	21.2%
Asylum Seeker	7.0%
Immigrant	4.2%
Illegal	0.2%
Irregular Migrant	0.2%
Irregular Immigrant	0.2%
Total N	429

Table 8.5 Labels in the *Guardian/Observer* (proportion of times each label is used as a proportion of total labels)

As previously discussed, the explanations for why people were making the journey across the Mediterranean shifted between our earlier sample and this week of coverage in April 2015. Whereas in the earlier sample, discussion overwhelmingly focused on the push factors of war and oppression, and to a lesser degree poverty and lack of economic opportunity, in the later sample other explanations come to the fore. The most frequently cited explanation was that the Mare Nostrum acted as a pull factor. This was at no time endorsed by the *Guardian,* or any of its journalists, but was raised repeatedly in order to be criticised as an incorrect, if not immoral argument. For instance:

> The argument that Italy's Mare Nostrum operation served as a 'pull factor' has not been vindicated. According to Frontex, in the first three months after Triton replaced Mare Nostrum, the flow of migrants increased 160%. 'Reluctant governments should realise that overemphasising the 'pull effect' is not only factually incorrect but also morally indefensible,' said the Centre for European Reform thinktank in a policy analysis on Thursday. (*Guardian,* 23 April 2015)

This particular explanation also generated a lot of coverage, because there were claims that it had caused a rift within the Conservative party. It was said that the prime minister wanted to change policy under international pressure, but had faced opposition from members of his cabinet who stuck by the argument that the search and rescue operations acted as a 'pull factor':

The argument that war, conflict, and repression were significant push factors remained prominent and was mainly made by journalists and NGOs. However, the argument that the migrant crisis was a consequence of a breakdown of central authority in Libya was not an explanation we encountered in our earlier sample. This particular explanation was made primarily by Labour and UKIP politicians. Part of this was politicking in the midst as the General Election campaign, since it offered both parties the opportunity to argue that the government was partly responsible for the deaths in the Mediterranean. However, the fact that major politicians had made

this argument then opened this up as an angle for journalists to explore. For instance on 24 April the *Guardian* ran an article titled:

> Are UK failures in Libya to blame for the Mediterranean migrant crisis?: The collapse of the post-Gaddafi Libyan state is a key reason for the current crisis, but the UK is not the only guilty party.

Explanation	**Proportion of articles**	**Sources providing explanations and frequency**
Pull Factor of Mare Nostrum	33.3%	Conservatives (10), EU leaders (4)
War/Conflict/Repression	28.6%	Journalists (4), NGOs (2), Editorial (2), Refugee (1), UNHCR (1), EU leaders (1), EU officials (1)
Failure to Secure Libya	26.2%	Labour (4), UKIP (2), Editorial (1), Journalist (1), Conservatives (1), Citizen (1), EU leaders (1)
Poverty/Corruption	14.3%	Journalists (3), NGO (2), Editorial (1)
Climate Change	2.4%	Editorial (1)
Total N	44	

Table 8.6: Explanations for population flows in the *Guardian/Observer* (proportion of articles featuring each explanation)

When we turn to the question of how the EU should respond to the crisis, we again find a substantial shift from what we found in our earlier sample. The most commonly cited response was a call for search and rescue operation to be stepped up in the wake of the tragedy. Reporting presented this as something that EU leaders agreed to due to the pressure created by the deaths in Mediterranean, and how this had challenged their earlier decision not to renew the Mare Nostrum search and rescue operations. The *Guardian* featured criticism of the inadequacy of rescue operations in their own editorials as well as from domestic and foreign politicians, citizens, EU officials, and particularly NGOs. For instance, the newspaper repeatedly reported on a letter signed by 50 former EU prime ministers, foreign ministers and business leaders:

> The summit comes as a joint letter to EU leaders signed by more than 50 former European prime ministers, foreign ministers and business leaders, condemned the death toll of migrants in the Mediterranean as a 'stain on the conscience of our continent' and demanded the immediate restoration of expansive search-and-rescue operations. (*Guardian*, 23 April 2015)

However, it was the voice of NGOs, prominently featured in the Guardian which offered the sharpest criticism of EU policy:

> Amnesty International described the measures being discussed as 'a woefully inadequate and shameful response to the crisis in the Mediterranean that will fail to end the spiral of deaths at sea'. (*Guardian*, 23 April 2015)

> ‘The EU is standing by with arms crossed while hundreds die off its shores,’ said Judith Sutherland, the deputy Europe director at Human Rights Watch. ‘These deaths might well have been prevented if the EU had launched a genuine search-and-rescue effort.’ (*Guardian*, 20 April 2015)
>
> Save the Children CEO Justin Forsyth said: ‘What we needed from EU foreign ministers today was life-saving action, but they dithered. The emergency summit on Thursday is now a matter of life and death. With each day we delay we lose more innocent lives and Europe slips further into an immoral abyss. Right now, people desperately seeking a better life are drowning in politics. We have to restart the rescue – and now.’ (*Guardian*, 20 April 2015)

The second most cited response was calls from EU leaders and domestic politicians to target smugglers and attempt to shut down migratory routes. This solution was also advocated by the Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbot, and reference was repeatedly made to the Australian policy of forcing back boats carrying migrants and asylum seekers. However, the Australian policy was severely criticised in two articles which argued that it was immoral, impractical, and possibly illegal. The *Guardian* also featured comments which questioned whether the proposed measures were either practical or the correct response to the crisis.

> Rihards Kozlovskis, the Latvian interior minister, said the scheme could run into problems. ‘How can it be done?’ he asked. ‘It’s not so easy this civil-military operation. We’re talking of the territorial waters of third countries.’ A senior EU official doubted whether the focus on targeting the traffickers would work. ‘The idea of surgical strikes on traffickers is not very serious. Do they know enough about the traffickers to mount a military operation?’ (*Guardian*, 20 April 2015)
>
> The 28 EU governments called for much closer cooperation with Libya’s neighbours, such as Egypt, Tunisia, and Niger, in an attempt to close down the migratory routes. But senior political figures and EU officials conceded this would be difficult and also voiced scepticism about the emphasis on targeting the traffickers. (*Guardian*, 21 April 2015)
>
> It [the EU plan] more clearly defines conditions for legal migration, while formulating ‘a clear plan to fight smuggling and trafficking of migrants and an effective return policy’. The UNHCR is concerned that rather than helping to create a safe passage for migrants, the commission is more concerned with trying to stop people entering. ‘What we are hearing is that there is more dialogue on how to prevent people coming to Europe and how to stop them than how to manage the flows and what to do when these persons come into Europe,’ said Jolles. (*Observer*, 18 April 2015)

The *Guardian* also featured calls for more legal routes for migration and additional settlement places. None of these came from politicians or the EU, but instead were featured in the newspaper's own editorials or through the voices of NGOs, citizens, lawyers or the UNHCR. As previously noted, this later sample saw the emergence of a narrative frame which explained the migration flows and deaths in the Mediterranean as a consequence of the failure to establish a functioning authority in post-Gaddafi Libya. This led some politicians, and even a *Guardian* editorial, to suggested stabilising Libya as a solution. However, the *Guardian* didn't feature any critical reflection on whether this proposal would actually do anything to resolve the migration crisis, rather than just displace population flows to other parts of the North African coast.

As in the previous sample, there was very little discussion of resolving the push factors which drove people to flee their homelands. Furthermore, references to push factors were often brief as in this letter:

> There are calls for the EU to act to save migrants from drowning in the Mediterranean, but where are the calls for the UN to tackle the strife and oppression in South Sudan, Eritrea, Syria, Iran, Afghanistan … which are the root cause of this problem? (Letter, 23 April 2015)

The two exceptions to this rule were a comment piece by the former Liberal Democrat leader Nick Clegg which stressed the need for more aid, investment and access to EU markets and an analysis piece on why people were fleeing Eritrea.

Solution	Proportion of articles	Sources arguing for solutions and frequency
More resources for search and rescue	59.5%	NGOs (7), EU leaders (4), Former EU prime ministers (2), Conservatives (2), Labour (2), Editorial (2), Citizens (2), UNHCR (1), IOM (1), Latvian government (1), EU officials (1)
Arrest Smugglers/Destroy smuggling vessels/close down migration routes	45.2%	European Commission (5), Conservatives (4), EU leaders (3), Australian prime minister (3), Liberal Democrats (2), Italian prime minister (1), Celebrity (1)
More legal routes for migration/more settlement places	28.6%	NGOs (3), Citizens (3), UNHCR (2), Lawyers (2), Editorial (2)
Stabilize Libya	16.7%	Conservatives (2), EU officials (2), Italian prime minister (1), Editorial (1), Smuggler (1)
Rapid returns	7.1%	EU leaders (2), Conservatives (1)
Set up UNHCR administered processing centre in Africa	4.8%	Citizen (1), Editorial (1)
Remove EU trade barriers	4.8%	Liberal Democrats (1), NGO (1)
More Foreign Investment	4.8%	Liberal Democrats (1), Journalist (1)
Address conflict in Syria	4.8%	EU official (1) Citizen (1)
Address human rights abuses in Eritrea	4.8%	Journalist (1) Citizen (1)
Refugee quota system	2.4%	EU official (1)
Action on climate change	2.4%	Editorial (1)
More foreign aid	2.4%	Liberal Democrat (1)
Total N	77	

Table 8.7: Solutions to the crisis in the *Guardian/Observer* (proportion of articles featuring each solution)

To conclude, the week's coverage in the *Guardian* was far more extensive and analytical than that found in other newspapers in our sample. Whilst it reported extensively on the views of elite political sources, it consistently adopted a critical position by questioning whether their explanations and policy prescriptions were practical, legal, or moral. This was partly a consequence of the stance taken by its journalists, but also crucially reflected the very high prominence of NGO, citizen and legal voices who were supportive of refugees and migrants.

The Daily Telegraph/Sunday Telegraph

Although also a broadsheet, the *Telegraph*'s coverage was very different from what appeared in the *Guardian*. Most obviously the *Telegraph* featured less reporting of the migration crisis and its articles were shorter and less detailed. *Telegraph* coverage also featured a more limited selection of sources, fewer explanations for the crisis, and less developed accounts of possible solutions.

News	14
Editorial	2
Letters	2 days (7 letters)

Table 8.8: Positioning of articles in the *Daily/Sunday Telegraph*

The 14 news articles in the *Telegraph* concentrated on a number of angles including the fate of the refugees and migrants who drowned, religious conflict amongst migrants, policy negotiations in Brussels and the breakdown of authority in Libya. It also featured some unusual angles. For instance, one story was titled, 'Five-star-migrants: Refugees pay £6,000 a head to go on private yacht', and reported on 'first class' Syrians and Palestinians who were taken to Europe in private yachts. However, the most common angle was action against people smugglers which was the focus of four articles, the headlines of which are reproduced below:

> Hunt for gangs behind a tide of misery (*Daily Telegraph*, 19 April 2015)
>
> Europe ready to declare war on people traffickers. (*Daily Telegraph*, 23 April 2015)
>
> Britain may send forces to 'smash' Libya's migrant gangs (*Daily Telegraph*, 24 April 2015)
>
> Europe's leaders ready to destroy smuggling boats before they deliver their human cargo. (*Daily Telegraph*, 23 April 2015)

The two editorials that appeared in the *Telegraph* were very unlike those that appeared in the *Guardian*. Although both newspapers advocated stabilizing Libya and improving economic development in African countries, the *Telegraph* advocated a military orientated 'Fortress Europe' position. The first editorial on 20 April 2015 was titled 'Stop the ships sailing':

> As we said last week, improving the lives of people in the countries they are leaving is the best solution, but this will take years and is largely beyond our means to achieve. Clamping down on the traffickers who are effectively guilty of murder for cramming so many people into leaking hulks is another approach; but they are based in countries where law and order has collapsed, like Libya. A more hard-headed approach would be to operate a naval blockade of the ports from which most of these precarious craft embark. Surely, as Matteo Renzi, Italy's prime minister, has proposed, the most compassionate response to this calamity would be to stop the ships before they make it to the open sea.

The second editorial titled 'Stop the boats' employed similar arguments and also claimed that search and rescue operations acted as an incentive to migration:

> The EU is expected to re-establish search and rescue operations that were withdrawn last year because they were thought to be acting as an incentive to migration which, in view of the numbers that are trying this year, appears to have been the case. But if migrants need to be rescued then the policy of control has already failed. The immediate priority for EU leaders now is to work out a way to prevent people boarding the boats in the first place, both by destroying captured vessels and blockading the ports they are leaving. New resettlement schemes and migration quotas will not help matters. (*Daily Telegraph*, 22 April 2015)

Letters that appeared in the *Telegraph* also argued for military solutions or placed the blame on Islam for the migration crisis:

> Talk of prosecuting people smugglers misses the point. The routes must be sealed off. Only when would-be migrants are unsuccessful will the flow come to a halt. A Libyan airfield should be used for the immediate return of arrivals, and boats destroyed in their North African harbours. Surely politicians can see that, by treating the migrant problem as solely a 'humanitarian issue', they are making it far worse. One does not need to be devoid of compassion to argue for limited military action; it is common sense. (Letter, *Telegraph*, 24 April 2015)

> Europe's policy of harsh barriers to conventionally arriving migrants and acceptance of trafficked migrants will guarantee ever-increasing drownings. We should have either an entirely open-door policy or, as the Libyan coastguard does, return all trafficked migrants to a safe non-European location. A similar Australian policy has reduced trafficking boats and drownings to zero. (Letter, *Daily Telegraph*, 24 April 2015)

> While Europe tries to solve the immigrant wave from Libya, it ignores the main reason for the exodus. Most of these people are fleeing from some form of threat from extremist Muslim factions. The West should not be so reluctant to point the finger at the threat of Islam to Africa. (Letter, *Daily Telegraph*, 24 April 2015)

However two letters, including one from members of the House of Lords, bucked this trend and instead argued that the UK had a responsibility to do more to help migrants and refugees.

Table 8.9 shows the range of sources who featured in *Telegraph* news accounts. Migrants were the most cited voices, but these rarely accounted for more than a sentence outlining their ordeals at the hands of smugglers, or their attempts to escape the boat that sank. The other main sources were domestic and foreign politicians who were the key definers of the crisis and its solutions. NGOs were featured at a lower level than in the *Guardian*, and were not positioned so as to be able to challenge the key arguments of British and European politicians.

Migrant / Refugee	19.3%
Domestic political	15.8%
Foreign Politician	15.8%
Citizen	12.3%
Journalist / Media	7.0%
UNHCR/UN	5.3%
Law / Judiciary	1.8%
Church / Religion	3.5%
EU Commission	3.5%
Academic / Expert	3.5%
National Rescue Team	3.5%
NGO/Civil Society	3.5%
Trafficker/Smuggler	3.5%
IOM	1.8%
Other	22.8%
Total N	57

Table 8.9: Sources in the *Daily Telegraph/Sunday Telegraph* (each source as a proportion of all sources)

In terms of the labels that were used by the *Telegraph*, we found a similar pattern to that of the *Guardian*, in that the term migrant was more likely to be used and the term refugee less commonly used in comparison to the earlier sample. However the use of the term 'illegal' had disappeared from the *Telegraph* in the later sample.

Migrant	75.2%
Refugee	17.9%
Asylum Seeker	3.4%
Immigrant	3.4%
Total N	117

Table 8.10: Labels in the *Daily Telegraph/Sunday Telegraph* (each label as a proportion of all labels)

The themes that appeared in *Telegraph* coverage can be seen in table 8.11. Since the second sample covered a much more restricted time period than the first, it is not surprising that far fewer themes appear in coverage. By far the most dominant theme was discussion of mafia/trafficking. This reflected the fact that almost all the articles either discussed the role of people smugglers, police action against smugglers, or policy ideas for arresting smugglers or destroying their vessels. It thus indicates the degree to which *Telegraph* coverage both followed the agenda set by leading political figures, and supplemented their arguments with articles which focused on the fight against people smugglers. Discussion of policy featured in three quarters of all articles, and there was also a strong focus on search and rescue operations. This concentrated on both attempts to pick up survivors, as well as discussion of whether to increase search and rescue operations as a matter of policy. Receiving/rejecting, another prominent theme, largely related to discussion of whether refugees and migrants would be allowed into the UK or whether the EU would adopt a quota system.

Mafia / Traffic	93.8%
Political Response / Policy	75.0%
Search and Rescue / Aid Supplies	68.8%
Mortality / Mortality Figures	62.5%
Immigration Figures / Levels	50.0%
Receiving / Rejecting	37.5%
Humanitarian (Elements)	31.3%
Humanitarian (Key Theme)	25.0%
Crime	12.6%
Journey	6.3%
Threat to Culture/Community	6.3%
Threat to Welfare/Resources	6.3%
Total N	76

Table 8.11: Themes in the *Daily Telegraph/Sunday Telegraph* (proportion of articles featuring each theme)

Whilst much of the coverage focused on 'Fortress Europe' policies, such as preventing people reaching the EU, the *Telegraph* also featured a significant proportion of humanitarian themes in coverage. These occurred in the context of articles which provided graphic and empathetic accounts of the horrors experienced by those who had crossed the Mediterranean. These accounts were often linked to statements which put the blame for the suffering on the actions of people smugglers. Unlike in the earlier sample, there were few threat themes in coverage. The only exception to this concerned the linking of refugees with crime in two articles. One reported on the arrest of Muslims who had allegedly thrown Christians overboard for signing payer songs during the journey. The other claimed that refugees who had been granted asylum had then turned to people smuggling.

In terms of what was driving migration flows, the *Telegraph* featured explanations at a lower level than in the *Guardian.* Most explanations which cited push factors relating to war or conflict came from citizens, members of the House of Lords or the Pope. Journalists or *Telegraph* editorials tended to attribute flows to the collapse of the central authority in Libya, economic pull factors, or the role of the Mare Nostrum. In general, there were few explanations for why people were making the perilous journey across the Mediterranean.

Explanation	**Proportion of articles**	**Sources providing explanations and frequency**
Conflict/War/Atrocities	31.3%	Citizen (2), Lords (1), Journalist (1), Pope (1)
Collapse of Libyan state	18.8%	Journalist (2), Labour (1)
Poverty/Economic	18.8%	Journalist (2), Citizen (1)
Pull factor of Mare Nostrum	12.5%	Editorial (1) Conservatives (1)
Total N	12	

Table 8.12: Explanations for population flows in the *Daily Telegraph/Sunday Telegraph* (proportion of articles featuring each explanation)

A notable exception was an article on 21 April which gave a detailed breakdown, together with helpful infographics, of the various push and pull factors driving migration flows across Africa and the Middle East:

> The nationalities of people arriving on Italy's shores via people smuggling boats is in many ways a barometer of conflicts and instability around Africa and the Middle East. Figures for 2014 compiled by the United Nations show that roughly a quarter of last year's new arrivals – some 42,320 – were fleeing Syria's civil war. The year before saw 11,000 Syrians, while in 2011 they scarcely registered. Another big contributor has been Eritrea in the Horn of Africa, which emerged in the 1990s from a 30-year war for independence. Its menfolk are fleeing in droves as its government imposes an indefinite form of military service that critics say amounts to slavery. Others include Somalis, Nigerians, and citizens of the dirt poor Saharan nations of Chad and Niger, which lie just south of Libya's vast, unpoliced southern borders. Some are fleeing local insurgencies. Many, though, are simply in search of better prospects in Europe, where even the prospect of menial job on black market wages can seem attractive enough to make it worth the considerable expense and risk. Contrary to many impressions, most see Europe for its potential for pay cheques, not welfare benefits.

In terms of how Britain and the EU should respond to the crisis, it was clear that a militarised 'Fortress Europe' approach dominated coverage. As previously noted, the Telegraph featured two editorials arguing strong for military based solutions involving attacks on smugglers' vessels or the blockading of African ports. This was supplemented by supportive statements from the Conservatives, EU leaders, citizens (in the letters pages), police authorities and journalists. Military options were also discussed at length in a number of articles. For instance on 23 April:

> European Union leaders meeting in Brussels on Thursday will consider launching a military operation against Libyan migrant traffickers, a draft statement seen by AFP showed on Wednesday night... David Cameron and other EU leaders will consider a commitment to 'undertake systematic efforts to identify, capture and destroy vessels before they are used by traffickers,' the draft statement showed... Mr Cameron is reportedly considering deploying to the Mediterranean one of the Royal Navy's biggest warships, HMS Bulwark, in an effort to 'go after the criminal gangs'. The Ministry of Defence said that it was 'looking at options'.

And in another article on 24 April:

> David Cameron is considering deploying British forces to Libya to 'smash' the gangs sending desperate migrants to their deaths... Under Mr Cameron's plans, its three Merlin helicopters would fly sorties from bases on Malta or Sicily, and 'lilypad' off HMS Bulwark for refuelling on long-range

surveillance sorties. The helicopters are equipped with radar with a 100 mile radius that are designed to pick up small, fast-moving terrorist boats. The vessel has a crew of 325, can carry up to 700 Royal Marines and has a floodable dock compartment and helipad. The patrol cutters would be able to intercept, tow or sink boats used to ferry migrants.

Solution	**Proportion of articles**	**Sources arguing for solutions and frequency**
Arrest Smugglers/Destroy smuggling vessels/close down migration routes	70.6%	Conservatives (3), EU leaders (3), Citizen (2), Italian prime minister (2), Editorial (2), Journalist (1), Europol (1)
More resources for search and rescue	56.5%	EU leaders (4), Conservatives (3), NGOs (2), UNHCR (1), The 'left' (1)
Aid/Improve economies in Africa	31.3%	Conservatives (2), Editorial (2), Lords (1)
Stabilize Libya	25.0%	Journalist (2), Editorial (1) Conservatives (1)
Set up immigration processing centres in Africa	18.8%	Journalist (1), Italian prime minister (1), Lords (1)
More legal routes for migration/more settlement places	12.5%	German officials (2)
Introduce quota system	6.3%	German officials (1)
Total N	40	

Table 8.13: Solutions to the crisis in the *Daily Telegraph/Sunday Telegraph* (proportion of articles featuring each theme)

In one article some scepticism is expressed about the practicalities of such plans:

> However, experts pointed out there could be major repercussions of any military intervention. 'They talk about capturing and destroying migrant boats, but presumably they will have people on-board, so they're not going to just shoot them out of the water,' Matt Carr, the British author of Fortress Europe, a book on migration, told AFP. 'Others say the only way to stop them is to destroy all the boats in Libya, which is obviously nonsensical.' Alain Coldefy, a retired French admiral, said: 'This problem is totally unsolvable with military means.' (*Daily Telegraph*, 23 April 2015)

However, such misgivings were rare within the context of overall *Telegraph* reporting which strongly endorsed military based solutions. Linked to the arguments in favour of attacking smugglers were attempts to apportion all blame for the deaths in Mediterranean to smugglers. This was achieved through articles highlighting the

activities of smugglers on the boats which sank, and by direct statements from Conservative politicians and journalists. For instance:

> Responding to the crisis last night, Mr Cameron laid responsibility for the deaths with the traffickers. 'We should put the blame squarely with the criminal human traffickers who are the ones managing, promoting and selling this trade – this trade in human life' (*Daily Telegraph*, 21 April 2015)

> On the eve of the emergency summit, Matteo Renzi, the Italian prime minister, said his country was 'at war' with migrant traffickers, who are responsible for the deaths of as many as 1,000 migrants in the past week alone. (*Daily Telegraph*, 23 April 2015)

The argument that the EU should increase search and rescue operations appeared relatively frequently. However it is only made in very brief statements, rarely extending to more than a sentence or two. For instance:

> The Continents Heads of States will hold an emergency meeting on Thursday that will aim to address the problem once and for all. Last night they promised to extend search and rescue missions, and to step up efforts against smuggling gangs. (*Daily Telegraph*, 21 April 2015)

Other responses, such as stabilizing Libya or improving African economies are also dealt with very briefly. Furthermore, arguments in favour of creating more settlement places, introducing EU quotas or creating safe migration routes are directly argued against by journalists and in editorials. Organisations advocating such policies are also condemned. For instance the activities of the UN were directly criticised in one news report:

> Seldom do they [the UN] denounce the traffickers with as much enthusiasm as they denounce EU states for cutting back on search-and rescue services, or for failing to have more generous asylum and immigration policies. For a publicly funded organisation that is supposed to have impartiality as its lifeblood, the UN shows remarkably little acknowledgement for the other side of the debate, namely the social impact of what many Europeans see as uncontrolled and illegal immigration. Rather like certain UN mouthpieces in Palestine who make little effort to hide their anti-Israeli feelings, there is an almost wilful disregard for the political complexities on the ground, as if the rise of anti-immigrant parties across Europe in recent years had never happened. Then again, as far as the UN is concerned, the current crisis is not a question of 'illegal immigration' at all. (*Daily Telegraph*, 20 April 2015)

Overall *Telegraph* reporting was dominated by a security based 'Fortress Europe' approach to the crisis in the Mediterranean. The views of key domestic and European political sources, who advocated military solutions, were very prominent and supported both by the newspaper's comment section and by reporting which

emphasised the role of people smugglers. Those arguing in favour of more liberal immigration and asylum policies were marginal, and actively argued against by the *Telegraph.*

The Daily Mail/Sunday Mail

Daily and *Sunday Mail* coverage was far more sparse than that in the broadsheets. Articles were also shorter, and contained relatively little in the way of context. There was a greater tendency towards editorialising in news articles whilst the comment and editorial pieces were strident. Overall the framing of the migration crisis, and how the paper thought the UK should respond, was very similar in many respects to that of the *Telegraph,* with strong advocacy of keeping migrants and refugees out of the EU.

News	9
Editorial	2
Comment	2

Table 8.14: Positioning of articles in the *Daily Mail/Mail on Sunday*

The nine news stories that appeared in the *Daily Mail/Mail on Sunday* covered a variety of angles. Two were primarily factual accounts of the disaster in the Mediterranean. One entitled 'I'm just so lucky to have made it, says tearful survivor of migrant boat hell' (*Daily Mail*, 24 April 2015) centred on the story of Wegasi Neibat, a survivor of a boat that had sank off the island of Rhodes. The articles discussed her month long journey from East Africa and how her family had paid 'more than 10,000 dollars (£6,600) hoping she would eventually reach Sweden'. The journey was said to involve a '50 mile walk from Eritrea into Sudan' before being 'picked up by smugglers and taken by car to Khartoum before flying to Istanbul on a false passport'. The article noted that some of the survivors of the shipwreck would become homeless and have to beg for food from locals, before adding that most wanted to go to Sweden where they would have the best chance of getting a job.

The other story '950 Drowned like rats in a cage', (*Daily Mail*, 21 April 2015) focused on the incident 60 miles north of Libya. The article spoke of 'horrific stories' where 'like captives on a 19th century slave ship, hundreds perished because they were locked up below deck like rats in a cage'. The articles warned that 'fears grew last night that a million migrants were waiting sail to Europe', before citing calls from Malta's prime minister that rescue operations should be restored, otherwise Europe would be 'judged harshly for its inaction when it turned a blind eye to genocide'. This article also featured critical comment from a number of NGOs:

> Kate Allen of Amnesty said the death toll was 'the equivalent of five passenger jets full of people drowning in the last week alone' adding: 'If they had been holidaymakers instead of migrants, imagine the response. The floating bodies of these desperate fathers, mothers and children are Europe's shame.' Sarah Tyler, of Save the Children, said it was 'almost as many as died in the Titantic.' Her boss Justin Forsyth accused EU foreign ministers of

> ‘dithering’ and said an emergency summit planned for Thursday was ‘now a matter of life and death.’

The article concluded by again warning that up to a million people were heading to Europe before citing comments from UKIP’s Nigel Farge that Italy and Greece should send the message that migrants who reach Europe will not be allowed to stay.

Another two news articles concentrated in detail on Australia’s immigration and asylum policies. One was entitled ‘Send gunboats to halt migrant tide’ Australian PM warns Europe: ‘Crisis will not stop until you copy our tough stance on people smugglers.’ (22 April 2015). The article was built around comments from former Australian prime minister, Tony Abbot:

> Europe has been urged to copy Australia's military-led 'stop the boats' policy to avoid migrant tragedies in the Mediterranean. Australian PM Tony Abbott – who sends naval gunboats to turn back asylum seekers before they reach Australia – said the EU should 'urgently' follow his lead. He said: 'The only way you can stop the deaths is to stop the boats. 'That's why it is so urgent that the countries of Europe adopt very strong policies that will end the people-smuggling trade across the Mediterranean.' Conservative Mr Abbott won power in 2013 on a 'stop the boats' pledge, and not a single one has breached his ring of steel in 18 months. Operation Sovereign Borders involves the Australian Navy intercepting boats filled with migrants at sea, and either turning them back or towing them back to where they came from. Mr Abbott has previously said he was sick of being lectured to by the United Nations over Australia's obligations to refugees, saying his policy was the 'most decent, most compassionate' solution.

The article did not feature any critical analysis of Australia’s refugee and asylum policy though it did include comments from Save the Children, former Labour leader Ed Milliband, and the Maltese prime minister who advocated a more robust search and rescue operation. However, the article also repeated warnings that ‘one million migrants are waiting to set sail off the coast of Libya’, and featured comments from a retired Australian Army Major-General that European leaders were guilty of 'incompetence' and that the tragedies were 'worsened by Europe's refusal to learn from its own mistakes and from the efforts of others who have handled similar problems'.

The second article was titled ‘Officials on navy ships reject asylum claims’ (*Daily Mail*, 23 April 2015) and was again built around discussion of Australia’s ‘tough’ immigration and asylum system. It stated that EU leaders were going to increase spending for search and rescue operations but then added:

> But critics believe millions of impoverished Africans and Asians are happy to set off into the Mediterranean in leaky boats because they are confident humanitarian efforts will save them and speed them to their destination. Mr

> Abbott has insisted: 'The only way you can stop the deaths is to stop the boats.' Australia detains people on the Pacific islands of Nauru or Papua New Guinea while their asylum applications are considered, in order to avoid them absconding and staying on Australian soil while their cases are heard. Those on Nauru have the 'opportunity' to seek a life in Cambodia – which is paid by Australia to take them – while those in Papua New Guinea can stay there under a similar deal.

However, this article did feature some critical reflection on the consequences of Australian policy by focusing on the fate of Vietnamese asylum seekers who were returned to Vietnam:

> Australia's Vietnamese community leaders warned that the Abbott government would be 'throwing people back to hell' by returning the asylum seekers. There were reports last year that an asylum seeker from an ethnic minority hill tribe was badly beaten by Vietnamese government officials after being returned by Cambodia. And Amnesty International said that claims of persecution by the Vietnamese cannot have been adequately assessed while still at sea. Amnesty's Graeme McGregor said: 'These reports are extremely concerning and represent a fundamental violation of refugee rights. 'Basic screening procedures at sea cannot be relied upon to make such life and death decisions. 'Instead of digging itself deeper into disrepute by negotiating secretive deals to return asylum seekers, Australia should be helping those in need and identifying safe, practical ways for refugees to reach safety. The government has repeatedly excused its secretive boat turn-backs by trying to claim that they save lives. The return of Vietnamese asylum seekers to the very country and government that they have escaped from exposes the truth about the government's policies: that they do not save people, but repel people who may need our help.'

Another article focused on the captain of the ship which sunk leading to the deaths of 900 people (Relaxing on the rescue ship, captain accused of killing 900, *Daily Mail*, 22 April 2015). The article alleged he had been drinking and smoking hashish before the accident and had now been charged with multiple manslaughter, causing a shipwreck and aiding illegal immigration. Reports that Britain was sending warships and helicopters as part of a 'beefed up search and rescue operation in the Mediterranean' formed the centrepiece of a further article (British warship and helicopters may join Med rescue fleet, *Daily Mail*, 23 April 2015). The article also reported suggestions from London Mayor, Boris Johnson, that the SAS could be sent to North Africa to tackle people smugglers' and warnings from Nigel Farage that 'millions could arrive in the next few years' who should be 'sent back to Africa'.

The article most critical of UK and EU policy was published on 20 April 2015. Entitled '"Immoral" UK accused as 700 drown in Mediterranean' the report focused on criticism from NGOs and Labour politicians:

> Yesterday politicians and charities attacked the British government and other EU states for supporting Italy's controversial decision to stop search and rescue operations last year. Malta's Prime Minister Joseph Muscat said: A time will come when Europe will be judged harshly for its inaction as it was judged when it had turned a blind eye to genocide.'… Shadow Home Secretary Yvette Cooper said the latest tragedy showed the UK needs to change its stance. She said: It is immoral to turn our backs and leave people to drown in order to deter other desperate travellers - and of course it hasn't worked.'…Last week alone 10,000 were rescued by the Italian navy - an unprecedented number. Charities Amnesty International and Save the Children joined the calls for search and rescue operations to be reinstated.

The question of how deal with the migration crisis was the subject of a futher article titled 'Germany calls for the UK to take in even more immigrants' (*Daily Mail*, 25 April 2015). It reported on German calls for the introduction of a quota system for refugees and well as the insistence from David Cameron that no more refugees would be permitted to settle in the UK. The final news article in our sample criticized comments from former Labour leader Ed Miliband which had linked the deaths in the Mediterranean to the collapse of the Libyan state following Western intervention. This criticism was part of a long running series of attacks that the newspaper had made on the Labour leader and his family which had been intensified in the weeks leading up to the General Election:

> Ed Miliband was accused of plunging the General Election campaign to a 'new low' last night by 'weaponising dead migrants'. The Labour leader and his party's spin machine prompted the most bitter row of the campaign so far by suggesting that David Cameron bore personal responsibility for the drownings of refugees in the Mediterranean. Senior Conservatives claimed Mr Miliband was effectively 'accusing the Prime Minister of murder' in a 'desperate and negative' attempt to score political points by exploiting a human tragedy. (*Daily Mail*, 25 April 2015)

This topic was also the subject of one of the two *Daily Mail* editorials on the crisis. Entitled 'Hypocrite Miliband's politics of the gutter' the editorial argued:

> Yesterday…Mr Miliband and his aides considered it perfectly acceptable to make the vile slur that David Cameron's policies on Libya were in part' responsible for hundreds of migrants drowning in the Mediterranean. Apart from that being offensive nonsense, Mr Miliband's argument - that the toppling of Colonel Gaddafi has left Libya a deeply unstable country, from which the people traffickers can launch boat journeys to the West - ignores his own full-throated support for British military action against the dictator. (*Daily Mail*, 23 April 2015)

The other editorial focused on the question of immigration. Although it didn't mention the tragedy by name, it railed at length about the alleged lack of discussion of immigration in the election campaign. The claim that there was an unwillingness to discuss immigration was also the core theme of one of the two comment pieces in our sample. Titled 'Another wave of migrants is on its way (but don't you dare mention it)' (*Mail on Sunday*, 19 April 2015), Peter Hitchens's piece claimed that 'mass migration, whatever the colour of the skins of those involved, upsets and worries indigenous people, especially the poorest'. The article also directly contradicted the paper's own editorial by claiming the downfall of Gaddafi was 'now causing one of the greatest human upheavals of modern times'. Hitchens warned that a 'wave of human misery' is now 'heading to Europe - and eventually to Britain - from the fiery chaos of post-Cameron Libya.' He concluded that, although migration flows were likely to be resisted by European populations, there was 'no obvious solution' to the crisis.

The second comment piece in our sample was by the historian Michael Burleigh. It placed much of the responsibility for the crisis on the chaos in Libya following the collapse of the Gaddafi regime. However, Burleigh argued 'extending a heartfelt welcome across Europe to all these asylum seekers is not a political option, given the strength of feeling among voters on immigration.' Instead he suggested Europe should secure its borders and prevent migrants and refugees entering European waters:

> One solution would be something like the multinational naval task force that has successfully rid the seas off the Horn of Africa of Somali pirates. Ships from many nations (including Australia, China, Turkey and the US) take part under alternating naval commanders from member nations. Then there is Australia's Operation Sovereign Borders – a naval 'ring of steel' and part of Conservative Prime Minister Tony Abbott's wider effort to stem the numbers of boat people landing on the continent. These refugees come from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Iran, and Sri Lanka, and come by boat from Indonesia's 13,000 islands. Where possible, refugees are intercepted close enough to Indonesia to tow them back to shore. Alternatively, if detected far out in the ocean, refugees are sent to camps rented by Australia on the remote Pacific island of Nauru, off Papua New Guinea. Conditions in these camps are admittedly rudimentary and have caused disquiet in Australia's left-wing media. These solutions involve hardship for the migrants. But at least people are not drowning in their thousands, and the immigration policies are consistent. (*Daily Mail*, 21 April 2015)

As in the previous sample, domestic political actors were by far the most prominent sources who played a key role in defining the policy debate. Two thirds of the political sources were Conservative politicians while the other third were Labour or Liberal Democrat. This sample also tended to feature more foreign politicians with Australian and EU Heads of State being prominent. Although refugees/migrants were

cited four times this was in the context of describing their ordeals rather than debating how to resolve the crisis. There was also a significant rise in the proportion of NGO/Civil society voices compared to the main sample.

Domestic political	41.1%
NGO/Civil Society	17.1%
Foreign Politician	14.7%
Migrant / Refugee	11.4%
Journalist / Media	5.7%
National Rescue Team	2.9%
Citizen	2.9%
Other	5.7%
Total N	35

Table 8.15: *Daily Mail/Mail on Sunday* Sources (each source as a proportion of all sources)

With regards to the range of themes in coverage, the second sample saw, like like most other newspapers in the sample, much more focus on the issue of people smugglers. There was also a significant fall in the proportion of articles which emphasized how much of a burden refugees and migrants placed on public spending and welfare. This was because with the focus on the Mediterranean, there was less of a tendency to frame these refugees and migrants as a direct and immediate threat to the UK. In line with the earlier sample the *Daily Mail* featured the lowest proportion of humanitarian themes of any newspaper in the entire sample.

Immigration Figures / Levels	81.8%
Mortality / Mortality Figures	81.8%
Mafia / Traffic	63.6%
Search and Rescue / Aid	54.5%
Receiving/Rejecting	36.4%
Political response	27.3%
Welfare / BenefitsResources	9.1%
Humanitarian (elements)	18.2%
Journey	9.1%
Human Rights	9.1%
Total N	42

Table 8.16: *Daily Mail/Mail on Sunday* Themes (proportion of articles featuring each theme)

With regards to labelling, the use of term migrant was again dominant, though in this sample there was a greater use of the term ‘refugee’ and the use of the word ‘illegal’ disappeared from coverage.

Migrant	60.8%
Refugee	21.5%
Asylum Seeker	11.4%
Immigrant	7.6%
Total N	79

Table 8.17: Labels in the *Daily Mail/Mail on Sunday* (each label as a proportion of all labels)

As can be seen from table 8.18 there was very little in the way of explanation for population movements. The most common explanation and the only one which was discussed in any detail concerned the breakdown of authority in Libya, though it was admitted that the previous government of Colonel Gaddafi was a despotic regime with a poor human rights record. The argument that rescue operations acted as a pull factor is mentioned very briefly on four occasions but the references never extend to more than a single sentence. Push factors driving people to flee their countries of origin such as war, enforced conscription, terrorism, and economic problems are dealt with in one sentence in a single comment piece: 'For Africa is exploding north and south, as war and famine uproot its unhappy millions.' (*Mail on Sunday*, 19 April 2015)

Explanation	**Proportion of articles**	**Sources providing explanations and frequency**
Collapse of Libyan state	38.5%	Labour (2), Columnist (2), UKIP (1)
Pull factor of Mare Nostrum/Rescue ships	30.8%	Conservatives (2) Journalists (2)
War	7.7%	Columnist (1)
Famine	7.7%	Columnist (1)
Total N	11	

Table 8.18: Explanations for population flows in the *Daily Mail/Sunday Mail* (proportion of articles featuring each explanation)

In terms of what might be done about the crisis, the *Mail*, like the *Telegraph*, focused mainly on 'Fortress Europe' solutions. Although a third of articles mentioned increasing search and rescue operations these mentions tended to be very brief. In contrast, arguments in favour of the Australian system or fighting traffickers tended to be sketched out at much greater length. The idea that the EU should adopt a quota system is raised only to be heavily critiqued.

Solution	Proportion of articles	Sources arguing for solutions and frequency
Fight traffickers	38.5%	Conservatives (3), Italian prime minister (1), Historian- in comment piece (1)
More search and rescue operations	30.8%	NGOs (3), Maltese prime minister (2), Labour (2), Conservatives (2), EU leaders (1)
Australian policy of turning back ships and detention camps	23.1%	Australian prime minister (2), Historian- in comment piece (1), Former Australian Major-General (1)
Send people back to Africa	15.4%	UKIP (2)
Address root causes	7.7%	Liberal Democrats (1)
EU quota system	7.7%	German prime minister (1)
Total N	23	

Table 8.19: Solutions in the *Daily Mail/Sunday Mail* (proportion of articles featuring each solution)

Overall, coverage in the *Daily Mail/Mail on Sunday* tended to be quite superficial and devoid of context. It contained almost no discussion of why desperate people were making the hazardous journey across the Mediterranean and empathetic reporting was infrequent. Although it featured some criticism of the EU and British approach from NGOs and foreign politicians, it tended to see the solution as being to close the doors to those trying to reach the safety of the EU. This hostility can be seen in the fact that the newspaper was one of the few to feature no coverage which advocated more safe migration routes or settlement places.

The Sun/Sun on Sunday

The articles in the *Sun* and *Sun on Sunday* were generally very short and contained very little context. Opinion, as in the earlier sample, largely appeared in the letters pages. We also found a slight difference in the type of comment pieces and editorials between the regional editions, with the Scottish editions of the newspaper taking a slightly less punitive attitude towards migrants and refugees.

News	6
Letters	3 days (25 letters)
Editorial	2
Comment	4
Total	15

Table 8.20: Positioning of stories in the *Sun/Sun on Sunday*

Across the week the Sun featured six news articles. Of these, three were straightforward hard news accounts of the disasters in the Mediterranean. Two of these (‘Smuggler skipper hit rescue boat’, *Sun*, 22 April 2015 and ‘Sea of Death’, *Sun*, 20 April, 2015) were purely descriptive accounts of the event which provided no explanation why people were crossing the Mediterranean or possible policy responses. The third account (‘Tide of misery’ *Sun*, 21 April 2015) was also largely

descriptive but also featured four lines at the close of the article suggesting that people smuggling had worsened as a consequence of the downfall of Gaddafi and that Italian search and rescue operations had been replaced by a scaled back version that was 'barely up to the job'. Of the other three articles, one (*Sun*, 21 April 2015) was only 53 words long and reported that Cameron was to attend an emergency summit on the crisis where Italy would be considering 'attacks to smash the people-trafficking gangs running the migrant ships' from Libya. The other two focused on Government plans to involve the military in 'smashing the [smuggling] gangs', 'stabilising the region' and 'pick[ing] up migrants'. Both these reports relied exclusively on official statements and were not subject to any scrutiny or criticism.

There were four comment pieces in our sample period. One, from the controversial celebrity Katie Hopkins, responded to criticism she had received after describing 'migrants' as 'cockroaches' and advocating using gun boats against them (*Sun*, 24 April 2015). In the column, Hopkins defended her comments and argued: 'stop the traffickers and burn their boats. If we stop the boats we stop the drowning.' A second comment piece from the former Sun editor, Kelvin Mackenzie, advocated the 'Australian' approach of turning back boats and arresting smugglers:

> THERE are 1.3 billion people in Africa. The poorest are in the Congo, where they make around £240 a year, while tenth on that list is Madagascar, whose people earn £620 annually. So don't even think about it. Given half the chance all of them would head to Europe for a better life, and who could blame them. So unless Europe wants to be swamped it's important to close down the Libya-Mediterranean route as soon as (sic). Let's adopt the Aussie approach and literally tow these boats back when they approach our waters. Further, we should send undercover troops into Libya and arrest the people smugglers. This is serious and it's likely to get worse. Perhaps you might like to say something Dave. And don't be so damned liberal. (*Sun*, 23 April 2015)

A third column by Jane Moore (*Sun*, 22 April 2015) argued that Western states were partly responsible for the migration crisis, because their interventions in African and Middle Eastern states had left power vacuums which had incubated terrorism. The short-term solution, suggested Moore, was to 'crack down on the traffickers, destroy the boats and facilitate a 'Euro-navy to control the coast of Libya"'. In the longer term she suggested the West needed to 'invest heavily in helping infected nations beat terrorism and to return to some semblance of stability'. A final column by the Scottish journalist Martin Geissler, criticised Katie Hopkins's comments about refugees as 'crass' and argued that those making the journey across the Mediterranean were 'desperate' people 'fleeing war, disease and hunger'. Europe, argued Geissler, could not turn its back on these people:

> Europe can't offer open doors to everyone, but letting these folks drown, or worse still, threatening to drown them, is no way for humans to behave...I've

> seen the desperate conditions these people are trying to escape, and on occasion I have come under fire. Because of all that I have sympathy. There is no easy solution to the problem Europe faces, but mean spirits and gunboats are not the answer. (*Sun*, 20 April 2015)

There were also two editorials. One was brief and argued that something needed to be done, but was short on specifics, aside from attacking traffickers:

> Something needs to be done quickly to stop the deaths of migrants trying to get into Europe via the Med. EU officials are being urged to look into the possibility of military action against the traffickers. Airstrikes on Libyan boats carrying the migrants could even be a possibility. Such decisions will not be taken lightly. But immediate measures need to be taken to prevent further tragedy. (*Sun*, 24 April 2015)

The second consisted of a sustained attack on the former Labour leader Ed Milliband, whose criticism of David Cameron's Libya policy was denounced as an 'appalling mix of hypocrisy and bare-faced lies' (*Sun*, 25 April 2015).

As previously noted, there was also a great deal of comment expressed through the letters page, and this was overwhelmingly hostile to migrants and refugees. Most letters were a sentence or two long and writers either praised Katie Hopkins' comments, or argued that the boats should be turned back and the smugglers arrested. The following examples from the 22 April 2015 edition were typical:

> KATIE HOPKINS' article hit the nail on the head. What on earth are the Italian authorities thinking of importing tens of thousands of "refugees", when it will involve the rest of Europe? Being picked up at sea is an incentive to come, not a deterrent. (HARRY FOSTER, Middlesbrough)

> WELL done, Katie Hopkins, for saying it how it is. Immigrants do not have a gun to their heads when they board these boats and are aware of the risks. They have only one thing in mind. Get to England and then screw the taxpayers for every penny they can get. (ALAN CARRINGTON Wickford, Essex)

> IT'S time to stop these boats overloaded with migrants setting out let alone getting halfway across the ocean. More must be done to catch and jail the traffickers. (DAVID WEALL, Stockport, Gtr Manchester)

> I AGREE with Katie Hopkins, pictured. Send them back, then sink their boats. (TERRY SCOTT, Ballymena, Co Antrim)

> KATIE HOPKINS' page in The Sun represents what so many people think, yet all you hear is criticism of her. She speaks for so many people who have

no platform to voice their opinions. Well done to The Sun for letting Katie say it as it really is. Where can I place my ‘X’ for Katie at the election? (MIKE ARNOLD Hornchurch, Essex)

GUNBOATS should be used to turn back the migrant boats trying to gain access to European countries. More lives will be saved by returning boats and arresting the captain and crew. (BRIAN MORSE by email)

LIKE Australia, we should ignore all illegal immigrants' rights and send those coming from Libya to Italy and back home. (JOHN HAWKEN Carterton, Oxon)

THE way to solve this is to put Navy ships in the Med and take boats back to the coast they left from. Put them back on shore and destroy the boats. If this is done and those taking the money are jailed we can stop this. (JAMES FRIZZEL Warkworth, Northumberland)

IF Italian and Spanish naval vessels continue to rescue illegal immigrants nothing will change. The people traffickers will keep packing them on board and we will save them. Unless they are towed back, desperate people will continue to take risks. (DONALD BURNS, Altrincham, Cheshire)

ANYONE who seeks to make a profit out of refugees should be hunted down and then jailed. All countries need to come together to stop this craziness now. (RACHELLE HARDING Huntingdon, Cambs)

The dominance of citizen voices expressed through the letters pages can be seen in table 8.21 which shows patterns of source access. This was very similar to what was found in the earlier sample, with *Sun* comment largely being provided via the letters pages. There were two appearances from the UN/UNHCR but each of these consisted of a single sentence discussing the condition of refugees. There were no NGO voices and the contribution of refugees and migrants were brief comments on what had happened on the boats which had sunk. Overall then, sourcing was structured around the perspectives of Conservative politicians (who made up 75% of domestic political sources) and letters which followed the paper’s editorial line.

Citizen	50.0%
Domestic political	22.2%
National rescue team	8.3%
Migrant	5.6%
UN/UNHCR	5.6%
Foreign politician	2.8%
Church/Religious	2.8%
Journalist/media	2.8%
Total N	36

Table 8.21: Sources in the *Sun/Sun on Sunday* (each source as a proportion of all sources)

The range of themes in *Sun* coverage maintained many of the patterns visible from the main sample. There was a strong focus on threats to welfare and public services, and few humanitarian themes. In line with the other newspapers in the sample, there was also a significant rise in the proportion of articles discussing the role of people smugglers.

Mortality / Mortality Figures	63.6%
Mafia /Traffic	54.5%
Immigration Figures / Levels	54.5%
Search and Rescue / Aid Supplies	45.5%
Receiving / Rejecting	36.4%
Welfare / Benefits / Resources	27.3%
Threats to National Security	9.1%
Political Response	9.1%
Humanitarian (key theme)	9.1%
Total N	34

Table 8.22: Themes in the *Sun/Sun on Sunday* (proportion of articles featuring each theme)

The use of labels shifted from the earlier sample. The use of the word ‘migrant’ was even more dominant whilst asylum seeker had disappeared and the use of ‘illegal’ had fallen dramatically. Refugee was still used infrequently.

Migrant	68.0%
Immigrant	16.0%
Refugee	14.0%
Illegal	2.0%
Total N	50

Table 8.23: Labels in the *Sun/Sun on Sunday* (each source as a proportion of all sources)

Explanations for what was driving refugee flows were very sparse, and never extended beyond a single sentence. For instance, a significant proportion of the commentary concerned with the role of push factors was accounted for by a single

comment from a columnist who said that 'they're fleeing war, hunger and disease in search of a better life' (*Sun*, 24 April 2015)

Explanation	Proportion of articles	Sources providing explanations and frequency
War/Oppression	28.6%	Columnist (2), Letter (2)
Poverty/Economic	28.6%	Letter (2), Journalist (1) Columnist (1)
Collapse of Libyan state	21.4%	Labour (1), Columnist (1), Letter (1)
Pull factor of Mare Nostrum/Rescue ships	7.7%	Letter (2)
Total N	12	

Table 8.24: Explanations in the *Sun/Sun on Sunday* (proportion of articles featuring each explanation)

Solutions were put foward by citizens (in the letters pages), the Conservatives and columnists. They overwhelmingly concentrated on action against smugglers or towing vessels back to Africa. There was not a single example of a source advocating more legal migration routes or more settlement places for refugees and migrants.

Solution	Proportion of articles	Sources arguing for solutions and frequency
Arrest Smugglers/Destroy smuggling vessels/close down migration routes	69.2%	Letters (7) Conservatives (4), Columnist (3), Editorial (1), Italy (1)
Tow boats back to Africa/Australian policy	46.2%	Letters (10), Columnist (3)
Sanctions against repressive regimes	7.7%	Letter (1)
Invest in nations to 'beat' terrorism and ensure stability	7.7%	Columnist (1)
Total N	31	

Table 8.25: Solutions in the *Sun/Sun on Sunday*

Overall *Sun* coverage was characterised by hostility towards migrants and refugees, and few opportunities for any consideration of why they were trying to reach Europe. There were no appearances from NGOs, which partly explained why there was so little discussion of their plight, or what might be done to help them. Solutions primarily focused on 'Fortress Europe' with commentary focused on driving refugees and migrants back to Africa and attacking smugglers.

The Daily Mirror/Sunday Mirror

Coverage in the *Daily Mirror/Sunday Mirror*, like the other tabloids in the sample, tended to provide relatively little context. However it took a more sympathetic attitude towards refugees and migrants than the right-wing tabloids. The influence of the election campaign can also be clearly seen in the *Mirror*, which has traditionally

stuck close to the official Labour party line, echoing Ed Miliband's criticisms of the government's handling of the crisis. In total there were 11 news articles, two editorials and nine readers' letters.

News	11
Letters	1 days (7 letters)
Editorial	2
Comment	1
Total	15

Table 8.26 Prevalence and positioning of *Daily Mirror/Sunday Mirror* stories

The news articles took a variety of angles. Two were primarily hard news accounts of the tragedy in the Mediterranean. These featured graphic and moving accounts of what fishermen and border officials encountered when looking for survivors:

> Italian border official Francesco Gallo told how he found one young boy's body. He said: 'We came up to him in our rubber dingy and I was praying deep down in my heart that he would be alive, but a few moments later all hope died. 'I gathered him up in my arms as if he was my own son. I saw children's shoes, clothing, backpacks, floating in the water. Every time we saw a shoe or a bag, any sign of life, we thought we may have found a survivor. But every time we were disappointed. It was heartbreaking. We didn't find a single survivor - not one' (*Daily Mirror*, 21 April 2015)

The role of people smugglers was the central focus of two further articles. One concentrated on the captain on the ship on which 900 refugees and migrants had perished. The second was a longer more analytical piece, which attempted to shed light on the network of smugglers and how they were integrated into large criminal empires. 'Turkey', it was said, 'has become the epicentre of the global [people smuggling] trade, with the billions made funding drugs, weapons and international terrorism' (*Daily Mirror*, 24 April 2015). Four of the news articles were short pieces which discussed political responses to the tragedy. These all presented the government in a negative light, as being under 'pressure' over their stance, or being forced to make a 'u-turn' over reinstating search and rescue operations. Three of these articles featured Labour and Liberal Democrat criticism of government policy. The other three articles featured a selection of angles. One (Time ticks by in camp of despair, *Daily Mirror* 22 April 2015) reported on the plight of African and Asian 'migrants' who had been 'crammed' into a 'huge ex-US base' in the Sicilian countryside for more than two years. Another was an article on the ex Liberal Democrat MP, Vince Cable, which briefly mentioned his support for allowing more refugees to settle in the UK, whilst the final article reported that Katie Hopkins' new television show was in doubt after celebrities had declined to appear on it.

The views that appeared in the letters pages were very different to what we found in the right-wing press. Although a number emphasize action against people smugglers,

there were also humanistic arguments for Britain taking more refugees and addressing the root causes of the crisis. Here are a selection from the 22 April 2015 edition:

> THE frantic bid for freedom by hundreds of refugees who drowned off the Libyan coast is something we must face up to and tackle. These people are desperate to escape war and famine and I'm ashamed Europe is turning its back on them. Thank God this is a nightmare most of us will never have to live. Europe must reinstate search-and rescue operations in the Med. It must also pursue and punish the traffickers who are responsible for this humanitarian crisis. We must all take our share of these poor, desperate people and, most of all, the entire world must do more to eradicate the reasons for this exodus in the first place. (Adam Cooney, Coventry)
>
> The overthrow of the Gaddafi government has caused chaos and bloodshed in Libya resulting in the stream of desperate people drowning in the Mediterranean. The US, Europe and the Gulf States have the money and power to deliver a solution. If they had the political will they could restore peace and prosperity. David Cameron should be leading the way. (Brendan O'Brien North London)
>
> Libya has become a haven for trafficking gangs since the West helped overthrow Col Gaddafi and left their country in the hands of murderous psychopaths, some of whom have become part of IS. (Ian Beeston, Stoke)
>
> There but for the grace of God go you or I. As parents, we would do anything to give our kids a better life, safe from harm. This is an atrocity of the worst kind. God bless their souls. The whole world should hang its head in shame. (Caroline Hicks, via Facebook)

The newspaper featured a single comment piece from the columnist Fiona Phillips which argued that politicians were ducking their responsibilities towards ‘desperate’ people:

> It is a scandal that thousands of desperate people who are fleeing brutal regimes and war in Africa and the Middle East are being left to the anger of the seas off the coast of Italy. I have met desperate migrants - many are doctors, teachers, nurses - who've managed to make it as far as the filthy migrant camps at Calais. Their stories make you cry. Most have walked across the Sahara desert in unforgiving conditions to reach the North African coast and the freedom they think awaits them in Europe. They are not after our jobs - although, as most are professionals, they're more than willing and able to work - or our benefits. They simply want to feel safe. To know that they needn't fear being brutalised in the street, or in their beds any more. Despite the fact that 10,000 people have left the Libyan coast since last weekend

> alone, amidst pre-election hysteria politicians are not making enough fuss, never mind offering to help. The problem will not go away. Step forward the leader who has the guts and the compassion to deal with it. (*Daily Mirror*, 18 April 2005)

The two editorials in the newspaper had varying angles. One argued that the UK had a moral mission to do more to help, but stopped short of advocating Britain allow more refugees to settle in the UK:

> SMUGGLERS and human traffickers are the villains in a tragedy turning the Mediterranean into a watery graveyard. The victims are the desperate children, women and men risking their lives to flee Libya, a country Britain inadvertently plunged into bloody chaos when the RAF bombs that toppled Gadaffi opened the door to Islamist fanatics. We can't turn the clock back but nor must we turn our backs when a human tragedy is unfolding off the shores of Europe. Britain must finance and assist rescue missions. We must do whatever we can to help restore order in North Africa, stop the smugglers and save refugees from drowning. We helped create the problem. We must be part of the solution. It is our moral mission. (*Daily Mirror*, 21 April 2015)

The other editorial was an attempt to pin responsibility for the refugee crisis on the Conservatives' Libyan policy. The data in Table 8.27 below shows the range of sources in coverage. Most opinion was sourced from either domestic political sources or the letters pages. NGOs had a presence though their comments were usually very brief. Unusually, there were no foreign politicians cited in coverage.

Domestic political	29.7%
Citizen	24.3%
NGO/Civil Society	10.8%
Migrant/Refugee	8.1%
Journalist/Media	8.1%
Trafficker/Smuggler	5.4%
UNHCR/UN	2.7%
IOM	2.7%
MEP	2.7%
Academic/Expert	2.7%
Total N	37

Table 8.27: Sources in *Daily Mirror/Sunday Mirror* (each source as a proportion of all sources)

In terms of the range of themes that were present, there was a strong focus on issues such as search and rescue and migration/mortality statistics. Like the other newspapers in the sample, there was also a strong focus on people smugglers, which was due both to the arrest of the captain of the doomed vessel and because the issue had been so prominently raised by leading politicians. As in the earlier sample, the

Mirror featured significantly more humanitarian themes than the other UK tabloids in our sample.

Search and Rescue / Aid Supplies	60.0%
Mafia / Traffic	53.3%
Immigration Figures / Levels	40.0%
Mortality / Mortality Figures	40.0%
Political Response / Policy	33.3%
Humanitarian (Key Theme)	26.7%
Receiving / Rejecting	20.0%
Humanitarian (Elements)	20.0%
Journey	20.0%
Human Rights	6.7%
Total N	48

Table 8.28: Themes in the *Daily Mirror/Sunday Mirror* (each theme as a proportion of all themes)

In terms of the labels that were used, we found that the *Mirror* only featured the terms migrant (76.1% of usage) and refugee (23.9% of usage), with no reference to other terms such as immigrant or asylum seeker.

Explanations for population flows, in line with other newspapers, had shifted from our earlier sample with much more prominence given to the idea that population flows could be explained by the collapse of the Libyan state. Push factors were mentioned, in contrast to some other newspapers in the sample, but these tend to be relatively brief references. Although the argument that the Mare Nostrum acted as a pull factor was mentioned on four occasions this was not endorsed by the newspaper, and on two occasions the *Mirror* directly challenged this idea.

Explanation	**Proportion of articles**	**Sources providing explanations and frequency**
Collapse of Libyan state	26.7%	Editorial (2), Letter (2), Journalist (1)
War/Conflict	26.7%	Journalist (2), Letter (1), Columnist (1)
Pull factor of Mare Nostrum/Rescue ships	20.0%	Conservatives (3) EU leaders (1)
Poverty/Famine	13.3%	Journalist (1), Letter (1)
Fleeing ISIS/terrorism	6.7%	Journalist (1)
Total N	16	

Table 8.29 Explanations in the *Daily Mirror /Sunday Mirror* (each explanation as a proportion of all explanations)

Proposals for how to resolve the crisis tended to follow the line of debate set out by leading political figures, with most attention focused on more resources for search and rescue or action against people smugglers. There was no critical reflection on whether these actions were practical or would resolve, rather than merely displace the migration flows. There was little space given over to arguments for allowing more refugee resettlement places. This was largely a consequence of the fact that the

Mirror tends to take its lead from prominent Labour politicians, and only two weeks before a General Election, none of the Labour cabinet was prepared to advocate a policy that would be highly controversial amongst the electorate. Finally, it should be noted that there is nothing in the *Mirror*'s coverage that advocated addressing the root causes of why so many people were trying to enter the European Union.

Solution	**Proportion of articles**	**Sources arguing for solutions and frequency**
More resources for search and rescue	53.3%	Labour (3), NGOs (2), Conservatives (1), Letter (1), Editorial (1)
Arrest Smugglers/Destroy smuggling vessels	46.7%	Letters (3), EU leaders (1), Editorial (1), 'EU Foreign Affairs Chief' (1)
More legal routes for migration/more settlement places	20.0%	Columnist (1), Liberal Democrats (1), Letter (1)
Stabilize Libya	20%	Conservatives (1), Letter (1), Editorial (1)
Total N	17	

Figure 8.30: Solutions in the *Daily Mirror /Sunday Mirror* (each solution as a proportion of all solutions)

Overall, the Mirror's coverage tended to present a sympathetic account of the tragedy in the Mediterranean and the broader plight of refugees and migrants. Coverage, however, was relatively superficial and some of the angles taken by the newspaper were heavily influenced by the motivation to present the Conservatives in a negative light in the final stages of an election campaign. This political sensitivity also perhaps explains why both Labour politicians and *Mirror* editorials were so reluctant to argue that Britain should take in more refugees.

Conclusion

There were substantial continuities between the findings in our two UK samples. The *Guardian* continued to provide some of the most comprehensive, empathetic coverage not just in the UK, but across all the countries in the sample. The range of angles it took was unrivalled and it provided extended space for refugee advocacy groups to put their case. The right-wing papers in our sample continued to provide hostile and largely unsympathetic coverage to refugees and migrants. Patterns of language use and themes changed, but the changes weren't substantial. However, there were some major shifts from our earlier sample. Calais was no longer a central focus of news reports and there was a much stronger tendency to see migration across the Mediterranean as being related to the chaos in Libya. Across the press there was a much greater focus on the role of people smugglers and more advocacy of taking action against those involved. There was also a much greater focus on 'Fortress Europe' approaches characterised by a search for hard military solutions. This shift in emphasis was largely attributable to Conservative, EU and Australian politicians actively pushing such responses. Whilst the *Guardian* featured some sceptical

commentary about the moral and logistical problems inherent in such approaches, most of the press coverage was largely uncritical if not enthusiastic. Finally, it should be noted that the looming General Election cast a long shadow over the reporting with all the papers in the sample, bar the *Guardian*, framing the crisis in ways that would benefit the party they were supporting.

Chapter 9: Spain

The three Spanish newspapers in our sample devoted roughly the same volume of reporting to the refugee crisis in the week following the boat disaster, on 18 April 2015. Although the magnitude of the tragedy led to an overall increase in coverage, the nature of reporting conformed to the patterns that were visible in the earlier sample. There was a strong focus on discussion of policy and an explicit acknowledgement that Spain should be an active part of a united European response. The coverage in the three newspapers showed slight variations in tone and focus as a result of different editorial policies

El Mundo	29
ABC	35
El País	32
Total	96

Table 9.1 Prevalence of stories in the Spanish Press

There were also some shifts in coverage from what we found in our earlier sample. The reporting that preceded the 18th April tragedy had tended to frame the crisis as a Greek and Italian problem. After 18th April, there was a significant shift towards seeing the issue as something affecting the whole of the EU. There was also a change in emphasis on how the crisis was framed and what should be done about it. This second sample saw a greater tendency to see the problem as being related to political instability in Libya, which necessitated moves to restore a central authority capable of securing the country's borders. There was also a greater emphasis on military solutions to the conflict. In particular there were increased calls to target smuggling vessels and close the maritime routes to Europe. However, this later sample also saw a sharp rise in humanitarian themes in both *ABC* and *El Mundo*. Thus, the coverage acquired a more polarised tone, with calls for humanitarianism, underlining that 'we cannot accept that hundreds of people die when trying to cross the sea to Europe', as Donald Tusk was quoted in *ABC* (21 April 2015), sitting alongside others arging for an even more impregnable 'Fortress Europe.'

El Mundo had a stronger focus on hard news than the other newspapers. It published two editorials, one opinion piece, and two letters to the editor. *El País*, instead, provided more opportunities for opinion and commentary. It published only one editorial, but six opinion pieces and two letters to the editor. *ABC* was the newspaper which allocated the most space to opinion. In addition to four editorials, it published seven opinion articles.

Both *El Mundo* editorials were critical of what it argued was the inadequacy of the EU's response to the crisis. In its 20 April leader, it argued that, the 'EU has not reacted with determination' and 'a comprehensive, stable and effective immigration policy has not been drawn up'. The newspaper urged EU leaders to 'become aware of the dimensions of this challenge and outline appropriate solutions'. Following the EU

extraordinary summit, *El Mundo* produced another strongly-worded editorial, which again was critical of the EU:

> Nobody expected a magic solution. But the resolutions adopted by the Heads of State and Government of the EU in the urgent Council meeting that was called to address the tragedy of immigrants travelling towards Europe through the sea have been both inadequate and disappointing (*El Mundo*, 25 April 2015)

The editorial characterised the summit as 'a cosmetic measure to calm public opinion after disasters such as the disappearance of 800 immigrants on Sunday.' It then explicitly linked the migratory crisis to poverty, war and terrorism and called for a more generous attitude towards asylum seekers. The solution it suggested required a more open asylum system combined with a more coordinated European response, stronger cooperation with Northern African countries, and greater attempts to address some of the push factors driving migration flows

> The EU should enhance intra-EU cooperation to address immigration. Southern European countries (Italy, Spain, Greece and Malta), which are the countries most directly affected by this human tragedy, are right when they demand greater cooperation from their northern partners: it should be assumed that the Mediterranean border is the border for all 28 EU countries. But Brussels must also ensure that development aid invested in the Maghreb and in sub-Saharan Africa is really contributing to improve infrastructures in the area, as well as contributing to the region's economic development. With regard to asylum seeker applications, the EU will show great hypocrisy if greater efforts are not made to accommodate more refugees (*El Mundo*, 25 April 2015)

Barah Mikaïl (a senior researcher in the think tank FRIDE) was the author of the only opinion piece in *El Mundo* (21 April 2015). His article highlighted the international community's failure to address the real challenges affecting global society. He critiqued the European obsession with protecting the EU from immigration, as opposed to addressing the real push factors behind migratory moves. In his piece, published on the 21 April, he argued that the EU should: 'develop a more active role in solving regional conflicts (Iraq, Syria, Mali, Libya and others); improve social policies and economic development in eastern and southern European countries and in African countries; and change Triton for an operation based on Mare Nostrum.'

ABC was the newspaper which devoted most space to opinion pieces, as well as to expressing the newspaper's own position on the issue through the four editorials it published. In its editorial published the day after the accident, *ABC* did not only call for a joint European action, it argued that the tragedy could have been prevented if the EU had put common policy in place:

> On this occasion, European authorities cannot even argue that they did not expect the tragedy. On the contrary: they were perfectly aware that the disaster of the Mediterranean would worsen, as it has been the case…We know that at least 1,500 people have lost their lives so far this year, and this requires that the EU as a whole realistically tackles this problem, which has reached a dimension which is morally unsustainable. To do it, it is not enough to call an extraordinary summit, which will just serve as a mild anaesthetic until the next catastrophe, which will inevitably occur if the circumstances do not change radically. (*ABC*, 20 April 2015)

The editorial described Cecilia Malsmtröm's (former EU Commissioner for Home Affairs) policies as 'blind and complacent' and urged the EU to assume the collective responsibility for stabilising Libya and Syria. It argued that there was the risk that the conflicts in Syria and Libya could expand to neighbouring countries, and that stabilising those countries was 'not only humanly and politically reasonable' it was 'also the only way to effectively address this crisis' (*ABC*, 20 April 2015).

Although the editorials in *ABC* were very explicit in their diagnosis of the crisis and how it should be addressed, they became less critical towards the EU after the extraordinary summit was held. The newspaper deemed the EU's institutional response 'impeccable' (*ABC*, 24 April 2015), and applauded the fact that some consensus had been reached, although some scepticism was expressed about the proposed solutions. In spite of the more measured tone of the editorial, it did not shirk from underlining that:

> The real problem is still the incapacity to address the true root of the problem, that is, Libya's disastrous situation…Sooner or later it will be necessary for Europe to help Libya recover its institutional stability in order to prevent, at the same time, that ISIS terrorists get hold of the country

The opinion articles in *ABC* tended to echo these calls to stablise Libya even if this required military intervention. For instance, Ramón Pérez-Maura, adjunct to the editor in *ABC*, called explicitly for Western intervention and blamed the refugees' countries of origin (as opposed to global inequalities, or terrorism) for the refugee crisis:

> It is very easy to blame Europe. But saying that means that we should blame ourselves, because you and I are Europe. And we should not be blamed (at least in the first instance). The main culprits are these terrible countries where thousands of citizens flee looking for better living conditions. Countries where human rights exist only on paper. Countries that have a vote in the United Nations, just like Spain does…I do not have a solution. But guaranteeing a single government in Libya may be a good start. And after that we should promote greater intervention by the West in countries from where the population flees in herds. But when you suggest such solutions you get

> confronted by those who, with a clean conscience, tell you that the West has no right to intervene in the politics of other countries. At least, until another ship sinks (*ABC*, 21 April 2015)

El País published its only editorial the day after the disaster under the title 'To die for Europe' (20 April 2015). The editorial opened with a reference to the 10,000 people who had reached Italy in the last five days, which it argued, signalled 'the growing magnitude of this social and humanitarian problem, which has not yet been adequately tackled by Europe.' *El País* suggested that the economic and political inequalities between Europe and Africa were at the root of the refugee crisis: 'As long as the striking differences between the North and the South of the Mediterranean–one shore being peaceful and prosperous, the other one being poor and torn by war–the exodus will not end.' The editorial argued that Triton should be turned into a rescue operation, that quotas should be introduced to share the refugee burden more equitably amongst EU states. It also suggested that 'foreign policy measures to bring the conflicts in Libya, Syria, and Iraq to an end' should be implemented.

Although all the voices in the opinion articles published in *El País* would in essence subscribe to these views, there were also articles which went further and critiqued the EU focus on combating people smugglers. For instance, Soledad Gallego-Díaz, one of *El País* most prominent journalists, cited the work of the Australian lawyer Anne Gallagher and argued that, 'some immigration experts are extremely reluctant to launch a war against smugglers because those dealers play a critical role, which is decisive in helping refugees to reach safety.' Other commentators pointed out that the real problem was the deficiencies in the EU asylum system. Camino Mortera, research fellow at the Centre for European Reform criticised the 'lack of a harmonised migration policy in the EU' which she described as 'one of the most unfair asylum systems in the world' (*El País*, 21 April 2015)

The two letters published in *El País* each had a different focus. One from the Islamic Cultural Centre of Madrid merely expressed condolences for the loss of life (*El País*, 20 April 2015). The other from Pedro Benito Somalo argued that the solution to the crisis 'should not be a protocol invented by Europe from one day to another: it should be an example of solidarity with the African continent, one in which Africa's resources are not milked. Europe should start thinking about Africa as a non-colonialist investment' (*El País*, 24 April 2015).

The two letters in *El Mundo* (both published on 21 April 2015), also expressed differing views on the issue. The first from José-Beningno Pérez Rico, sympathised with the need for the EU to work towards reducing the inequalities that lie at the root of the crisis:

> The European institutions should not (and cannot) turn a blind eye on this harsh reality. It is time for them to realise that it is about time they started

> solving this tragic situation. And not only with measures to curb clandestine boats, but providing economic and social support to the countries where these forced departures originate from

Andrés Pedrero, in the second letter to the editor in *El Mundo*, argued that the African Union (as opposed to the EU) should be at the heart of addressing the crisis: 'How many hundreds of thousands of refugees are hosted every year by oil-rich Muslim nations such as Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf? Should it not be the African Union, acting at the root of the problem in Africa?'

Sources

The marked prominence of foreign political sources which characterised the earlier sample was also evident in this later coverage. Foreign politicians accounted for 21.4% of all source appearances in *El Mundo* (4.2% increase), 26.1% in *ABC* (4.3% increase), and 12.3% in *El País* (0.6% increase). This pattern underlined the degree to which the crisis was again primarily defined as an EU, rather than a domestic Spanish issue. Conversely, the presence of domestic politicians actually fell in comparison to the earlier sample. Domestic politicians constituted only 4.8% of all sources in *El Mundo* (8.2% decrease), 7.2% in *ABC* (7.8% decrease), and 9.2% in *El País* (2.6% decrease).

	El Mundo	*ABC*	*El País*	Average
Foreign Politician	21.4%	26.1%	12.3%	19.9%
Migrant / Refugee	15.5%	11.6%	7.7%	11.6%
Journalist / Media	7.1%	18.8%	6.2%	10.7%
Domestic Political	4.8%	7.2%	9.2%	7.1%
Citizen	15.5%	0.0%	4.6%	6.7%
EU Commission	7.1%	1.4%	10.8%	6.5%
NGO/Civil Society	7.1%	2.9%	6.1%	5.4%
UNHCR/UN	2.4%	4.3%	4.6%	3.8%
Church / Religion	1.2%	5.8%	1.5%	2.8%
MEP	3.6%	1.4%	3.1%	2.7%
Law / Judiciary	1.2%	4.3%	1.5%	2.4%
Police	3.6%	0.0%	3.1%	2.2%
Academic / Expert	0.0%	1.4%	3.1%	1.5%
Think Tank	0.0%	0.0%	4.6%	1.5%
Trafficker/Smuggler	0.0%	1.4%	3.1%	1.5%
FRONTEX	0.0%	0.0%	3.1%	1.0%
IOM	0.0%	1.4%	1.5%	1.0%
National Rescue Team	0.0%	2.9%	0.0%	1.0%
Other	9.5%	8.7%	13.8%	10.7%
Total N	84	69	65	218

Table 9.2: Sources in the Spanish Press (each source as a proportion of all sources)

The Italian prime minister was the most quoted foreign politician across the three newspapers. He was repeatedly cited arguing for stronger, more concerted EU action to protect refugees and curtail people smuggling. Although their prominence in the coverage was not comparable to that of Renzi, other Italian ministers were also quoted. For example, Paolo Gentiloni (Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs), was cited in *El Mundo* (21 April 2015) stating that 'it is embarrassing that the EU is only investing three millions [of Euros] per month' to police the seas. In the same story, Angelino Alfano (Italian Minister of the Interior) argued that 'all chit-chat must stop. There is nothing to talk about: we must start doing things. And if they [the EU and other EU member states] do not want to do anything and help, then they should let us take action on our own.'

Not all Italian politicians or political organisations in the coverage were supportive of a more humanitarian response. For instance, a representative of the far right Lega Nord was cited in *ABC* (21 April 2015) stating that 'the naval blockade could encourage traffickers by providing a kind of taxi service to Italy.' In a similar vein *El Mundo* (22 April 2015) reported on posters produced by right wing parties in Italy, which read: 'Holidays in Italy. 35 euros per day [the amount the Italian central government pays to local authorities who host refugees in their municipal shelters]. Accommodation, food, phone credit, and cigarettes.'

Politicians from other EU countries were also given space in the Spanish press. For instance, François Hollande was quoted in *ABC* (20 April 2015) stating that the refugee emergency required 'more boats, more flights and a more intense battle against human trafficking.' In the same story, Morgan Johansson (Swedish Minister of Justice and Immigration) called for 'more countries of the European Union to assume responsibilities for the refugee situation.' On the whole, the response of European leaders was presented in a positive light. The one exception was David Cameron who was labelled as 'poisonous' in *El País* (24 April 2015) because of the British government's opposition to taking in any refugees.

Migrants and refugees were the second most quoted source in *El Mundo* (15.5%), together with citizens (also 15.5%). Migrants and refugees were primarily featured explaining why they had to leave their countries of origin. For instance *El Mundo* featured the voice of Tewodros, a refugee from Eritrea who stated that 'I know I can die, but I left because I used to be a soldier back in Eritrea' (*El Mundo*, 20 April 2015). In other instances, the voice of refugees was included to add details about the journey across the Mediterranean: 'we saved our lives holding the corpses' (*El Mundo*, 21 April 2015). Six stories in *El Mundo* only included one reference to a migrant, two stories referred to two migrants, whilst one story contained the voice of three migrants. The latter story, published in *El Mundo* on the 21st April, discussed the differences between Issouf Sanfo (a potential 'immigrant' from Burkina Faso); Aboka, a twelve year old orphan from Somalia, and Mahmoud and Hakima, two Syrian refugees now living in an informal settlement in Lebanon.

Citizens were present in five stories in *El Mundo*, out of which only two just include the voice of one citizen only. One story included the voices of two citizens, whereas the remaining pieces had six and four, respectively. The story with six citizens focussed on a care home for the elderly where refugees had been invited to take up the empty spaces. The director of that care home stated that 'the environment is very familiar and homely…but family members do not like the fact that their relatives are sharing a space with foreigners' (*El Mundo*, 24 April 2015). Francesca Donzelli, a 73 year old inhabitant of the care home, stated: 'the immigrants call me 'mamma', they are very polite and do not swear. I respect them, and they respect me' (*El Mundo*, 24 April 2015). The story which featured the voice of four citizens was based on tweets drawing comparisons between news coverage of the 19 April tragedy, and the Germanwings' aircraft crash that had taken place on 24 March 2015 (killing all 144 passengers and 6 crew members). One citizen noted the disparity in coverage: 'The 700 people who disappeared in Lampedusa are almost as many people as five Germanwings planes: will newspapers publish their names? Will they inform us about their families' pain?' (*El Mundo*, 20 April 2015).

In the case of *El País*, it was the EU Commission (10.8%) and domestic politicians (9.2%) who were the most quoted sources, followed by foreign politicians (12.3%). There were two occasions where Federica Mogherini (vice-president of the Commission, responsible for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy) and Jean-Claude Juncker (president of the European Commission) were quoted. Federica Mogherini argued for a united response at the EU level, commenting that the loss of the boat 'is not only a tragedy on the sea: it could become a tragedy for Europe. Europe now has to demonstrate its capacity for action and unity.' (*El País*, 21 April 2015) Jean-Claude Juncker, in turn, stated that saving refugees' lives was the utmost priority for the European Commission (*El País*, 23 April 2015). Other Commissioners, however, revealed that their actions were fuelled by different motivations. Johannes Hahn, Commissioner for Neighbourhood Policy, for example, acknowledged in *El País* (20 April 2015) that the motivations behind EU commissioners were more complex than the words of Juncker or Mogherini might suggest:

> We are not always altruistic. If there are 16 million refugees and displaced people in our southern neighbouring countries, it is in our own interest to address this issue. We always complain about refugees coming to Europe and the potential growth of current figures is exponential. We have to stop this human catastrophe because it is a shame that young children and their parents have to cross the sea at their own risk, and many of them lose their lives.

In contrast to the emphasis on a humanitarian response, expressed by Mogherini and Juncker, Dimitris Avramopoulos (Commissioner for Immigration) argued for a more militarised 'Fortress Europe' approach. In an interview in *El País* (22 April 2015) he claimed that his ultimate goal was 'to prevent immigrants embarking on their journey'. To achieve this, he argued, the European Commission had 'declared war on

human traffickers...We will capture and destroy all the vessels used by smugglers to cross the external borders of the EU.'

With regards to Domestic Politicians (9.2% of the sources in *El País*), Jorge Fernández Díaz (Minister for the Interior) and José Manuel García-Margallo (Minister for Foreign Affairs) were quoted on two occasions each. García-Margallo's interventions underlined the urgency to 'do something immediately because we are witnessing the worst tragedy that mankind has witnessed since the Second World War' (*El País*, 23 April 2015). On 24 April 2015, Fernández Díaz was quoted in *El País* suggesting that the refugee crisis was a direct consequence of 'situations similar to Libya's, where a failed and dysfunctional state, with uncontrolled terrorist activity, triggers an exceptional wave of immigration to Europe.' Although the minister stated that a humanitarian attitude towards refugees could potentially act as a pull factor, he also argued that tragedies should be prevented: 'the pull factor exists, but while the risk of tragedies exist, the appropriate means to prevent them should be deployed' (*El País*, 21 April 2015).

Journalist/Media was the second most prominent source in *ABC* (18.8%), followed by Migrant/Refugee (11.6%). The importance of journalists and media as a source is a consequence of the unusual proportion of opinion articles and editorials in this newspaper.[24] These opinion articles and editorials argued that EU countries should act together to stop the deaths in the Mediterranean. A consensus emerged which identified the situation in Libya, and to a lesser extent Syria, as the main factors driving migration flows. For example, an editorial in *ABC* (20 April 2015) read: 'unless Libya and Syria become more stable, the problem will only get bigger.' Although eight articles urged the EU (or, on two occasions, NATO) to act in Libya, only four articles explicitly mentioned military action. For instance, one opinion piece argued: 'The UN – or NATO, if the international community agreed that it would be suitable to engage in humanitarian military action, or stabilising the field – cannot refuse to participate in a strategy that addresses this enormous tragedy with an adequate response.' (*ABC*, 21 April 2015)

The voice of migrant and refugees were featured in stories narrating the difficulties experienced during the journey. On 22 April 2015, a refugee who survived the disaster explained in *ABC* that 'the captain was drunk. He drank wine and smoked hashish while at the helm. The boat sank in five minutes. He and his assistant tried to hide among survivors.' Other stories had a broader focus, and aimed at illustrating the experiences of people making the long journey to Europe. An example published in *ABC* on the 21 April read:

[24] The codebook required to code the author of opinión articles as a source: 'When the story is an opinion column or a letter to the editor, the author should be coded as the first source (even if the author is a journalist: in the case of a column by Polly Toynbee, she would be source number 1).'

> I started to pay since I left my village. My mother gave me the money from the sale of four goats and few gems. Shortly after I was left with nothing and traffickers locked me in a house, forcing me to work to pay for the rest of the trip. I went from one hand to another, up to Tripoli in an endless journey that lasted a year and half. When you do not have any money left you have to pay in kind. There was an Eritrean girl of my age, she was very beautiful and was left with nothing. There were 400 or 500 people crammed in one of the houses where they put us. The traffickers would take her by turn every night. She did not survive. She did not even reach the Libyan coast.

In the case of domestic politicians, the national government dominated the coverage, to the extent that *ABC* only quoted People's Party politicians. Although the People's Party (PP – centre right) was still dominant in the coverage in *El Mundo* (80%) and *El País* (85.7%), the main opposition party (PSOE, centre-left) also featured in these newspapers' coverage (20% in *El Mundo* and 14.3% in *El País*).

	El Mundo	*ABC*	*El País*	Average
PP	80%	100%	85.7%	88.6%
PSOE	20%	0	14.3%	11.4%
Total N	5	3	7	15

Table 9.3: Political affiliation by Spanish newspapers (each political source as a proportion of all political sources)

Use of labels

The dominant label used to refer to refugees was *inmigrante* (immigrant), which was used 61.3% of the time in *El Mundo,* 61.8% in *ABC*, and 48.9% in *El País*. The labels *refugiado* (refugee) and *solicitante de asilo* (asylum seeker) - which are roughly equivalent - were used far less frequently. *ABC* never used the label *solicitante de asilo*, but *refugiado* was used 17.6% of the time. *El País* was the newspaper which most frequently referred to the legal status of migrants by using labels such as *inmigrante irregular* (irregular migrant), *indocumentado* (undocumented) or *clandestino* (clandestine). These labels were never used by other newspapers. *El País* and *ABC* also used labels such as *inmigrante illegal* (illegal immigrant – 2.9% and 2.0%, respectively), *prófugo* (fugitive – 0.7% and 3.9%, respectively), or *sin papeles* (without papers – 2.2% and 1%, respectively). *El Mundo* never used those labels.

	El Mundo	*ABC*	*El País*	Spanish Average
Inmigrante (*Immigrant*)	61.3%	61.8%	48.9%	56.8%
Refugiado (*Refugee*)	21.0%	17.6%	20.9%	20.1%
Emigrante (*Emigrant*)	4.2%	13.7%	2.2%	6.1%
Extranjero (*Foreigner*)	5.0%	0.0%	6.5%	4.2%
Solicitante de asilo (*Asylum Seeker*)	5.0%	0.0%	5.0%	3.6%
Inmigrante irregular (*Irregular/irregular immigrant*)	0.0%	0.0%	5.0%	1.9%
Indocumentado(Undocumented)	0.0%	0.0%	4.3%	1.7%
Ilegal (*Illega*l)	0.0%	2.0%	2.9%	1.7%
Prófugo (*Fugitive*)	0.0%	3.9%	0.7%	1.4%
Migrante (*Migrant*)	3.4%	0.0%	0.7%	1.4%
Sin papeles (*Without papers*)	0.0%	1.0%	2.2%	1.1%
Clandestinos(*Clandestine*)	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%	0.2%
Total N	119	102	139	360

Table 9.4: Labels in Spanish Press (each label as a proportion of all labels)

The context in which these labels were used was also important. *ABC* repeatedly used the label 'illegal': 'Frustration upon the arrival of illegal immigrants' (19 April 2015) or 'Italy and Malta to the rescue of two boats with 450 illegal immigrants' (21 April 2015). However, *El País* used these labels within debates about their appropriateness. For instance, the Italian journalist and author, Roberto Saviano, wrote an extensive article in *El País* (21 April 2015), where he discussed the numbing, narcotising effects the use of these words could have upon the general public:

> Nobody is doing what we need most: help us understand. Few are even attempting it: Doctors Without Borders, through the *#millonesdepasos* [#amillionsteps] campaign, is trying to tell what happens, avoiding to reduce these people to their condition of migrant. That is, avoiding to define them exclusively as 'expatriates, illegal immigrants, illegal'. These words dilute their human essence, so that we feel their infinite tragedy less intensely...We can invent alternative paths, gathering as much creativity as we can. Talking about this issue on television and in the internet, but in different ways: as we said before, 'expatriates' or 'illegal' are terms that dilute the human essence, building an unreal distance between us and them, which contributes to lowering the degree of empathy.

Soledad Gallego-Díaz also made similar comments about the suitability of the label 'immigrant' in an article discussing the fence being built in the Bulgarian border with Turkey:

> The goal is to keep out what in the European language are called 'illegal immigrants', but in many cases, should more appropriately be called refugees. In fact, most people who try to cross desperately through those land borders

(also in Spain) are Syrians fleeing the civil war and nationals of Mali and Iraq, terrified by the advance of the vicious Islamic State. (*El País*, 19 April 2015)

Themes in the coverage

In spite of the magnitude of the tragedy and the unprecedented death toll, the coverage was not dominated by the disaster. Instead, significant coverage focused on the European response. As previously discussed, the main sources in coverage were Italian politicians, particularly Matteo Renzi (Italy's prime minister). This allowed to drive the agenda, which focused on designing, agreeing and implementing a common European response to the crisis. The Political Response/Policy theme was the most prominent theme in the three newspapers (*El Mundo* 86.2%; *ABC* 88.6%; *El País* 84.4%), followed by Mortality/Mortality Figures (*El Mundo* 86.2%; *ABC* 74.3%; *El País* 65.6%), and Immigration Figures/Levels (*El Mundo* 58.6%; *ABC* 57.1%; *El País* 65.6%). Whilst many articles in the sample focused almost exclusively on policy debate, mortality or immigration statistics were usually added just to provide context.

	El Mundo	*ABC*	*El País*	Average
Political Response / Policy	86.2%	88.6%	84.4%	86.4%
Mortality / Mortality Figures	86.2%	74.3%	65.6%	75.4%
Immigration Figures / Levels	58.6%	57.1%	65.6%	60.5%
Mafia / Traffic	51.7%	62.9%	50%	54.9%
Search and Rescue / Aid Supplies	37.9%	28.6%	31.3%	32.6%
Journey	31%	31.4%	28.1%	30.2%
Humanitarian (Elements)	31%	31.4%	21.9%	28.1%
Threat to National Security	3.4%	20%	25%	16.1%
Humanitarian (Key Theme)	20.7%	20%	6.3%	15.6%
Human Rights	10.3%	5.7%	12.5%	9.5%
Threat to Communities / Cultural Threat	0	17.1%	3.1%	6.8%
Welfare / Benefits / Resources	6.9%	8.6%	3.1%	6.2%
Post-arrival Integration	3.4%	2.9%	3.1%	3.1%
Health Risk for Country of Destination	0	2.9%	3.1%	2%
Receiving / Rejecting	0	2.9%	3.1%	2%
Total N	124	159	130	413

Table 9.5 Themes in the Spanish Press (each theme as a proportion of all themes)

The coverage in the three newspapers left no doubts about the fact that any response to the crisis should be agreed, developed, and implemented at the European level. Editorials in the three newspapers explicitly advocated for a solution at this level:

> The umpteenth wreckage of a boat full of immigrants (in this case the most serious ever to take place in Europe), requires a collective and decisive response on the southern shore of the Mediterranean so that this intolerable bloodshed is brought to an end (*ABC*, 20 April 2015)

> A problem of this nature is not resolved with barbed fences. It requires a change of strategy. The European Commission has finally taken awareness of the emergency and is now studying a new policy. Europe cannot afford to waste another opportunity. The new policy is deemed to fail if countries are unable to address the issue as a common, global problem. Countries in the north complain that they receive most of the refugees. Countries in the south, in turn, complain that they do not get enough help to control their borders. It is imperative to overcome such grievances and divisions (*El País* 20 April 2015)

> The EU has not reacted [to the disaster] with the desirable determination. A meeting of ministers of the Interior and Foreign Affairs was held today, but they have not yet been able to articulate a comprehensive, stable and effective immigration policy…The EU must assume that the southern border of the continent is not exclusively the responsibility of the states involved, but of the whole Union, especially considering the growing migratory pressure, which encompasses not only the flow of citizens wishing to flee their countries, but also those fleeing war, a fact that aggravates the challenge of immigration further. The response should inevitably be European. And, if possible, free of the usual bureaucratic delays (*El Mundo*, 20 April 2015)

The extraordinary European summit, organised to discuss the EU's response to the crisis, was one of the key elements in the coverage. On 21 April 2015, *El País* discussed the different attitudes EU countries held towards the refugee crisis:

> A rough characterisation would define two poles around which many of the Member States gather. Northern countries (mainly Germany, the Netherlands and the Nordic countries), are reluctant to allocate more resources to prevent shipwrecks in the Mediterranean because in the end asylum seekers end up in the northern part of Europe. The southern flank, with Italy leading the way, refuses to tackle migration pressure on its own because the problem affects all of Europe: 'You cannot turn a blind eye on it', said Matteo Renzi (Italian Prime Minister) yesterday. The magnitude of what happened on the Italian coast has blurred the line between these European blocks, and for the first time a willingness to respond jointly to the migration phenomenon has emerged. EU sources say that Germany now is much more likely to engage with the problem, an attitude that could mobilise other sceptical countries. But the complexity of the situation (beyond the tragedies), and the lack of political courage of Member States have held up any solutions for years

The actions agreed in the summit, which included accepting a higher number of asylum seekers, combatting people smugglers, fingerprinting all immigrants, and introducing a fast track returns, for those migrants not meeting the requirements for claiming asylum, were also subject to criticism in the press. Echoing the words of

Amnesty International, *El Mundo* (25 April 2015) labelled the meeting 'a summit to save face, not lives', and stated:

> The summit has generated deep disappointment. Neither the European Parliament, the most important NGOs, such as OXFAM and Amnesty International, or the UN's own agency for refugees (UNHCR), are satisfied. The hesitation of EU partners, together with the suspicions of Northern European countries which are away from the tragedy when it comes to designing a new policy on asylum and refuge, as well as the exasperating slowness of the European machinery have provoked a storm of criticism

In a similar vein, two days after the summit, *ABC* (25 April 2015) published an interview with Francesco Rocca (president of Red Cross – Italy), where he highlighted that 'Europe does not want to save lives, but to stop immigration.' The interview further explored the implications of the agreements reached in the summit:

> At the EU summit on Thursday there was talk of tripling the budget to cope with the migration wave, but caution has been taken so that any mechanisms adopted cannot be understood by refugees as a sign that Europe has opened its borders. In fact, Operation Triton, which is carried out by Frontex (the agency controlling the external borders of Europe) will see its budget increase from three million to nine million euros every month. According to Francesco Rocca, however, its mission will still focus on patrolling, as opposed to rescue…The president of the Italian Red Cross also complained about the lack of 'solidarity' of European leaders when it comes to accepting and distributing migrants which arrive everyday to Italy in hundreds

One of the most prominent themes in the coverage was Mafia/Traffic, which featured in at least one in two news stories in the sample (*El Mundo* 51.7%, *ABC* 62.9%, *El País* 50%). The centrality of this theme in the coverage can be explained by the fact that it was referred to both in stories focussing on the experiences of migrants, as well as in the stories identifying possible solutions to the crisis. Identified as 'smugglers of souls' by Dimitris Avramopoulos (EU Commissioner for Immigration) in an interview in *El País* (22 April 2015), the destruction of trafficking boats was discussed as one of the key measures to weaken the smuggling mafias. In addition to Avramapoulos, other representatives also endorsed this policy. Amongst them, there was Angelino Alfano (Italian minister for the Interior), who was quoted in *ABC* (22 April 2015) saying: 'the goal is to sink the boats to prevent them from departing.' García-Margallo, Spain's minister of Foreign Affairs, also shared this opinion: 'It is a priority: we must cut off any funding channels for trafficking bands, and prevent them from purchasing the boats they use. We must destroy those boats used for illicit operations' (*El Mundo*, 21 April 2015).

The idea of sinking these boats was finally adopted in the European extraordinary summit where 'member states agree[d] to fight more effectively against any networks smuggling immigrants and to destroy any requisitioned boats' (*El País*, 21 April 2015). In spite of the popularity of this measure amongst political representatives, there were also concerns about its legality:

> In order to destroy ships, the European mission should have a military nature. For it to be allowed to intervene in a third country such as Libya, either the consent of national authorities (which is not feasible now because Libya is a failed state at the moment) or a mandate from the UN would be required (*El País*, 23 April 2015)

Laura Boldrini, president of the Italian Chamber of Deputies and former spokesperson for UNHCR went further, and underlined in *ABC* (23 April 2015) the intrinsic difficulties in implementing such a scheme:

> Refugees pay the smuggler, a big fish, and it is only then that smugglers buy a boat from someone else. Therefore, until moments before refugees go on board, the owner of that boat is a private individual. If there is no agreement with local authorities, identifying a ship owned by traffickers is very difficult today, particularly now that Libya is a fragmented country

The threat to national security was a relatively significant theme in *ABC* (20%) and *El País* (25%). Only 3.4% stories in *El Mundo* included this theme. The stories featuring this theme, however, did not explicitly frame refugees as a threat to national security. Instead they tended to discuss the dangers posed by groups such as IS or the fact that a failed state in Libya might create a safe haven for such groups. For example:

> Fear of jihadism and of increased immigration flows have led Bulgaria to build a wall which is already 32 kilometres long on its border with Turkey (*El País*, 22 April 2015)

> Monika Hohlmeier…a popular German MEP (CSU)…is amongst those believing that a military intervention in Libya is inevitable if we want to reduce the risk that more people die at sea, and the terrorists of the Islamic State get a base from which to attack us (*ABC*, 22 April 2015)

The 'Threat to Communities/Cultural Threat' theme was significantly more prominent in *ABC* (17.1%) than in *El País* (3.1%) or *El Mundo* (0%). This theme was present in some articles in *ABC* that adopted a hard line with regards to immigration (and with progressive political positions). For example, Hermann Tertsch (a famous journalist who has been extremely critical of the left in the past) wrote in *ABC* (21 April 2015):

> It is grotesque that both the left and European do-gooders are once again blaming capitalism for the drowning of immigrants and require the opening of

> borders. The massive and unregulated entry of Third World immigrants into Europe would not only blow European democracies. It could quickly destroy our social balance, our coexistence, our legal system and safety. And could lead for our countries to drift towards the failure of our societies, bringing us closer to the societies these immigrants are fleeing from. Europe needs immigration, in great numbers, but it must be necessarily regulated

Similar views were expressed in an editorial published in *ABC* on the 24 April 2015:

> Mass immigration is arriving into Europe in a context of very low birth rate. It would be foolish to ignore a problem that will substantially change the profile of our societies and which is already fuelling populist and intolerant forces in certain sectors of public opinion

These positions would be in line with the views of the more traditional sectors of conservative opinion in Spain, who make up the bulk of ABC readership. The focus on the political response (as opposed to the shipwreck itself) may be the reason behind the relatively low presence of humanitarian elements in the coverage. Although one in two stories in *El Mundo* (Elements: 31%; Key theme: 20.7%) and *ABC* (Elements: 31.4%; Key theme: 20%) contained humanitarian aspects, the proportion in *El País* is approximately one in four stories (Elements: 21.9%; Key theme: 6.3%). Whilst humanitarian elements were present throughout the coverage, they emerged more powerfully in stories focussing on the 19 April disaster or why people were making the journey to Europe:

> If there is any reason for hope, it was very difficult to find it yesterday in Catania's harbour. The news which arrived during the long wait for the ship that brought 28 survivors from Malta could not be more discouraging. Following the tragic shipwreck of a fishing boat with hundreds of people fleeing Africa which capsized when they were about to being rescued, the minimal hope to find more survivors was fading. The news of more shipwrecks along the Mediterranean multiplied the sense of powerlessness before the infinite tragedy. To make things worse, an operation carried out by Palermo's police confirmed the extreme cruelty of smugglers (*El País*, 21 April 2015)

> For these desperate immigrants fleeing war, conflict and famine, 'crossing the Mediterranean is a challenge which, paradoxically, is not as risky as the ordeal you need to go through before one reaches the Libyan coast and embarks on a boat.' This is the story told not by the survivors of the last tragedy, but by some of those who have been involved in many others that have happened in the Mediterranean. Sub-Saharan immigrants have to go through a gruelling journey, a nightmare that can last up to 9 months. Then they are herded into

camps or houses in Libya, treated like cattle and tortured before embarking on the journey to Italy (*ABC*, 20 April 2015)

She has hired the space from the warlord who controls the field. It is all about his lineage. She receives one journalist because her husband is trying to find some food in landfills where the few hotels in the city throw their waste. Today, the menu will consist of two sachets of sugar, like the ones that we take with coffee in Europe. 'I do not want this for my family. I prefer my children to grow out of here', says Mumina. Somalia's civil war has lasted for 24 years, and she can't remember how things were when there was peace. 'I do not know when or why the conflict started. I only know that this is not life. I came here from the Ogaden region because all my animals died because of the drought.' Mumina's case clearly shows that immigration does not happen because of Somali mafias (they exist and make a lot of money because of it) but because of the total lack of decent living conditions and possibilities of survival (*El Mundo*, 21 April 2015)

Explanations and Solutions

The coverage showed a significant consensus on war and atrocity being the main reason motivating refugees to flee their country (a reason which was mentioned in 55.2% of news stories in *El Mundo*, 58.6% in *ABC*, and 79.3% in the case of *El País*). The crisis in Libya was also very prominent in the coverage, and was mentioned in 44.8% of stories in *El Mundo*, 54.2% in *ABC*, and 59.3% in *El País.*

	El Mundo	*ABC*	*El País*	Average
War/conflict/atrocities	55.2%	58.6%	79.3%	64.4%
Poverty/economic	31.0%	41.4%	31.0%	34.5%
Repressive regime	6.9%	17.2%	6.9%	10.3%
Absence of border control	10.3%	6.9%	13.8%	10.3%
ISIS/terrorism	3.4%	13.8%	6.9%	8.0%
EU-US foreign policy stoking conflict	0.0%	3.4%	3.4%	2.3%
Global capitalism	0.0%	3.4%	0.0%	1.1%
Poor aid policies driving migration	0.0%	0.0%	3.4%	1.1%
Total N	20	20	23	21

Table 9.6: Explanations in the Spanish Press (each explanationas a proportion of all explanations)

Although our analysis has separated explanations into discreet categories, the coverage frequently referred to multiple factors in combination. For instance:

The increase of immigrants from Libya, Syria and other countries in conflict, such as Somalia or Nigeria, is related to three factors that have little to do with EU maritime operations: the worsening of the Syrian and Libyan conflicts; the growing influence of Islamic State and other terrorist organisations such as

Boko Haram, and the change in strategy of human trafficking networks (*El País*, 21 April 2015)

Hunger, endemic poverty, wars, repressive governments, the power of mafias in countries like Eritrea, Sudan and Somalia, the instability of failed states such as Syria and Libya, and the extension of the criminal terrorist group Islamic State constitutes a demographic tinderbox forcing millions of persecuted and defenceless people to flee their countries without fear of dying (*ABC*, 21 April 2015)

	El Mundo	*ABC*	*El País*	Average
United/EU response	48.3%	48.6%	31.3%	42.7%
Action/prevention taken on smugglers/traffickers	37.9%	40.0%	28.1%	35.4%
Search and rescue operations should be increased	24.1%	22.9%	21.9%	23.0%
Taking in refugees/more legal channels for migration	20.7%	14.3%	25.0%	20.0%
Stablise Libya/Conflict resolution	13.8%	17.1%	18.8%	16.6%
Aid/assistance	17.2%	11.4%	12.5%	13.7%
Reject/deport more refugees/bring migration levels down	6.9%	14.3%	18.8%	13.3%
Close down migration routes	10.3%	5.7%	9.4%	8.5%
Change foreign policy	10.3%	0.0%	12.5%	7.6%
More security at borders	3.4%	8.6%	3.1%	5.0%
Act against jihadis/ISIS	0.0%	8.6%	0.0%	2.9%
Greater restrictions on benefits/aid	3.4%	0.0%	3.1%	2.2%
Total N	58	67	60	185

Table 9.7: Solutions in the Spanish Press (each solution as a proportion of all solutions)

As previously discussed, the coverage primarily framed the issue as a crisis which required European solutions, with editorials in all three newspapers advocating increased cooperation amongst EU states, as can be seen in the following examples:

'The magnitude of the tragedy increases the pressure on European institutions' (*El País*, 20 April 2015)

'This is a problem that cannot be solved nationally. Neither in Cyprus, in Italy, in Greece, or in Malta... We need to reach a solution at the European level' (*El Mundo*, 21 April 2015)

'The solution to avoid future catastrophes like the one that happened on Sunday goes beyond the Libyan case. The EU has sufficient resources to reduce these tragedies' (*El Mundo*, 21 April 2015).

Although war and atrocities were the most common reasons cited reason for why people were making the Mediterranean crossing, the solutions that were proposed did not address these push factors. Instead, these tended to concentrate more on palliatives such as increasing search and rescue operations, or vague calls for a united/EU response. In line with the other countries in the sample, arguments stressing the need to take action against people smugglers were much more prominent than in the earlier sample, largely as a consequence of this being a key response advocated by European leaders and some EU commissioners. However, as previously noted, there was some scepticism expressed about the feasibility and legality of such plans.

In many respects there was, as in the earlier sample, a remarkable unanimity in how all three newspapers talked about what drove population movements and how the crisis could be addressed. The argument that didn't feature in our earlier sample, that the crisis could be resolved by stabilising Libya and/or Syria, had become quite prominent in this sample. Whilst *El Mundo* and *El País* were vaguer in their suggestions about how to stabilise these countries, *ABC* was more openly supportive of undertaking military action (on six occasions). This is perhaps explained by its conservatism, and its tradition of being more willing to countenance military action:

> We must adopt urgent measures whilst we wait for definitive solutions. The most immediate measure is inevitable after the fiasco that followed from having supported Gadaffi's overthrow. It consists of taking military control of the north of the country and stop, with guns and bombs, the barbarism that these human flesh traffickers are currently perpetrating (*ABC*, 22 April 2015)

The coverage in *ABC* was also different from that in *El Mundo* and *El País* with regards to the space given over to arguments in favour of increasing the number of refugees accepted by European countries, or opening more legal channels for migration. Whilst this theme featured in 20.7% stories in *El Mundo* and in 25.0% stories in *El País*, the proportion in *ABC* was only 14.3%. For example:

> Europe barely hosts 2% of Syrian refugees who have been forced to leave the country because of violence. UN agencies and international humanitarian organisations called on Europe to raise this number up to 5% (some 180,000 people). Spain has offered 130 resettlement places for Syrian refugees, but so far, according to Amnesty International, has not confirmed any. Compared with this little solidarity, the much less developed neighbouring countries host 97% of Syrian refugees with their limited economic resources, something which is already affecting these countries' political stability (*El Mundo*, 21 April 2015)

> Another agreement that does not live up to the wishes of the European Commission affects the number of refugees that European countries are

> voluntarily willing to take. In 2014 only, the EU welcomed 7500 asylum seekers in collaboration with the United Nations. This is obviously a paltry amount when compared to the 57,000 absorbed by the US. The EU executive called for a modest quota of 5,000, but the amounts have been eliminated from the final document (*El País*, 21 April 2015)

However, there was also substantial scepticism about the ability to achieve a consensus on the issue at an EU level. Unnamed diplomatic sources were quoted in *El País* (20 April 2015) stating that, 'in the middle of the crisis, an ambitious response is unlikely.', whilst Romano Prodi was quoted in *ABC* (23 April 2015) saying that 'Europe will do nothing for immigrants because each country is preoccupied by its electorate. There will not be a new solidarity European migration policy.'

Conclusion

The reporting in the Spanish press showed a number of continuities with the coverage in the earlier sample. Most notably, the Spanish sample was again the most homogenous in the study. This could be seen in a number of different areas. For instance, all the newspapers concentrated on similar themes in approximately equal proportion. They also focused on the same kinds of explanations and solutions and used the same labels to describe refugees and migrants. This may partly be attributable to the fact that the crisis is not an issue on which the main political parties in Spain actively campaign, in contrast to countries like Britain, France or Italy. It may also be related to the fact that Spain lacks a large far-right populist party. The fact that asylum and immigration policy is not a campaigning issue in Spanish politics can be seen by the very level of domestic political sources in our sample. When such sources do appear, they overwhelmingly come from the incumbent party. It can also be seen in the relatively high representation of foreign and EU politicians which indicates that the issue is mainly framed as a problem for the EU, as a whole, to address. However, all three newspapers adopted a very critical position on the EU's handling of the crisis, which they argued was slow, bureaucratic and divided. The Spanish press also featured a relatively large number of NGOs and other sources supportive of refugee and migrant rights. This meant that reporting in all three newspapers was broadly sympathetic to their plight, even if this didn't necessarily translate into calls for a more open and generous immigration and asylum policy.

The Spanish press was also more likely than the other countries in our sample to routinely feature context as to why people were trying to enter the EU, and to relate such population movements to development issues and regional conflicts. There was also a slightly larger tendency in the Spanish press to argue that there needed to be attempts to actually address these push factors in order to manage the crisis. As we found in the other countries in our sample, the idea that the crisis should be resolved by stabilising the political situation in Libya or clamping down on human smugglers was much more prominent than in our earlier sample. It was also relatively rarely

challenged. One noticeable aspect of reporting was that the conservative ABC was more willing to advocate military solutions to the crisis and to frame the arrival of migrants and refugees as a cultural threat to Europe.

Chapter 10: Italy (by Marina Morani, Cardiff University)

The week following 18 April 2015 saw substantial coverage of the crisis in the three Italian newspapers in our study. Table 10.1 shows that from a total of 190 stories, a sample of 95 articles was generated through systematic sampling.

	La Repubblica	Il Corriere della	La Stampa	Total
Total articles	90	60	40	190
Sampled articles	**45**	**30**	**20**	**95**

Table 10.1: Sampled articles in the Italian Press 18-25 April 2015

Coverage of the boat disaster of 18 April differed from the main study in three significant ways. First, the incident, which happened 60 miles off the Libyan coast dominated the coverage for the whole week. Key elements of reporting in the Italian press were the involvement of Italy in rescue operations, provision of care to the survivors and the homicide investigation triggered by the disaster. Secondly, the boat disaster generated a strong political response from the Italian government. The measures proposed by the government dominated discussion on how to tackle the escalating crisis. Compared to the previous study, a narrower range and a lower number of proposals voiced by non-government sources were present. Thirdly, the three newspapers shared a similar compassionate approach towards the loss of life caused by the incident. The proportion of humanitarian themes was larger than in the earlier sample. Anti-immigration views again came from right and far-right political sources such as the Northern League and Forza Italia.

The differences between the three newspapers related to different angles used in coverage. *La Repubblica* - given the greater volume of coverage - explored a wider range of themes and issues; *Il Corriere della Sera* focused particularly on trafficking rings; whereas *La Stampa* argued strongly for concerted and comprehensive EU action to tackle the Mediterranean crisis and alleviate Italy's burden of responsibility for rescue operations and reception.

La Repubblica

Opinion pieces/Editorials

La Repubblica, the leading national centre-left newspaper, was the publication in our sample which devoted most coverage to the disaster of 18 April. The coverage concentrated on a wide range of issues including: reports of the disaster and search and rescue operations, accounts of the ordeals of survivors, government and EU proposals, criminal investigations over responsibility for the incident, and local councils' negotiations with central government for implementing reception solutions.

In our sample there were three *Commenti* (comment pieces): one editorial and two opinion pieces. The first opinion piece was written by political analyst and columnist Ilvo Diamanti. The article called for a compassionate approach to the refugees escaping war and seeking shelter in Europe. Migration was acknowledged as a historical and global phenomenon that Italians themselves have experienced. The journalist also took a clear stand against proposals for a blockade:

> Today, what people are fleeing is war. In fact, more than a 'migration', it is an 'escape'. However, we seem to only understand the 'scale' of the crisis when the death toll is 'immense'…Yet, migration is a recurring phenomenon. Increasingly and particularly in times of change and violent transformations people 'mobilize' in search of new and different living conditions. It happened to us Italians, we know it well...However, calling for blockades and rejections, in the face of immense tragedies, like the one that occurred yesterday in the sea of Sicily, it is not just inhumane, it is simply unrealistic. As if it were possible - as well as right – to stop people fleeing from war and terror a few kilometres from us. The only way to stop those who, in their thousands make their way to our shores - and, by the thousand, die on the journey, hostages of traffickers, is to close our eyes. Pretend they do not exist. Renouncing compassion for others. Not having mercy on human lives. (*La Repubblica*, 20 April 2015)

In line with the findings of our main report, the European Union was frequently criticised by a wide range of sources for failing to address the refugee crisis with long-term solutions and concerted action. Sharp criticism of Fortress Europe was at the centre of an editorial by Ezio Mauro, editor-in-chief of *La Repubblica.* Titled 'The Shipwreck of the West' (*La Repubblica* 21 April, 2015), the piece argued that the Mediterranean crisis revealed an inconsistency between democratic European values and the EU's weak response in implementing effective and lasting solutions:

> Europe sees the Mediterranean tragedy as a Southern regional crisis, equating the numbers of migrants from Eastern Europe to those who come from the hell of war and risk death every hour on the boats of despair…Italy now has a huge opportunity to urge Europe to restore moral legitimacy to a [migration] policy that should not consist of blind constraints and obtuse solutions, but instead combines safety with humanity. Meanwhile, we should launch a responsible search-and-rescue action to tackle the emergency. If Europe wants to comply with its duties and continue to be the land of democracy, human rights and democratic institutions, we should also demand that the crisis in the Mediterranean becomes a matter of conscience for the West. (*La Repubblica*, 21 April 2015)

The news accounts immediately following the shipwreck tended to editorialise even when the stories were categorised as *Cronaca* (domestic reporting). For instance, an

article classified as domestic reporting - by writer and journalist Roberto Saviano - was titled 'Mediterranean mass grave: those unknown dead lie heavy on our conscience'. The piece expressed compassion towards victims of the deadly shipwreck which had 'turned the Mediterranean Sea into a graveyard'. Saviano urged Italy to assume a strong leading role in Europe within the migration policy debate: 'Italy should demand to be listened to, without Europe passing the buck to us' (*La Repubblica*, 20 April, 2015).

A second piece categorised as *Commento* in our sample was a report by journalist Giovanni Valentini titled 'Our Navy lacks sufficient vessels' (*La Repubblica*, 22 April 2015). The report expressed concern for the current state of the Italian navy, which was allegedly inadequate to perform large scale successful search and rescue operations. The piece argued that, given Italy's crucial geographical position in the Mediterranean, the Italian navy needed more vessels in order to avoid 'international gaffes' similar to the one that occurred on 15 February 2015 when armed smugglers hampered Italian coastguard efforts to perform rescue operations off the shores of Libya.

To conclude, editorials and opinion pieces in *La Repubblica* took a compassionate stance on the 18 April disaster. Humanitarian reflections were regularly framed within criticism of the European Union for failing to adopt a comprehensive migration policy that would help alleviate 'the burden' on Italy. Inconsistency between 'European values' and 'indifference' towards the escalating crisis was frequently highlighted.

Sources

Table 10.2 shows the range of sources featured in *La Repubblica.* Domestic political sources dominated the coverage during the week of 18-25 April 2015. Compared to our main study, the proportion of political sources has increased and political elites were cited much more frequently in *La Repubblica* (43.4%) than in the other two newspapers in our sample (*Il Corriere* 25.6%; *La Stampa* 10%). Civil society and citizen sources were more likely to be cited in *La Repubblica* then in the other two newspapers, though appearances by both UNHCR/UN (1.8%) and NGO (1.8%) sources remained scarce.

Migrants / refugees were the second most cited source, albeit accounting for only 8% of sources appearances. The overwhelming majority of migrants cited in the stories in our sample were survivors of the 18 April shipwreck, and recounted their ordeals at sea to journalists, and prosecutors as part of the criminal investigation. Italian navy and coastguard officials were also more likely to be quoted in *La Repubblica* than in the two other dailies.

Domestic Politician	43.4%
Migrant / Refugee	8.0%
National Rescue Team	5.3%
Civil Society	5.3%
Trafficker/Smuggler	5.3%
Church / Religion	3.5%
MEP	3.5%
Citizen	3.5%
Journalist / Media	3.5%
Police	3.5%
Business	2.7%
Law / Judiciary	1.8%
NGO/Civil Society	1.8%
UNHCR/UN	1.8%
Academic / Expert	0.9%
Think Tank	0.9%
Other	5.3%
Total N	113

Table 10.2 Sources in *La Repubblica* (each source as a proportion of all sources)

Themes

Table 10.3 shows the proportion of different themes in coverage. In line with the main report, the discussion of search and rescue/aid supply was the most heavily featured theme in *La Repubblica* (64.4% of all articles). Reporting immediately after 18 April focused primarily on accounts of the shipwreck, search and rescue operations, and the provision of care for the survivors. However, the agenda later moved to the discussion of Italian and EU proposals.

Debate over policy (48.9% of all articles) mainly focused on the government's criticism of human trafficking and PM Renzi's call for an extraordinary EU meeting to discuss a joint European response. Reports frequently featured detailed accounts of government and EU proposals. Humanitarian themes (53.3% of all articles) were also common. These frequently featured compassionate reflections on the loss of life and sharp criticism of Fortress Europe from journalists and a wide range of sources (political, religious, Italian navy and NGO/UNHCR sources). Themes discussed through a humanitarian lens included, the ordeals of migrants at sea and calls for solidarity by religious authorities, as can be seen in the following headlines:

> The Pope prays for the victims: 'Our brothers and sisters who were escaping war and looking for happiness' (*La Repubblica*, 20 April 2015)

> The tragedy of unaccompanied child migrants: a crisis within the crisis (*La Repubblica*, 22 April 2015)

> Sekou [refugee]: 'I saw my brother disappearing into the waves. In that shipwreck I died too' (*La Repubblica*, 24 April 2015)
>
> Samuel's journey [at sea]: two days to find his injured mum (*La Repubblica*, 25 April 2015)

In contrast, *La Repubblica* also featured critical and hostile reactions to refugees. Complaints about the influx of refugees came primarily from far-right political sources such as Northern League leader and MEP Matteo Salvini who called for naval blockades of North African ports.

Another angle featured in *La Repubblica* was the impact of refugees and migrants on Italy's tourism industry. A piece titled 'Hoteliers in revolt: no to the migrants' reported on concerns about the impact of temporarily housing refugees in an area of Lombardy popular with tourists. According to tourism operators, the presence of refugees who were being temporarily hosted in local hotel facilities 'would keep tourists away' (*La Repubblica*, 23 April 2015). *La Repubblica* was also the only Italian newspaper which claimed that refugees posed a health risk. References to immigration figures/levels were more frequent in *La Repubblica* than in the other two newspapers. The statistics were provided within two main contexts. One, the reporting on the scale of the humanitarian crisis forcing people to make treacherous sea-crossings to Europe. Two, the 'reception crisis' in Northern Italian cities, who were facing an increase in refugees numbers as reception centres in the south of the country filled up.

Search and Rescue / Aid Supplies	64.4%
Political Response / Policy	48.9%
Immigration Figures / Levels	42.2%
Mafia / Traffic	42.2%
Humanitarian (Key Theme)	40.0%
Receiving / Rejecting	22.2%
Mortality / Mortality Figures	17.8%
Humanitarian (Elements)	13.3%
Threat to National Security	11.1%
Welfare / Benefits / Resources	8.9%
Threat to Communities / Cultural Threat	4.4%
Health Risk for Country of Destination	4.4%
Human Rights	4.4%
Post-arrival Integration	4.4%
Journey	4.4%
Crime	2.2%
Total N	151

Table 10.3: themes in *La Repubblica* (proportion of articles featuring each theme)

Labels

Table 10.4 shows the labels used in *La Repubblica.* In line with the earlier sample, the term *migrant* ('migrante') was the most commonly used across the three newspapers. The term *profugo* - another Italian label for refugee meaning 'someone seeking refuge' - featured prominently in *La Repubblica*. The term was more prominent than the label *rifugiato* ('refugee') which indicates that someone is entitled to the legal protections of refugee status. The term *asylum seeker* was rarely used by journalists and sources, accounting for only 5.3% of label mentions.

Migrante *(Migrant)*	36.8%
Profugo *(Refugee)*	34.9%
Rifugiato *(Refugee)*	9.9%
Richiedente asilo *(Asylum Seeker)*	5.3%
Immigrato *(Immigrant)*	4.6%
Clandestino *(Clandestine)*	3.9%
Straniero *(Foreigner)*	3.3%
Extracomunitario (Immigrant from outside Europe)	1.3%
Total N	152

Table 10.4: Italian labels by *La Repubblica*: (proportion of times each label is used as a proportion of total labels)

Explanations

In line with the findings of our previous report, *La Repubblica* was the newspaper least likely to feature explanations as to why people were making the journey across the Mediterranean. Once again, the most popular explanation for refugee flows was escape from war or atrocities which appeared in 26.7% of articles. The second most cited explanation for migration was economic pull factors, which featured significantly more often than in our earlier sample. Often economic explanations were combined with ones which highlighted war as a push factor as in the example below:

> Europe should not ignore hundreds of thousands of refugees on the move who leave their homes to escape death, persecution, hunger. (*La Repubblica*, April 21, 2015).

Less commonly population flows were framed as an inherent consequence of globalisation:

> It's been years already that migration is no longer a 'crisis'. It is a phenomenon connected to globalisation, to our wealth, to the opening of markets. (*La Repubblica*, 23 April, 2015)

Explanation	Proportion of articles
War/Conflict/Atrocities	26.7%
Poverty/Economic	13.3%
Global capitalism	2.2%
Total N	19

Table 10.5: Explanations for population flows in *La Repubblica* (proportion of articles featuring each explanation).

Solutions

La Repubblica was the newspaper in our sample which featured the widest range of proposals to tackle the Mediterranean crisis. The most frequently advocated solution was a concerted EU approach (appeared in 36.8% of articles) with more equal burden sharing. This was advocated by a wide range of actors (religious sources, politicians, journalists Italian navy officials, and journalists).

United EU response	37.8%
Aid/assistance/reception facilities	33.3%
Search and rescue operations should be increased	20.0%
Action/prevention taken on smugglers/traffickers	13.3%
Blockade Ports/Close down migration routes	13.3%
Reject more refugees/bring levels under control	11.1%
Taking in refugees/more legal channels for migration	8.9%
Conflict resolution / Political stability in Libya	4.4%
Amend/reform the Dublin Convention	4.4%
Total N	66

Table 10.6: Solutions to refugee crisis in *La Repubblica* (proportion of news articles featuring each response)

Prime Minister Matteo Renzi was regularly cited urging EU member states to share responsibility for search and rescue operations and the fight against people smugglers. The day after the boat disaster Renzi pleaded with EU leaders not to 'leave Italy on its own in the fight against human traffickers, the 21st century's new slaveholders':

> These people – PM Renzi explains – can only be saved by preventing them from departing. While continuing to commit to rescue lives at sea, we also think that the fight against human trafficking must be a priority; not only ours and of Malta. But of the whole of Europe. (*La Repubblica,* 20 April 2015)

The provision of aid and assistance to migrants and refugees was particularly prominent in *La Repubblica,* appearing as the second most frequently cited solution (33.3%). This solution featured in reports which focused on the provision of reception facilities and assistance services in northern city councils, which faced an

unprecedented influx of refugees and migrants. A few stories concentrated on the negotiations between central government representatives and local councillors for the identification of facilities to be adapted as reception centres.

The proposal to reinstate an efficient search and rescue programme was the third most discussed solution to the crisis. According to a number of sources, the boat disaster exposed, once again, the inadequacy of Frontex's current border control programme. In an interview-piece Vincent Cochetel (UNHCR Regional Refugee Coordinator for the Refugee Crisis in Europe) outlined the shortcomings of Operation Triton:

> Journalist: One survivor says at least nine hundred dead. Is this an unprecedented disaster?
>
> Cochetel: A tragedy waiting to happen, unfortunately. The European Union had four months to rethink its approach and it did not do so. No one considered the UNHCR proposals for a relaunch of the search and rescue operations at sea.
>
> Journalist: What are the limits of Triton, the European programme of border control?
>
> Cochetel: Frontex and the EU member states make very clear that Triton does not have a search-and-rescue mandate, but only border protection. The vessels have been used in a few operations, but so far, Europe has not yet agreed to give Frontex a search-and-rescue responsibility. For this reason, private rescuers should be rewarded for their continuous efforts. (*La Repubblica*, 20 April 2015)

Cochetel also outlined other solutions such as increased relocation of refugees with the right of asylum among member states, and improvement of repatriation processes in Italy and Greece.

Following the Special Meeting of the EU Council on 23 April, *La Repubblica* featured extensive criticism of the ten-point action plan proposed by the European Commission from journalists and politicians. Whilst the commitment to the fight against people trafficking was welcomed, the lack of funding for search and rescue was widely criticized:

> As usual, the financial commitment of the European Union to cope with landings of refugees from Libya is 'timid'. A few promises, but nothing more. ... Europe demonstrates its traditional reluctance to pull out the cash for a continental problem. Those who hope for a launch of an expansive search and rescue operation such as Mare Nostrum, but the European version, remain disappointed. Only Italy, Greece and Malta were in favour of a solution of this kind. The vast majority of other countries continue to think that extending

> search and rescue missions too far may constitute an incentive to human trafficking. (*La Repubblica,* 21 April 2015)

Whilst the discussion of responses to the crisis were dominated by the fight against people smuggling, calls for more aid and the restoration of an extensive search and rescue operation, other solutions were also occasionally featured. The introduction of more legal routes for migration into Europe was advocated in just under one in ten articles. In a piece reporting the shipwreck disaster, a journalist outlines some solutions that, had they been implemented, might have prevented the tragedy:

> Yet there were opportunities for a timely action: establishing registration and processing centres in refugees' first places of transit; sharing among the EU member states the acceptance of asylum requests, not withstanding the Dublin Regulation; ensuring a ferry service and charter flights. (*La Repubblica,* 21 April 2015)

The argument that the refugee crisis should be 'tackled at its roots', through efforts towards conflict resolution in African and Middle East states and crucially in Libya, featured far less prominently in *La Repubblica* (4.4.%) than in *Il Corriere della Sera* (16.7%) or *La Stampa* (15%). A news report (*La Repubblica,* 21 April 2015) cited Bernardino Leon – Special Representative and Head of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya – who stressed the importance of restoring political stability in Libya:

> Any resolution needs a stable government in Libya. Bernardino Leon, the Spanish head of the Libyan mission, has informed the Foreign Ministry that '80 percent of the program for a government of national unity is agreed by local communities.' The step to give authority to the country it is then not too far away. In the meantime, however, Europe needs to give a signal of intent (*La Repubblica,* 21 April 2015).

Fortress Europe solutions such as naval blockades were mostly cited by far-right political sources such as the Northern League and appeared in 6.7% of all articles. Although the proportion of anti-migrant and anti-refugee arguments fell in comparison to the main study, *La Repubblica* was again the newspaper which most frequently featured sources who opposed humanitarian solutions to the crisis.

> 'The government is guilty' – argues the leader of the Northern League Matteo Salvini – for not having taken measures to block the refugees' departure. 'The more people who leave' – he says – 'more people die.' Salvini calls for the involvement of international institutions in order to immediately obtain a naval blockade of the Libyan and Egyptian coasts, or 'tomorrow we will mourn another 700 deaths'. (*La Repubblica*, 20 April 2015)

In the same article, Salvini's comments were challenged by both politically right-wing and left-wing sources. New Centre-Right (NCD) MP Fabrizio Cicchitto accuses Salvini of 'being a vulture' in line with the response by a Democratic Party (PD) source:

> 'This propaganda, at the expense of the dead, to obtain a few more votes should come to an end' – comments MEP Simona Bonafè – 'Salvini should instead commit to collaborative action pushing Europe to make constructive decisions on how to prevent these tragedies at sea'. (*La Repubblica*, 20 April 2015)

The proposals to enforce port, or naval blockades in international waters, were ruled out by Prime Minister Renzi in the press conference after the disaster:

> Renzi ruled out resorting to naval blockades, a solution advocated by some political factions: 'A naval blockade in international waters' – he said – 'could paradoxically become a favour to the people smugglers, by turning out to be a sort of taxi service'.

To conclude, whilst *La Repubblica* featured the widest range of solutions, coverage tended to concentrate on the proposals put forward by the government. Humanitarian solutions were occasionally discussed by journalists and non-government sources such as the UNHCR and most often framed within criticism of Europe's failed migration policy.

Il Corriere della Sera

Il Corriere della Sera is Italy's second most read newspaper. Traditionally close to the conservative establishment, the newspaper took such a strong anti-Berlusconi stance that prior to the 2006 General Election, its editor-in-chief declared alignment with the centre-left coalition led by Romano Prodi. Whilst maintaining a conservative ideology, *Il Corriere della Sera* is today politically closer to the centre than the right.

Like *La Repubblica*, *Il Corriere della Sera* featured many compassionate accounts of the disaster in the Mediterranean. Furthermore, the loss of life was used as an opportunity for sharp criticism of Fortress Europe. A distinguishing feature of the way *Il Corriere* reported the crisis, however, was the interest the newspaper took in the criminal investigation and the broader issue of international people trafficking.

Editorials/Opinion pieces

In our sample there were two articles explicitly classified as opinion/editorials. The first was an opinion piece by UN High Commissioner for Refugees António Guterres titled 'Opening doors to refugees with the post-war spirit' which stressed Europe's

humanitarian and legal duty to welcome people escaping conflicts. Guterres also expressed the view – in line with editorials in *La Repubblica* – that the boat disaster had called into question Europe's credibility and its humanitarian values.

> The ongoing crisis in the Mediterranean is testing Western humanitarian values, as never before in the last two generations. From the beginning of the year, over 1,700 lives have been lost at sea. This month alone, twice as many people drowned at sea as throughout 2013. Last week we witnessed the deadliest shipwreck ever recorded by my organization (UNHCR) in the Mediterranean. It is time for us Europeans to abandon the illusion of isolating ourselves from this crisis. The first thing we must do is to recognize that it is something more than a migration issue. Many of the people that go on these boats are refugees, fleeing conflict and persecution. This means that we have a legal obligation to protect them. (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 25 April 2015)

Criticism of Fortress Europe and emphasis on the 'humanitarian duty to rescue human lives' were also features of the second opinion piece in our sample titled 'The duty to rescue refugees' (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 21 April 2015). Written by Mauro Magatti, sociologist and columnist for *Il Corriere*, the piece called for concerted political action among EU member states and urged Prime Minister Renzi to respond to the refugee crisis with the same determination he had shown for other issues:

> It is a humanitarian duty to save people drowning in the sea. However, today we are at the point that this is not enough. Solidarity is not enough to tackle the crisis. We need a political action...In terms of resources, it would be sufficient to create a dedicated funding channel under direct control of the European Commission. What is missing is the political vision of the problem, the ability to offer the public a decent and coherent solution. In his style, Renzi has used appropriate words when commenting on the boat disaster. But the question is intricate and requires hard and long-term work to build the political conditions to resolve the crisis. Renzi should act with the same determination that he has shown on other issues electorally more profitable. The elections are in three years. There are no alibis. For both Italy and Europe their political legitimacy crosses with the fate of refugees at sea (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 21 April 2015).

The tendency to editorialise in news reports was also frequent in *Il Corriere della Sera*. This was particularly noticeable in stories immediately after the boat disaster, where compassion towards the victims was paired with criticism of Fortress Europe.

Sources

Table 10.7 shows the type and frequency of sources featuring in *Il Corriere della Sera*. In comparison to *La Repubblica* there were fewer elite political sources though they were still the dominant voice in coverage. Italian Prime Minister Renzi was the

single most prominent source and he was regularly quoted calling for a more united response from the European Union. The centrality of Renzi is also reflected in the political affiliation of sources, 60% of whom were drawn from the Democratic Party (PD) the largest party in the ruling coalition led by Renzi.

Unlike *La Repubblica*, *Il Corriere della Sera* did provide some space for EU Commission sources and foreign politicians – even though these categories were rarely featured. The UNHCR/UN were also cited more often in *Il Corriere della Sera* than in *La Repubblica* though still at a relatively low level, and aside from the opinion piece by Guterres (UNHCR), statements from other UNHCR/UN sources[25] were usually very brief. Furthermore, NGOs were never quoted directly in any of the sampled stories.

Domestic Politician	25.6%
Migrant / Refugee	9.3%
Trafficker/Smuggler	9.3%
Law / Judiciary	7.0%
Civil Society	4.7%
Academic / Expert	4.7%
Police	4.7%
Foreign Politician	3.5%
Journalist / Media	3.5%
Church / Religion	3.5%
EU Commission	2.3%
MEP	2.3%
National Rescue Team	2.3%
UNHCR/UN	4.6%
UNHCR	2.3%
IOM	1.2%
Citizen	1.2%
Other	10.5%
Total N	86

Table 10.7: Sources in *Il Corriere della Sera* (each source as a proportion of all sources)

Themes

The range and frequency of themes can be seen in table 10.8. The first finding to note is the strong emphasis that *Il Corriere della Sera* placed on the theme of people smuggling. The discussion of this theme included stories which focused on the

[25] UN General Secretary Ban Ki-moon; UNHCR Italy Carlotta Sami; Bernardino León Gross –United Nations Special Representative and Head of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya.

criminal investigations by Italian authorities into the shipwreck, the arrest of two men on suspicion of people smuggling, the hearings of the trial and a large-scale investigation by prosecutors in Palermo into a network of smugglers operating in Libya and major Italian cities. News accounts which covered investigations into migrant trafficking were published daily in *Il Corriere* from 20-24 April as the following headlines indicate:

> Fares have dropped. 1000 Euros for setting sail from Libya. (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 20 April, 2015)
>
> Giggles on the phone. The [trafficking] System wiretapped. (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 21 April, 2015)
>
> How to punish the 'new slaveholders'. Migrants and laws (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 22 April, 2015)
>
> The two people smugglers accuse each other: 'he was [the one] in charge [of the boat]' (*Il Corriere della Sera,* 23 April, 2015)
>
> Trafficking – People smugglers supported by Libya: 'Soldiers are giving us the boats' (*Il Corriere della Sera,* 24 April, 2015)

Reporting of search and rescue operations and discussion of search and rescue policy remained the second most frequent theme (66.7%). Political response/policy (56.7%) was also prominent with the government's response to the crisis and policy debate amongst EU leaders frequently leading the news agenda.

Mafia / Traffic	80.0%
Search and Rescue / Aid Supplies	66.7%
Political Response / Policy	56.7%
Humanitarian (Key Theme)	40.0%
Mortality / Mortality Figures	33.3%
Immigration Figures / Levels	30.0%
Humanitarian (Elements)	23.3%
Journey	20.0%
Human Rights	10.0%
Receiving / Rejecting	10.0%
Threat to National Security	3.3%
Welfare / Benefits / Resources	3.3%
Crime	3.3%
Total N	114

Table 10.8: Themes in *Il Corriere della Sera* (proportion of articles featuring each theme)

Humanitarian themes which expressed compassion and empathy for the victims appeared frequently in the reports immediately after the boat disaster. For instance, a piece titled 'May God help us written on their skin. The arrival in Malta of the nameless dead' (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 21 April 2015) was entirely devoted to a report on the bodies of drowned refugees recovered from the Mediterranean near Malta.

Perhaps surprising, bearing in mind the extra burden Italy was shouldering as one of the key transit points for migrants and refugees, was the absence of threat themes. The argument that taking in migrants may constitute a threat to national security featured in one story in which PM Renzi was quoted as warning that 'not all those aboard the traffickers' boats are innocent families'. There was also a report on the arrest of 14 Muslims after they allegedly threw Christians overboard after a dispute on the boat.

Labels

The labels used by *Il Corriere della Sera* were similar to those employed by *La Repubblica.* However, the term *rifugiato* (refugee) was used twice as frequently (*La Repubblica* 9.9%; *Il Corriere* 20.9%). The negative term *clandestine* (clandestine / illegal), was more likely to feature in *Il Corriere della Sera* (7.9%) than in the other two newspapers. This can partly be explained with references to the legal 'charge of *clandestine* migration' in the context of police investigations into people smuggling.

Migrante *(Migrant)*	32.4%
Profugo *(Refugee)*	24.5%
Rifugiato *(Refugee)*	20.9%
Clandestino *(Clandestine)*	7.9%
Immigrato *(Immigrant)*	4.3%
Richiedente Asilo *(Asylum Seeker)*	3.6%
Straniero *(Foreigner)*	3.6%
Illegal *(Illegal)*	1.4%
Extracomunitario (Immigrant from outside Europe)	0.7%
Emigrante *(Emigrant)*	0.7%
Total N	139

Table 10.9: Italian labels by *Il Corriere della Sera*: (Each label as a proportion of total labels)

Explanations

Il Corriere della Sera featured the narrowest range of explanations for why people were trying to enter Europe. Explanations were also featured relatively infrequently. This may be because this story has been covered so heavily and for such a long period

that editors and journalists now assume that readers are aware of why people are crossing the Mediterranean. Whatever the reason there was a lack of context as to the factors driving migratory flows.

War/conflict	23.3%
Repressive regime / persecutions	10.0%
Poverty/economic	6.7%
Total N	12

Table 10.10: Explanations for population flows in *Il Corriere della Sera* (proportion of articles featuring each explanation).

Solutions

The responses proposed by the Italian government received most coverage across the news reports of *Il Corriere della Sera*. A concerted EU response (53.3%) involving a joint action plan against migrant trafficking (43.3%) and restoration of an extensive search and rescue mission (23.3%) were the three most frequently discussed solutions. Whilst the discussion of search and rescue was slightly higher in *La Repubblica* (20%), the fight against people smuggling received by far the most attention in *Il Corriere della Sera*. This extract from an article titled 'The day before the extraordinary EU Summit' outlines the solutions put forward by Renzi to tackle the refugee crisis:

> The government advocates at least three responses: a mandate should be given to Federica Mogherini, from all 28 EU states, to study details and strategies for a military operation to capture people smugglers and destroy their boats; the concrete possibility, beyond a certain threshold, of the relocation of refugees and asylum seekers in all EU countries in order to alleviate Italy of the burden; the extension of the mandate of European missions Triton and Poseidon – both of which require a doubling of funds – to search and rescue refugees at sea, extending the current remit that merely involves maritime patrolling. (*Il Corriere della Sera,* 23 April 2015)

Another key aspect of the Italian government's strategy to fight migrants was the demand for United Nations involvement in international police operation against migrant traffickers in Libya. A report titled 'Mission in Libya for patrolling shores and ports: the Italian plan' (*Il Corriere della Sera* 20 April 2015) detailed the government's proposed policing operation that would involve a military contingent in Libya. The plan would need to be authorised by the EU and the United Nations.

United EU response	53.3%
Action/prevention taken on smugglers/traffickers	43.3%
Search and rescue operations should be increased	23.3%
Controlling migration routes /policing operation in	20.0%
Conflict resolution/ stablise Libya	16.7%
Taking in refugees/more legal channels for migration	13.3%
Aid/assistance	10.0%
Amend/change the Dublin Convention	3.3%
Total N	55

Table 10.11: Solutions to refugee crisis in *Il Corriere della Sera* (proportion of news articles featuring each response)

Il Corriere della Sera news accounts featured extensive criticism of EU resolutions put forward at the summit on 23 April. A range of sources accused the EU of drafting policy responses that were inadequate and not proportionate to the crisis. In one article titled: 'The Church challenges Europe: "They are selfish"' (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 25 April 2015), Catholic sources criticised the reluctance of European member states – such as Britain – to share the burden of the crisis.

The proposal to tackle the refugee crisis by stabilizing Libya and other North African countries bordering the Mediterranean featured more frequently in *Il Corriere della Sera* (16.7%) than in the other two newspapers. *Il Corriere della Sera* also devoted most attention to the necessity of diplomatic efforts as urged by PM Renzi.

The discussion of more 'humanitarian solutions' aimed at the creation of legal routes into Europe, also appeared more frequently in *Il Corriere della Sera* than in the other two newspapers. The opinion piece by Antonio Guterres (UNHCR) outlined a series of proposals including the creation of alternative entry routes and more equal sharing of reception responsibilities among EU member states:

> Western nations must also work toward the creation of further legal alternatives that allow refugees to find protection, including an expanded program of resettlement, schemes for humanitarian admission, more opportunities for family reunification, agreements of private sponsorship, and student and work visas. Without real alternative channels enabling people to achieve security, it is unlikely that the much needed increase in international commitment towards the fight against smugglers and traffickers will be effective. Some of the most recent proposals for shared responsibility in the European Union, including further support to the countries that receive the highest number of arrivals, the relocation of emergency refugees between EU member states, and a pilot project providing more resettlement quotas, represent a starting point. But much more needs to be done. We must share responsibilities in Europe, more fairly. A

> system in which two countries – Germany and Sweden – welcome the majority of refugees is not sustainable. (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 24 April 2015)

La Stampa

Opinion/Editorials

La Stampa is Italy's third most popular daily after *La Repubblica* and *Il Corriere della Sera* and has a centrist stance. In our sample we had 20 news articles from *La Stampa* making it the newspaper with the lowest number of reports focusing on the crisis following the 18 April shipwreck. The newspaper had on the whole fewer pages than *La Repubblica* and *La Stampa* and this partly explains the lower level of coverage.

Only one article in the sample was explicitly categorised as an opinion piece. Titled 'The shipwreck of European values', the piece was written by English journalist and *La Stampa* columnist Bill Emmott. The article presented very similar arguments to those expressed in editorials and opinion pieces in *Il Corriere della Sera* and *La Repubblica*. According to Emmott, 'The transformation of the Mediterranean into a graveyard' has exposed a divided Europe that is incapable of a concerted comprehensive action to resolve the refugee crisis:

> We [Europeans] are capable of cooperation and coordination when we send our navies to fight pirates in the Indian Ocean. So why cannot we do the same in our sea, the Mediterranean, and in our eastern borders crossed by Syrian refugees? We could, but in order to make politically viable decisions we need a common approach for processing migrants who qualify to stay and where they can be allowed to settle. Then we need to have a shared strategy on how to integrate them, which means a communitarian approach on welfare costs and rights. This would make it easier to convince the public in our countries that what is happening is fair, reducing distrust and the blame game. Yet, as the latest shipwreck disaster has demonstrated, we are far, very far from this point. European values are sinking (*La Stampa,* 21 April 2015).

Whilst on the whole *La Stampa* presented more of a hard news reporting style and approach to coverage, a few reports had a tendency to editorialise, and criticism of Fortress Europe was frequently voiced by reporters and a range of other sources. One report positioned in the Culture section of the paper expressed strong scepticism about EU resolutions: 'Migrants. The Dublin Regulation is at risk of turning into a mockery' (*La Stampa,* 25 April 2015). The piece expressed disappointment over new resolutions put forward by an 'indifferent and divided' Europe and advocated a reform of the Dublin Convention.

Sources

Table 10.12 shows that, in our sample of 20 articles, *La Stampa* cited a narrower range of sources in comparison to the other newspapers in our sample. Migrants and refugees were more likely to be cited than any other source and this reflects the fact that *La Stampa* coverage was more focused on the events in Mediterranean and less concerned with policy than the other Italian newspapers. This is also reflected in the proportion of domestic political sources which was much lower than in the other two newspapers. These key elite political sources were eclipsed by EU Commissioners, who do not appear at all in *La Repubblica*. Of the political sources that did appear, all were affiliated to the Democratic Party, Prime Minister Renzi's ruling party. NGOs were infrequently featured, with Amnesty International Italy the only NGO cited in the sample.

Migrant / Refugee	32.5%
EU Commission	12.5%
Domestic Politician	10.0%
Trafficker/Smuggler	10.0%
Law / Judiciary	7.5%
NGO/Civil Society	5.0%
Police	5.0%
Church / Religion	5.0%
Foreign Politician	2.5%
Journalist / Media	2.5%
Other	7.5%
Total N	40

Table 10.12 Sources in *La Stampa* (each source as a proportion of all sources)

Themes

Table 10.13 shows the range of themes featuring in *La Stampa.* The most prominent themes were those most discussed by politicians such as the issues of people smuggling and search and rescue operations. However, discussion of policy only appeared in approximately one in three articles. References to human rights featured more frequently in *La Stampa* than in the other two newspapers. In particular, discussions around the 'right of asylum' featured regularly in news accounts which discussed the consequences of the Dublin Regulation (migrants stranded on the frontiers of northern Italy) and the need to propose amendments.

Search and Rescue / Aid Supplies	70%
Mafia / Traffic	65%
Humanitarian (Key Theme)	55%
Political Response / Policy	35%
Mortality / Mortality Figures	25%
Human Rights	25%
Immigration Figures / Levels	20%
Receiving / Rejecting	20%
Journey	20%
Humanitarian (Elements)	15%
Post-arrival Integration	10%
Threat to National Security	5%
Welfare / Benefits / Resources	5%
Total N	74

Table 10.13: Themes in *La Stampa* (proportion of articles featuring each theme)

Labels

In terms of the labels used in *La Stampa*, we find that the term *migrante* (migrant) is used at both a much higher level than in the other two newspapers and substantially more often than in the first phase of the study. In a similar vein the formal term for refugee – *rifugiato* – was again used more frequently than in the earlier sample. The other term for refugee, *profugo*, however, was more rarely used in this second sample and was also less likely to be used in comparison to the other newspapers in the sample.

Migrante *(Migrant)*	51.6%
Rifugiato *(Refugee)*	19.4%
Immigrato *(Immigrant)*	9.7%
Clandestino *(Clandestine)*	6.5%
Richiedente asilo *(Asylum Seeker)*	6.5%
Profugo *(Refugee)*	4.8%
Straniero *(Foreigner)*	1.6%
Total N	62

Table 10.14: Italian labels in *La Stampa*: (proportion of times each label is used as a proportion of total labels)

Explanations

In line with the findings in the earlier sample, *La Stampa* was marginally more likely to feature explanations for why people were attempting to cross the Mediterranean. *La Stampa* also featured the widest range of reasons, with an average of 1.1 explanations

in each news report. On one occasion an entire article was devoted to examining these factors. Titled 'A population fleeing from wars, famines and dictatorships' the report examined a range of reasons why populations fled their countries and drew heavily on comments from Italy's Director General of Amnesty International:

> Seven out of ten of the desperate people that at the present defy the Mediterranean, are potential refugees, argue migration experts. This means that among the people crammed on to precarious boats like the one that sank last Saturday, only a few are chasing the prospect of a job and almost all are escaping from the horrors of war, dictators, humanitarian crises, failed countries, to the point to leaving no alternative but to bet with death. The Director General of Amnesty International Italy Gianni Rufini notes that 'they are often middle class, with greater financial means and a riskier political exposure.' (*La Stampa*,21 April 2015).

War/conflict/Atrocities/	45%
Poverty/economic	30%
Political reasons	10%
Repressive regime	10%
Absence of border control	5%
Isis/terrorism	5%
Natural disasters	5%
Total N	22

Table 10.15: Explanations for population flows in *La Stampa* (proportion of articles featuring each explanation).

Solutions

In our sample of 20 stories from *La Stampa* we found that on average almost 2 solutions were mentioned or discussed in each news report. In terms of what measures should be adopted to resolve the refugee crisis, table 10.16 shows a very similar pattern to that of *Il Corriere della Sera.* Particularly prominent in *La Stampa* was the call for united EU response which appeared in 80% of the articles. For instance, a front page piece published on 20 April was titled 'A common policy in three moves' and discussed three potential responses to the crisis. Firstly, it was argued the Mediterranean crisis could only be tackled with a concerted European response which recognised that 'Italian borders are EU frontiers'. Secondly, the report stressed the need for the international community to restore stability in 'key countries' such as Libya:

> Second point: no response to the refugee flows crisis will ever work without restoring some form of stability in key countries, Libya first of all. The Italian

> Government rightly considers this an international priority. Libya is not a matter of our own backyard: it is the soft underbelly through which Mediterranean and African factors of instability reach the whole of Europe. (*La Stampa,* 20 April 2015)

Thirdly, the article argued that all EU member states needed to share the responsibility for hosting refugees because Italy 'as the first entry point has at the moment a disproportionate reception burden'. This, it maintained, would require amendments to the Dublin Regulations. In a similar vein it was argued that Europe should share allocate more funds and vessels for search and rescue operations.

The article resonated with another piece which criticised Fortress Europe for failing to provide long-term solutions to a global crisis. Instead of border reinforcement, the article argued, the EU response should involve 'specific interventions along the 'exodus route': from tackling the factors that drive migration flows through the processing of refugee claims to the refugees' safe relocation, and 'active' reception which should include employment (*La Stampa,* 23 April 2015). The European Commission proposals were discussed regularly in coverage and criticism was repeatedly voiced at the absence of a strong search and rescue mandate in the EU's revised maritime operations.

The proposal to enforce naval blockades in order to prevent refugee boats from leaving African maritime waters was mentioned on a few occasions. Strongly advocated by some of the opposition parties (Northern League, Forza Italia, and M5S), this resolution was by and large presented in coverage as not being part of the government's proposed solutions.

> The Senate approved the proposals of the resolution plans of the opposition parties M5S and FI. However, despite Forza Italia's hopes for the enforcement of blockades, the government has made it clear that its plans are not in that direction. (*La Stampa,* 23 April 2015)

The enforcement of blockades as a measure to prevent perilous sea crossings into Europe was examined in greater detail and dismissed as 'premature' and 'ineffective' in a report which presented the view of the Chief of the Defence Staff, General Claudio Graziano:

> Journalist: Part of the political world urges naval blockades to prevent similar tragedies happening again.
>
> General Graziano: At present there are not appropriate conditions to implement a naval blockade. In the absence of a resolution from the United Nations or of a bilateral agreement [with Libya], such action would stand as a real act of war… We must also bear in mind that a naval blockade would increase the chances for the smugglers to take advantage of the massive presence of military ships,

> which would be obliged to intervene in the rescuing of migrants. (*La Stampa*, 21 April 2015)

The solution proposed by the source in the article was to tackle human trafficking with joint international efforts:

> The priority is to prevent traffickers from carrying out their activities… Italy has arrested almost one thousand people smugglers since the start of the crisis which is an important number, although not sufficient to suppress the phenomenon. It is thus necessary to identify more incisive interventions through reinforced international cooperation. (*La Stampa*, 21 April 2015)

Fighting against people smugglers was the second most frequently cited solution in *La Stampa.* In line with *Il Corriere della Sera*, its prominence reflected the fact that it was being strongly advocated by the Italian government.

United EU response/ quota sharing	80%
Action/prevention taken on smugglers/traffickers	30%
Search and rescue should be increased	20%
Taking in refugees/more legal channels for migration	15%
Conflict resolution / stability in Libya	15%
Blockade Ports/ Close down migration routes	10%
Reject/deport more refugees	10%
Amend the Dublin Convention	5%
Aid/assistance	5%
Total N	38

Table 10.16: Solutions to refugee crisis in *La Stampa*(proportion of news articles featuring each response)

Conclusion

Three key points emerge from our analysis of the second Italian sample. Firstly, the three newspapers reported the aftermath of the disaster in broadly similar ways. Reporting of the event along with the response of the Italian government and EU dominated coverage. Opinion and editorial pieces regularly argued that the disaster exposed the European Union's failure to take decisive and concerted action over an escalating humanitarian crisis. This meant that ultimately EU policy was held responsible for the incident. Criticism of EU policy was expressed by reporters and a wide range of other sources in stories which discussed various aspects of the crisis.

Secondly, the most frequently cited sources were political elites in *La Repubblica* and *Il Corriere della Sera*. However, *La Stampa* cited migrants and EU Commission sources more frequently than domestic politicians. NGO sources and migrant advocacy groups appeared infrequently and at a lower level than in the earlier sample.

However, *La Repubblica* and *Il Corriere* each devoted an entire piece to comment pieces from UNHCR representatives (respectively Cochetel and Guterres). Refugees appeared, on the whole, more frequently than in the main study. This can be explained by the strong focus on the disaster and the fact that testimonies from survivors were used as part of the criminal investigations by Italian prosecutors.

Thirdly, in terms of solutions to tackle the crisis, all three newspapers devoted the most attention to measures announced by the government and disagreements between the government and the EU. This meant debate concentrated on a relatively limited number of potential responses. These included the need for a concerted European action plan (featuring as the most cited resolution in all three newspapers, appearing particularly frequently in *La Stampa*), the fight against people trafficking (particularly prominent in *Il Corriere della Sera*), and the reinstatement of joint search and rescue operations. Diplomatic efforts toward political stability in Libya were also frequently mentioned. Humanitarian responses such as expanded legal routes for migration which were advocated by NGOs or UNHCR/UN sources appeared less frequently. *La Repubblica* featured hostile responses, such as the proposal to blockade North African ports, which were advocated by Northern League and other far-right groups, more frequently than the other two newspapers. However, such proposals were often challenged by journalists or other sources.

Finally, we should note that similarities in news agendas and arguments can be explained by the fact that all three titles are quality newspapers whose political orientations are similar. Whilst *La Repubblica* is considered a centre-left newspaper and *La Stampa* centre-oriented, *Il Corriere della Sera*, traditionally conservative and centre-right-oriented has being leaning towards the centre after taking a strong anti-Berlusconi stance since the 2006 General Election.

Chapter 11: Germany (by Bernard Gross, University of the West of England)

As in our earlier sample, there were significant differences in the quantity of coverage devoted to the crisis by the three newspapers in our sample. Once again, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* featured by far the largest quantity of coverage followed by *Die Welt* and *Bild*.

Bild	*Süddeutsche Zeitung*	*Die Welt*
11	50	17

Table 11.1 Prevalence of stories in the German Press

Süddeutsche Zeitung also featured coverage across a much wider range of newspaper sections. For instance, not only did it feature more editorials and comments pieces than other German newspapers, but refugee and asylum stories could also be found in its review and book sections. *Süddeutsche Zeitung* also covered a much wider range of angles on the issue than the other titles. In contrast *Die Welt* adopted a more long form analytical approach to its articles whilst *Bild* followed its standard format of short, context light, often sensationalist coverage. Whilst there were many areas of continuity in relation to the earlier sample there were also areas in which overall coverage had shifted. For instance there was a much greater emphasis across the press on how to respond to the crisis, with a much greater focus on the issue of people smuggling and the need to stablise Libya.

Bild

The events in the Mediterranean dominated the coverage of refugee issues in *Bild* in our second sample of the German press. Overall, the coverage can be described as broadly sympathetic towards refugees. As a consequence some of the issues prominent in the coverage of refugee stories in the earlier sample were less prominent here. While themes, such as domestic policy and politics were present and remained a strong element of coverage, the human interest dimension which focused on the fate of refugees, either as individuals or as a group, came to the fore. This foregrounding of the human side of the story, often in a highly sensational manner, could be found in many of the main headlines during the period such as:

> REFUGEE-TRAGEDY; Up to 950 people drown in the Mediterranean! (*Bild*, Front page, 20 April 2015)
>
> Another refugee-tragedy in the Mediterranean STOP THE TRAGEDY! NOW!
> (*Bild*, Front page, 21 April 2015)
>
> Refugee catastrophe in the Mediterranean; 'I am the fisherman who pulled the DEAD BOY from the sea' (*Bild*, 22 April 2015)

> SAVED! *BILD* found NEBIYAT (23), the woman from the refugee boat. She tells the story of a dramatic escape that ended off Rhodos (*Bild*, 24 April 2015)

However, closer inspection reveals that often the human interest element of these stories sits alongside a variety of other themes. For instance, the front page story on April 20 2015 also contained a sub-headline.

> REFUGEE-TRAGEDY; UP TO 950 PEOPLE DROWN IN THE MEDITERRANEAN! +++They wanted to get to Italy+++Last week alone 21000 came across the sea+++Politicians demand: Stop the trade in humans+++ (*Bild*, Front page, 20 April 2015)

Here the focus quickly shifted from the specific event to the broader context and finished with a call from politicians to clamp down on people smuggling. From this extended headline the coverage jumped to page 6 where a series of articles explored other angles. One piece was titled '*Bild* answers the most important questions', another focused on reactions from German politicians and the Pope, whilst a third piece provided more background on 'the rotten business of the people smugglers'. These articles were complemented by a short opinion piece on page 2 (see note on opinion pieces below).

This highlights how the themes that appeared in the previous sample re-emerge here. This can also been seen in how *Bild* conceptualises 'the most important questions':

> Why do so many drown this year?
> Where do the refugees come from?
> Which routes do the refugees take?
> Will the surviving refugees be deported or are they allowed to stay?
> How does the EU react to the current case?
> How can the refugee problem be defused?

Of particular note, was the extent to which the answers to these questions focused on the roles of both Germany and the EU. This also explains the continued dominance of domestic political sources, as several of the answers primarily drew on the views of German politicians. Overall, the answers also provide a substantive amount of background and touch upon most of the main themes in coverage. In the process the emphasis of the coverage weakened its initial, strong focus on the disaster and the fate of the refugees.

The *Bild* sample featured three short opinion pieces and one letter. One article by a staff writer (20 April 2015) was titled 'Enough with the human trade!' and consisted on an attack on the role of people smugglers in the crisis. A second from Professor Ernst Elitz, one of the founding directors of Deutschlandradio, (21 April 15) was titled 'It's the terror's fault' and discussed the role of IS and other jihadi groups in creating the crisis. The third opinion piece was a 'Mail from Wagner' column which

praised a television talk-show guest for instigating a minute's silence on the talk-show to remember the dead. The only letter in our *Bild* sample (22 April 2015) consisted of another attack on the role of people smugglers: 'Europe is already doing so much for the refugees. The traffickers are a disgrace, who take advantage of these miserable people and earn a pile of dough from it.

It is clear from the headlines and content that opinion was sympathetic towards refugees. However, as the letter indicated, while there was sympathy and understanding that does not necessarily translate into an unconditional welcome for refugees.

Sources

Table 11.2 shows the relative appearance of different source categories in the sample. As in the previous sample, domestic politicians sources were the most cited sources and actually increased their share from 32.6% to 51.5% of all source appearances. Migrants/refugees were also more prominent than in the earlier sample, making up 8.6% of source appearances. Also noticeable was the increase in the visibility of the UNHCR/UN sourcing from a 0% to a 5.7% share. However, the proportion of citizen voices fell sharply (from 34.9% to 14.3%) whilst NGOs disappeared completely from *Bild* coverage.

National Government	51.4%
Citizen	14.3%
Journalist / Media	11.4%
Migrant / Refugee	8.6%
UNHCR/UN	5.7%
Foreign Politician	2.9%
European Commission	2.9%
Church/Religious	2.9%
Total N	35

Table 11.2: *Bild* sources (each source as a proportion of all sources)

The spread of German political voices roughly correlated to their party share in national politics (see Table 11.3). The three parties which formed the current, grand coalition government at the federal level were the most prominent. Interestingly, the leader of the FDP, a party prominent in German politics for decades that, however, missed out on a seat in the German Bundestag at the last general election, was featured once.

CDU	35.3%
SPD	35.3%
Bündnis90/Grünen	11.8%
CSU	5.9%
FDP	5.9%
Die Linke	5.9%
AFD	0.0%
Total N	17

Table 11.3: *Bild* political sources (each source as a proportion of all political sources)

Themes

Table 11.4 provides an overview over the frequency of different themes. While the Immigration Figures/Levels category remained almost level at 54.5% (58.1% in phase 1), it was no longer the most frequently occurring theme. Due to the intensive focus on the events in the Mediterranean, mortality figures (81.8% from 18.6%) and search and rescue (72.7% from 32.6%) were the two most frequent themes. The substantial focus on the role of people smugglers and the attempts by EU politicians to frame the disaster as being the responsibility of traffickers explains why the Mafia/Traffic theme was so much more prominent in this later sample (63.6% from 7%). This sample also included much more focus on how to respond to the crisis which can be seen in increase in the prominence of the political response/policy theme (63.6% from 23.3%).

Mortality / Mortality Figures	81.8%
Search and Rescue / Aid Supplies	72.7%
Mafia / Traffic	63.6%
Political Response / Policy	63.6%
Immigration Figures / Levels	54.5%
Humanitarian (Elements)	54.5%
Journey	18.2%
Receiving / Rejecting	9.1%
Total N	46

Table 11.4: *Bild* Themes (proportion of articles featuring each theme)

Labelling

In line with the earlier sample, *Bild* again tended to predominately use the term ‘refugee’. Together with the terms for asylum seeker/asylum applicant these terms made up almost 100% of the labels employed. The consistency in this label usage indicates that there are stable and well established patterns for the use of controversial political labels, and that there is very little conflation of refugee and asylum issues with immigration.

Flüchtling(e) (*Refugee*)	96.9%
Asylsuchende(r)/ Asylbewerber (*AsylumSeeker*)	2.3%
Migrant(en) (*Migrant*)	0.8%
Immigrant(en)/ Einwanderer(in)/ Zuwanderer(in) (*Immigrant*)	0.0%
Total N	152

Table 11.5: *Bild* labels (each label as a proportion of all labels)

Reasons

In line with the findings from our earlier sample, *Bild* provided relatively little context to the events in Mediterranean. Nearly three quarters of articles (72.7%) provided no explanation for why people were trying to cross into Europe. On the infrequent occasions that explanations were provided, they tended to focus on the argument that people were fleeing conflicts or ISIS/terrorism. Economic pull factors were only cited once, in a series of quotes from politicians. The mention came in a quote from Hartwig Fischer, identified as a member of the CDU and director of the German Africa Foundation, that the Africa policies in place are moving in the right direction but when 'the people see our standard of living on the Internet, the fascination is simply too big.' (*Bild*, 22 April 2015)

War/conflict/atrocities	27.3%
ISIS/terrorism	18.2%
Repressive regime	9.1%
Poverty/economic	9.1%
Total N	7

Table 11.6: *Bild* Explanations (proportion of articles featuring each explanation)

Solutions

When it came to what should be done about the crisis, *Bild* was more likely to provide discussion of solutions here (appeared in 63.3% of articles) than in the earlier sample (appeared in 23.3% of articles) The coverage of solutions also shifted with a much greater emphasis on action against smugglers and increasing search and rescue operations, both of which were not even mentioned as potential policy responses in the earlier sample. The emphasis on search and rescue is apparent in several of the selection of short statements from politicians in the edition on 21 April 2015. Germany's Home Secreaty, Thomas De Maizière, for instance, is quoted stating: 'The sea rescue needs to be substantially improved, it needs be quickly organised and financed on a European level.' Most explanations, though in keeping with *Bild*'s predominant short form articles, were extremely brief.

Search and rescue operations should be increased	45.5%
Action/prevention taken on smugglers/traffickers	27.3%
EU/United response	18.2%
Aid/assistance	9.1%
Taking in refugees/more legal channels for migration	9.1%
Act against jihadis/ISIS	9.1%
Total N	14

Table 11.7 *Bild* Solutions (proportion of articles featuring each solution)

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Overall, the coverage in *Süddeutsche Zeitung* was much more extensive than in the other two newspapers. It was not only the overall quantity of the coverage that set *Süddeutsche Zeitung* apart from the other two German newspapers in the sample, it was also the number of feature, opinion and comment pieces through which the paper engaged with the crisis. Discussion of the story was not confined to the news sections, but also appeared in the Meinungsseite (Opinion) pages as well as in the sections which dealt with cultural features/book reviews (Feuilleton and Buch 2 sections). While the articles focused on issues such as the immediate plight of the refugees and policy responses, they also raised questions of morality and our responsibility to other human beings in a globalised world. Such themes can be seen in the following headlines:

> EU-REFUGEE POLITICS; this Union kills (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Opinion section, 18 April 2015)
>
> REFUGEES; Help out of self-respect (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Opinion section, 21 April 2015,)
>
> REFUGEES; When words are worth nothing no more (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Opinion section, 22 April 2015)
>
> To turn misery into vice; ever more refugees lose their lives in the Mediterranean. Is their rescue a humanitarian act? No—Europe is not merely morally but, without a doubt, also legally obliged to help. (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Review Section, 23 April 2015)
>
> To have rights; in the face of the fleeing we see more than their misery, but also our own contradictions (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Opinion section, 25 April 2015)
>
> War, hunger, poverty, terror, dictatorship—where unrest rules, humans are always fleeing. Since time immemorial fleeing has been a leitmotiv, an alternative word for the search for a better life. This search is dangerous and

> often has a deadly end, as it had for the shipwrecked of the Mediterranean. They all had one thing: hope (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Review section, 25 April 2015)

The opinion piece from 25 April, provided a good example of the range of some of the coverage. The author, Carolin Emke, discussed democracy drawing on the ideals of the French revolution and ideas developed by Hannah Arendt about the trauma of losing one's homeland, to consider the contemporary political and policy situation in Europe, in which she suggested 'the right to asylum is merely simulated'. Emke argued that refugees *are not* but *should be* considered part of the demos of democracy: 'This democratic deficit of a world that is economically interwoven and aesthetically networked, but which does not want to open itself politically, is not easy to solve.' The author concluded with a question directed at Europe's leaders: 'Can Europe do more than just defend its values against others and instead also assert them for others?'

It is important to note that these almost philosophical pieces appeared alongside hard news coverage of the events. For instance, on 21 April *Süddeutsche Zeitung* featured the opinion piece mentioned above and a front-page story titled:

> Death of refugees shakes Europe awake; after the death of hundreds of Africans in the Mediterranean the EU wants to improve sea rescue. Merkel: We have to do everything so that people no longer die 'on our front-door'

It also dedicated its topic-of-the-day page, page 2, to the issue with a story which examined the impact of the crisis on German ship owners and people smuggling between Libya and Italy. The piece also explored the motivations of refugees who made the perilous journey through Libya to the EU by focusing on the situation in various countries across Africa and the Middle East. While this article didn't include refugees as direct sources, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* did include refugee sources elsewhere in a way that went beyond the human interest framing that could be found in *Bild* and *Die Welt*.

For instance on 25 April 2015 *Süddeutsche Zeitung* featured a long article in its Book 2 section which was built around testimony from a number of refugees. The headline of the article was indicative of the empathetic way these stories were presented to *Süddeutsche Zeitung* readers:

> Hundreds dead, each time, thousands dead, in total: The number of drowned refugees is monstrous. Behind each of the dead is a story—but who should tell it? Witnesses are those who have survived the escape. Why they left, why they were fleeing, what they are looking for: 25 of them have told our authors their story

The article itself, in which the 25 stories were covered in approximately 250 words each carried a number of sub-headings, such as 'Rape', 'Among murderers', 'The evil [people]', 'And tomorrow Rome', 'Gratefulness', and 'All alone'. Through these stories *Süddeutsche Zeitung* humanised the refugees and allowed readers to emphasize with their experiences and suffering.

As in the earlier sample, there were a significant number of stories which examined the local impact of accommodating refugees as well as local initiatives to integrate them in the community. This is because of *Süddeutsche Zeitung*'s status as a regional newspaper, published in Munich, which has a strong focus on what is going on in Bavaria. This means that some of this more local coverage would only have appeared in editions distributed in Munich and a number of towns/counties surrounding the Bavarian capital.

Sources

Table 11.8 shows the relative appearance of different source categories. In line with the findings in the earlier sample, citizen voices were the most heavily accessed sources. Again, this tended to be in the context of interviews with members of the public discussing local initiatives to integrate refugees. For example, an article from the 23 April 2015 edition was titled 'Undiscovered land: The Fürstenfeldbrucker Waterrats offer swimming lessons to young refugees. It's a question of honour for the club who is short on elite and young talent.' Refugee voices were more prominent than in the earlier sample but that is largely a consequence of the single report (discussed above) which featured the voices of 25 refugees. There was also a fall in the prominence of domestic political voices and a rise in the proportion of foreign politicians because of the focus on debates which were being held at the EU level. NGO/Civil Society sources fell significantly (from 8.6% to 1.5%) in comparison to the earlier sample.

Citizen	30.9%
Refugee/Migrant	22.1%
National Government	18.4%
Foreign Politician	9.6%
Journalist / Media	7.4%
European Commission	2.9%
MEP	2.2%
Police	1.5%
Academic / Expert	1.5%
UNHCR/UN	1.5%
NGO/Civil Society	1.5%
Church/Religious	0.7%
Total N	136

Table 11.8: *Süddeutsche Zeitung* sources (each source as a proportion of all sources)

In this sample it was the CDU which was the dominant source, rather than their sister party, the CSU. This is surprising as the CSU is based in Bavaria, but may be due to the fact that Chancellor Merkel and her CDU MPs were the key sources at the EU negotiations. The appearance of a representative from the AfD (Alternative for Germany) which has a critical stance towards Europe and immigration and is not in the German Bundestag, occurred not on the national level but in an article on a debate within Munich city council where the AfD is represented.

CDU	46.2%
Bündnis90/Grünen	19.2%
CSU	15.4%
Die Linke	7.7%
SPD	7.7%
AFD	3.8%
Total N	26

Table 11.9: *Süddeutsche Zeitung* political sources (each source as a proportion of all sources)

Labelling

As in the earlier sample, the dominant label used in *Süddeutsche Zeitung* was 'refugee' which actually increased its share from 70% to 89% of all label use. Once again, there was very little conflation of asylum issues and immigration.

Flüchtling(e) (*Refugee*)	89.0%
Asylsuchende(r)/ Asylbewerber (*Asylum Seeker*)	7.6%
Migrant(en) (*Migrant*)	2.9%
Immigrant(en)/ Einwanderer(in)/ Zuwanderer(in) (*Immigrant*)	0.5%
Total N	382

Table 11.10: *Süddeutsche Zeitung* labels (each label as a proportion of all labels)

Themes

Table 11.11 provides an overview of the frequency of different themes in *Süddeutsche Zeitung* reporting. In comparison to the earlier sample, there have been some major shifts. The focus in this sample was much more concentrated on policy debates, particularly the question of what the EU should do about the problem. It was also much more focused on themes directly related to what had happened in the Mediterranean, such as search and rescue and mortality statistics. In line with the findings across our sample, the visibility of people smuggling as an issue has also become much more prominent. Meanwhile, issues such as post-arrival integration have declined in significance. Threat themes remained low whilst there was also a slight decrease in the number of articles taking an explicitly humanitarian focus.

Political Response / Policy	78.0%
Mortality / Mortality Figures	66.0%
Search and Rescue / Aid Supplies	54.0%
Immigration Figures / Levels	54.0%
Mafia / Traffic	50.0%
Humanitarian (Elements)	20.0%
Human Rights	12.0%
Journey	12.0%
Post-Arrival Integration	12.0%
Receiving / Rejecting	8.0%
Threat to Communities / Cultural Threat	6.0%
Threat to National Security	4.0%
Humanitarian (Key Theme)	4.0%
Migrant/Refugees/Asylum Seekers Success	2.0%
Total N	191

Table 11.11: *Süddeutsche Zeitung* themes (proportion of articles featuring each theme)

Reasons and Solutions

In line with the previous sample most articles contained no information about why refugees and migrants were attempting to enter the EU. Only 32% of articles (down from 37% in the previous sample) mentioned any factors that could be driving population flows. However, raw statistics obscure the fact that some articles - such as the one discussed above which recounted the stories of 25 refugees - provided some very in depth accounts of what had caused people to leave their homelands. When explanations did appear they tended to focus on push factors relating to war or repressive regimes rather than suggesting people were drawn primarily by economic pull actors.

War/conflict/atrocities	28.0%
Poverty/economic	16.0%
Repressive regime	10.0%
ISIS/terrorism	2.0%
Total N	29

Table 11.12: *Süddeutsche Zeitung* explanations (proportion of articles featuring each explanation)

In line with the findings in *Bild*, the second sample in *Süddeutsche Zeitung* was far more focused on the question of what could be done to resolve the refugee and migrant crisis. The proportion of articles which discussed solutions approximately doubled from 27.3% in our earlier sample to 59.0% here. Whilst there was a strong focus on relatively uncontroversial policies, such as increasing search and rescue operations, there was also a much greater focus on taking action against people smugglers. There was also more space given over to arguments for both taking in more people, and restricting the number of people arriving or deporting those whose asylum applicants had been rejected.

Search and rescue operations should be increased	32.0%
Action on smugglers/close migration routes	24.0%
Taking in refugees/more legal channels for migration	18.0%
United response/EU Help	16.0%
Reject more applicants/reduce migration levels	10.0%
More security at borders	4.0%
Aid/assistance	4.0%
Stablise Libya/Conflict Resolution	4.0%
Change Foreign Policy	2.0%
Total N	62

Table 11.13: *Süddeutsche Zeitung* solutions (proportion of articles featuring each solution)

Die Welt

Compared to *Bild* and *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, the coverage in *Die Welt* was more muted. Though the tone was not unsympathetic to the plight of the refugees, there was less emphasis on the refugee perspective and a greater concentration on policy. While the specific events in the Mediterranean were covered with some empathy, they were often linked to other issues such as people smuggling and the question of how the EU should respond to this unprecedented influx of refugees and migrants, as can be seen in the following headlines:

> The smugglers operate from a refugee camp in Sicily; on the day after the catastrophe in the Mediterranean the police arrested dozens of smugglers. The boss was a refugee himself. (*Die Welt,* Politics section, 21 April 2015,)

> To square the circle of misery; The refugee tragedy in the Mediterranean contains many a dilemma. The situation in the countries of origin cannot be influenced and Europe would not be able to cope with the millions of immigrants (*Die Welt,* Forum/comment , 23 April 2015,)

> The Fishers of Men of Sicily; with their boats the men provide humanitarian aid and rescue refugees. They are facing the threat of being imprisoned in Libya. (*Die Welt,* Politics section, 24 April 2015,)

> Disappointment over EU-summit; Aid organisations call it a 'disgrace', because the measures are insufficient. Merkel wants to push through new asylum rules in Europe (*Die Welt*, Front page, 25 April 2015)

In terms of the politics/policy there was a strong focus on EU-level decision making and how this related to the efforts of the German government. Germany was designated as a driving force in negotiations, but this was tempered by the assignment of overall responsibility for finding a solution, or at least an attempt to

manage the situation, to the EU. There was also a clear thread that ran through the all the comment pieces and letters, which was that although the situation in the Mediterranean was a tragedy, Europe ultimately could not cope with it, or would have to change radically to accommodate the large number of refugees and migrants. For instance, a letter to the editor (21 April 2015) reflected on the appeal made by Pope Francis to allow more people into Europe but argued that this would be impractical and would lead to an increase in the support for right-wing parties. The Forum piece (23 April 2015) tackled similar ground but with more complexity. The author highlighted the historical and contemporary responsibility of Europe, but stressed that the current causes relate to the inability of countries in Africa and elsewhere to develop functioning and sustainable states. The author suggested that Europe still has capacity to accommodate refugees and prevent more deaths in the Mediterranean, but this would mean that it would have to radically change. However, in contrast to the perspective represented in the letter, the author suggested that through this change the EU could prove itself a worthy project. While this position should not be mistaken for the paper‘s explicit editorial position, it is indicative of the focus of the coverage which emphasized dealing with the situation in a way that kept the numbers managable.

In relation to the human interest dimension of *Die Welt* stories, two aspects are worth noting. One is that human interest does not always mean a focus on the refugee perspective. ‘The Fishers of men’ article from 24 April 2015, for instance, focused on the fishermen who rescued refugees and the difficulties they faced rather than on the plight of the refugees. Their efforts and the crisis situation in their home town was contrasted with the slow policy response of the EU. The second is that sometimes such angles are introduced into news accounts by NGOs and concentrate on the experiences of refugees who have already made it to Europe. For instance, one story focused on a refugee’s reflections on her ordeal in getting to Germany. The news report was written by a spokeswoman for the Brandenburg section of the German Red Cross, and originally published in that organisation’s magazine. This was made clear by an acknowledgement at the bottom of piece. Nevertheless the article appeared as a news article rather than a comment or sponsored piece, again emphasising *Die Welt*’s often sympathetic coverage of refugees.

Sources

Table 11.14 shows the relative appearance of different source categories. It is interesting to note that domestic political sources were featured far less often than in the earlier sample (11.4% of all source appeared versus 46.2%). Instead it was the citizen and foreign politician categories that accounted for more than 50% of total source appearances. This reflected the fact that coverage focused heavily on EU negotiations and the perspective of Italian politicians who were most directly affected by the tragedy.

Citizen	31.1%
Foreign Politician	22.2%
Migrant / Refugee	13.3%
National Government	11.4%
European Commission	6.7%
NGO/Civil Society	6.7%
Journalist / Media	4.4%
MEP	2.2%
Church/Religious	2.2%
Total N	45

Table 11.14: *Die Welt* sources (each source as a proportion of all sources)

German political sourcing did not reflect party share in national politics (see Table 11.15). However, as the total number was small, this may be explained by the fact that the focus of the national politics dimension was on Angela Merkel, the German chancellor who is a member of the CDU. As Merkel is the key representative of the German government, this reflects the EU-level perspective mentioned above.

CDU	71.4%
FDP	14.3%
SPD	14.3%
Total N	7

Table 11.15: *Die Welt* political sources (each political source as a proportion of all political sources)

Labels

As in the earlier sample, the use of the term 'refugee' was dominant – actually increasing its share from 70.1% to 80.5% of all label use. Again, there was very little conflation of the issues of asylum and immigration.

Flüchtling(e) (*Refugee*)	80.5%
Asylsuchende(r)/ Asylbewerber (*Asylum Seeker*)	8.3%
Migrant(en) (*Migrant*)	6.8%
Immigrant(en)/ Einwanderer(in)/ Zuwanderer(in) (*Immigrant*)	4.5%
Total N	133

Table 11.16: *Die Welt* labels (each label as a proportion of all labels)

Themes

Table 11.17 provides an overview of the frequency of different themes. The data clearly shows that the focus on politics and policy was more pronounced than in the earlier sample (up from 55.4% to 82.4%). *Die Welt* thus maintained its position as one of the newspapers in our sample most focused on the detail of policy debates. There was also less of a focus on immigration numbers (down from 82.4% to 58.8%), whilst

in line with the other papers in our sample, there was a much greater focus on people smugglers (up from 25.7% to 55.8%). This increased prominence can largely be explained by the strong focus on smuggling/trafficking as the key target for a political response. However, it has to be noted that the focus on combating people smugglers was not necessarily endorsed by the paper itself. Instead it merely reflected the debate amongst political elites. On some occasions this policy orientation was directly challenged. For instance, an opinion piece on 25 April 2015 argued:

> The sea rescue operation will not improve the situation substantially, because the radius of operation—in difference to the previous Mare Nostrum mission—is too small. The more intensive fight against traffickers will—should it succeed at all—not reduce the rush of refugees: People will look for a different route to Europe.

Political Response / Policy	82.4%
Mortality / Mortality Figures	76.5%
Mafia / Traffic	58.8%
Immigration Figures / Levels	58.8%
Search and Rescue / Aid Supplies	41.2%
Welfare / Benefits / Resources	17.6%
Threat to National Security	11.8%
Humanitarian (Key Theme)	11.8%
Threat to Communities / Cultural	5.9%
Human Rights	5.9%
Receiving / Rejecting	5.9%
Humanitarian (Elements)	5.9%
Journey	5.9%
Total N	68

Table 11.17: *Die Welt* themes (proportion of articles featuring each theme)

Reasons

It is very noticeable in this second sample that far fewer articles featured any explanation as to what was driving refugee and migrant flows (23.5% vs. 62.9%). Only two out of 17 mentioned the impact of wars or conflict and none mentioned poverty or other economic factors.

War/Conflict/Atrocities	11.8%
Repressive regime	5.9%
Pull factors of Mare	5.9%
Total N	4

Table 11.18: *Die Welt* explanations (proportion of articles featuring each explanation)

Solutions

In contrast to the fall in proportion of articles which discussed explanations, the reporting of responses to the crisis rose substantially appearing in 82.4% of all articles

in this sample as opposed to 62.2% of articles in the earlier sample. Here the most prominent solutions were to take action against smugglers (up to 35.3% from 7.2% in previous sample) and increase search and rescue operations. There was also substantial space given over to arguments for taking in more refugees or creating more legal routes for migration. Thus, whilst *Die Welt*'s reporting frequently featured concern about refugee numbers, it didn't contain voices arguing prominently for pulling up the drawbridge and adopting a Fortress Europe position. *Die Welt* also featured three articles where conflict resolution was discussed as a solution to the conflict. The issue of foreign policy and how it might help resolve the conflict was also discussed in two articles.

Action taken on smugglers/close down migration routes	35.3%
Search and rescue operations should be increased	35.3%
Taking in refugees/more legal channels for migration	29.4%
Stablize Libya/ Conflict resolution	17.6%
Change foreign policy	11.8%
More security at borders	5.9%
Reject/deport more refugees	5.9%
United response/EU response	5.9%
Aid/assistance	5.9%
Total N	26

Table 11.19: *Die Welt* solutions (proportion of articles featuring each solution)

Conclusion

Although the second sample of German coverage looked different in some respects from our earlier sample, the areas of continuity were more striking. In line with the Spanish coverage, German reporting of the conflict was again not heavily focused on domestic political sources and did not generate a great deal of national political controversy. The decision not to politic over the issue probably reflects the fact that, due to historical factors, there is marked unwillingness on the part of mainstream German politicians to take a hard line against immigration and asylum issues. This does not mean that such attitudes are not widely held amongst the public. The rise of far-right groups such Pegida and the fire bombings of refugee homes indicate that extreme anti-immigrant views are not uncommon. However, the expression of such sentiment in public speech by elected representatives still remains somewhat taboo, marking the German coverage out from what we might find in countries such as Italy and the UK. The coverage also stuck to the same well defined pattern of label use with the all the German newspapers overwhelmingly using the terms 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker'. Furthermore, there continued to be a dearth of discussion of how to address the push factors which were driving population movements, although this later sample did see a greater focus on policy responses.

The newspapers in our sample continued to produce quite distinct and well defined patterns of coverage. *Bild*'s coverage was short, superficial and sensationlist. There was relatively little in the way of analysis or a deeper engagement with key debates. *Süddeutsche Zeitung* remained the most sympathetic to refugees and migrants. It was more likely than the other newspapers to feature extended discussion of refugee perspectives and also more likely to focus on issues such as how best to integrate refugees into German society, though coverage in this news sample was more focused on events in the Mediterranean (as opposed to Germany) than the earlier one. *Süddeutsche Zeitung* was more likely to stress the responsibilities that EU citizens had towards migrants and refugees. *Die Welt*'s coverage continued to be the most analytical and policy orientated although this sample featured substantially less context on why people were trying to enter the EU. *Die Welt*'s reporting and comment was also the most hard headed. Although it was not unsympathetic to the plight of refugees and migrants – and in fact featured a high proportion of humanitarian themes and voices arguing in favour of a more generous asylum policy – it was also the newspaper most focused on the dangers of allowing a large influx of new people into Germany. It also featured fewer migrant and refugee perspectives than the other two newspapers.

Chapter 12: Sweden (by Tina Askanius and Tobias Linné, Lund)

Aftonbladet is a Stockholm-based tabloid, the biggest Swedish newspaper, and one of two tabloids that have a national readership. The paper is part owned by both the Norwegian media group Schibsted and the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO), and is described as independent social democrat. It is published seven days a week and follows a classic tabloid format with a focus on entertainment and celebrity news, crime, sport, culture and comment.

Dagens Nyheter (abbreviated DN) and *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* are metropolitan quality morning papers published seven days a week. DN is often considered the most influential newspaper in Sweden. Both papers have stated editorial positions as independent liberal and are owned by the Bonnier Group, the dominant actor on the Swedish newspaper market. While *Dagens Nyheter* is Stockholm based but aspiring to full national coverage, *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* (often abbreviated *Sydsvenskan)* is based in Malmoe, Sweden's third largest city and primarily distributed in southern central and southwest Scania. It has a strong focus on local and regional news.

Aftonbladet	*DagensNyheter*	*Sydsvenska Dagbladet*
9	14	16

Table 12.1: Prevalence of stories in the Swedish Press

As can be seen in table 12.1 the Swedish press featured relatively few stories in the week following the 18 April tragedy.

Aftonbladet

Of the three newspapers, *Aftonbladet* had the fewest articles. In all of the articles the refugee crisis is, however, the main theme and the issue was primarily covered in op-eds (5 articles) and in-depth news features (4 articles).

The editorial stance adopted by *Aftonbladet* is clearly stated in their editorial pieces. The editorials repeatedly called for compassion and understanding on the part of European citizens and action on the part of European leaders. The opinion pieces and editorials expressed disappointment with EU's political leaders, who were accused of failing to deliver on the promises made at the time of the last comparable tragedy, that occurred near Lampedusa in October 2013.

In general, *Aftonbladet* editorial and opinion pieces criticised European leaders' lack of willingness or ability to act responsibly in the face the tragedy. In some cases the criticism took on the form of emotional indignation, and harsh language was sometimes used. For example, an article referred to president of the European

Commission, José Manuel Barrosso, the Swedish EU commissioner Margareta Malmströmand other European leaders as 'hypocrites' who uttered only 'empty words' when they travelled to Lampedusa two years ago and exclaimed that 'never again' would such a tragedy occur in the Mediterranean (*Aftonbladet*, 20 April 2015). The reporter went on to argue that 'the awful truth is that many European leaders see the dangerous boat trips as a way to discourage other refugees from taking this route into Europe. If all were saved, that would encourage more to come and many leaders would be punished by the voters who do not want more refugees here'. In another piece, on 23 April 2015, the ten-point plan put forward by the EU to solve the crisis was criticised for being insufficient, hollow and the product of a system 'willing to regulate the size of a cucumber while not being able to decide on a common migration policy to share the burden of receiving refugees'. The article called for collaboration among EU countries and a common migration policy to solve the crisis. Furthermore, the editorials often took an emotional and personal tone, which highlighted the sentiments of the individual journalist:

> I think of how many of them must have been trapped below deck … Many of them were children, witnesses say. The thought fades and I start thinking of what it must have felt like … I then think of how we could have saved these peoples' lives (*Aftonbladet*, 21 April 2015).

In general, the op-eds appealed to the moral duty of 'us'- the readers - as European citizens and called for respect for the universal declaration of human rights at the core of the European project. In rare cases, references were also made to Christian values and the Biblical verses of benevolence, as in the opinion piece by the Swedish archbishop Antje Jackelén (*Aftonbladet*, 25 April 2015), in which she stateed that: 'As a Christian and a European I am part of a tradition with a strong belief in the values and commitment of humanity, compassion and hospitality'. She highlighted the efforts of the Swedish Church, along with other European churches, working on the ground in the conflict zones and argued that they should be part of the immediate priority to build stronger and more effective rescue systems and relief aid.

The majority of sources were other journalists and media professionals. This meant that only one article could be considered 'live' on-the-spot reporting from 'inside the crisis' (*Aftonbladet*, 25 April 2014). This pattern of sourcing indicates that journalists in Sweden increasingly turned to other journalistic sources in their foreign correspondence, as a consequence of recent cutbacks within the newspaper industry in Sweden. Economic restructuring has led to a drastic cut in the numbers of foreign correspondents, which has forced journalists to increasingly rely on news agencies or other journalists from competing news media to act as sources for their stories. Such third party sources included for example *Times of Malta*, the global news agency *AFP*, the Nordic news agency *TT* and Italian *Ansa* and *Rai News 24*.

Journalist/Media	32.0%
Migrant/Refugee	20.0%
EU Commission	12.0%
Church/Religious	8.0%
Foreign Politician	8.0%
Citizen	8.0%
UN/UNHCR	4.0%
NGO/Civil Society	4.0%
Domestic Political	4.0%
Total N	25

Table 12.2: *Aftonbladet* sources (each source as a proportion of all sources)

It is also noticeable that foreign politicians, the EU commission and politicians within the European parliament featured more prominently in the coverage than Swedish politicians. This tendency indicates how at this point in time, before the surge in refugees arriving in Sweden via over land routes (August-September 2015), the matter was still considered primarily an international rather than a domestic issue. In the Swedish sample, *Aftonbladet* used refugee sources more than the other newspapers to narrate their own experience of the situation (20%). When refugees were cited this often involved accounts of their journey across North Africa or the Middle East, or their motivations for paying 'smugglers' to help them get to Europe.

> You don't get any guarantees, but you know that if you risk being sold as a slave or for organ trafficking, the choice isn't that hard (*Aftonbladet*, 21 April 2015).

> I didn't even know I had come to an island. I thought I had reached the mainland and that I was finally here. But now I understand that it (Lampedusa) is more of a door I have to get through. (*Aftonbladet*, 25 April 2015).

The high number of quotes from refugees may have reflected attempts by the newspaper to avoid portraying them as voiceless victims. Instead it stressed their agency and the possibilities on the part of the victims to act upon their situation. European citizens who witnessed the arrival of refugees were rarely given a voice. While the citizens quoted in the coverage most often expressed their distress and concern for the situation, other citizen voices are included to highlight the, at times, dissonant statements and experiences of 'ordinary' Europeans who had their holiday in Southern Europe 'disturbed'. This is the case in a short interview with a 45-year old British tourist who declared:

> You'll have to talk to someone else about that thing with the refugees. We're a group of friends on holiday. We're here to dive in the best waters of Europe like we do every year. (*Aftonbladet*, 25 April 2015)

In coverage we found that the pattern observed in the earlier sample was repeated with the label flyktning (refugee) being dominant. It was used 89.5% of the time whilst the only other term invandrare (migrant) was employed in the remaining 10.5% of occurrences. It is also noteworthy that in *Aftonbladet* refugees were many times referred to simply as 'people', as in 'people on the run', 'people fleeing war', 'people dying in the Mediterranean' (*Aftonbladet*, 20 April 2015; *Aftonbladet*, 21 April 2015). Labels with negative connotations were not used. The word illegal was used once in the *Aftonbladet* by a political commentator:

> Another idea is to make it easier to send back refugees who have either made it to Europe illegally. Or who lack reasons to flee. (*Aftonbladet*, 24 April 2015)

Similarly, *Aftonbladet* invoked a strong sense of the 'humanness' of the victims by choosing terms such as 'survivors' or 'deceased' and 'their relatives' rather than referring to them merely as refugees (*Aftonbladet*, 20 April 2015; *Aftonbladet*, 23 April 2015). In another example a source was labelled simply 'a young man':

> I'm afraid I will be sent straight back and end up in the hands of the authorities, but I have friends in both France and Germany who have jobs and accommodation but no residence permit, says a young man (*Aftonbladet*, 25 April 2015)

Such politics of labelling paid testimony to how *Aftonbladet* sought to shape an ethical sensibility that extended beyond Swedes or Europeans. The newspaper refrained from 'reducing' them to refugees who were somehow different from 'people like you and I' (*Aftonbladet*, 21 April 2015) to instead present them first and foremost as humans. This rhetorical move to 'humanize' the people affected was illustrated when the editor in chief asked the question 'do we save these *people's* lives or do we let them drown?' (*Aftonbladet*, 21 April 2015).

As can be seen in table 12.3 key themes in coverage included mortality statistics, mafia/trafficking, and political responses. Mortality figures were used primarily to substantiate the broader theme of the story and stress the urgency of a strong and united political response. Humanitarian themes were evident in all articles whilst threat themes were not featured at all.

Mortality statistics	100%
Mafia/trafficking	88.9%
Political response/policy	88.9%
Humanitarian (elements)	88.9%
Immigration figures/levels	66.7%
Search and rescue/aid supplies	66.7%
Human rights	11.1%
Post-arrival integration	11.1%
Journey	11.1%
Humanitarian (key theme)	11.1%
Total N	49

Table 12.3: *Aftonbladet* themes (proportion of articles featuring each theme)

Almost all *Aftonbladet* articles provided at least one explanation for population flows. Most commonly reference was made to the wars and conflicts in the Middle East and Africa. For example, 'the long tem goal should be to contribute to peace and state building in Syria, Iraq, from Somalia in the East to Mali in the West' (*Aftonbladet*, 21 April 2015). Further, it was argued that 'if politicians are not willing to physically stop the boats from reaching Europe, the only way to stop them is to ensure peace and prosperity in the Middle East and Africa' (*Aftonbladet*, 22 April 2015). Economic factors were also regularly cited. This was especially so in relation to immigrants from Africa who were seen to be 'seeking a better life' in Europe as the continent 'despite considerable economic progress is still marked by an alarming level of poverty' (*Aftonbladet*, April 25 2015)

War/conflict/Atrocities	77.8%
Poverty/economic	44.4%
Repressive regime	22.2%
ISIS/terrorism	11.1%
Total N	14

Table 12.4: Explanations for population flows in *Aftonbladet* (proportion of articles featuring each explanation)

The three most commonly advocated solutions to the crisis were taking in more refugees or ensuring more safe routes into the EU (66.7%), increasing support for search and rescue operations in the Mediterranean (55.6%) and taking further action against smugglers and human traffickers in Libya, and elsewhere (44.4%). For example, on April 21 2015 a journalist argued the 'EU needs to ensure legal routes into EU allowing for people to seek asylum'. She further argued for the introduction of humanitarian visa schemes to make it possible for people to travel safely to Sweden, in a dignified manner, in order to seek asylum. In a similar vein, an editorial argued that the 'EU needs to create a functioning rescue operation at sea in the Mediterranean. We need to hastily send more ships to the area' (*Aftonbladet*, April 21 2015). The fact that Triton was a considerably less ambitious operation in comparison to Mare Nostrum, was repeatedly raised in *Aftonbladet* as part of the explanation for the rising mortality rates. Articles also called for politicians to clamp down hard on

‘the worst criminals in this; the people smugglers who make big money on the refugees, packing them like sardines in a tin only to then not give a tinker’s cuss about whether they will make it to shore or not’ (*Aftonbladet*, 20 April 2015).

Taking in refugees/more legal channels for migration	66.7%
Search and rescue operations should be increased	55.6%
Aid/Assistance	44.4%
Action taken on smugglers	44.4%
United/EU response	22.2%
Conflict Resolution	22.2%
Reject/deport more refugees	11.1%
Amend the Dublin Convention	11.1%
Total N	25

Table 12.5: Solution to the crisis in *Aftonbladet* (proportion of articles featuring each solution)

Among some of the other suggestions for solving the crisis were increased resources for European countries worst affected such as Malta and Italy (*Aftonbladet*, 24 April 2015). Whereas the UN and UNHCR were only rarely cited as a source in the coverage, such organisations were highlighted as part of the solution to the crisis (*Aftonbladet*, 21 April 2015). Conversely, the deportation of illegal immigrants back to their country of origin was only mentioned once in the sample where a journalist stated: ‘Another idea (currently on the agenda in the EU negotiations) is to make it easier to send back refugees who have travelled illegally into EU or who lack reasons to flee’ (*Aftonbladet*, 24 April 2015). Apart from this, there seemed a strong consensus that Sweden should help both ‘people seeking a better life’ and ‘people fleeing war and conflict zones’ (*Aftonbladet*, 25 April 2015). In short, ‘Europe cannot turn its back on people fleeing some of the worst humanitarian disasters of our time. We cannot close our doors or build walls’ (*Aftonbladet*, 21 April 2015). Overall then, responses very rarely focused on ‘Fortress Europe’ solutions. Instead, *Aftonbladet* concentrated on broadly humanitarian solutions.

Dagens Nyheter

Dagens Nyheter had 14 stories on refugees and migrants during the sample period, which placed the newspaper just behind *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* in terms of total stories, but with a higher number than *Aftonbladet.* Among Swedish newspapers, *Dagens Nyheter* has a reputation for being an agenda setter in public debate on political issues, and the newspaper is known for its strategic focus on international news with, for example, 15 foreign correspondents based in places such as Brussels, Nairobi, Paris, Rome and the Middle East.

Dagens Nyheter’s international stories showed considerable variation in tone and thematics. For example, one story (*Dagens Nyheter*, 18 April 2015) focused on the

connections between the refugee crisis and terrorism, by discussing how Sweden's generous refugee policies might be exploited by terrorists smuggling themselves into Sweden as refugees. More prevalent were articles, which analysed international politics, where often one of the foreign correspondents reported on the political machinations behind the scenes. *Dagens Nyheter* devoted a great deal of coverage to explaining and providing in-depth analysis of the complexity of European politics and the negotiations between different EU member countries, with a particular focus on Sweden's position in these discussions (*Dagens Nyheter,* 23 April 2015). The sample included several articles that provided analysis of the broader contexts and factors underlying the crisis. These included discussion of the political situation in Libya and neighbouring countries like Chad, Niger and Sudan, as well as EU initiatives in the regions. In particular there was an emphasis on the 'chaos in Libya' and the internal conflicts in the country between different regional leaders, resulting in a lack of border security (*Dagens Nyheter*, 20 April). In this context, EU projects to help secure the Libyan border were covered, as were arguments that the political chaos in the country was creating a space for the growth of Islamic State (*Dagens Nyheter*, 20 April 2015).

One consistent theme in *Dagens Nyheter*'s reporting was criticism of the European Union for not doing enough to resolve the situation. This critique was in some cases rather severe, and questions were raised over whether the EU would ever rise to the challenge of handling the refugee crisis (*Dagens Nyheter,* 19 April 2015; *Dagens Nyheter,* 23 April 2015). Furthermore, *Dagens Nyheter* accused the EU of not offering sufficient help to member states such as Italy and Greece (*Dagens Nyheter,* 19 April 2015).

In the more traditional editorial articles, *Dagens Nyheter* showed a somewhat ambivalent position. Although the editorials clearly highlighted the contradictory nature of EU policies - for instance maintaining the right to seek asylum once in Europe while on the other not ensuring safe routes into Europe - few concrete demands were made of politicians. Instead, the editorials demanded initiatives to handle the immediate situation, while at the same time arguing that the measures taken here and now cannot be seen as a long term solution (*Dagens Nyheter,* 21 April 2015). A very different tone could be found in an article in the cultural news section in which a Somalian-Italian author provided a personal story of her experiences as a refugee. This article also included interviews with the families of refugees who had died on their way to Europe (*Dagens Nyheter*, 21 April 2015). This article stood out for its personal and emotional narrative, and for being explicitly normative. It was highly critical of the EU on moral grounds for being responsible for the deaths of refugees and claimed that such deaths were 'not a tragedy' but 'manslaughter'. The author described the Mediterranean sea as a mass grave, and European migration policies as showing 'a total indifference to human lives' (*Dagens Nyheter*, 21 April 2015).

Approximately a fifth of the sources mentioned in *Dagens Nyheter's* coverage were other journalists and media professionals. This is a slightly lower number than in *Aftonbladet*, which is in line with *Dagens Nyheter*'s ambition to provide a larger amount of international reporting from the paper's own foreign correspondents, as opposed to other Swedish journalists.

As indicated in table 12.6, apart from other journalists and media professionals, the most prominent sources mentioned in *Dagens Nyheter*'s reporting were migrant/refugees, citizens and the police.

Journalist / Media	20.5%
Migrant / Refugee	15.9%
Citizen	13.6%
Police	9.1%
Foreign Politician	6.8%
UNHCR/UN	4.5%
Church / Religion	4.5%
Domestic Political	4.5%
Academic / Expert	4.5%
NGO	4.5%
Other	4.5%
Law / Judiciary	2.3%
EU Commission	2.3%
IOM	2.3%
Total N	14

Table 12.6: *Dagens Nyheter* sources (each source as a proportion of all sources)

The high presence of these sources was because *Dagens Nyheter*'s coverage included a number of articles where the chaotic circumstances under which refugees arrived in the EU were described in detail (e.g. *Dagens Nyheter*, 22 April 2015). In these articles, the refugees and their stories were reported on, but also the work of the police, the organisations accommodating the newly arrived and the people living in the border regions of Europe. These people were in many articles represented as concerned and empathic, and the tone was personal and emotional, as in the example below where an Italian citizen described her feelings after hearing about refugees drowning at sea:

> I haven't been able to sleep at all tonight. I can't stop thinking about how horrible the last minutes before the boat sunk must have been for the refugees (*Dagens Nyheter*, 21 April 2015)

Politicians (including both domestic and foreign politicians) made up a smaller percentage of sources than both migrant/refugees and citizens. This was remarkable considering how high on the political agenda the 'refugee crisis' was. One explanation for this was that the refugee issue in the Swedish press was not seen as a

party political issue, since all parties - except the nationalist extreme right party the Sweden Democrats - shared a common position that Sweden should be a leader in asylum and human rights policy. When there was no major political disagreement between the two main party groups in Swedish politics, this seemed to leave the field open for other kinds of sources to be heard. It should also be noted that, despite the fact that immigration is the core issue in the political program of the Swedish Democrats, a party that came third in the 2014 general elections, no Swedish Democrat representatives were quoted in *Dagens Nyheter.*

In line with the other Swedish newspapers, *Dagens Nyheter* predominantly used the label 'refugee'. While some articles consistently use the label 'refugees' (*Dagens Nyheter,* 19 April 2015), others used 'asylum seekers', 'migrants' and 'refugees' interchangeably, without making any particular distinctions (*Dagens Nyheter,* 21 April 2015). The label 'refugee' was used both in detailed stories about smuggler activities and in more general stories to describe the current situation of people fleeing their home countries in Northern Africa. Furthermore, *Dagens Nyheter* mainly referred to the problem as a 'refugee crisis', rather than a 'migration crisis' and the politics to deal with it as, 'refugee politics' rather than 'migration politics' (*Dagens Nyheter,* 21 April 2015).

Flykting (*refugees)*	67.8%
Invandrare (*migrants)*	25.9%
Asylsokande (*asylum seekers)*	4.9%
Nyanlända (*newly arrived)*	1.4%
Total N	143

Table 12.7: Labels in *Dagens Nyheter* coverage (each label as a proportion of all labels)

A key theme in *Dagens Nyheter*'s reporting was mafia/trafficking which appeared in 85.7% of articles. The tone of the reporting was often dramatic and drew on the style and dramaturgic elements of crime reporting. Libya was described as being 'chaotic' and 'lawless' and a 'perfect crime scene for smugglers' (*Dagens Nyheter,* 21 April 2015). The smugglers were described as 'cynics and heavy criminals' who operated in 'well-organised networks' that generated 'enormous amounts of money' (*Dagens Nyheter,* 21 April 2015). There was no mention of smuggling for humanitarian reasons in *Dagens Nyheter*, nor were any distinction made between different kinds of smugglers.

Immigration figures/levels	92.9%
Mafia/trafficking	85.7%
Mortality statistics	71.4%
Search and rescue/aid supplies	57.1%
Humanitarian (elements)	57.1%
Political response/policy	50.0%
Human rights	14.3%
Humanitarian (key theme)	7.1%
Threat to welfare/resources	7.1%
Journey	7.1%
Total N	49

Table 12.8: Themes in *Dagens Nyheter* coverage (proportion of articles featuring each theme)

The other main theme in DN's reporting was immigration figures and the number of people coming to Europe. The numbers were often presented in a dramatic way. For example an article described the situation as 'not just a normal wave of refugees but an exodus' (*Dagens Nyheter*, 21 April 2015). The numbers reported were sometimes predictions, often in the millions, of how many people might be coming to Europe in the coming years. (*Dagens Nyheter*, 23 April 2015). Like *Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter*'s coverage frequently reported on the number of people that died on their way to Europe often in an empathetic manner, which concentrated on the suffering of those involved. (*Dagens Nyheter*, 21 April 2015). Although the threat to welfare/resources theme appears once, this is in the context of how Italians were reported to see the refugees. In one article, *Dagens Nyheter* reported on a growing sentiment among the people of Sicily that the refugees were getting benefits that no one else was getting. The article described how people in Sicily retell rumours about refugees 'getting money and free phone cards as soon as they are disembarking on the beaches' (*Dagens Nyheter*, 22 April 2015).

Of the 14 articles in *Dagens Nyheter*, 12 provided an explanation for the population flows to Europe. Of these 12 articles, five explained the population flows predominantly in relation to the chaos in Libya, and the country not being able to control its maritime borders. Four of the 12 articles described the population flows as mainly related to people fleeing war and conflict in their home countries, and three articles used both these explanations.

The situation in Libya after the fall of the Gadaffi regime and the political chaos and turmoil in the country was particularly prominent in the reporting. The country was described, drawing an analogy with the migrant boats which had sunk in the Mediterranean, as 'severely ravaged by internal conflicts […] drifting aimlessly about' (*Dagens Nyheter*, 21 April 2015).

War/conflict/atrocities	28.6%
Poverty/economic	14.3%
Repressive regime	7.1%
Total N	5

Table 12.9: Explanations for population flows in *Dagens Nyheter* (proportion of articles featuring each explanation)

Taking in refugees/more legal channels for migration	57.1%
Search and rescue operations should be increased	30.8%
Action taken on smugglers	21.4%
Aid/Assistance	7.1%
United/EU response	7.1%
Close down migration routes	7.1%
Total N	18

Table 12.10: Solutions in *Dagens Nyheter* (proportion of articles featuring each solution)

Despite identifying the causes, and to a large extent focusing on the political situation in the North African countries, there was very little focus in *Dagens Nyheter*'s reporting on solutions related to conflict resolution in these countries. The view that it was 'hard for the Western world to find partners to cooperate with' as 'everyone involved in the conflict are guilty of vicious deeds' (*Dagens Nyheter*, 18 April) was the approach that *Dagens Nyheter* typically took. The only time a solution was proposed by *Dagens Nyheter* itself, was when one of the editorial articles (*Dagens Nyheter*, 21 April) argued for more legal routes for refugees and clamping down on smugglers. At the same time it was stressed that it would be impossible to reach political agreement within the European Union on the matter of legal routes into the union (*Dagens Nyheter*, April 21 2015; *Dagens Nyheter* April 23 2015). In this sense, *Dagens Nyheter* was clear that there was little chance that the EU would agree to accept those attempting to reach Europe.

Sydsvenska Dagbladet

The sample of articles from *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* included four in-depth features, seven international news stories, four opinion and editorial pieces and one letter. The headline 'Stop death by sea' in the 20 April 2015 editorial was indicative of the editorial line of *Sydsvenska Dagbladet.* The editorial articles advocated more legal routes into the EU for refugees, the introduction of humanitarian visas, Sweden's commitment to increased Swedish refugee quotas and expanded search and rescue operations. Central to this was a demand for unified action on the part of the EU: We need unified action from EU in order to deal with the appalling migrant deaths in the Mediterranean (*Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 20 April 2015). The editorial line thus called

for solutions at the EU level, and argued that 'no one country – regardless of good intentions – can handle this… Today, Sweden and Germany take an unreasonably large share of the responsibility for the influx of refugees. The distribution of the burden, which Sweden has repeatedly called for has never materialised' (*Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 20 April 2015).

National and local politicians made up the majority of sources in *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* (23. 3%). Most political sources were drawn from the liberal-conservative party *Moderaterna.* In the short opinion piece titled 'The Buther is a butcher' Sweden's former foreign minister Carl Bildt (M) drew attention to the responsibility of Bashar al-Assad 'for the massive bloodshed in Syria' and argued that al-Assad should not get away with what he called his 'international someone else-ism'. (*Sydsvenska Dagbladet,* 18 April 2015). Sweden's prime minister Löfven was cited on several occasions. Sometimes this related to issues related to Sweden's position on humanitarian visa: 'We want the EU to open more legal routes. But it has to apply to all countries. And I want to be honest; this view does not have a lot of supporters in the other governments' (*Sydsvenska Dagbladet,* 23 April 2015).

Domestic Political	23.3%
Journalist/Media	18.6%
Citizen	16.3%
Migrant/Refugee	16.3%
Foreign Politician	9.3%
EU Commission	4.7%
Academic/Expert	4.7%
UN/UNHCR	4.7%
Law/Judiciary	2.3%
Total N	43

Table 12.11: *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* sources (each source as a proportion all sources)

On several occasions, refugees and migrants themselves were given voice and described their experiences. For example 'Jiscard' discussed what was going through his head when he was rescued from the water the day before: 'Death didn't scare me any longer … maybe death is a liberation?' (*Sydsvenska Dagbladet,* 21 April 2015*).* The same emotional tone characterised 23-year old 'Ag'jeijho' from the Ivory Coast, who stated that: 'I haven't been able to sleep tonight. I cannot stop thinking about what the horrible last minutes before the boat sank must have been like. At the same time the memories from my own journey crossing the sea is played in my head over and over again' (*Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 21 April 2015).

Sydsvenska Dagbladet was the only Swedish newspaper in the sample that explicitly referred to the extreme-right party, The Swedish Democrats (SD). This was done on April 23 2015 when a journalist reported from a meeting in the Swedish parliament's Committee on European Union Affairs in which an SD representative argued that Sweden's generous immigration policy had lured people to their death. 'Sweden and

its government carries with its irresponsible refugee policy the responsibility for the disaster'. However, the reporter immediately went on to say that the statement was met with headshakes from the remaining members of the committee. The fact that The Swedish Democrats are mentioned may be explained by the fact that the regional newspaper has its customer base in Skåne, the region in Sweden with the strongest support for the political party. Yet, the fact that this only occurred once shows us that the newspaper largely aligned with the unwritten, and increasingly disputed, convention within the Swedish press to 'oppose by silencing' extreme right populism.

Immigration figures/levels	75.0%
Mortality statistics	75.0%
Political response/policy	62.5%
Humanitarian (elements)	62.5%
Mafia/trafficking	56.3%
Search and rescue/aid supplies	43.8%
Threat to welfare/resources	18.8%
Human rights	12.5%
Humanitarian (key theme)	12.5%
Receiving/rejecting	6.3%
Journey	6.3%
Total N	70

Table 12.12: Themes in *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* coverage (proportion of articles featuring each theme)

Interestingly, *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* was the only newspaper to cover in any depth issues of post-arrival integration, and the question of what happens after refugees were granted the Swedish permanent residence permit. For example, an opinion piece signed by three local politicians from the liberal-conservative party Moderaterna, on 22 April 2015, discussed in detail how to enhance refugees' possibilities for employment once in Sweden. The local anchoring of the newspaper was manifest in how the angle of the story was focused around the potential benefits for the public health sector in Skåne and the wider region, created by the influx of highly educated Syrians.

> By offering people with a doctor's license courses in Swedish while they are waiting for their asylum case to be processed, the Region of Skåne can help shorten the long process for Syrians trying to obtain their medical license in Sweden. By introducing a fast track for foreign-born doctors we can help ensure that those who have worked their entire careers as doctors are not slowed down or prevented from working (*Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 22 April 2015)

Sydsvenska Dagbladet was also the only newspaper in the Swedish sample in which we find an example of a letter from an 'ordinary citizen' directly opposing the official political position of Sweden to take on a leading role in the European community when it comes to welcoming refugees and ensuring safe routes into Europe:

> The Swedish state has obligations towards those already in the country; first and foremost Swedish citizens and the asylum seekers and people looking for work we have already promised protection and residence. (*Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 23 April 2015)

War/conflict/atrocities	56.3%
Poverty/economic	31.3%
Repressive regime	12.6%
ISIS/Terrorism	6.3%
Total N	17

Table 12.13: Explanations for population flows in *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* (proportion of articles featuring each explanation)

As in the other newspapers in the Swedish sample, war/conflict and atrocities in the regions bordering Europe provide the primary explanatory frame for the crisis. Poverty was also a prevalent explanation: 'The refugee catastrophe in the Mediterranean is essentially the result of the abysmal divide between a rich Europe and a poor and war-torn Africa' *(Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 21 April 2015).

Taking in refugees/more legal channels for migration	37.5%
Search and rescue operations should be increased	18.6%
Action taken on smugglers	18.6%
Aid/Assistance	6.3%
United/EU response	6.3%
Close down migration routes	6.3%
Reduce migration levels	6.3%
Total N	18

Table 12.14: Solutions in *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* (proportion of articles featuring each solution)

In line with the other Swedish papers in the sample, the commonly cited solution to crisis in *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* was that EU states should adopt a more open and generous asylum system: 'Legal, safe routes needs to be created to avoid the next big catastrophe' (*Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 20 April 2015). Meanwhile, the idea that the EU should 'outsource' the problem to asylum centres outside Europe in countries such as Egypt, Tunisia, Niger and Sudan, as proposed by some member countries, is dismissed: 'With the risk of sounding cynical, the idea of asylum centres fit far to well into the tendency of

the EU to dislocate its outer borders in order to prevent asylum seekers from setting foot in the union where they can claim their asylum rights'

Conclusion

In closing, a few observations concerning the commonalities of the coverage in all three newspapers are worth mentioning. As far as labels were concerned, in most coverage, journalists from all three newspapers use the term refugees rather than migrants. This tendency may be seen to reflect a heightened awareness of the politics of labelling, which for some time have taken centre stage in the broader public debate around the crisis in Sweden. This debate has involved politicians and prominent public voices, who have argued against using the term migrant as this misleadingly suggests that the people in question have a choice, and furthermore conjures up connotations of 'benefit tourism'and 'economic refugees'.

In terms of themes, there was again quite strong unanimity across the three newspapers. As might be expected, all three newspapers concentrated heavily on immigration and mortality statistics, search and rescue operations and to a lesser extent policy responses. In common with all the other countries in the study, the role of people smugglers was much more heavily reported than in the earlier sample. Across the Swedish press there was also a strong emphasis on humanitarian themes with most articles taking an empathetic stance on the plight of refugees and migrants. In contrast, threat themes were relatively sparse.

On the question of solutions to the crisis, the three newspapers were in relative agreement. The most frequently cited solutions (in order of prominence) were ensuring more and legal channels for migration into Europe, increasing search and rescue operations, taking further action against smugglers/traffickers and finally increased Aid/assistance. Common to all three newspapers is how journalists stressed that no *one* solution was possible. The vast majority of articles discussed solutions as a complex set of interrelated and necessary measures. Only rarely were closing down migration routes or rejecting and deporting migrants advocated as solutions to the problem. When such solutions were proposed, the journalist referred solely to migrants who were not legally entitled the right of asylum (see e.g. *Aftonbladet*, 24 April 2015). Thus, despite the rise of the Swedish Democrats there was almost no endorsement of Fortress Europe style policies.

Finally, patterns of sourcing were quite dissimilar to what we found in other countries. Journalists were the most heavily cited sources across the three papers whilst NGOs were only rarely cited with only Amnesty International and the Red Cross used in coverage. However, as has been seen this didn't reduce the space for empathetic reporting. Although domestic political sources were not dominant, as they were in some other countries, the most cited individual in coverage was the Swedish

prime minister Stefan Löfven. This may reflect his attempt to take a leading role in public discussions and political responses in Sweden and the EU.

Chapter 13 - Conclusion

This research presented in this report has examined migration reporting in the press systems of five EU countries, across two sample periods. Key areas of analysis have included patterns of sourcing, prevalence of political parties, the language used to describe refugees/migrants and the range of explanations and solutions to the crisis. We will start this conclusion chapter by providing a brief summing up of the findings for each EU media system before making some brief comments on the similarities and differences in reporting across our sample.

The United Kingdom

Press coverage in the UK was very much an outlier. Its coverage was far more polarised than anything we find in the rest of this EU sample. This meant it is impossible to talk about UK coverage in general terms, but instead it is necessary to talk about individual newspapers. The only exception to this concerns which places were identified as countries of origin for refugees, where all newspapers, except the *Daily Mail* overwhelmingly mentioned Syria. It should also be noted that, like Spain, UK coverage had a twin focus, on both events in the Mediterranean and at the port of Calais.

The *Guardian* focused most of its attention on the crisis in the Mediterranean and featured a broad range of sources. It was more likely than other newspapers to feature the voices of refugees, NGOs, foreign politicians, the UNHCR and the IOM. In terms of political sources it was less likely to feature the Conservatives and more likely to feature Labour, and particularly the Liberal Democrats, who have traditionally had the most accommodating policy on immigration and asylum amongst the main three parties. It was also more likely than other newspapers to use the terms 'refugee'. In terms of themes it concentrates heavily on refugee numbers, discussion of policy, trafficking, human rights and humanitarian themes. Although it featured a number of threat themes, these were generally reported statements primarily made by politicians and not endorsed by the newspaper. It was also more likely than other newspapers to focus on push factors for migration such as war and repressive regimes and less likely to endorse economic pull factors. In terms of solutions it recommended opening up more legal channels for migration/taking more migrants, forging a common EU response and pursuing conflict resolution strategies in the Middle East and Africa.

The Telegraph also concentrated primarily on the Mediterranean, but also focused to a larger degree on Calais. Its pattern of source access looked broadly similar to the *Guardian* except that it allowed more space for religious and citizen voices (primarily in the letters pages) and less space for refugees/migrants, NGOs, the UNHCR, and the IOM. Its political sourcing was drawn overwhelmingly from the Conservative party and UKIP, whilst it used the term refugee at a lower level than the *Guardian* and was

six times more likely to use the derogatory labels: 'illegal', 'illegal immigrant' or 'illegal migrant'. Its key themes in coverage were migration and mortality levels, search and rescue operations, humanitarian angles and a variety of threat themes which it tended to endorse. It sometimes editorialised against asylum and immigration, presented migrants and refugees in a threatening light, and was critical of the work of the UNHCR. It also featured criticism of human rights legislation as an impediment to the deportation of foreign criminals, and called for more security at Britain's borders.

The *Daily Mirror*'s coverage was at a lower level than other newspaper in the UK sample but was broadly sympathetic to refugees and migrants from whom it sourced heavily. It used the terms 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker' to a greater degree than the right-wing tabloids, but at a level lower than the *Guardian*. It tended to concentrate on themes such as migration levels, search and rescue operations, trafficking and humanitarian themes. It also tended to explain migration flows almost entirely in terms of push factors, but featured almost no information about potential solutions to the crisis.

The two right wing tabloids in our sample, the *Daily Mail* and *Sun*, were unlike anything else in our study. Neither paper focused closely on the crisis in the Mediterranean with the *Daily Mail* taking a close interest in the events in Calais. Whilst the *Daily Mail* sourced much of its opinion from Conservative MPs, *The Sun* sourced very heavily from citizen voices who were overwhelmingly hostile to asylum and immigration. Neither newspaper gave significant space to refugees/migrants or NGOs, and both use the term 'refugee' at a much lower level than other newspapers in the British sample. The *Sun* also used the term 'immigrant' and, in particular, 'illegal' much more frequently than other newspapers. However, what really differentiated these two titles was their aggressive editorialising around threat themes, and in particular how they presented refugee and migrants as a burden on Britain's welfare state. Both papers also featured humanitarian themes at a much lower level than any other newspapers in our study. Overall, this meant that the *Sun* and the *Daily Mail* exhibited both a hostility, and a lack of empathy with refugees and migrants that was unique.

The second sample exhibited some dramatic changes in how the newspapers explained the crisis, and suggested it might be resolved. The focus of the coverage also moved from the the dual focus on Southern Europe and Calais, to an exclusive focus on the events in Mediterranean. However, the overall orientation of the different newspapers didn't shift dramatically, with the two left of centre newspapers adopting a far more empathetic and welcoming position on refugees and migrants, than those of a right of centre orientation. The *Guardian* in particular, devoted a great deal of coverage to the issue and featured numerous comment and editorial pieces by NGOs and legal sources, who questioned the 'Fortress Europe' approach advocated by many EU leaders. Sourcing maintained many of the patterns evident in the main sample.

The two broadsheets again featured a wider range of sources than the tabloids and tended to concentrate more on foreign politicians and EU Commission sources, both of which rose in prominence. NGOs remained frequently referenced sources in the left of centre titles, whilst falling in prominence in the *Telegraph* and *Sun*. Perhaps surpringly the proportion of NGO sources saw a sharp rise in the *Daily Mail*. However, this finding should be treated with caution because the sample size was small and statements from NGOs were usually very brief. In line with the earlier sample sourcing, the *Daily Mail* was heavily focused on Conservative politicians, whilst the Sun was dominated by comment in the letter pages, which was unremittingly hostile to refugees and migrants. There was a shift in patterns of language use with all newspapers using the label migrant far more frequently, whilst both the broadsheets used the trem refugee less frequently. In line with the other countries in our sample, there was a greater focus on the role of people smugglers in the second sample, as well as other themes directly related to the events in the Mediterranean, such as serach and rescue operations and mortality statistics. In general, there was a fall in threat themes though this may have been because the focus was entirely on events in the Mediterranean, so that refugees and migrants were seen as less of a proximate threat than those at Calais. Also in line with our earlier study, the *Guardian* featured a high proportion of humanaitarian themes whilst both the *Daily Mail* and *Sun* featured the lowest amongst the 15 newspapers in our study. The most dramatic shifts from the main sample to the April case study were the differences in the way the migration flows were explained, and the range of responses that were advocated. The second sample saw a much greater emphasis on the alleged pull factors created by Mare Nostrum patrols and the political chaos in Libya, which it was argued, has meant that the authorities were no longer able to secure their borders. The increased focus on the political situation in Libya was in large part due to the fact that the April sample occurred during the closing stages of a bitterly fought General Election campaign, where the issue of the Conservative governemnt's decision to intervene in Libya became part of the politicking. The consequence of this was that the push factors driving refugee flows tended to less visible in most of the press. In terms of how to respond to the crisis, all of the newspapers saw a rise in the prominence of arguments which stressed the need to take action against people smugglers, reflecting the fact that this had become the key response pushed by political elites. However, whilst the left of centre titles featured arguments in favour of a more liberal asylum and immigration policy and were sceptical of many of the policies pushed by EU leaders, the right of centre newspapers were highly enthusiastic about Fortress Europe style policies, which would make it far harder for refugees and migrants to enter the UK. Thus, whilst all newspapers reported on the increasingly restrictive policies advocated by European political elites, what differentiated the left and right of centre press in the UK was how they framed these arguments. Left of centre titles featured opinion, primarily from NGOs and legal sources, which critically evaluated the moral, legal practical consequences of Fortress Europe approaches, whilst the right-wing press added layers of comment which justified such policies.

Spain

Spanish reporting of the migration crisis had a twin focus. One area of coverage concerned the refugees and migrants trying to enter Spain through Cueta, Melilla or the Canaries, and the other looked at what was happening in the other migration routes in the Mediterranean and across the EU mainland. As we will see, this twin focus gave Spain's coverage a very distinct character. Although there were areas of overlap for these two spheres such as the demand for a common EU policy to deal with both, they also possessed different features. These included the fact that those attempting to reach Spain came from different countries of origin than those trying to reach Italy or Greece and so may have different motives for migrating. Migrants to Spain were also subject to the controversial Spanish policy of 'hot returns' which was not used in the rest of the EU. Support for this policy tended to split down traditional left-right lines in the Spanish Press with *El País* being firmly opposed in its editorials, whilst *El Mundo* and *ABC* gave the policy varying levels of support.

Patterns of sourcing in Spanish Press were relatively similar across the three newspapers but quite distinct from other countries in our sample. The proportion of domestic political voices in coverage was low – Spain is in fact the only country where these were outnumbered by foreign political sources. Within the category of domestic political voices, the People's Party (PP) was very dominant – especially so in the two right-wing newspapers, although even in *El País* it accounted for two third of the appearances of Spanish politicians. The combination of high ratio of foreign to domestic political sources together with the overwhelming representation of government representatives, was indicative of the fact that the bulk of political debate in the Spanish Press was framed as either occurring between the Spanish government and other EU states, or between other EU states. The few internal debates were focused on criticism from the left over PP policy on 'hot returns' and other aspects of the treatment of migrants. The prominent focus on migrants trying to enter Spanish territories also explains, to a degree, other aspects of coverage, which are distinct from what we found in other countries in the study. For instance, the Spanish press identified 'Sub-Saharan Africa' as the leading country of origin for migrants and refugees, whilst Morocco was also prominent.

The Spanish press also rarely used the labels 'refugee' or 'asylum seeker' – these two terms account for only about 12% of the total labels employed. Instead the term immigrant was dominant, being used approximately 70% of the time. In terms of key themes in coverage, there was a strong focus on policy debates – particularly over policing the EU border – immigration levels, search and rescue operations and the role of trafficking mafias. Since Spain is a direct entry point into the EU for migrants and refugees, this pattern is to be expected. Another notable feature of Spanish coverage was the low prevalence of threat/burden themes. There were two key reasons for this. One, Spanish newspapers do not editorialise on these themes in the way that happens in, for instance, the UK. Two, Spain, unlike say Sweden with the

Swedish Democrats or Italy with the Northern League or Forza Italia, lacked a strong far-right anti-immigrant party or movement which could make these views prominent in the media.

When it comes to the question of the factors driving migration flows and how to respond to them, Spain again looked distinct from other countries in our sample. For instance, the Spanish press was much more likely to attribute economic factors to migration – primarily the desire to escape poverty in Africa – than other countries in our sample. Again this was due to the specific character of migrants arriving in Spanish territories who were less likely to be fleeing war or repressive regimes than those arriving in Italy, or particularly Greece. It should also be said that this economic basis for migration was not presented in a negative light, especially in *El País*. Instead it tended to be presented as a natural occurrence, when you have a 'profound imbalance in wealth and welfare between Africa and Europe' (*El País*, 3 January 2015). When it came to how to respond to the crisis, Spanish newspapers, with the exception of *ABC* were likely to feature some form of response or solution. Most commonly this involved advocacy of a joint EU response or vague calls for more 'assistance' or 'aid'. A final point worth noting is the focus on *El País* on economic development in Africa as a potential solution, which appeared in about one in ten of its articles. This was one of the very few instances in the sample, where the press recognised the crucial role of addressing the root causes of poverty and economic imbalances.

The results from the case study week in April 2015 showed clear areas of continuity and divergence from the main study. In terms of continuity, Spanish coverage continued to define the crisis as an EU issue rather than an area of domestic political controversy. This can be seen in relation to the high levels of foreign political sourcing and low levels of domestic political sourcing across both samples. It can also be seen in the overwhelming dominace of the People's Party which secured well over 80% of domestic political source appearances during both time periods. Another area of similarity between the two samples was the homogeneity in coverage across the three newspapers which featured similar sources, themes, explanations and solutions. All three newspapers also stuck to stable patterns of label usage, with those trying to enter the EU being consistently referred to as immigrants ('inmigrante'). Finally, both sample periods saw substantial criticism levelled at the EU over its policy on immigration and asylum. In terms of changes, the second sample was much more policy focused, particularly on EU level resposnses and those that deal with the issue of people smugglers. There was a sharp rise in humanitarian themes, which is perhaps to be expected bearing in mind the strong focus on the victims of the disaster in the Mediterranean, together with a greater concentration on threats to national security (in *El País* and *ABC*). However, this threat theme tended to be focused more on the potential for Libya to become a safe haven for jihadi groups like ISIS, than the suggestion that refugees and migrants posed a direct security risk. Overall, the second sample saw a substantial rise in context and discussion of responses. The proportion

of articles discussing the context of population movements rose from 47.0% of articles in the main sample to 65.6% of articles in the later sample. There was a sharp rise in the prevalence of a host of explanations, including fleeing war/atrocities, economic pull factors, escaping IS/jihadi groups and the abscene of EU border security/collapse of Libyan state. In a smiliar vein the proportion of articles featuring responses rose from 51.7% of articles in the first sample to 69.8% of articles in the later sample. Underlying this was a sharp increase in emphasis on EU level solutions, including increased search and rescue operations and a more accommodating asylum and refugee policy. The second sample also paid more attention to calls for action on people smuggling, with *ABC*, in particular, favouring a militarised approach. Finally, we saw the emergence of a new response which did not feature in our earlier sample - the need to stabilise Libya in order to prevent boats using the state as an embarkation point on the journey to Europe.

Italy

Italy, as a key entry point to the EU, and the state running the search and rescue operations in the Mediterranean, has been one of the countries most directly affected by the migration crisis. The scale and cost of Italian involvement, as well as the large number of refugees who have passed through Italy, has meant that the issue has been enormously controversial in Italian politics. This was reflected in patterns of source access where domestic politicians featured very prominently. It can also be seen in the visbility of EU sources which reflect the fact that many of the debates in the media are conducted between Italian politicians and EU officials.

The key areas of debate in the Italian media has been over the Mare Nostrum and its replacement, Triton, plus the question of who should have responsibility for controlling the EU's borders, and accepting the hundreds of thousands of refugees and migrants, who have arrived in Italian waters.

The Italian press featured the perspectives of migrants and NGOs prominently which allowed significant space for sympathetic stories about the plight of migrants and refugees, as well as advocacy on their behalf. NGOs, such as Save the Children and the Red Cross, were given access to criticize government (and EU) policy, stress the need for more assistance and argue for the legal rights that refugees are entitled to under international humanitarian law. The voice of ordinary citizens was also well represented. However, unlike in Sweden or Germany, citizen perspectives on migrants were largely negative, and in many cases xenophobic. This is because most of the citizen voices were featured in stories which reported on tensions between newly arrived migrants and local citizens in the working class districts of Rome, such as Corcolle, Tor Sapienza and Infernetto. Negative views on migrants and refugees were also expressed by far right and conservative nationalist political parties, such the Northern League, Forza Italia and the Brothers of Italy.

The most common label used in the Italian press was migrant (migrante), though approximately 40% of the time the words refugee (rifugiato/profugo) or asylum seeker (richiedente asilo) were employed. As in the British press, articles use labels with very different meanings interchangeably. So, in approximately a third of articles, the words refugee (rifugiato/profugo) and immigrant (immigrato) appeared together. In terms of key themes, it not surprising that search and rescue operations were by far the most featured theme, followed by discussion of the role of trafficking mafias and public policy. The heavy focus on rescue operations in Mediterranean also ensured that humanitarian themes were very prominent (47.6% of all articles – the highest proportion of any country in the sample) in coverage, since much of the reporting focuses on individual migrant stories of suffering and tragedy. Conversely, our Italian sample also featured quite high levels of threat themes, particularly threats to national security and community cohesion. As previously noted, these are largely a product of the prominent voice of the far-right and citizens. Perhaps surprisingly, considering the fact that Italy has received the EU's third highest level of asylum applications, post – arrival integration featured relatively rarely as a theme in the Italian press.

The Italian press did not include explanations for migration flows as prominently as in some other countries, though when they are provided they overwhelmingly focused on push factors (war/conflict, repressive regimes, IS/terrorism). However, it did discuss solutions at a higher level than other countries in the sample. Key solutions stressed the need to find a united EU response and to increase search and rescue operations. The Italian press also put more focus on the need to stabilize countries in conflict, though since most references relate to Libya, this suggests this was primarily about creating a strong central authority that could prevent migrant boats setting off from Libyan territory.

Results from the later sample confirmed that along with Spain, Italy had the most homogenous press in our sample. As in the earlier sample, all three newspapers tended to feature the same themes, sources, explanations and solutions. The fact that these findings appeared over relatively large datasets on two occasions indicated that these are deep patterns in production which generate these similarities and continuities. However, there were some changes between the two samples. In terms of the range of voices, domestic politicians continued to be dominant in both *La Repubblica* and *Il Corriere della Sera* but in *la Stampa* it was migrant voices who were most frequently cited. This reflected the fact that *La Stampa*, unlike the other two newspapers, was more directly focused on the disaster and its aftermath. In comparison to the main sample, the proportion of EU Commision and foreign political sources also fell. Similarly there was a drop in the proportion of NGO/Civil Society Voices (8.4% to 5.5%), though even at this reduced level they were still more prominent than in some other countries. The use of labels was remarkably static with the three newspapers using the same labels in almost almost exactly the same ratio. Migrant (Migrante) remained the most frequently used term in all three newspapers. In a similar vein the range of themes was also quite static though there were some

shifts. Both *La Repubblica* and *Il Corriere della Sera* saw a much greater focus on policy. The role of people smugglers received substantially more attention in *Il Corriere della Sera* and *la Stampa,* but not in *La Repubblica.* All three newspapers maintained the very high level of humanitarian themes that were evident in the main sample. This again did not mean that reporting is inherently more empathetic. Instead it was more a function of the fact that because the disaster had occurred on Italy's doorstep, there are more stories which reported on the event and its aftermath, which allowed more opportunity for interviews with survivors. Perhaps surprisingly, there was actually a drop in threat themes, particularly threats to national security and culture/communities, in both *Il Corriere della Sera* and *la Stampa* but not in *La Repubblica.* This reflected the fact that *La Repubblica* again featured far more sources from the political right (Lega Nord, Forza Italia, Nuovo Centrodestra) than the other two publications. The proportion of articles featuring any discussion of explanations for population flows fell slightly (34.6% to 31.6%) whilst the proportion of articles mentioning any response rose a little (60.7% to 65.3%). The most frequently cited explanation remained push factors relating to war or conflict across the sample, whilst economic factors were the second most commonly cited factor, and saw a rise across all three newspapers. The discussion of responses again concentrated most prominently, across the sample, on calls for the EU to take on more of the burden of managing the crisis. There were also a rise in the proportion of articles which argued for more action against people smugglers and the shutting down of migration routes by, for instance, blockading North African ports.

Germany

Germany, along with Sweden, has been the most welcoming EU state to refugees, and like Sweden, its press coverage demonstrated both a generally liberal, supportive attitude to newcomers, as well as a sense of growing concern about the scale of refugee numbers. Germany's press sample also showed the widest variation in attitudes towards refugees of any country in our sample, bar the UK.

In terms of sourcing, the German press had a strong focus on domestic political sources, and in particular on regional government. This is especially so for *Sűddeutsche Zeitung* which drew a lot of its sources from the Bavarian state legislature, with a particular focus on the Christian Social Union (CSU) which formed part of the ruling coalition in the Bundestag. This meant that much of the reporting, especially in *Sűddeutsche Zeitung* focused on debates in the 'Bundesrat' (the representative body for states in Germany) over refugee and EU policy, or the relationship between the Bundesrat and the Bundestag. All newspapers featured more than 75% (100% in *Bild*) of their sourcing from the current grand coalition comprised of the Christian Democrats, the Christian Social Union and the Social Democrats, whilst the Greens made up almost all of rest of the source appearances. Both the Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats have, at least, acquiesced in allowing large numbers of refugees into Germany whilst the CSU has been less enthusiastic.

The Greens have been the most supportive with a position similar to some NGOs. In both *Sűddeutsche Zeitung* and *Bild*, citizen voices were very prominent and in the case of *Sűddeutsche Zeitung*, overwhelmingly positive about refugees. Refugees and NGOs were also prominent sources across all three newspapers. Refugees tended to be featured either recounting the suffering they experienced getting to Germany, talking about their hopes or aspirations, or reflecting on their experiences of living in Germany. NGOs were primarily featured arguing for more legal routes for migration or criticising CSU plans for refugee processing centres in North Africa. Both EU and foreign politicians have very low levels of representation in the German press.

Like Sweden, Germany overwhelmingly identified Syria, Iraq and Eritrea as the country of origin for the great majority of refugees. Like Sweden, it also overwhelmingly – in at least 90% of the time in every newspaper – used the labels refugee (flüchtling(e)) and asylum seeker (asylsuchende(r)/ asylbewerber). Phrases such as economic migrant (Wirtschaftsmigranten), economic refugee (Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge) or illegal (Illegale(r)) were almost never used.

When it came to the themes that were discussed in the German press it is clear that newspapers divide along a left-right axis in a way that doesn't happen in Spain, Italy or Sweden. The right of centre *Die Welt* was more policy orientated, focused on refugee numbers, and more likely to discuss threats to the national security, cultural cohesion and resources. In contrast, the left of centre *Sűddeutsche Zeitung*, featured less threat themes and instead concentrated more heavily on tragedies in the Mediterranean, the positive integration of refugees, humanitarian angles and appeals against deportations. The populist right of centre *Bild* has a profile that is closer to that of *Die Welt*, though its stories tend to be very brief and lacking in significant context.

When it came to explanations and responses we again found differences between the newspapers. *Die Welt* featured both explanations and solutions twice as frequently as the other two titles. There was a degree of consensus amongst the titles that it was mainly push factors driving population movements but when it comes to solutions *Die Welt* was more likely to feature arguments in favour of more deportations for those whose asylum claims have been turned down, more sharing of refugee numbers amongst EU states, more legal avenues for migration and the creation of refugee processing centres in North Africa. In general though this isn't editorialising on the part of *Die Welt*, it is more a reflection that they heavily feature spokespersons from the CDU/CSU who advocate these policies.

The second sample from April 2015 showed some differences from the earlier sample, but on the whole more areas of similarity. However, as with the Swedish sample, we should be careful about reading too much into the broad statistical differences because the Ns were quite small in two of the newspapers, *Die Welt* and *Bild*. Patterns of sourcing saw significant changes but these varied according to

newspaper. For instance, there was a sharp fall in the proportion of domestic political sources in *Die Welt* and a smaller fall in *Sűddeutsche Zeitung* whilst the proportion actually rose *in Bild.* This was due to the fact that the April 2015 coverage was less focused on debates over immigration in either the Bundestag, or between the state and regional governments. This also reflected the fact that politicking over immigration and asylum, whilst on the rise, is still somewhat frowned upon in public discourse. In contrast, both *Die Welt* and *Sűddeutsche Zeitung* saw a rise in the proportion of foreign political sources, and in the case of *Die Welt* a significant rise in the number of EU Commission representatives. As might be expected in the wake of a major disaster, there was a rise in refugee/migrant voices, though also a fall in the proportion of NGO/Civil Society sources. Patterns of language use were remarkably stable across the two samples with around 90% or more of all references being to either refugees (Flüchtling(e)) or asylum seekers (Asylsuchende(r)/Asylbewerber). In term of the themes that were covered, unsurprisingly there was a sharp rise across the press in mortality statistics, search and rescue operations, policy debate and discussion of people smugglers. However, slightly unexpectedly, despite the presence of some very empathetic reporting, there was an overall drop in the proportion of articles featuring humanitarian themes in both *Die Welt* and *Sűddeutsche Zeitung*. These two newspapers also saw a modest rise in threat themes concerned with national security which was perhaps to be expected in the wake of the Charlie Hebdo attack. *Die Welt* also saw a rise in the proportion of articles highlighting the financial burden of refugees and migrants, which helped to reinforce the finding from the first sample that the newspaper was more likely than the other German publications to see newcomers as a threat to security, cultural cohesion and national resources. In terms of explanation for why people were trying to enter the EU, the German sample, like most of the other countries in our sample, saw a marked fall (42.6% to 28.2%) in the proportion of articles which featured any explanation. Whilst 'fleeing from war/conflict' remained remained the most popular explanation in all newspapers, it fell sharply in *Die Welt* from being mentioned in one in two articles in the first sample, to one in nine articles in the second sample. Meanwhile, the proportion of articles in *Sűddeutsche Zeitung* which cited economic pull factors rose from 6.1% to 16.0%. Also, like the other countries in the sample, the proportion of articles which featured responses to the crisis rose sharply from 37.6% to 64.1% of articles. Across the three newspapers there was a strong consensus about what should be done, with all featuring calls for more resources for search and rescue operations, action against people smugglers and the creation of more refugee places/legal routes for migration. Thus, despite the strong focus on people smuggling and the rising levels of disquiet concerning asylum and immigration in Germany, the press remained a space where there was significant advocacy for a liberal and welcoming policy towards refugees.

Sweden

In Sweden, unlike Spain and Italy, only a minority of reports were focused on what was happening in the Mediterranean or other parts of Europe. Instead, most of the

coverage focused on refugees in Sweden or policy debates. Overall, the coverage took a positive view of refugees and the contributions that they could make to Swedish society, even if this was tempered to some degree by the significant presence of the anti-immigrant Swedish Democrats party, who have recently seen their popularity increase substantially as a result of widespread public anxiety about immigration and asylum.

The coverage contained a substantial number of sympathetic feature articles which focused on refugees and their attempts to settle and integrate into Swedish society, as well as comment pieces emphasising the benefits of immigration and the need to treat refugees humanely. Sourcing was dominated by two groups – domestic politicians and journalists. Conversely, foreign politicians and EU representatives had a low level of representation. This pattern of sourcing was indicative of the fact that comment and editorial pieces were especially prevalent in the Swedish press and the debate around refugees was primarily domestic, rather than one focused on disputes between Sweden and the EU, or amongst other EU states. Patterns of political sourcing reveal that Swedish reporting featured the largest number of political parties in reporting. However, because of Sweden's strong tradition of liberal social democracy, only one party with a defined anti-immigrant platform, the Swedish Democrats, received major coverage. This means that most political sources featured in coverage did not discuss refugee issues in a negative way.

Swedish news, very much in line with UNHCR estimates, overwhelmingly identifies Syria and Iraq as the two main countries of origin for refugees with Eritrea third. It also uses the terms refugee (Flykting) and Asylum Seeker (Asylsokande) far more frequently (72.3% of references) in coverage than other labels. The main themes in Swedish coverage centred on policy debates and immigration figures – though the debate didn't tend to focus on the question of how numbers could be reduced. Despite only one in six articles focusing on search and rescue operations in the Mediterranean, the Swedish press still featured one of the highest proportion of humanitarian themes in the study. This is because there were many articles on refugees in Sweden which discussed the traumatic events that they experienced on their way to refuge in the EU. Post-arrival integration was also a common theme in reporting which opened up the opportunity for sources to stress the positive social, cultural and economic contributions that refugees could make to Swedish society. However, the coverage also featured substantial space for the views of Swedish Democrats and some citizens who questioned whether Sweden was taking too many refugees, and whether this was putting too much strain on the country resources and welfare state.

Explanations for refugee flows overwhelmingly focused on push factors such as war, repressive regimes, and IS/terrorism with almost no articles suggesting that refugees were drawn to Sweden by its famously generous welfare state or employment opportunities. Despite this, solutions didn't primarily focus on push factors such as stabilizing conflict zones or economic development. Instead, the most prevalent

responses were calls for more 'aid' or (from the Swedish Democrats) to restrict refugees access to state benefits. The overall picture that emerged from the Swedish press could be characterised as 'Social Democracy under strain'. The press is still largely welcoming and positive about refugees, but increasing public anxiety about the scale of refugee numbers (the highest proportionally in the EU) is beginning to be reflected in both political support for the Swedish Democrats and disquiet in the media.

The second sample saw a continuation of many of the trends visible from the first sample, but also some distinct changes particularly around the question of how to respond to the crisis. In terms of sourcing, the second sample saw a major fall in the proportion of domestic political sources (particularly in *Aftonbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter*), indicating that the disiaster and its aftermath didn't create any significant political debate within Sweden. Journalists became even more prominent as sources, reflecting both the high number of comment pieces, and the fact that Swedish newspapers increasingly have to rely on news agencies or other news sources for foreign location reports. There was also more space in the second sample for migrant voices, foreign politicians and NGOs. The Swedish press, like that in Germany, continued to overwhelmingly use the term refugee (Flykting), and to a lesser extent asylum seeker (Asylsokande) and migrant (Invandrare). The primary focus of the disaster event in the second sample meant the pattern of themes shifted from the earlier sample. Across the three newspapers there was a greater concentration on rescue operations, mortality statistics, policy debates and the role of people smugglers. There was also a rise in humanitarian themes, with the plight of refugees and migrants being mentioned sympathetically in more than two thirds of articles across the press. The second sample also contained more context. There was a rise in the proportion of articles which featured explanations for population flows, which increased from 44.6% of articles in the main sample to 56.4% of articles in the second sample. Both *Sydvenska Dagbladet* and *Aftonbladet* emphasized to a greater degree push factors, whilst all three newspapers were more likely to cite economic pull factors. Solutions were also featured more frequently in the second sample, up from appearing in 40.6% of articles in the earlier sample to 66.7% in the second sample. The second sample also contained different solutions. In particular, the disaster led to calls for more refugee places or more safe migration routes, to be the most widely cited solution across the three newspapers. This is quite unlike coverage in any of the other countries. Other notable suggestions were that search and rescue operations should be extended and that more action should be taken on people smugglers – though this particular response still received less focus than in the other countries in our sample. In contrast, 'Fortress Europe' responses were largely absent from the Swedish press, highlighting the fact that, once again, Swedish coverage was the most empathetic and welcoming towards refugees.

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Appendix 1: Codebook

Codebook

7. Sources:
Please code every individual who is quoted textually in order of appearance (use 1 for the first individual quoted, 2 for the second individual quoted, 3 for the third…). Each individual should only be coded the first time they are quoted.

Except MEPs, all politicians serving in foreign political institutions (i.e., institutions of countries different than the one where the newspapers you are coding are published) should be coded as Foreign Politicians. A Spanish politician in an Italian newspaper should be coded as a Foreign politician (even if this politician is the PM or an MP). MEPs should be coded as MEPs, regardless of their nationality. The Home Secretary should be coded as a Cabinet Minister. The category 'National Politician' is for all national politicians who do not hold office ('a conservative candidate', for example).

The following table summarises which sources are nationally specific and which sources are not nationally specific:

PM	Home Office	Business
Cabinet Minister	Local Authority	Nat. Rescue Team
MP	Church/Religion	Citizen
Local Councillor	Regional Govt.	Migrant Refugee
Regional MP	EU Commission	UN
National Politician	MEP*	UNHCR
	Foreign Politician	FRONTEX
	Law/Judiciary	IOM
	Police	Civil society
	Journalist/Media	NGO
	Academic/Expert	Think tank

(*) Code MEP's political affiliation in variable 8 if applicable

When the story is an opinion column or a letter to the editor, the author should be coded as the first source (even if the author is a journalist: in the case of a column by Polly Toynbee, she would be source number 1). A letter to the editor by David Cameron should have PM as the first source, and the PM's political affiliation in variable 8 (that's if you are coding the UK sample, obviously).

The difference between 'Local Councillor' and 'Local Authority' is that local councillors are political/elected representatives, whereas 'Local Authority' is the administrative structure at the local level (local authority administrators, local authority employees…). The Mayor (and their deputies) should be coded as 'Local Councillor'.

A similar distinction operates between 'Regional MP' and 'Regional Government'. Regional MPs are political/elected representatives, whereas the administrators

supporting the work of regional institutions should be coded as ‘Regional Government’. Members of regional executive bodies (such as Leighton Andrews or Edwina Hart) should be coded as 'Regional MP’. This also applies to their First Minister (such as Nicola Sturgeon for Scotland).

Please bear in mind that whilst 'Local Councillor' and 'Regional MP' are nationally specific, 'Local Authority' and 'Regional Government' are not.

8. Sources’ political affiliation:

Please state the political party of all the individuals in variable 7 (when known). This is a nationally specific variable, and hence only national parties will be coded (i.e. Angela Merkel’s party affiliation will not be coded when she appears in the British sample). You should only code the political affiliation of sources when:

a) The political affiliation of sources is explicitly stated (i.e. ‘a LibDem supporter said…’)
b) The source is a confirmed party member (i.e. Stefan Löfven), even if the political affiliation of the source is not stated in the coverage

When the political affiliation of a source is not known, not stated, or not relevant, please list N/A.

Please code the political affiliation of relevant MEPs (in the UK sample, Nigel Farage will be coded as an MEP in variable 7, and as UKIP in variable 8. In all other samples, Nigel Farage will be coded as an MEP in variable 7, and as N/A in variable 8).

11. Themes in the coverage (tick all that applies):
Please tick the relevant category when any of the following themes appears in the coverage.
a) Immigration figures/levels: Mention/discussion of immigration figures or levels
b) Mortality/Mortality figures: Mention/discussion of mortality of migrants (including mortality figures)
c) Threat to national security: Mention/discussion of any threats to national security (understood as the security of the state, not the safety of individuals). Includes any mention to terrorist threats/attacks
d) Welfare/benefits/resources: Any mention/discussion of the benefits/welfare system. Includes mentions of the impact migrants have on welfare, benefit abuse, and the pressure over social/health services. It also includes mentions to the ‘call effect’/‘pull factor’ the benefits system may have upon potential migrants
e) Threat to communities/Cultural threat: Mention/discussion of any threats to the cultural identity or cultural homogeneity of a country or area. Includes religious and linguistic diversity.
f) Health risk for country of destination: Mention/discussion of increased health risks due to migrants carrying health problems with them (i.e., Ebola) or the items they carry with them (i.e. unauthorised food)
g) Search and Rescue/Aid Supplies: Mention/discussion of search and rescue operations, and the provision of healthcare, food and shelter to migrants on arrival.
h) Human Rights: Mention/discussion of the Human Rights of migrants. Includes abstract discussions, and also discussions focussing on particular individuals or

groups. Explicit mention to particular rights (such as the right to claim asylum, right to public relief and assistance, right to access the courts…) or including the words 'Human Rights' in relation to migrants is required.
i) Migrant/refugees/asylum seekers success stories: Mention / discussion of stories which focus on achievements of migrants (studying an academic degree, succeeding as a professional, obtaining a prize…). Presents individual migrants under a positive light. The integration of migrants in the society of destination is not considered to be an achievement in itself. Obtaining a residence permit, or a judicial/administrative victory over the country of destination should not be considered an achievement either.
j) Mafia/Traffic: Mention/discussion of cases of human trafficking or mafia. Any unlawful profiteering from migrants should be coded under this category.
k) Political response/Policy: Refers to any political response, including policydebates. The implementation of search and rescue policy or the provision of aid should be coded under category g (above), as opposed to this category, which should be used in more general policy debates. The day to day actions of rescue teams must be coded under category g too. Please identify any solutions proposed in the coverage (variable 13).
l) Receiving / Rejecting: This theme refers exclusively to the admission and rejection of migrants to a specific country. It includes deportation. It does not deal with the principles inspiring the reception or rejection (which belong under category k), nor with the provision of care, food and shelter upon arrival (which belong under category g).
m) Post-arrival integration: This theme refers to the integration of migrants in the communities of the country of destination. It may have cultural, civic, political, linguistic and job-market aspects. It also includes any discussion of the benefits (civic/economic/cultural) migration brings to communities in the countries of destination. This theme presents migrants under a positive light.
n) Humanitarian (elements): This theme focuses on the suffering of migrants, and presents them under a sympathetic/empathetic light, and/or presenting migrants as victims. This theme is applicable when there is a small number of brief mentions of migrants as victims or suffering
o) Humanitarian (main theme): This is a similar to 'Humanitarian (elements)' (see category n above), but develops the theme extensively. This could involve, for instance, an extended discussion of the suffering of migrants/refugees (as opposed to brief mentions). Alternatively, it could involve extended discussion of the conditions/situation that they are fleeing from
p) Crime: This theme refers to crimes committed by migrants in the countries of destination. It includes mentions/discussion of crime levels in countries of destination. For stories to be coded under this theme, an explicit mention of migrants as criminals must be made. The trafficking of human lives should be coded under category j (above) as opposed to this category.
q) Journey: This theme focuses on the very journey migrants go through, from their countries of origin, to their countries of destination. This theme focuses on the journey, and not on the search/rescue/arrival of migrants to countries of destination, which should be coded under category g or l (above).