Project Report:

The European "migration crisis" and the media
A cross-European press content analysis

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Executive Summary

1. The arrival of almost a million refugees and migrants to Europe in 2015 became a top media topic and a controversial issue in the continent's public debates. In fact, the European media played a critical role in framing the issue and in evaluating the causes and consequences of "the migration crisis".

2. The European press systematically framed refugee and migrant arrivals to European shores as a "crisis for Europe". While press coverage of "the crisis" is characterised by significant diversity, the "crisis" argument relied on a view of the newcomers as Others: as vulnerable Others or as dangerous Others.

3. Context: Overall, media paid little and scattered attention to the context of refugee and migrant plight. There was little connection between stories on migration and war reporting or between stories on refugee plight and news stories from their countries of origin. In addition, little and scattered information was made available to the public about migrants' and refugees' individual stories and their cultures; thus, information about who these people actually are was absent or marginal in much of the press coverage in most European countries.

4. Temporal trends: the narratives of the coverage changed dramatically across Europe during 2015. The sympathetic and empathetic response of a large proportion of the European press in the summer of 2015 and especially in early autumn of the same year was replaced by suspicion and, in some cases, hostility towards refugees and migrants, following the November terror attacks in Paris.

5. Voice: Refugees and migrants were given limited opportunities to speak directly of their experiences. Most often they were spoken about and represented in images as silent actors and victims. There were some significant exceptions, but these were time and place specific. European citizens' voices were similarly marginal in the coverage of "the crisis" with European national and transnational institutional players having a dominant voice in the press coverage.

6. As the migration "crisis" is entering a new phase, media continue to face significant challenges in safeguarding the values of independent, fair and ethical journalism: protecting freedom of speech, giving voice to all parties involved and respecting newcomers' rights as well as of citizens' rights.

7. Media represent a key domain for Europe to encounter refugees and new migrants. The analysis of media representations is critical to understanding the responsibilities and consequences of cross-border mobility, settlement and protection.

Introduction

More than one million people fleeing war and poverty arrived in Europe in 2015 (Frontex, 2015), with a significant proportion fleeing war-torn Syria (BBC, 2016). This was the year that journalists recorded the biggest movement of people across boundaries (Ethical Journalism Network, 2015), reporting on it through daily stories in Europe's media. The events, which were eventually established widely as Europe's "migration crisis", called for attention to and action from governments, politicians and European publics.

In the midst of the "crisis", which saw European nations extending acts of solidarity to newcomers but eventually shutting their borders (and entrapping more than 60,000 people in Greece), it is of profound significance to ask the questions:

- How does Europe respond to refugee and migrant arrivals to its shores in 2015?
- How is this response mediated by the European press?
- Who gets the right to speak and whose voices are silenced in the coverage of the events?
- How is the moral space of migration shaped in and through mediation of "the crisis"?
- Are migrants' and refugees' agency/needs/rights recognised in the media across time and space?

We focus on the press, as it constitutes a fundamental element of the European media ecology. While social media have also played a significant role in exchanging information across Europe and beyond (including among refugees themselves and as a link to the countries of origin), mainstream media's informational role remains paramount. Mainstream media are still regarded as crucial and trusted resources for officials and publics to make sense of and take action upon ongoing events (Downing and Husband 2005). In addition, while media are always important in framing the news (Entman 1993), in the case of this "crisis", their role has arguably been even more decisive than usual for two reasons: (i.) the scale and speed of events in the second half of 2015 meant that publics and policy makers depended on mediated information to interpret developments on the ground; (ii.) the limited, if any, previous knowledge about the new arrivals, their histories and the causes of their plight meant that many Europeans depended exclusively on media narratives to understand what was happening. In this context, analysing media coverage of "the migration crisis" was crucial in advancing our understanding on: (i.) narratives of the "crisis"; (ii.) geographical trends across Europe; (iii.) challenges to policy making, especially in relation to hate speech and freedom of expression.

This report presents the main findings of our cross-European analysis of the press across eight European countries, as well as in the two main European Arabic language newspapers. This was a systematic content analysis which focussed on three peak moments in the crisis, in the 2015 summer, early autumn and late autumn. Developing a content analysis of influential press in a six-month period across eight European countries plus

two of Europe's major Arab language newspapers, this report offers a cross-national comparative perspective on the dynamics of news reporting. The study consequently provides a comprehensive view of variations in the representation of migrants and refugees across national press cultures and across time, offering reflections on the implications these have on European media as spaces of representation for distant others.

The report is organised in four main sections: (I.) Literature review; (II.) Methodology; (III.) Key findings of the "migration crisis" press coverage across Europe in eight European countries and European Arab press; (IV.) Media challenges and recommendations for best practice in crisis reporting.

SECTION I: Literature Review: Context of media coverage of the "migration crisis"

This section provides a concise overview of the policy and academic literature within which the discussion on the media coverage of refugees and migrants takes place. While the events of 2015 were unprecedented in scale, the challenges of reporting news on migrants and refugees in the context of freedom of expression, fairness and ethical journalism are not new.

Our literature review takes its point of departure on Europe's own self-description of its border policy as a combination of "protection" against possible threats and 'care' for the human needs of refugees - as "humanitarian securitization" (a concept we borrow and further develop from critical migration studies, development studies and security studies). We examine the relationship of humanitarian securitization to historical and current media representations of migration in Europe, with particular focus on how humanitarian securitization informs these representations and, in so doing, define the limits of *voice* - who speaks and who remains, or should remain, silent. The intersection of humanitarian securitization with a politics of voice, we argue, gives rise to symbolic bordering: representational practices of exclusion that, in parallel to the geo-political protection of Europe's territorial borders, work to systematically keep migrants and refugees outside the symbolic space of the media.

Humanitarian securitisation

Contemporary political theory has shifted from static views of the border as a set of fixed territorial lines to 'processual' conceptions that regard the border as action and construction. Drawing on the processual view, the securitisation school (Wæver, 1995) goes on to conceptualise global power less as the military protection of a fixed territory and more as the administrative classification and regulation of spaces, relationships and movements in the global terrain.[1] This is so because, rather than the use of armed force (although this happens too), securitization relies on the

[1] From different background, the shift in security studies from realist perspectives to constructivist approaches has been ascribed to the 'linguistic turn' in the humanities (Burgess, 2010) and the 'motion turn' in the social sciences (Konrad, 2015).

symbolic power of communication to produce and circulate meanings about different populations. For instance, through "neutral" practices of passport control or bio-metrical profiling, migrant populations are categorised in terms of whether they are "legitimate" or "illegitimate" for border crossing in line with Western governments' security interests. Evidently, here, securitization does not view the border as a territorial entity, separating European from non-European lands, but views it as a symbolic practice of "bordering" that "seeks to rhetorically identify and control the (very) mobility of certain people, services and goods that operate around its jurisdiction" (Vaughan-Williams, 2015, p. 6).

Securitization is therefore primarily a *symbolic* process that relies on "'speech act theory' so as to name and constitute its subjects and objects through language (Burgess, 2010). The rise of the digital and the role of technological platforms in the symbolic production of security has recently broadened the conceptual remit of the border to encompass not only language as the symbolic force of security but also technology as its key material surface; digital securitisation, in van Dijck's words, "aims to map relations between technologies and people and tries to explain how these relations are both material and semiotic" (2013: 26)[2]. More recently, Chouliaraki and Georgiou (2017), in their ethnographic exploration of the European border, illustrate how the border is made up by intersecting platforms of mass media, social media and bodies on the ground, which use language, images and other meaning-making codes to communicate the crisis. This 'communicative architecture of the border is not an optional add-on' to the practices of the border, they argue, 'but its very condition of possibility' (2017: 2).

This dual approach to the border as both representational and technological is reflected in the recent work of Thomas Nail, for whom "the border is a process of social division" (Nail, 2016a: 2). Nail reflects on how the migrant is caught up in the border's politics of movement or 'kinopolitics'[3], in order to argue that "the figure of the migrant is not a 'type of person' or fixed identity but a mobile social position ... that people move into and out from" (2015: 235). In the contemporary moment, the figure of the migrant is constructed in terms of two contradicting positions: as a threat, especially after the Paris attacks on 13 November 2015, (Nail, 2016b: 158; see also Fakhoury, 2016) and as a sufferer, a person-in need. This tension, Nail argues, pushes the European politics of movement in a strained position between "pretensions of liberal democracy" and the call for an increased maintenance of its borders (*ibid*: 161).

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[2] For this they refer to the work of a broad range of scholars, among which most prominently figure Amoore, Balzacq, Broeders and Vaughan-Williams.

[3] Nail outlines the theoretical groundings of his work in note 7 to page 24 of *The Figure of the Migrant* (2015: 247). Though other theorists underpin Nail's concept of kinopolitics as well, Foucault's *Territory, Security, Population* (2009), seems to be key. Generally, Foucault's work figures prominently as a basis for many of the studies discussed here. Besides the fact that the constructivist turn (both in its material and its semiotic aspects) fits his work, other examples of his influence can be found in the theoretical background of the notion of 'humanitarian borders' for which Walters borrows heavily from Foucault (2011), and more generally in the shift in security studies from the perspective of geopolitics to biopolitics (Vaughan-Williams, 2012).

The migrant's contradictory position as both threat and sufferer therefore further corresponds to the hybrid regime of the European border, what we earlier referred to 'humanitarian securitization' – a regime of both openness and closure or, as Walters puts it, "where the actual borders of states and gateways to the territory become themselves zones of humanitarian government" (2011: 139). According to Walters, "the idea of a humanitarian border might sound at first counterintuitive or even oxymoronic" since "we often think of contemporary humanitarianism as a force that, operating in the name of the universal but endangered subject of humanity, transcends the walled space of the international system" (*ibid*). Yet, at the same time, humanitarian securitisation is connected, as we just saw, to the formation of new spaces of administrative power that operate through the symbolic processes of naming and classification (Squire, 2015; Vaughan-Williams, 2015; Williams, 2015; Pallister Wilkins, 2015, 2016). Humanitarian government is, in this context, an integral constituent rather than an antonym of securitization, in that its practices and discourses of care for vulnerable migrants are themselves a part of border control and mobility containment.

Approaching humanitarian securitisation as "an active process of bifurcation that does not simply divide once and for all, but continuously redirects flows of people and things across or away from itself" (Nail, 2016a: 4), enables our project to analytically focus on the ambiguities and tensions inherent in the symbolic borders of European media – the fluid migrant representations of the eight European newspapers. Crucial in this exploration are questions about the 'human' – how is the quality of humanity discursively constructed, who it is attached to for which purposes and with what implications. The constitution of "of bodies and lives as 'more or less human'", as Squire argues, is a major political stake in contemporary border struggles (2015: 33).[4] In the analytical process, the symbolic construction of the 'human' in newspaper representations is explored through an analysis of the categories of action, voice and emotions.

Representations of migration

The study of representations of migration invites engagement with two kinds of literature: comparative studies on the European press and studies of the symbolic practices of migrant identity construction. We discuss each in turn.

Comparative studies on European press

The question of how press representations have shaped the discourses and policy norms of migration in Europe has been extensively explored. A key aspect of this agenda, in the context of our own project, concerns the

[4] Much of the work done in this aspect borrows from Didier Fassin's approach of humanitarianism as a politics of life (2007), with which he points to the "politics that give specific value and meaning to human life". This approach to humanitarianism seems to lie at the root of the thinking about humanitarian government, which points to a politics life – theorized beyond, but still in relation to biopolitics.

question of "whether there is a common 'European' narrative in the press" (2015: 897). Drawing on various empirical studies from Italy (Campani, 2001) France (Benson, 2002, 2013), The Netherlands (Roggeband and Vliegenthart, 2007) Germany (Bauder, 2008) and Bulgaria and the UK (Balabanova and Balch, 2010), Caviedes's influential comparative research on migration and security concludes that there is significant variation among national press, "challeng[ing] assertions of an emerging single coherent European-wide mode for framing immigration" (2015: 911). Vis-à-vis the European Union aspiration for a common policy on migration, then, this pro-crisis research "demonstrates divergent narratives across countries, so that perhaps separate, individual nationally tailored solutions might be called for as well" (*ibid*: 912).

The European Journalism Observatory focused on the coverage of the migration crisis on eight different outlets in three distinct moments of 2015: (1) the publishing of the photos of the body of the three-year-old Alan Kurdi, (2) the introduction of border controls in Germany and (3) the negotiations over a common European approach to the crisis. This focus on different 'stages' of the crisis revealed the impressive, albeit short-lived, impact that 'key' historical moments may have on discursive change in the press - for instance, the rise of empathy following the headline photograph of Alan Kurdi, in September 2015. In our study, we follow the sampling method of staging our data and pick three crucial moments in the development of the crisis.

Drawing a broader comparison, The *Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU* research report (Berry, Garcia-Blanco and Moore, 2016) draws together five European countries: Spain, Italy, Germany, the UK and Sweden and so extends the work of Cavedes and others. Its conclusions similarly demonstrate "significant variation between countries" (Berry et al., 2015: 7) and emphasise that "the local context is vital in shaping how news is reported" (*ibid*: 12). The report further makes the key recommendation that "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" (*ibid*). In addition, a report conducted by the Ethical Journalism Network based on journalists' accounts in 17 countries around the Mediterranean on behalf of the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (2017) provided an insight on the media coverage of "the crisis". The report shows that journalists are often poorly informed about the complex nature of migration; newsrooms are also vulnerable to pressure and manipulation by voices of hate, whether from political elites or social networks. At the same time, the study highlights examples of good practice, with cases of reporting that is informed and respectful to all agents involved. The study also provides a series of detailed recommendations and calls for training, better funding of media action and other activities to support and foster more balanced and fact-based journalism on immigration, emigration, integration, asylum and other migration-related challenges.

Since the onset of the recent crisis, however, a new and growing body of literature informed by recent mobilities is now emerging[5]. A global perspective to European migration is provided by another study conducted earlier by the Ethical Journalism Network, titled *Moving Stories* (White, 2015). As noted in the report, "Syrian child refugees perish in the Mediterranean", while "groups of Rohingyas escaping persecution in Myanmar suffocate on boats in the South China Sea [and] children fleeing from gang warfare in Central America die of thirst in the desert as they try to enter the US" (*ibid.*). The report concludes that "many different parts of the world are remarkably similar: journalism under pressure from a weakening media economy [and] political bias and opportunism that drives the news agenda" increase "the dangers of hate-speech, stereotyping and social exclusion of refugees and migrants" (*ibid*: 6). Yet, as Bunyan (2015) remarks, with respect to the European migration crisis, what stands out is the notion of apathy that journalism was unable to prevent: "The European story was there to be told, but media failed to alert their audience or to challenge the readiness of the European Union and its member states to deal with the crisis that was about to break upon their shores" (Bunyan, 2015: 11). The questions of how the story was eventually told in each of the eight countries of our study and how it differed from country to country are key foci of our own research design.

At the same time, as this line of inquiry suggests, the significance of representing migration in the press draws attention to the symbolic practices of the media, their role in constructing migrant identity as 'human' and their implications for the actions and emotions attached to the migration crisis.

The symbolic construction of migrant identity

The role of the symbolic practices of language in representing migration crises has been extensively researched (Wright, 2002, 2004; King & Wood, 2013), with literature on the recent crisis growing fast (Malafouri, 2016; Giannakopoulos, 2016; Musarò, 2016; Berry et al. 2015; Zaborowski & Georgiou, 2016; Chouliaraki, 2017). As in broader studies of the media representation of migration (e.g. van Dijk, 1991; Triantafyllidou, 2013), studies of the crisis, too, identify the migrant as an ambivalent media figure. On the one hand, the migrant emerges as a victim of geo-political conflict in need of protection, yet, on the other, she/he appears as a threat to the nation-centred global order and is to be excluded from the hosting community (Nyers, 1999; Gross, Moore & Threadgold, 2012). This symbolic duality of the migrant, constantly shifting between the speechless victim and the evil-doing terrorist, lies at the heart of critical studies on migrant representation, where both 'frames' of representation are being problematised for failing to capture the "humanity" of the migrant (Chouliaraki, 2012). This duality is also, as we argued, embedded and reproduced through the structures of humanitarian securitization - the contemporary logic of the European border that treats the migrant as figure that both needs to be protected and requires to be constrained.

[5] See Mazzara (2016) on the Italian island of Lampedusa and Marino and Dawes (2016) on 'Fortress Europe'.

The critique of victimhood takes its starting point on two features of migrant representation: massification, which depicts them purely as a number, a statistical reference or an indiscriminate mass of unfortunates; and passivisation, which depicts them primarily as passive bodies-in-need unable to act on their circumstances - what Owens, following Agamben, calls "humans as animals in nature without political freedom" (2011: 135). Both features, critics claim, contribute to the de-humanisation of migrants (Malkki, 1996). Clustering them into one single undifferentiated category deprives them of their biographical specificity as historical beings (Nyers, 1999), while defining them in terms of their vulnerability alone degrades them to the status of dehumanised "sub-citizens" - their physical destitution lacks the legitimacy to articulate political will or rational argument (Hyndman, 2000).

The critique of evil-doing forms part of a broader critique on the ambivalence of agency as a representational possibility for migrants and refugees. It takes its starting point on two linguistic features of migrant agency: the attribution of sovereignty, which construes migrants as active and hopeful individuals rather than as destitute bodies, and, related, the attribution of malevolent intent, which defines this sovereignty narrowly, as the migrants' will to harm their hosting communities. In a manner that is different to the critique of victimhood, agentive representation is thus also accused of depriving migrants of their own humanity. This is because of two reasons. First, the attribution of sovereignty conceals the truth of migrant lives, in that it portrays these lives as independent and in control of their own choices, ignoring that these are in fact conditioned by historical circumstances beyond the migrants' control: "there is", as Sandvik (2010: 294) puts it, "something unsettling about the manner in which individuals in arguably desperate or dangerous situations are attributed agency...as token participants performing for a global audience". Second, the attribution of malevolence reduces migrants to 'faceless strangers' (Banks, 2011: 294) who threaten "our" safety: from "speechless emissaries" they become potential terrorists (Malkki, 1995). Instead of humanitarian response, their criminalised agency mobilises emotions of fear and legitimises practices of securitisation that encamp or deport them (Bleiker et al., 2013). By relying on the tropes of powerless vulnerability and agentive malevolence, press representations of migration perpetuate the ambivalence of the migrant as either a sufferer or a threat, yet never a human.

At the same time, as these two tropes of representation, victimhood and threat, should not be seen as antithetical to each other. They are inherently connected tropes, which operate as tactically interchangeable and regularly alternating moral claims, variously configuring the humanity of refugees across time and space. This is the case, for instance, in the shift from universal empathy for Alan Kurdi's death, in September 3rd 2015, to universal outrage for terrorist-refugees, in the course of weeks - from September 3rd, 2015, to the November 13th Paris attacks (Lenette & Cleland, 2016: 77). In this sense, it is not only the distinct performative force of each category that de-humanises refugees, as the literature has it, but also, importantly, their substitutability.

The current project builds upon the three-stage, cross-national comparative design discussed above, in order to delve into a content analysis

of the representational frames of the migrant, with particular focus on the fluidity of these frames and their precarious relationship to the in/humanity of the migrant. At the same time, the conceptual framework of the content analysis is grounded on an understanding of migrant news as a politics of pity; that is as a politics of representation that, depending on the news story, uses various combinations voice, agency and emotions so as to configure the sufferer, the evil-doer and the saviour in different ways (Chouliaraki, 2006; 2013). How and why questions of representation, voice and agency matter in journalism is the last theoretical question we explore in this report, below.

News journalism, voice and recognition

As it is evident from this literature review, newspaper stories matter not only because they report on events or offer information about them but because they actually provide the frames within which we are invited to imagine the predicament of migrants, as well as think, feel and act towards them (Chouliaraki, 2013). In this sense, news stories and journalism, at large, are fundamentally representational practices with a crucial moral and political function in our society. They build up for us what Judith Butler calls the 'field of the perceptible'; a field of meanings that controls 'whether and how we respond to the suffering of others, how we formulate moral criticisms, how we articulate political analyses' (2009: 64).

Central to this constitutive role of journalism is the process of recognition, through which the representational frames of journalism attribute agency to migrants by regulating the possibility of voice – of who speaks, about what, and in which authority (Couldry, 2008). Drawing on Honneth's claim that recognition as indispensable in the act of humanisation that is social subjects' "status as human agents" (2007), Couldry posits that denying people the ability to give an account of themselves in the media means treating them as if they were not human at all (2010: 1). Recognition is here a symbolic act not only in the obvious sense that it relies on the news' choices of language and image to humanise migrants but also in the sense that these choices regulate how public emotions towards migration are routinely shaped and how they are attached to certain options for action. Recognising certain migrants are worthy of entry in Europe, for instance, while others as undesirable is a matter of whether voice enables the recognition of certain sufferers' plight while it denies others'. In light of the dominant representational frames of migrant identity in terms of victimhood and threat, examined earlier, the conceptual framework of this research foregrounds these issues of voice, agency and humanity – asking the question of who speaks in news reports, what they say and to which effect but also which forms of emotion and action are attached to the articulation of certain voices and not to others.

The unequal dynamics of voice in migrant stories is, for Seyla Benhabib, "a problem in the ethics of discourse"[6], which arises because the

[6] For this, Benhabib borrows from Habermas's discourse theory of morality that entails "the communicative presuppositions of a universal discourse in which all those possibly affected

"political/territorial communities" of Western liberal states reserve the right to voice for those who already belong to the community while ignoring any other relevant voices that need to be heard – what she terms "moral/discursive communities" (2005). Taking this debate further, Nancy Fraser singles out the unequal distribution of voice in global news flows as the most important form of inequality in the global public sphere, what she calls the "mis-framing of voice", and argues that "overcoming injustice ...means dismantling institutionalised obstacles that prevent some people from participating on a par with others, as full partners in social interaction" (2010: 16).

This focus on the institutional networks of journalism that regulate the boundaries of voice draws attention to the ways in which the representational frames of press news are always embedded in broader contexts of power; as Steven Vertovec contends, "Representations of immigrant and national culture are mutually constituted in policies, state institutions, the media, and everyday perceptions" (2011: 241). The news' politics of pity, that is how agency, voice and emotion come together in news stories on migration, build upon, through are not causally linked in any direct way, with long-term regulative regimes and existing political mandates, which safeguard security while protecting lives and respecting cultural difference (Poole, 2002: 29-30).

While thus not technically the same, journalistic policy on diversity and the representation of migration share a base in an open approach to cultural difference. Common European policy on diversity in media and representation does exist, as is studied by, for instance, Karol Jakubowicz (2007) and Tarlach McGonagle (2015). Particularly strong is, of course, the regulatory framework for public service media (PSM); which however is also the weakest link in the chain of regulation because of the intense competition provided by digital media channels. "Central to the challenge of consolidation is the need for PSM to continue to promote cultural diversity in ways that are appropriate and effective in the altered technological environment" (McGonagle, 2015: 79). Parallel to this, and with regard to the migration crisis, run recurring worries about the seemingly unregulated world of the internet, where intolerance flourishes (Bauman, 2016: 108). Still however, European policy on media and diversity is extensive and goes beyond legal and policy instruments, via for instance intergovernmental organizations (McGonagle, 2015: 63). On top of this, it is worth stressing that in spite of the surge in digital media channels, broadcast media and the press have retained their agenda-setting role, which in academic literature gives primacy to the study of press coverage of migration still. Mapping, therefore, the similarities and differences of the press across Europe for a period of time in terms of how it narrates, gives voice and construes migrants and refugees remains crucial for our understanding of the role of the press as a key political and moral space in our continent.

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could take part and could adopt a hypothetical, argumentative stance toward the validity claims of norms and modes of action" (2001: 12).

SECTION II. Methodology

In this report, we discuss findings of systematic content analysis of European press coverage surrounding "the migration crisis" in 2015, conducted as part of a major multi-stage research project *Migration and the Media* at the Department of Media and Communications at the London School of Economics and Political Science. For the press content analysis, which is presented in this report, we selected eight European countries - Czech Republic, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Serbia, United Kingdom - and two main Arabic language European newspapers in order to investigate press coverage of the refugees across Europe. The choice of countries allowed us to compare local, regional and continental narratives surrounding "the migration crisis" in 2015. The inclusion of the main Arab language European press intended to expand our understanding and comparison between different spaces of representation and imagining of "the crisis", especially in terms of different kinds of cultural and moral proximity.

Our sample consisted of two key newspapers per country (with an exception of the UK, where we analyzed four newspapers[7]). Each newspaper, where possible, represents politically a left or right-leaning editorial line. Three significant moments of "the crisis" at its 2015 peak were selected as pivotal events with regards to policy making, media coverage and the public debate: 1) Hungary erecting a physical barrier along its borders with Serbia (July 13th); 2) the drowning of toddler Alan Kurdi in the Mediterranean (September 3rd); and 3) the terror attacks in Paris (November 13th). For each of these moments, we sampled twenty refugee-related articles per newspaper, which resulted in 60 articles per newspaper in total and an overall sample of 1200 articles[8].

Needless to say, the attention of different outlets to different events across Europe varied significantly (e.g. with the publication of the Alan Kurdi photos receiving enormous attention in the UK and much less in Hungary). The articles were coded and then analysed using quantitative content analysis. Driven by our research questions (on the mediated moral space of migration as symbolic bordering) and our conceptual framework (the vocabulary of humanitarian securitisation), we analysed representations of migrants and refugees through the frames of humanitarianism and militarisation. In a pilot study, reliability was assessed through intercoder reliability test conducted by two independent researchers. The codebook was

[7] We chose to include a larger sample for the case of the UK as this is the country where our institution and we are based and conduct research. Taking the recent prevalence of the migration issue in British political life, especially in the pre- and post-Brexit referendum, we decided to make a particular contribution to the public debate, not only across Europe but also in the UK. Within the whole study, percentages for UK articles were adjusted to represent an even percentage across the cross-national sample.

[8] Specifically, we observed each 'moment' in the press across ten working days following the event. The two largest stories concerning refugees and migrants to Europe in each of the ten daily editions were systematically sampled. In cases where only one or none of the articles in a daily edition fit the sampling criteria, the remaining gaps in sampling were systematically filled by stories from different days in the period (chronologically selected) and, where necessary, we expanded the period of study to up to two weeks outside of the period (for as long as relevant articles were available for the constitution of the 20 articles sample per newspaper).

subsequently revised and items which did not meet reliability criteria were removed from the study. The revised codebook was then used to code the 1200 articles on the sample.

The newspapers analysed are: Al-Hayat, Al-Araby Al-Jadeed (Arabic-language press); Pravo, Lidove Noviny (Czech Republic); Le Monde, Le Figaro (France); Süddeutsche Zeitung, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (Germany); EFSYN, Kathimerini (Greece); Magyar Nemzet, Népszabadság (Hungary); Irish Independent, The Irish Times (Ireland); Vecernje Novosti, Blic (Serbia); The Guardian, The Times, The Independent, The Daily Telegraph (UK).

SECTION III. The "migration crisis" in European press

1. Press coverage across Europe

This section focusses on the analysis of the main findings of the content analysis of quality press in eight European countries as well as of the two main Arabic language European newspapers. The conceptual design of the project (developed by Chouliaraki and Georgiou) aimed to investigate the range of narratives that predominate the coverage of the refugee/migrant crisis. The hypothesis driving the analysis is that narratives of the coverage are contained within an axis that has militarization (control of borders and security of Europe or the nation) on one extreme and humanitarianism (compassion and care of new arrivals) on the other. While these are the two extremes of the analytical frame, other narratives exist in-between and alongside those (e.g. a careful mix of defensive and humanitarian measures present in press narratives in a few countries in the study). The key questions the project asked are:

- What are the media narratives of the "refugee/migrant crisis"?
- Who speaks and who is spoken for?
- What are the specific frames of positive and negative actions relating to the management of "the crisis"?
- How do all these findings differ across European regions and countries as well as across three distinct time periods in 2015?

Our content analysis allowed us to, first, discuss narratives surrounding refugees and migrants in countries that have been under-researched in English scholarship and, second, to draw analytic comparisons nationally and regionally. We were particularly interested in recording how the coverage of refugees and migrants is shaped through continuities and differences between the "first contact countries" in South-eastern Europe and the "EU policy-making countries" in the European North-West (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Countries included in the study (in green)

The decision to focus on quality press, where possible, was based on the influence of this section of the media in public affairs: quality press sets agendas and it is read by "the decision-makers" - i.e. politicians and policy makers. Thus, while its impact expands beyond its direct numerical readership and spills into policy making, it also influences the public sphere culture of what is and what is not acceptable and legitimate to say and do. In addition to our focus on quality press, we decided to include in our sampling one right-leaning and one-left leaning newspaper of each country (which in the case of the UK expanded to two newspaper of each side of the political spectrum). The development of national samples on the basis of the press' different political orientations aimed to capture the main ideological frames of the coverage and to record the range of opinions and values that framed the response of the media to "the crisis".

2. Europe in 2015

Overall, we see the three periods analysed in the study as important points on a European mediated narrative of "the crisis". Separated roughly by two-month intervals, they serve to capture the dynamically changing frames surrounding the dramatic events of 2015. As seen in the short description below, the periods should be seen in the context of preceding and succeeding developments to fully understand their significance.

Period 1 (July): *Cautious tolerance*
By July 2015, Europe experienced three months of the "migration crisis"[9] in the media, starting from reports about mass drownings in the Mediterranean in April and May (adding to previous, but less mediated reports about similar tragedies between January and March 2015). In July, the European Council agreed on measures concerning relocating refugees from Greece and Italy to other EU member states, while, in the same period, migrants in Calais were desperately trying to get on trucks heading to the United Kingdom thorough the Channel Tunnel. Finally, on July 13th the Hungarian government announced its decision to start building a physical barrier along its Serbian border.

July was a dynamic and intense period in "the crisis", with stories about humanitarian efforts on the Mediterranean interweaving with anxieties fuelled by stories of migrant violence. The balance between securitisation and humanitarianism is representative of the whole study: Europe appeared to want to help refugees more than not, but remained careful about negative consequences.

Period 2 (September): *Ecstatic humanitarianism*
After photographs of the body of three-year old Alan Kurdi made headlines in the European press, media narratives dramatically changed. Descriptions of measures to help refugees overshadowed momentarily measures to protect the country/Europe. Refugee emotions were most frequently featured in the narratives, compared to the other two periods, and there were significantly more mentions of positive consequences of the migrant arrivals than in July or November. For a while at least, Europe appeared in its press as a place of (relative) solidarity to the plight of asylum seekers.

Period 3 (November): *Fear and securitisation*
Everything changed drastically after the November Paris attacks. In articles concerning refugees and migrants, defensive measures dominated over helping measure for the first time as a general trend. Negative geopolitical consequences of "the migration crisis" appeared in almost half of the press articles of the period, while refugees become the most voiceless, compared to July and September. Europe was deep in shock – and the refugees were to blame.

3. Detailed analysis of emerging trends

A. Refugees and consequences for Europe

In our analysis, we have been attentive to how European press frames narratives of consequences of refugee and migrant arrivals. We divided these into, broadly, positive and negative consequences, and each category had four further distinctions relating to the type of consequences envisioned:

[9] This is not to say that "the crisis" started then (as it is a result of multiple factors and happenings dating back a long time before this period), but rather to suggest that this period is the start of what has been widely mediated as "the European migration crisis".

economic, geopolitical, cultural or moral. These were not exclusive, and it was possible for a newspaper story to contain a few or, indeed, none of these frames.

Overall, across all analysed countries, negative consequences of refugee arrivals were strongly emphasised in newspaper stories, as only under a third (32.9%) of all stories in the sample did not mentioned these. To add to that, 59.3% of all articles mentioned no positive consequences (real or projected) of refugees arriving in Europe.

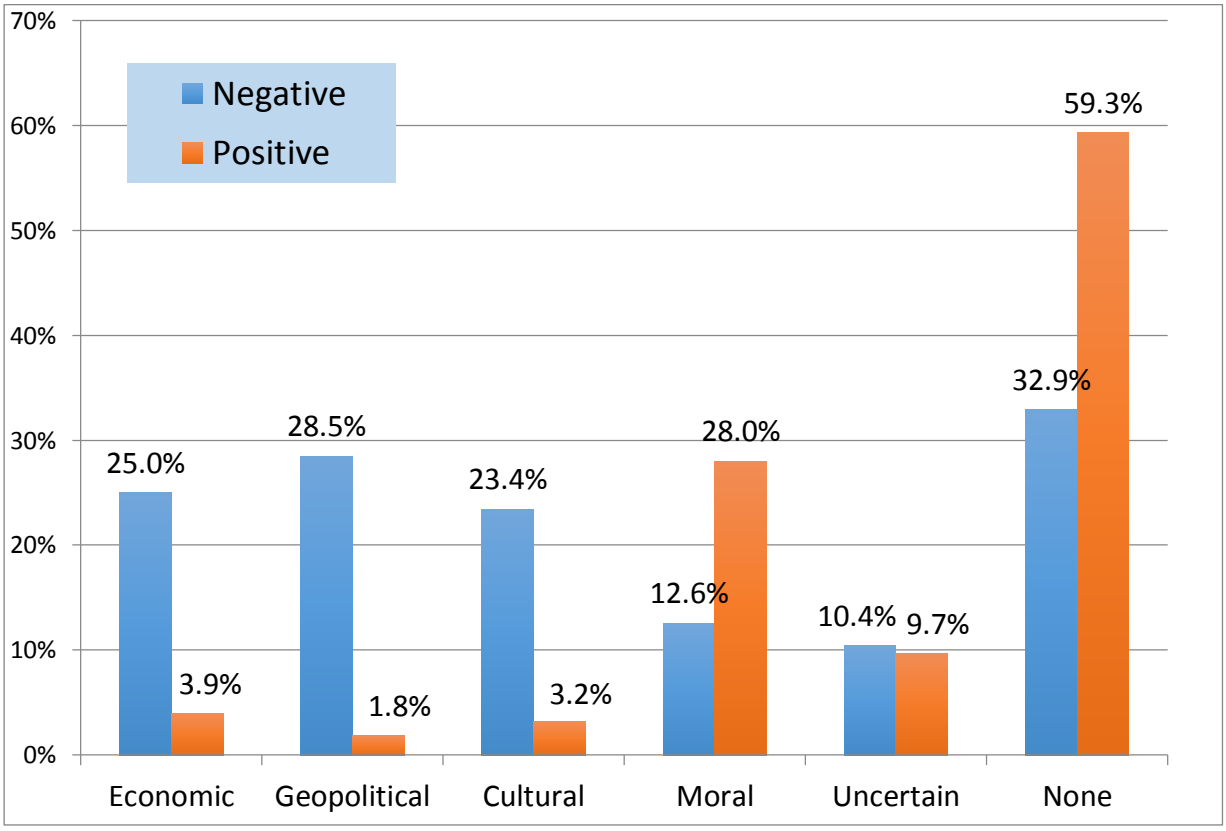

Figure 2. Framing of consequences of refugee arrivals.

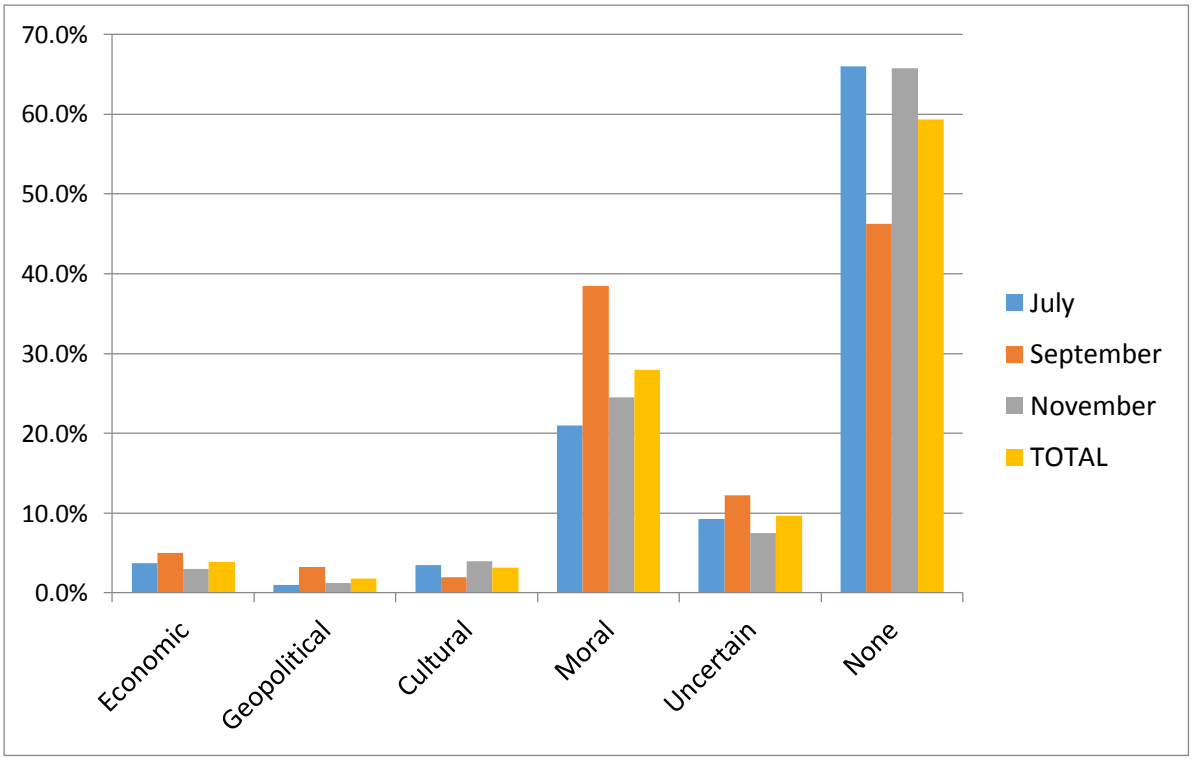

Figure 3. Mentions of positive consequences of refugee arrivals, by type and period.

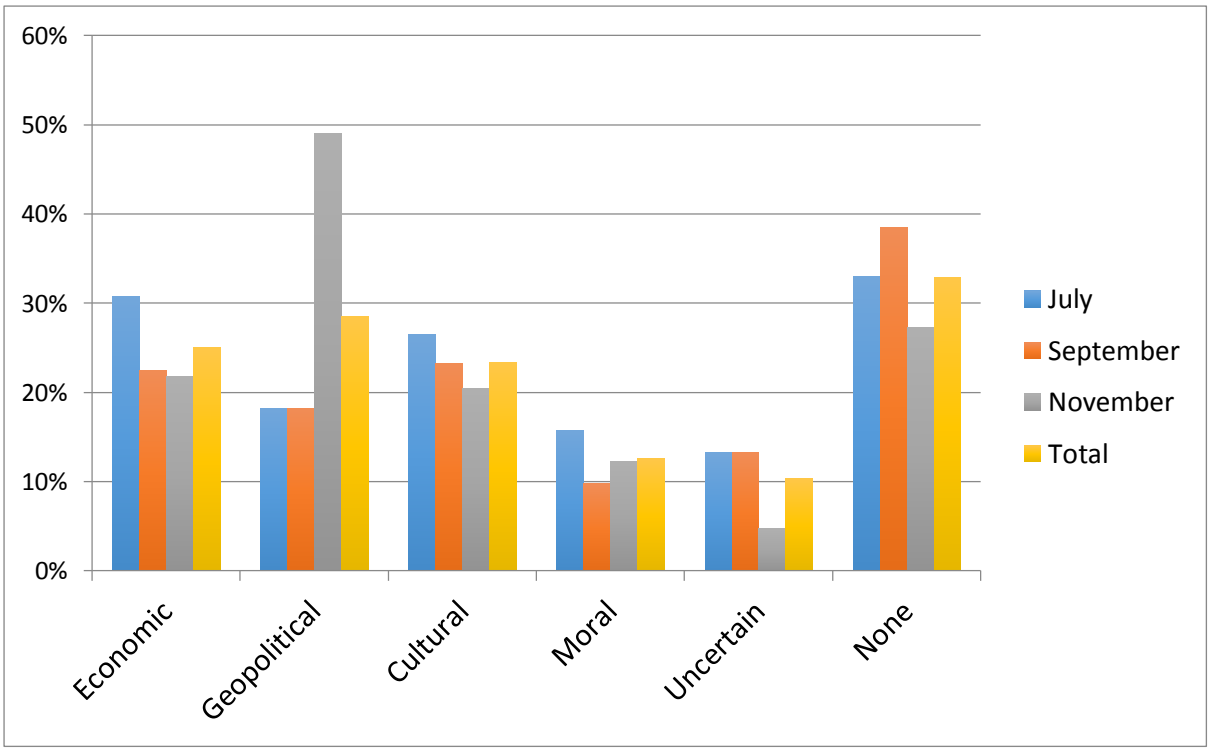

Figure 4. Mentions of negative consequences of refugee arrivals, by type and period.

The relevance of this finding is threefold. First, the fact that journalistic stories about refugees predominantly mention consequences, especially in the early periods of the crisis (when little empirical, causal relationship could be established between the plight of migrants and the wellbeing of European countries), is telling about the overall narrative constructed by the European press: the narrative of anxiety about unwanted consequences.

Second, our analysis of specific types of consequences between positive and negative frames in the articles shows considerable differences. Negative consequences articulated in the press rarely emphasized a moral rationale and were mostly geopolitical, economic or cultural in nature. On the other hand, when positive consequences were mentioned, they were framed predominantly as a moral imperative of empathy, or even, occasionally, solidarity. The emerging narrative, then, strongly links negative consequences to "real", tangible developments in European countries, while very few positive aspects beyond a moral frame are outlined.

Third, specific types of negative consequences show fluctuations in press narratives between the analysed periods. While economic and cultural consequences were most prominent in the narrative in Period 1, they then experienced a steady drop in frequency in Periods 2 and 3. Geopolitical consequences, on the other hand, spiked in frequency in Period 3. This signifies the move of European press toward discourses of securitisation after the Paris attacks: refugees are framed through the geopolitical dangers they bring with them.

B. Militarisation dominant after November

Our main classification of actions stated, suggested, or declared in the press distinguished between measures to help the refugees (these included actions such as providing shelter, donating money or other things, opening borders, help with registration, lobbying for political solution etc.) and measures to protect the country and/or Europe (which included, among other measures, sending refugees or migrants back, closing borders, building physical obstacles between countries, upping police or guard presence). In our framework, we broadly conceptualised the first group of actions as humanitarian and the second group as defensive/militaristic (Figure 5).

The proportion of humanitarian and militarisation frames changed across the three periods. While in July and especially so in September the majority of articles were sympathetic to the refugee plight and emphasized actions to assist asylum seekers in a variety of ways, in November this trend was reversed and over 60% of the actions mentioned were put in a defensive, militaristic frame. This is consistent with our findings about geopolitical dangers in Period 3 mentioned in the previous section.

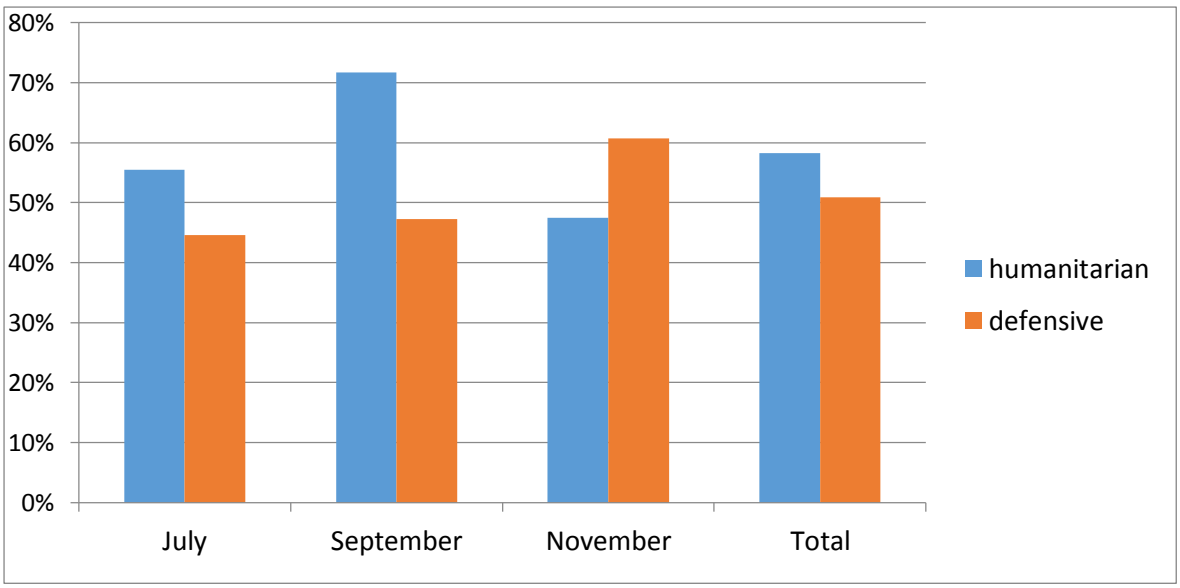

Figure 5. Humanitarian versus defensive actions mentioned or declared, by period.

We analysed these findings further, with attention to each country in the study. Certainly, a deeper contextual analysis of historical, political and socioeconomic trends in each of the regions needs to be considered in order to fully understand press narratives surrounding "the migration crisis" in each country. While we cannot achieve this here because of space limitations of the report, we will outline significant trends emerging from the study below.

In particular, geographical location of countries correlated strongly with types of narratives in the domestic press. We found that the press in Western European countries in the study was characterised by a high percentage of narratives of military securitisation voiced in the articles and more often than not mentioned measures to protect Europe/the country. On the other hand, the press in South-eastern European countries in the sample (to which we include Greece and Serbia) focused more on actions to help the refugees. In other words, in our statistical models based on the countries' proximity to the arriving refugees, being a "frontline" country predicted significantly lower militarisation versus humanitarian scores.

C. Voice and voiceless-ness? Refugees in the press

In the period of study, European press engaged regularly and systematically with the "migration crisis". In the numerous stories much was said about refugees and migrants. However, their descriptions were highly limited in scope. Most notably, refugees were predominantly described in the press as nationals of a certain country (62% of articles in the sample). Only 24% of articles distinguished between men and women among the refugees and less than a third of articles referred to the refugees as people of a specific age group. Strikingly, only 16% of articles included the names of refugees and as little as 7% included their professions.

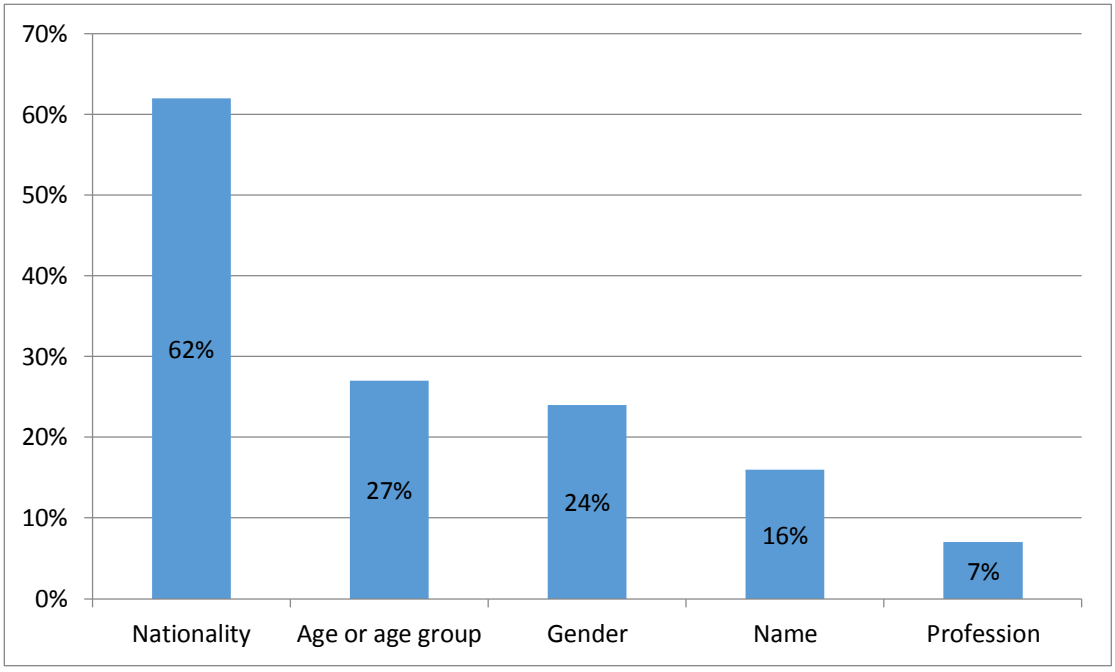

Figure 6. Refugee as identified in the press sample across Europe.

Refugees thus emerge from these narratives as an anonymous, unskilled group. They are *the Other* to the presumed reader of the press. The narrow and limited characterisation of newcomers shapes the discourse surrounding "the refugee/migrant crisis" for both European audiences and policy makers. In the mediated narrative, without individual characteristics, refugees are implied to be of little use for European countries (as they seem to have no profession), inspiring little empathy (because they are dehumanised and de-individualised) and raising suspicion (because no gender distinction aids the narrative of refugees being "mostly young men chancing their luck"[10]).

Descriptions aside, our study also looked at who among people mentioned in the articles is allowed to speak and who is not. This is particularly relevant, because through giving a voice to individuals and groups, particular narratives are being legitimised. In the study, the opinions of refugees were rarely represented. Refugee voices remained in minority across the sample compared to those who were allowed to speak. In all analysed countries, voices of representatives of national governments, governments of other countries or European politicians were featured in articles significantly more often than voices of asylum seekers.

[10] As described by David Davies, a Welsh MP in his comments to BBC Radio Wales on September 2nd, 2015 (http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-34126247).

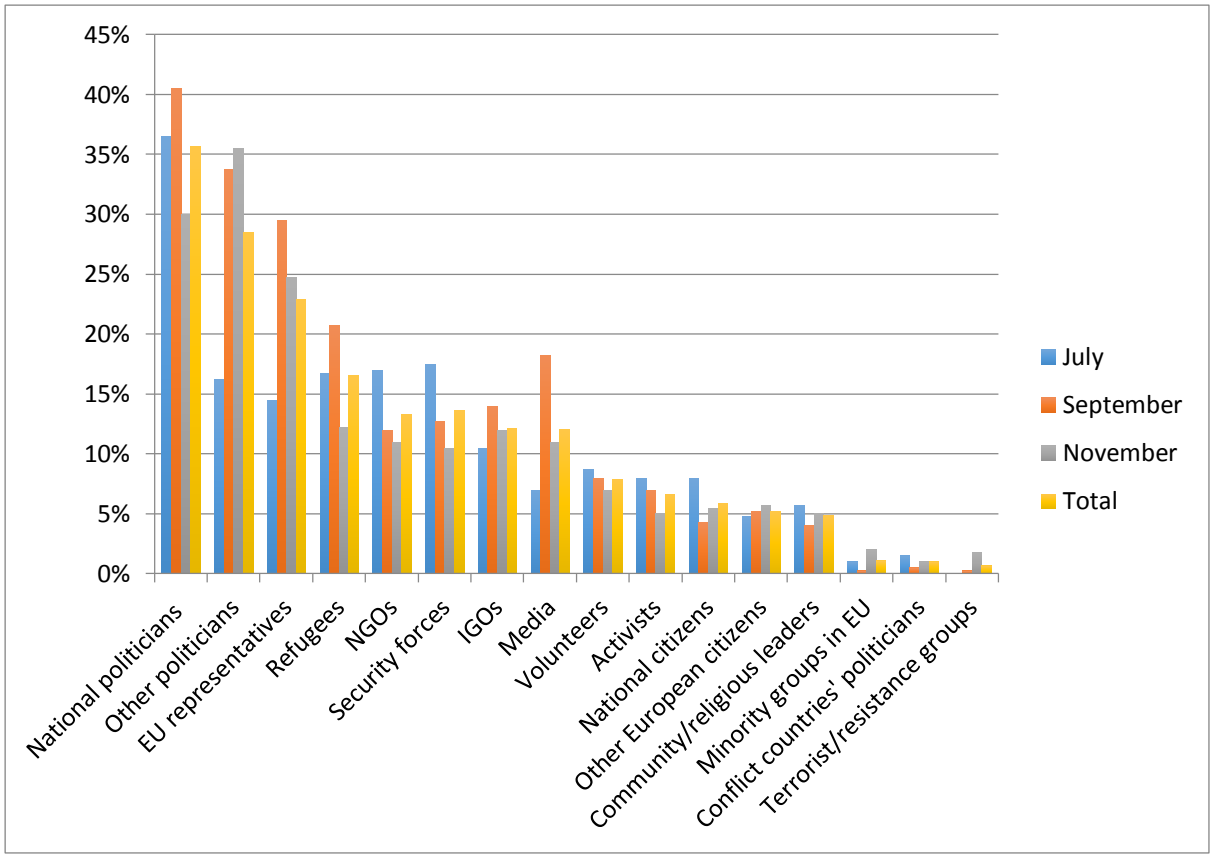

Figure 7. Actors quoted in articles, by period.

Looking at the articles across the analysed periods, there was a spike in refugee voices in the hopeful Period 2, but even so, these voices added to half in frequency compared to voices of national government representatives. As far as refugee voices are concerned, these results remain very similar regardless of geographical proximity to incoming refugees. However, national government representatives were significantly more quoted in Western countries than in the South-eastern countries in the sample. To add to this, the voices of European citizens were featured even less than those of refugees across the sample.

This all leads to a problematic narrative emerging from the media. There was much talk in the articles about the refugees and their reasons for seeking asylum in Europe. There was an emphasis on the consequences this has for European citizens. However, neither of these groups was allowed to speak for themselves in the articles; actions and emotions were instead validated by the (primarily Western) officials in charge.

D. The differences in reported emotions

In line with the rising militaristic frame, our findings suggest that the peak of the "migration crisis" saw a gradual shift in media narratives – from emotional, humane narrative surrounding the refugees and national citizens to a relatively distant, emotionless framing. While across all three periods refugee emotions were reported with significantly lower attention than citizens' emotions, articles after the Paris terrorist attacks in November

reported both citizen emotions and refugee emotions less than articles in July or September.

As we can see in Figures 8 and 9, reported citizen emotions across the three time periods varied. In September, following the tragic death of toddler Alan Kurdi, references to emotions of empathy and solidarity by citizens regarding the present situation rose significantly (mentions of solidarity rise from 17.5% to 25.25% and mentions of empathy from 17.75% to 22% between July and September, see Fig. 8), replacing mentions of fear which decreased in half (from 14.5% in July to 7.25% in September). Very soon, however, negative emotional references returned to the press coverage of refugees, both in the context of present and future situation. In both we observe a fall in mentions of solidarity and empathy and a significant rise of 'fear' as an emotional reference.

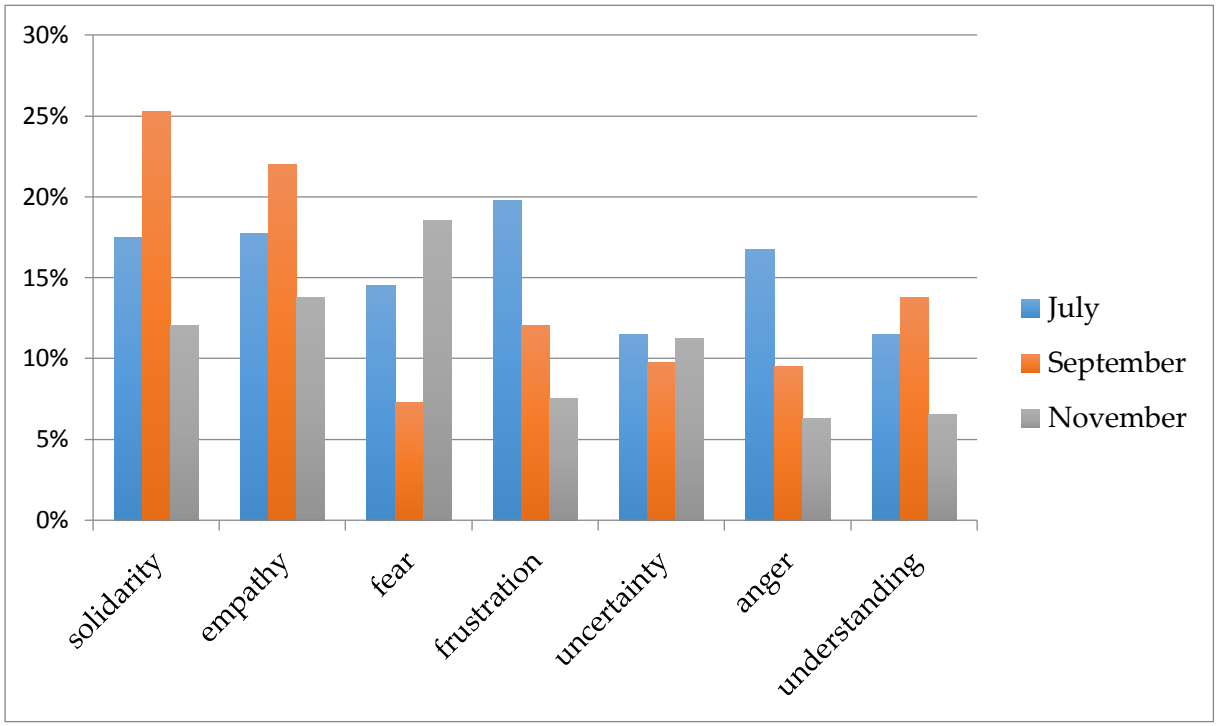

Figure 8. Most frequent emotions attributed to the citizens concerning the refugees and the present situation, by period.

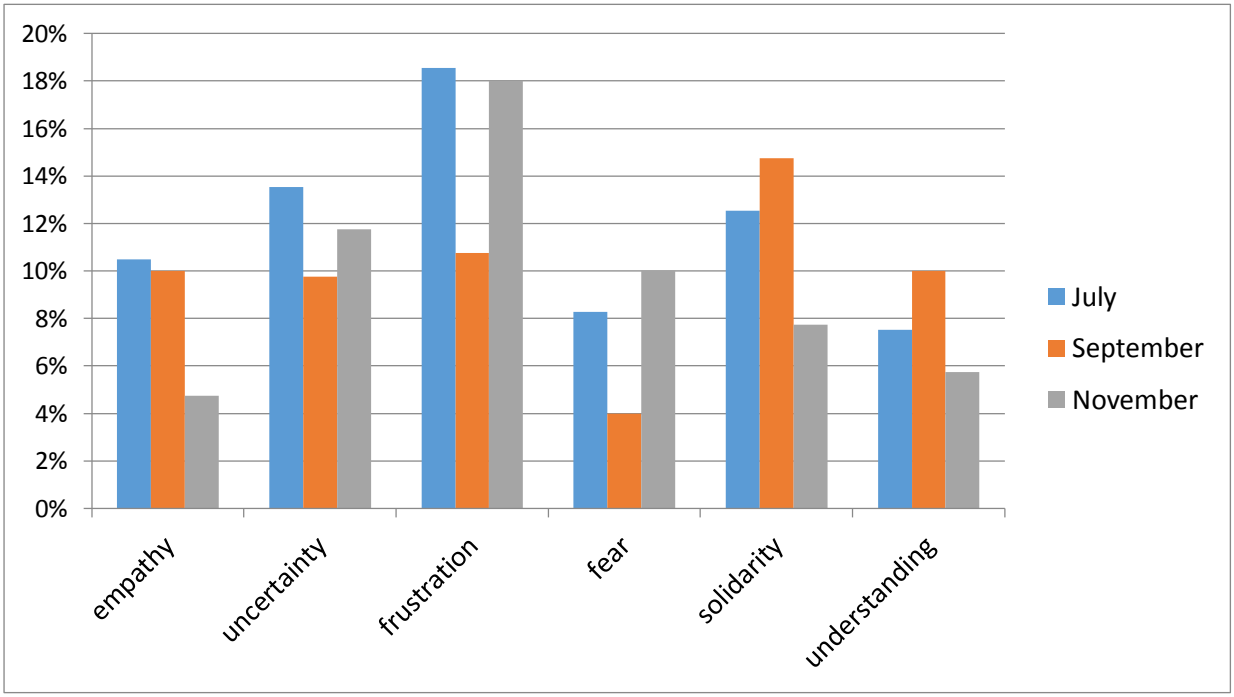

Figure 9. Most frequent emotions attributed to citizens concerning the refugees and the future, by period.

E. Country specifics

While geographical proximity to the South-eastern European borders emerges as a vital factor in the analysis, as outlined above, the correlation is not straightforward. There are significant differences among "first contact countries", as there are differences between and within countries in Western Europe. We suggest that in order to more comprehensively understand these complex relations, a number of further factors needs to be taken into account and these include not only socioeconomic and political context of the country in question, but also the press culture, media regulation, the ideological orientation of the press, media and digital literacy and media freedom. In this section, we stress a number of patterns through outlining characteristics of the national coverage of refugees.

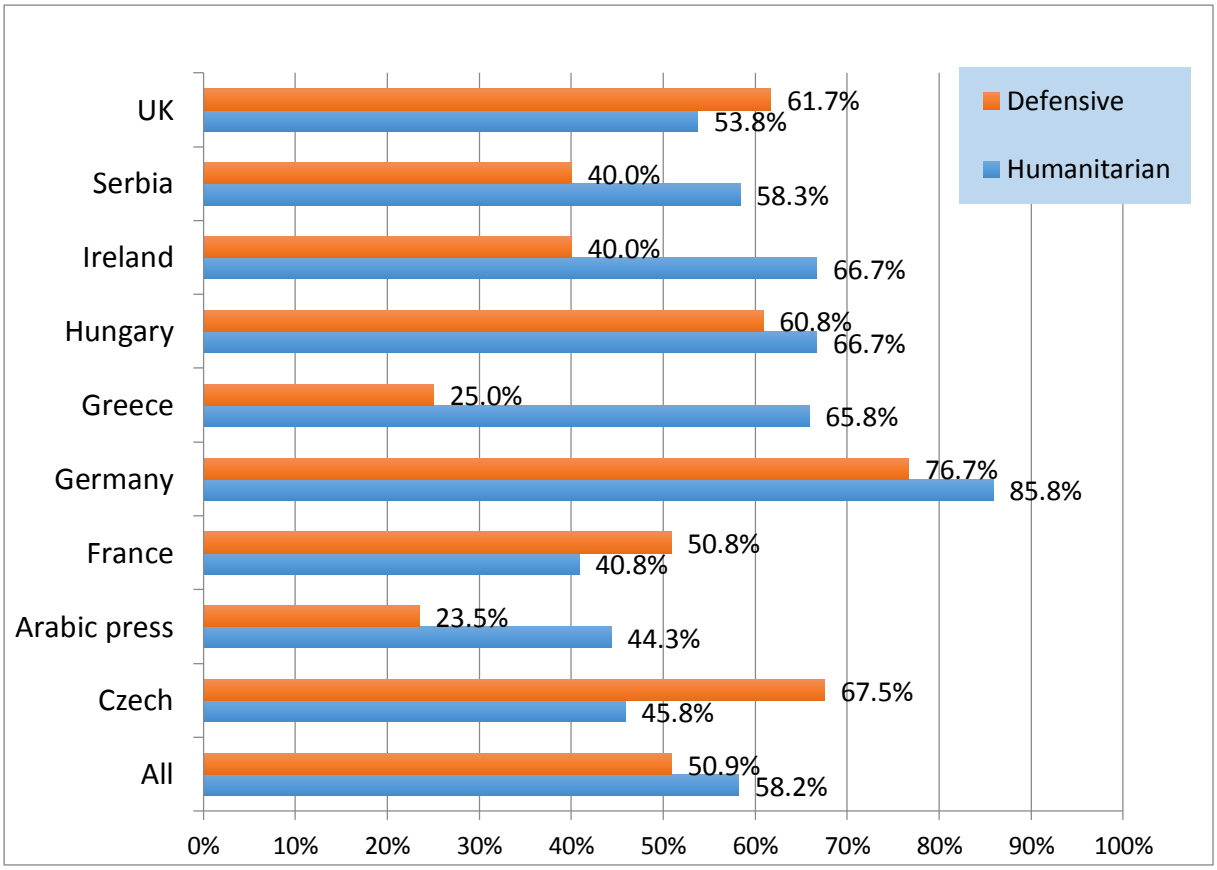

Figure 10. Measures reported in the percentage of articles, by country

The sample analysis in the **Czech Republic**, as visible in Figure 10, reveals a significant difference between reported defensive measures (67.5%) and humanitarian measures (45.8%). The Czech Republic was one of only three countries (along with the UK and France) with the former frequency higher than the latter. However, we should also note that frequencies of both reported measures in Czech Republic were near extreme ends across the study. In fact, Czech press was second-highest (after Germany) in reported security measures and third-lowest (after France and Arabic press) in reported humanitarian measures. Lastly, Czech press in our analysis was least likely to mention refugee names (3.9% of the articles) or refugee ages (11.8%).

European Arabic-language media coverage was likely to include names of the refugees (23% of all articles, second-highest in the sample), however, was also unlikely to include their age (17%). Both Arabic media outlets were least likely to include positive consequences of refugees coming to Europe in their coverage. European Arabic-language media coverage stressed the measure of intensifying search and rescue operations almost twice more often (in 13.7% of articles) than the European total (7.5%) while scoring much lower on mentions of "providing shelter in official camps". As in the case of Greek press, we may look at some of these findings through journalist familiarity with the context and proximity to the developments, but we also

need to take into account the specificity of the (online and, on average, shorter in length) media format.

France was one of three countries (along with Czech Republic and the UK) where mentions of defensive measures dominated over mentions of humanitarian measures. Parallel to this, French press was highest in the frequency of reporting negative geopolitical consequences (47.5%). France had the second highest frequency (after the UK) in mentions of refugee professions (11%). Across the European sample, France also was unlikely to feature voices of national citizens (1.7%, the total European statistic being 5.9%).

German press put the most significant emphasis on *action* overall. Over 76% of articles mentioned defensive measures and over 85% mentioned humanitarian measures – both statistics were the highest across the European sample. Germany was also highest in the sample in reporting negative economic consequences of refugee arrivals (35%). On the other hand, the emphasis on reasons behind migration was on the low end in the sample. Germany had also the lowest presence of female refugees across all the European countries. Lastly, German press was the third lowest (after Czech Republic and Hungary) in the frequency of refugee names mentioned and remained below average in reporting refugee professions or age.

In **Greece,** newspaper frames emphasised, more than any other country, the geopolitical reasons behind "the crisis" (64.2%). Refugees were given more voice compared to the European total in the study and they were described with more attention to their gender (especially references to women refugees were frequent – 26.3% compared to the European total of 15.6%) and age (44% compared to the European total of 27%). There was a great disproportion between defensive actions (25%) and humanitarian actions (65.8%) reported in the articles. Greek press was one of the three sets of media (alongside Serbian and Arab press) where reported emotions of citizens or refugees were not significantly different across the three periods. This is possibly the result of familiarity, extended understanding of context and journalist research on the events.

Hungarian press, more than in any other analysed country, stressed economic reasons as driving migrant and refugee arrivals (21.6%). Narratives of security and border control measures in the press heavily stressed building physical obstacles between countries (56.2%, which was, by far, the highest frequency across Europe), which paralleled government policies at the time). The refugees were particularly nameless (5.8% in Hungary compared to 16.2% across the European sample) and voiceless (10% compared to 16.6% European total) in the Hungarian press.

The press coverage in **Ireland** and **Serbia** shared some common features. Both had relatively low frequency of defensive measures reported (40%) when compared to the other countries' press. Both countries' press had also the least percentage of reported refugee professions (3.5% in Ireland and 3.3% in Serbia). However, in **Ireland**, the press was more likely to include refugee

names than most countries in the sample (19.5%, third-highest). In the Irish press coverage, we could also see a significant difference between reported humanitarian (66.7%) measures and security measures (40%).

Additionally, **Serbian** press was unique in frequency distribution of specific humanitarian measures mentioned in the articles. "Offering asylum in Europe" as an action was mentioned in only 25.7% of articles in Serbia (European total was 47.1%), while the measure of providing tangible help, such as food, clothes and medical care was emphasised very frequently (in 55.7% of the articles, high above the European total of 33.6%).

In the **UK** articles, names and professions of refugees were most likely to appear (names in 29% of all articles, professions in 12%). The UK press reported geopolitical reasons behind the refugee influx in slightly over half of all articles (50.8%). This percentage represents the second highest frequency reported across all countries, second only to Greece (64.1%). UK press was strongly concerned about negative consequences of the refugee and migrant arrival. The UK articles reported negative economic consequences once in every three articles (32%, second-highest frequency in the sample) and was the most likely to report negative cultural consequences (30.8%) among all the countries. As mentioned earlier, the UK was also one of only three countries where reported security measures dominated over reported humanitarian measures.

SECTION IV. The mediation of "the migration crisis": Challenges and recommendations

As demonstrated above, the mediation of the "migration crisis" reflects a number of challenges for the European moral space and European media cultures. While the events of 2015 presented distinct and specific challenges, not least in terms of the speed and the complexity of events unfolding during the period of our study, the ideological and moral orientation of the press, as recorded in the mediation of "the crisis", also reflect deeper and longstanding phenomena and challenges surrounding European media systems and journalism practice. These challenges have both national and transnational dimensions. Furthermore, they relate to the specificity of "the crisis" as well as to the media cultures/journalism practice. We discuss these under three main subthemes: (1.) Reporting "the crisis"; (2.) European media policy environment; (3.) European media systems.

1. Reporting "the crisis"

Journalists, and media organisations, had to respond fast and cover fast-developing stories in the context of tragedy, loss of life, and changing national and European policies. In addition, in some parts of Europe especially, media and journalists had to cover news relating to unfamiliar phenomena and people. European mainstream media had to respond to these developments swiftly, with reporting that at times lacked good

understanding of context and background. The desire and demand for speedy coverage by mainstream media is largely the result of pressures associated with changes in the media industries, including demands for low-cost production of news and for fast dissemination online, especially on social media.

Many of the media organisations and journalists who had to report "the crisis" were unprepared to cover such events. Furthermore, there is little evidence of European media initiating systematic training for their staff on how to engage with the events, or advancing awareness about the implications of decontextualized and negative reporting. Such training opportunities have been scattered and exceptional. As a result, and depending on the historical juncture, journalists fall back to existing stereotypes about who the arriving migrants are and how we should relate to them - "victims", after the death of the toddler or "terrorists", after the Paris attacks.

Media coverage of "the crisis" was also and inevitably interacting with political decision-making and public opinion. Thus, it largely reflected the mainstream political narratives, which were fully informed by the framework of humanitarian security as described earlier, sometimes promoting hostility and sometimes solidarity towards newcomers. By the same token, the inclusion of diverse voices was highly regulated with elite versions being largely dominant, while citizen or migrant voices consistently remained marginal or fully silenced. However, questioning political decision-making, engaging critically with the narratives of "the crisis" and ensuring pluralism of voice, which is a responsibility associated with independent journalism, were very unevenly applied in coverage across Europe. It is important to note that we observed no singular or direct link between national frameworks associated with freedom of expression and hostile coverage of refugees. We observed nonetheless that in countries where hate speech is not always tackled systematically (e.g. Hungary), hostility and dehumanisation of refugees in the media was more widespread.

2. European media: institutional and policy environment

Media freedom and media diversity are protected in all countries studied. However, there is significant unevenness in the political and media policy environments across Europe. For example, in some countries, political pressures over the press are sometimes indirect but effective. In addition, regulation is not always followed by effective action, thus hate speech, stereotyping and discrimination of minorities (such as migrants and refugees) in the media are common in certain sectors of the European press. In most countries, press regulation is mostly enacted in the form of self-regulation, with varying outcomes. Those countries have press self-monitoring bodies responsible for overseeing standards and addressing issues associated with hate speech and discriminatory reporting. However, in a number of countries (e.g. Hungary, the UK) these bodies have little influence upon media practice. Also, media cultures and acceptable language in the media vary significantly across Europe. For example, there is significant difference in media environments between some countries that have long history of independent and powerful public service media (e.g.

Germany; UK) and others with weak or marginal public media (e.g. Greece; Hungary). In many countries of East and West (e.g. France; Hungary), the level or effectiveness in prosecution of hate speech and of discrimination against minorities and groups on the basis of race, ethnicity and religion does not correspond to existing European legislation against hate speech and protection of minorities. In addition, discriminatory reporting sometimes relates to limited knowledge and understanding among media professionals of groups and phenomena they cover.

While in all eight countries media environments are diverse and independent from state control, in many of these countries, national environments are defined by extremely competitive markets. In many countries of East/South-east Europe, corporate media dominate the media market (e.g. Serbia, Greece). These media only selectively engage with self-monitoring media industry bodies. In some Western European countries, effective action also remains a challenge with hate speech legislation being contested by a section of the media. Across Europe, new players, especially those functioning on digital platforms, constitute new competitors for established media. As a result of intense competition, speedy and formulaic reporting sometimes replaces responsible reporting. Furthermore, financial pressures which a significant section of the media across Europe faces mean that resources for developing training opportunities for staff are scarce.

In light of these challenges, the press coverage of "the migration crisis" demonstrates the urgent need for ethical and independent journalism in the digital media environment of fast and vast flows of information provided by multiple and competing players. This increasingly diverse, competitive, and demanding media environment calls for even more responsibility and adherence to values of ethical journalism and respect of democracy and diversity: most importantly, fairness, balance, avoidance of language that promotes intolerance, and inclusiveness of voices of all parties involved in stories.

Recommendations and tools

A number of national and transnational initiatives developed by media professionals (e.g. European Federation of Journalists), as well as by international organisations (e.g. the UN, the Council of Europe, the EU, OECD) provide tools for best practice and also resources for fair reporting of migration and even specifically "the migration crisis" (e.g. Ethical Journalism Network; UNHCR-sponsored study by the Cardiff School of Journalism). Another specific journalist-led initiative, which emerged in the midst of the 2015 "crisis" comes from Greece and is embraced by the European Federation of Journalists. This highlights the role and responsibility of journalists in covering the plight of refugees and migrants. More specifically, the Journalists' Union of Macedonia and Thrace Daily Newspapers (ESIEMTH) drafted a proposal for the adoption of the Anti-racism Ethics Code of the Greek journalists called *The Charter of Idomeni* (after the border village in Northern Greece where thousands of refugees have passed or hope to be passing through on their way to northern Europe). The charter aims to discourage and denounce the climate of intolerance in the media, while

protecting freedom of expression and press freedom alongside the rights of refugees and migrants.

Besides treaties and recommendations, a number of tools are available to media professionals to enhance their own understanding of ethical and fair journalism, especially in covering issues associated with migration and diversity. Some of those include the joint Council of Europe/EU MEDIANE (Media in Europe for diversity inclusiveness) project, offering a hands-on, interactive tool - Mediane Box - to media professionals in engaging with diversity and inclusiveness. Another joint EU/Council of Europe programme, MARS (Media Against Racism in Sport) focussed on sports as an area of significant investment by the media and where issues of fairness in reporting are critical. The two projects built on the Council of Europe's *Speak Out Against Discrimination* Campaign, which primarily targeted media industry professionals and which was built around three main objectives: (i.) Training media professionals; (ii.) Writing, seeing and hearing diversity in the media; (iii.) Producing and disseminating innovative and inclusive information.

Furthermore, recent reports produced through systematic and ethical reporting with refugees and migrants in Europe and beyond, such as those developed by the Ethical Journalism Network (White 2015; 2017) and BBC's Media Action (Hannides et al. 2016) represent examples of good practice in reporting "the crisis" in fair and responsible ways, especially while giving voice to all parties involved.

Conclusions and recommendations

Our study recorded the fundamental contradiction in the way European press, in its particularities and its continuities as core institutional structures of European democracies, set conditions for recognition of refugees in the context of a "crisis". As recorded in our analysis, securitization is a *symbolic* process and communication is not an add-on but a condition of its possibility. While digital technologies of surveillance have been extensively discussed in the context of securitization, mainstream media have not. Yet, the role of the media in the symbolic process of bordering - of ordering and controlling migrants' bodies but also agency - is as critical to setting the conditions of recognition, misrecognition and rights, as are digital communications.

As the analysis above shows, European press names refugees and migrants in very specific and limited ways, setting restrictive conditions for the recognition of migrants and refugees. As such, the European press contributes to an ambivalent regime of power that operates in parallel to the benevolent security of geo-political bordering - what we call a regime of symbolic bordering. This regime of power subjects migrants to practices of control that view them as the par excellence Others to Europe's political and cultural community. On the one hand, being (potential) threats that need to be kept outside and, on the other, being vulnerable human beings in need of care. What this means is that refugees are not fully denied recognition. Their rights as human beings, as people in need of protection are often recognized, not least through humanitarian acts and humanitarian campaigns that organisations, citizens and policy makers initiate. However, and at the same time, they are systematically represented as threats - as

perpetrators or potential perpetrators of terrorism and crime. The framing of refugees and migrants within this narrow set of possibilities –victims or perpetrators – reaffirms the dependence of their rights upon conditions of invisibility, vilification and voicelessness.

Analysing and understanding the implications of these representational frames takes new and urgent relevance as the "migration crisis" enters a new phase, with Europe's borders being sealed, but with refugees' plight being no less of a humanitarian catastrophe than it was in 2015. UNHCR's 2017 report, for instance, draws attention to "the diversified and dangerous journeys' mobile populations are obliged to take following the 'increased border restrictions introduced in 2016 … towards and inside Europe", and urges politicians and policy-makers to step up their efforts to take measures to protect these populations[11].

This constant pressure on Europe's borders from those fleeing war and poverty, alongside the complex needs of those refugees now settling in Europe, set new demands over journalism and the media. It is important to recognise the continuing challenges of the new arrivals and their settlement in Europe, including challenges associated with small- and large-scale changes and potential risks within specific countries and across the continent. Thus, the responsibility of the media to provide fair reporting is higher than ever. For example, the complexity of contextualising specific conditions (such as the rise of extremist/racist parties and terrorist attacks or eminent threats for attacks across Europe) requires sustained public deliberations and informed publics.

In light of these challenges, we identify five principles and associated practices in support of fair, informative and inclusive reporting of migration.

1. **Inclusion of diverse voices**: A fundamental starting point for fair reporting and for freedom of speech for both European citizens and refugees is the inclusion of diverse voices. In response to the marginalisation of refugee voices, a number of national and transnational directories of refugee representatives and refugee journalists have already developed. These aim to support mainstream media's efforts to have refugees as speakers in stories, not just as subjects spoken about.

2. **Contextual reporting of migration**: Contextualising the reasons behind refugee and migrant mobility towards Europe is core to fair and informative reporting. International and professional organisations could play an important role in providing training to journalists covering events relating to mobility and resettlement within Europe, at Europe's borderland, and at the countries where refugees originate.

3. **Recognition of refugee journalists and refugee communication rights**: There is significant talent and passion behind emerging initiatives of independent journalism among refugees and migrants. Collaborative initiatives between mainstream media and refugee media are embryonic but could expand further. Furthermore, communication rights do not only apply

[11] http://www.unhcr.org/news/press/2017/2/58b458654/refugees-migrants-face-heightened-risks-trying-reach-europe-unhcr-report.html (accessed May 15th, 2017).

to European citizens but should also apply to refugees, who are not only subjects of reporting but also (potential) media consumers.

4. **Benefit from digital resources against hate speech**: Hate speech represents one of the major challenges for Europe's national and transnational public spheres. Existing and emerging digital resources on refugees' and migrants' lives, histories, and needs represent important tools for journalists. Such initiatives provide access to refugee and migrants' own voices, especially in recording their concerns and fears which relate to hate speech and negative reporting. These resources are even more valuable in light of casualization of journalism and decrease of resources for sustaining journalism research.

5. **Learn from research on media coverage of the global migration and refugee crisis**: Media organisations and professional associations alike can benefit from research on reporting of migrants and refugees. Currently, more people are forced to leave their homes (UNHCR 2016) than ever before. Media represent the most fundamental source of information on the regional and global conditions and on the causes and consequences of human (forced) mobility. How well are they doing? Research can provide sobering insights into the limitations, challenges but also opportunities in the conduct of ethical journalism.

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