CHANGING THE NARRATIVE:
MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF REFUGEES AND MIGRANTS IN EUROPE

Refugees Reporting: A Project of the World Association for Christian Communication - Europe Region and the Churches' Commission for Migrants in Europe

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Changing the Narrative: Media Representation of Refugees and Migrants in Europe

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FOREWORD

The Refugees Reporting project carried out in 2016/17 was a significant event for both the World Association for Christian Communication – Europe Region (WACC Europe) and the Churches' Commission for Migrants in Europe (CCME).

The debate in the media about refugees has at times, and especially in recent years, been dominated by speculations and sensationalism. WACC Europe and CCME believe that the representation of refugees and migrants in the media both reflect and contribute to public attitudes. As organisations committed to communication rights and refugee rights, we believe that the voices of refugees and migrants themselves need to be heard in the media to better inform the public debate.

The project *Refugee Reporting* was thus intended to assess media representation of refugees and migrants in Europe, to bring together the communities of media professionals and refugees to examine how refugees and migrants themselves could be heard and influence coverage of issues affecting their lives, and to examine standards that would promote reporting that respects refugees and migrants.

The results of this project have both confirmed and challenged some assumptions about reporting on refugees. Less than a quarter of all news articles on migration or refugee issues mention a refugee or migrant, and far fewer directly quote them. On the other hand, the infrequent use of the term "illegal migrant" and the significant proportion of "impartial" reporting are positive signs.

The opportunity within this project for meetings between media professionals and refugee activists has shown that communication between these groups can move from mutual distrust to productive interaction. Another encouraging sign can be found in those places where media have adopted charters on reporting standards, even if such instruments are not always respected.

Although this project formally ends in December 2017, WACC Europe and CCME commit themselves to encouraging improved media coverage of refugees and migrants, to creating opportunities for building trust and confidence between refugee groups and media professionals, and, above all, to giving voice to the diversity, experience and expertise of refugees and migrants themselves.

As project coordinators, CCME and WACC Europe would like to thank the supporters of this effort, namely "Otto per mille" of the Waldensian Church of Italy, the Evangelical Church of the Rhineland and the World Council of Churches. Our own organisations and the Conference of European Churches have also contributed significant resources. The project would not have been possible without all this support.

Finally, we wish to convey our great appreciation to Francesca Pierigh, who was appointed as Research and Communication Consultant for the project. She has driven the project forward with passion and expertise, and with this report has provided all our organisations with evidence and challenges to inspire further advocacy for the communication rights of refugees and migrants.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Globally, we are facing unprecedented levels of displacement. According to UNHCR, currently over 65 million people around the world have been forced from their homes. In Europe, while the number of arrivals in 2017 have dropped from its peak of more than 1 million in 2015, the welcome and integration of refugees and migrants remains a highly divisive political, economic, and cultural topic.

Refugees Reporting is a research and advocacy project conducted in 2017 to support the communication rights of refugees seeking safe passage into and through Europe and to challenge public attitudes of intolerance and discrimination against them.

The project coordinators – the World Association for Christian Communication - Europe Region (WACC Europe) and the Churches' Commission for Migrants in Europe (CCME) – believe that the representation of refugees and migrants in the media plays a major role in the tone of the public debate and, ultimately, the welcome and integration of refugees and migrants in their new countries.

Research was thus conducted to assess the media representation of refugees and migrants in Europe. Participating countries were Greece, Italy, Spain, Serbia, the United Kingdom, Sweden and Norway. In addition, interviews were conducted with representatives of refugee networks and media, including a consultation bringing people from both groups together to review the initial research findings.

The media monitoring results reflect general patterns rather than a regionally representative picture, given that, in this initial study, the overall sample is relatively small and there are wide differences across individual country results. The aim of this report is to spark discussion on the topics considered, build on positive trends, and inspire more research and action on the issues.

KEY FINDINGS

Only 21% of news items on asylum and migration reference a refugee or migrant.

Over three-quarters of the stories analysed in this project that talk about migration and asylum issues, do not identify an individual refugee or migrant nor include their voice or experience. This is partially explained by the focus of the majority of articles on national legislation. However, it points to a pattern of invisibility that creates a clear divide between the policies being discussed at the political level and the effects of those policies on people.

Certain groups of people are even more invisible.

Women and some other groups of people are disproportionately absent from the news on refugees and migrants. Of the 21% of articles that mentioned a refugee or migrant, only in about one-quarter (27%) was that person a woman. Of *all* people mentioned in the news articles, only 6% were refugee women.

Some communities are also widely absent from the news stories. For example, Afghans represent the second-largest group of asylum applicants in the EU, yet they were only the fourth most represented group in the news sample. In addition, data suggests that Nigerians make up most of the current arrivals to Italy and a considerable part of the migrant population in Europe, yet citizens of West Africa were present in only 2% of the articles analysed in the sample.

Of the 21% of the news items that reference migrants or refugees, less than half (40%) of the articles quote them directly.

The result points to a trend of indirect representation of refugees and migrants in the news. Direct quotes are the most accurate way to represent people. Inaccuracy of representation can easily lead to misunderstanding, and misunderstanding can in turn lead to a lack of tolerance.

Refugees and migrants are most often only identified by their displacement.

The function and role of migrants in the news speaks to broader trends of marginalisation. In the vast majority of cases (67% of the overall sample) migrants and refugees are subjects of the stories; only in 3% of the cases are they present as experts. In 43% of the articles mentioning a refugee or migrant, their occupation is not stated; while in 27% of the cases the only "occupation" mentioned is that of migrant or refugee. When media does not go beyond the *refugee* label, and when the public tacitly accepts *refugee* as an occupation, people are deprived of their humanity and dignity. Not only are they not given a space to express themselves; by labelling them in this way, it is assumed that this label is all that there is to know about these people.

Terminology and impartiality may be positive signs.

The findings suggest a low use of the term "*illegal migrant*." Correct terminology signifies an understanding of the topic and avoids confusion in the minds of the readers. However, the full findings on terminology used showed significant differences across countries; other terms besides "refugees," "migrants," and "asylum seekers" are being used with unknown positive or negative connotations.

Project participants were positively surprised by the overall neutral tone in approximately half of the stories in the sample, with another one-third deemed *sympathetic*. Impartial journalism, which presents facts and perspectives from different sides, is vital to uphold. *Sympathetic* journalism, however, runs the risk of over-emphasizing the refugee as a "victim". Thus rather than sympathy, journalists should strive for *empathy*, allowing the person to express her or himself and covering the issue from a perspective of understanding, based on facts.

While the topic of migration and asylum appears to have receded from the news in the last year, it is still an issue that affects millions of people in Europe and tens of millions around the world. The role of media in this regard is more important than ever. Media can present and explain the existing challenges, provide accurate information on issues and events which can become inflammatory or be misunderstood, and provide a platform for the voices of refugees and migrants themselves. This enables the audience to move beyond a label to a real person with experience and expertise.

This project has raised the importance of following existing journalistic codes of practice, building trust and capacity between refugee groups and media professionals, creating better media understanding among NGOs working with refugee groups, and, above all, giving voice to the diversity, experience, and expertise of refugees and migrants themselves.

We must change the narrative that still too often speaks of a "refugee crisis" in Europe. The crisis is not one of numbers or capacity. The crisis is one of political will and understanding.

SECTION A – THE PROJECT

1. PROJECT OVERVIEW

The project Refugees Reporting – Refugees and Communications Rights – was launched on 1 December 2016 by the World Association for Christian Communication Europe Region (WACC Europe) and the Churches' Commission for Migrants in Europe (CCME). Its objective is to improve media representation of refugees in European countries by promoting refugees' rights to speak on their own behalf and to have their voices respectfully heard and adequately represented by the media.

With this aim, three main activities took place:

- A media monitoring exercise, to assess media portrayal of refugees in seven European countries, including countries of entry, transit and destination;
- Engagement with refugee-led groups and organisations, to assess communication strategies, experience with the media, and good and bad practices;
- Engagement with media professionals, to understand the conditions under which their work is carried out, and to discover where difficulties lie and what support is available and where it is needed.

The project started to take shape between December 2016 and February 2017, when the website was created and the activities were defined. The planning, preparation, and execution of the media monitoring took place mainly from March to June 2017; the results were analysed over the summer. At the same time, outreach with refugee-led groups and media professionals took place mostly during the months of July and August 2017.

In September 2017, a consultation between media professionals and representatives of refugee groups was held in Brussels. The goals of this consultation were to discuss the preliminary results of the media monitoring, to facilitate open discussion and exchange of information, and to collect insights from the participants.

Throughout the project, and especially for the media monitoring exercise, Refugees Reporting relied on the expertise of the WACC Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), the largest and longest longitudinal study of gender in the world news. With the assistance and inputs of the GMMP Global Coordinator, the GMMP methodology was adapted for Refugees Reporting.

1a. What are communications rights?[1]

Communication is a basic element of human life, without which, individuals and communities cannot exist in a meaningful way. Communication allows meanings to be exchanged and makes people who they are. In this sense, communication strengthens human dignity.

Communication "rights" refer to the rights of all people everywhere to express themselves individually and collectively, and are thus vital to full participation in society. Communication rights are essential for human dignity and democratic participation. As such, respect for human rights includes the recognition, protection and implementation of communication rights.

Communication rights are essential for the creation of an effective cycle of communication, involving not only the creation of content, but also being heard, listening, responding, understanding, and learning. Communication rights optimise the conditions for all voices to be taken into account.

Communication rights go beyond freedom of opinion and expression to include areas such as democratic media governance, media ownership and control, cultural diversity, linguistic rights, and the right to education, privacy, peaceful assembly, and self-determination.

For refugees in Europe, as for other under-represented people, this means being able to express themselves fully and without restrictions, being adequately and respectfully portrayed by the media, and having each individual's personal story acknowledged. This goes far beyond the *refugee* or *migrant* label. It ensures that the debate on migration and asylum in Europe includes

1 Sources for this section are: http://www.waccglobal.org/resources/communication-rights; http://centreforcommunicationrights.org/; http://www.refugeesreporting.eu/communication-rights-what-are-we-talking-about/ [all last accessed 30/10/2017].

the voices of those who are most affected by it: refugees and migrants themselves.

WACC's belief that everyone has the right to communicate, much as everyone has the right to food, shelter, and security, permeates the way in which the project has been conceived and executed.

2. MEDIA MONITORING

2a. Definition and methodology

Media monitoring is a tool for social change, the importance of which has long been recognised by the international community. It has, for example, been used by WACC in the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) to gather evidence on selected dimensions of gender in the news worldwide and in advocacy and policy-making.

"Media monitoring bridges the gap between activists and media professionals. It creates a link between the media and their audience which has the potential to lead to democratic, professional, more equitable and diverse media systems. The results of monitoring provide a picture of media content that allows discussion about representation in media at a level of specificity, based on 'hard' evidence."[2]

The GMMP monitoring methodology includes both *quantitative* and *qualitative* components. The quantitative analysis, through a set of codes and data, provides an objective assessment of the representation of refugees in the news. The qualitative component is an analysis of a smaller sample of articles: this analysis identifies good and bad practices, as well as missed journalistic opportunities.

The Refugees Reporting media monitoring adopted a methodology largely similar to that of the GMMP. The more specific scope of this study, however, suggested a different collection of stories for analysis. For this project, all relevant news stories related to asylum and migration published across three days in newspapers, on internet news websites, and Twitter feeds of media houses were included.

The selection of dates took into account the project timelines and attempted to avoid country-specific events, such as national holidays or elections, which would have substantially affected media coverage. Three different weekdays were selected: Tuesday 30 May, Wednesday 7 June, and Monday 12 June, 2017.

All news articles were compiled and analysed by the country monitors, and were received by project staff over the course of July and August 2017. The data subsequently underwent a quality control process, in which the compiled data was checked against the original coding sheets. Once the input was accepted, all country data sets were collated into a single data file, enabling analysis across countries and media.

Note: *All material related to the media monitoring exercise is available on the project website:* http://www.refugeesreporting.eu/media-monitoring/.

2b. Selection of media

All media analysed for this media monitoring study belonged to the so-called "mainstream media," which, for the purposes of this project, is understood as the media most commonly available throughout each country and most widely read by the population. Media analysed included major national newspapers and local ones, secular and faith-based newspapers, and, as much as possible, media from all segments of the political spectrum. Both printed and online newspapers were included, as well as the Twitter feeds of media houses. The list of media analysed in each country is available in Appendix III.

2c. Country samples and overall sample

In the country selection process, countries of entry, transit, and destination for migrants and refugees were considered.[3] This process included outreach to the networks of the organisations involved in the project, especially the GMMP network in Europe and the CCME membership. Criteria for participation in the study included the number of volunteers available to conduct the study, availability to coordinate the efforts, and reliability of the network involved.

The countries selected were Greece, Italy, Spain, France, Serbia, the United Kingdom, Sweden, and Norway. It should be noted that although France carried out the media monitoring, no items were identified; there are, accordingly, no results

2 From http://whomakesthenews.org/media-monitoring [last accessed 30/10/2017].
3 It should be noted that most countries of the sample can be considered as belonging to two categories.

from France. It may be that the preoccupation of the media during those days with the newly elected French president, Emmanuel Macron, coupled with imprecision in the implementation of the methodology, led to this lack of data. The final results of the media monitoring thus reflect the analyses carried out within the other seven countries.

The overall sample collected consists of 571 items, divided as follows: 154 items from printed newspapers, 296 items from online newspapers, and 121 items from Twitter. The table below offers a detailed overview of the overall sample and the country samples.

	Newspaper	Twitter	Website	TOTAL
Greece	21	7	53	81
Italy	20	27	29	76
Norway	7	1	16	24
Serbia	7	6	2	15
Spain	27	38	76	141
Sweden	31	16	44	91
United Kingdom	41	26	76	143
TOTAL	154	121	296	571

Table 1. Media monitoring sample

It is important to highlight that the results reflect general patterns rather than a regionally representative picture given the small overall sample and the wide differences across individual country samples. Reasons for the variations in the country samples include the number of volunteers available to conduct the monitoring, the prevalence of the topic in the country's news, and the presence of other significant issues during the days of the monitoring.

The size of Serbia's sample can thus be explained by the small number of volunteers available and by the limited presence of asylum and migration issues in the news. According to the Serbian national coordinator, "it is noticeable that the interest in the topic of migration has decreased, with media now publishing short news, mainly coming from the major news agencies, without any further comment or research. Articles published usually deal with border crossings, relocation, or the closure of reception centres." It was nevertheless considered important to include the data from the country, especially because Serbia is a transit country.

The equally small size of the Norwegian sample is, according to the national coordinator, due to media fatigue: the topic was very visible in late 2015 and early 2016, a period when there were many refugee arrivals. Media interest declined as the number of arrivals decreased. Another factor that may have impacted the media coverage is that the media monitoring dates coincided with the start of political campaigns for the country's September national elections.

The data sets from Spain and the United Kingdom are relatively large. The volunteer teams in these countries were also large and were based in more than one city; they were thus able to monitor a greater number of news outlets.

A significant influence on the news agenda nationally and regionally was the attack at London Bridge on 3 June 2017, which affected the content of media not only in the United Kingdom, but in the whole of Europe, especially as regards the identities of the perpetrators and their immigration status. Though the day in question was not a day selected for the media monitoring, its repercussions were felt in the media for many days afterwards.

The Spanish team highlighted another trend in media coverage: namely, the connection between the geographical scope of the newspaper and the volume of articles related to asylum and migration. For example, newspapers published in the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla, where migration is experienced daily, publish many more stories about the topic than newspapers based elsewhere in the country. Of further note is that the Spanish national coordinators reported that the three monitoring days coincided with initiatives promoting the arrival of refugees and defending their status.

The size of the refugee population in the participating countries is also useful background information. The following paragraphs, while not a complete analysis of the refugee or migrant population in each of the participating countries, provide some insight into the situation.

The situation in **Greece** is probably fairly well known to the general public because of its geographical proximity to Turkey and because the majority of people who arrived in Europe in 2015 made their way through Greece. The initial permission to travel through the country was

later reversed with the closure of the border with FYROM (the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia), and then the so-called EU-Turkey deal effectively blocked people in the country. As of September 2017, there were 45,614 refugees in the country.[4] The population of Greece is about 11 million people.[5]

As arrivals to Greece increased, they simultaneously decreased in **Italy**; when Greece closed its borders, arrivals in Italy picked up again. The Italian government is currently engaged in talks with Libyan authorities, which have supposedly slowed down the number of arrivals.[6] Notwithstanding these developments, in 2017, over 100,000 asylum applications were registered in the country.[7] This is approximately the same level as in 2016, when 123,000 asylum applications were registered.[8] Italy's population is about 60 million people.

The geographical position of **Spain** puts it in the countries of entry category; however, there are far fewer refugee arrivals in the country compared to Italy and Greece. Asylum applications in the country are still relatively low when compared with others, standing at about 16,000 for 2016.[9] The number of arrivals to Spain has slightly increased this year, partially because of increasing difficulties in reaching Italy: as of 30 September 2017, over 17,000 people have arrived in the country.[10] The population of Spain is about 46 million people.

Serbia is a transit country, which was added to the asylum map of Europe when the so-called Balkan route allowed people to pass through those countries to reach northern Europe. With the closure of the route, the number of people arriving to Serbia has diminished. As of March 2017, about 7,800 refugees, asylum-seekers, and migrants are registered in the country.[11] The small number of asylum applications (574 for the whole of 2016)[12] is testament to Serbia still being a transit country. The overall population of Serbia is about 7 million people.

In the **United Kingdom**, even though immigration is a highly debated topic — and was prominently featured ahead of the Brexit vote — the refugee population in the country is relatively small: about 160,000 refugees and asylum seekers live there.[13] This number includes those who have presented their application in previous years, as well as those who have already been recognised as refugees. About 30,000 asylum applications were registered in 2016.[14] The population of the United Kingdom is about 65 million people.

Norway is considered a destination country also because of its position at the very northern tip of Europe. However, despite its geographical location, the number of asylum applicants increased in 2015 to over 30,000. The numbers were later reduced because of the introduction of border controls and stricter asylum policies. Currently, about 3.6% of the Norwegian population is made up of refugees.[15] The overall population is about 5 million.

Sweden faces conditions similar to that of its Norwegian neighbour; in 2015 there were 163,000 asylum seekers arriving to the country.[16] This number declined to about 28,000 in 2016; there have been even fewer asylum seekers in 2017.[17] Sweden has an overall population of about 10 million people, about 16% of whom have an immigrant background.[18]

4 UNHCR Greece Factsheet, September 2017, available at: https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/60346 [last accessed 30/10/2017]. For more information on the number of asylum applicants and the Greek Asylum System, refer to the Asylum Information Database (AIDA) report, 2016, available at: http://www.asylumineurope.org/sites/default/files/report-download/aida_gr_2016update.pdf [last accessed 30/10/2017].

5 The data on the overall population size of all countries mentioned in this section is taken from their respective Wikipedia pages.

6 ECRE, Italy further strengthens cooperation with Libya amid human rights concerns, September 2017, available at: https://www.ecre.org/italy-further-strengthens-cooperation-with-libya-amid-human-rights-concerns/ [last accessed 30/10/2017].

7 Roughly calculated from UNHCR weekly snapshot October 2017, available at: https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/60304 [last accessed 30/10/2017].

8 AIDA report 2016, available at: http://www.asylumineurope.org/sites/default/files/report-download/aida_it_2016update.pdf [last accessed 30/10/2017].

9 AIDA report 2016, available at: http://www.asylumineurope.org/sites/default/files/report-download/aida_es_2016update.pdf and CEAR report for 2015, page 13: https://www.cear.es/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/Executive-Summary-2016-Report-CEAR.pdf [both last accessed 30/10/2017].

10 UNHCR Mediterranean data portal, available at: http://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean/location/5226 [last accessed 30/10/2017].

3. OUTREACH AND ENGAGEMENT

From a communication rights perspective, it is essential to include the voices of the groups directly concerned by a project. Outreach activities for Refugees Reporting therefore involved refugee-led organisations and media professionals, gathering their viewpoints, inputs, and suggestions.

The goals of outreach to **refugee-led organisations and groups** across Europe were to make them aware of the existence of the project and invite their input and participation, to assess their current communication practices and their experience in relation to media professionals, and to offer space for discussion and inclusion of refugee voices within the project.

Nine groups, based in Portugal, Italy, Greece, France, Norway, Ireland, the United Kingdom, and Finland, participated in a survey. The survey submitted was divided in three parts: relationship with the media, relationship with journalists/reporters, and communication strategies and practices.

The groups that participated ranged from local grassroots organisations to pan-European ones, providing a variety of viewpoints and expertise. Activities included assistance in identifying scholarship opportunities for young refugees, courses and workshops on women's empowerment, media outreach, local activities aimed at fostering inclusion between refugees/migrants and the local population, interpretation and cultural mediation services, and many more. All groups, no matter their specific expertise and area of work, were keenly interested in a more fruitful and positive engagement with media professionals.

Outreach with **media professionals** was assisted by the European Federation of Journalists and the International Federation of Journalists. Contacts with journalists and reporters took the form of short interviews, aimed at understanding the issues and constraints they face in reporting on asylum and migration-related topics. The ten journalists who participated in the project came from different areas of the profession, with freelancers, in-house journalists, photo- and video-reporters, as well as editors, represented.

In addition, the project provided a platform for interaction and discussion between the two groups. Based on the belief that improved engagement between refugee-led organisations and media professionals can only be achieved through better contacts and understanding, a **consultation** was held in Brussels in September 2017. The aim of the consultation was to provide an opportunity for face-to-face conversation between these two groups, which do not often come in contact with each other unless specific tasks are involved.

The results of the outreach activities and insights from the consultation are discussed in greater detail in Section D.

11 UNHCR Factsheet, March 2017, available at: http://www.refworld.org/country,COI,UNHCR,,SRB,,58c276064,0.html [last accessed 30/10/2017].

12 AIDA report 2016, available at: http://www.asylumineurope.org/sites/default/files/report-download/aida_sr_2016update.pdf [last accessed 30/10/2017].

13 From http://metro.co.uk/2017/06/19/refugee-week-2017-how-many-refugees-are-there-in-the-uk-and-worldwide-6718632/ [last accessed 30/10/2017].

14 AIDA report 2016, available at: http://www.asylumineurope.org/sites/default/files/report-download/aida_uk_2016update.pdf [last accessed 30/10/2017].

15 Data specific to the refugee population is available at http://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/artikler-og-publikasjoner/refugees-in-norway. For more general data on immigration in Norway, see https://www.ssb.no/en/innvandring-og-innvandrere/nokkeltall [both last accessed 30/10/2017].

16 https://borgenproject.org/10-facts-about-refugees-in-sweden/ [last accessed 30/10/2017].

17 Data for 2016 is available from the AIDA report: http://www.asylumineurope.org/sites/default/files/report-download/aida_se_2016update.pdf . For 2017 data, see https://www.migrationsverket.se/English/About-the-Migration-Agency/Facts-and-statistics-/Statistics.html [both last accessed 30/10/2017].

18 https://borgenproject.org/10-facts-about-refugees-in-sweden/ [last accessed 30/10/2017].

SECTION B – MIGRATION IN THE NEWS

1. MEDIA, JOURNALISM, AND THE EXISTING NORMATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR RESPONSIBLE REPORTING

Media plays a powerful role in everyday life and in upholding democratic values. The emergence of new forms of communication, such as social media, has not changed this; if anything, its role is even stronger. Almost everyone relies on media in its different forms to receive the news and understand world events; as such, it has enormous power to reach out to the public and sway public opinion.

The issue of responsible journalism has been at the forefront of public attention for some time. Organisations such as the Ethical Journalism Network (EJN) work to ensure that their profession conducts itself in an ethical and responsible manner. Numerous guidelines have been developed to provide direction and a frame of reference for media professionals. Most of the guidelines rely on a few basic principles, which EJN has spelled out as the **five core principles of ethical journalism**:[19]

1. **Accuracy.**
   The use of fact-based information is the cardinal principle of journalism; all relevant facts should be provided and checked for accuracy.
2. **Independence.**
   Journalists should not act on behalf of any special interest, whether political, cultural or corporate; information leading to potential conflict of interest should be declared.
3. **Impartiality.**
   Stories should be balanced and context should be provided; impartial reporting is key to building trust and confidence with the audience.
4. **Humanity.**
   Journalists should abide by the do no harm principle; they should be conscious of the possible impact of their work on the lives of others.
5. **Accountability.**
   Journalists must hold themselves accountable and must sincerely admit and correct any errors they commit.

When it comes to migration and asylum, an inflammatory and divisive issue which over the past two years has been covered by all major European media, responsible and ethical journalism becomes even more important. There are reporting guidelines specific to migration, such as the ones compiled by EJN:[20]

1. **Facts not bias.**
   Accuracy of information is essential; and sources of information should be transparent.
2. **Know the law.**
   Be aware of the correct definitions of terms and the national and international laws that apply in each case.
3. **Show humanity.**
   Provide background information and speak about the reasons behind the mass migration of individuals, each of whom has his or her own story.
4. **Speak for all.**
   Talk to migrants and not just about them; let them speak for themselves.
5. **Challenge hate.**
   Be aware that the information published may be used by some to preach hate; therefore, be very careful with language.

UNHCR, the UN Refugee Agency, in collaboration with the National Union of Journalists in Ireland and the Irish Refugee Council, has also published a set of guidelines targeted specifically to journalists working in the field of migration and asylum.[21] The guidelines highlight the importance of accurate reporting in order to avoid harming people. The document provides a series of definitions (refugee, asylum seeker, separated minor, etc.) and guidance on how best to conduct interviews with refugees and asylum seekers.

Several national standard-setting bodies have issued guidelines for journalists in this regard, such as the UK National Union of Journalists

19 Ethical Journalism Network, 5 principles of ethical journalism, available at: http://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/who-we-are/5-principles-of-journalism [last accessed 30/10/2017].

20 Ethical Journalism Network, 5-point guide for migration reporting, 2016, available at: http://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Migration-infographic_final-1.pdf [last accessed 30/10/2017].

21 UNHCR Ireland & National Union of Journalists, Reporting on refugees: guidance by and for journalists, available at: http://www.unhcr.org/uk/58e1ed994.pdf [last accessed 30/10/2017].

guidelines on race, which also cover the issue of migration,[22] and the Italian Carta di Roma,[23] a code of conduct specific to asylum and migration.

All the aforementioned guidelines, and others not listed here, rely broadly on the five core principles of ethical journalism. Through conversations with media professionals, and the discussion during the Brussels consultation, it was generally agreed that EJN's five core principles provide enough guidance to conduct journalistic work in all fields. If all journalists would adhere to the principles of accuracy, independence, impartiality, humanity, and accountability, there would be no need for any further overarching guidelines, although topic-specific guidance is always useful.

However, as is clear from people's experience of reading, watching, and listening to the media, and in this analysis of media monitoring results, these guidelines are not always respected. Further discussion of the role of journalists in migration reporting, taking into account their needs, capacities, and constraints, is necessary.

2. PRESS COVERAGE OF MIGRATION

There are a number of reports and resources on the topic of media and migration, and on the press coverage of migration. While it was not possible in this project to consider all pre-existing studies, a few examples are analysed below.[24] A partial list of resources is included in Appendix V.

The reports mentioned here considered several different aspects of press coverage of migration and asylum. The section below focuses on representation of migrant voices and the overall language of the coverage.

The Finnish Institute in London and The Finnish Cultural Institute for the Benelux produced a study entitled "Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Press Coverage." Based on an analysis of eight newspapers in Finland, Belgium, and the UK in January 2016, the report concluded that "voices of the refugees are heard less often than those of politicians and experts."[25] Refugees were out-quoted and effectively silenced by more dominant narratives and non-refugees, such as politicians.

A report by the Council of Europe (CoE), "Media Coverage of the "Refugee Crisis": A Cross-European perspective," analysed mainstream media coverage of refugees in eight European countries between summer and winter 2015. The CoE report demonstrated a trend similar to the one mentioned above: "Refugees were given limited opportunities to speak of their experiences and suffering. Most often they were spoken about and represented in images as silent actors and victims."[26] Furthermore, the report acknowledged that little information was published regarding refugees' individual stories and lives.

The Migration Observatory conducted a study of British press media coverage of immigration between 2006 and 2015 entitled "A Decade of Immigration in the British Press," It analysed trends in the language used by newspapers regarding immigration and how they relate to the UK political context. The report found that the top three modifiers in British newspapers regarding immigration between 2006 and 2016 were *mass*, *net*, and *illegal*.[27]

EJN's report "Moving Stories: An International Review of How the Media Cover Migration" analysed media coverage of migration in 15 countries across five continents in 2015 and found

22 National Union of Journalists UK, Updated NUJ race reporting guidelines, 2014, available at: https://www.nuj.org.uk/documents/nuj-race-reporting-guidelines-may-2014/ [last accessed 30/10/2017].

23 Carta di Roma, Code of Conduct regarding asylum seekers, refugees, victims of trafficking and migrants, available at: https://www.cartadiroma.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/CODE-AND-GLOSSARY-ENGLISH.pdf [last accessed 30/10/2017].

24 The examples in this section are drawn largely from Caroline Alabi, "There's no smoke without fire: are the British media responsible for the dehumanisation of refugees? If so to what extent?" (Master of Science dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2017). Thanks to Caroline Alabi for permission to use parts of her dissertation in this project.

25 The Finnish Institute in London and The Finnish Cultural Institute for the Benelux, Refugees and asylum seekers in press coverage, 2016, available at: http://finnishinstitute.cdn.coucouapp.com/media/W1siZiIsIjIwMTYvMDUvMzEvMTgvNDEvMjMvNGZhZWVmZDctYzA3NS00MjdiLTk4MjAtNjU4YjkyY2EwNjU5L1JlZnVnZWVzX2FuZF9hc3lsdW1fc2Vla2Vyc19pbl9wcmVzc19jb3ZlcmFnZS5wZGYiXV0/Refugees_and_asylum_seekers_in_press_coverage.pdf?sha=c544d4367065f0c4 [last accessed 30/10/2017].

26 Council of Europe, Myria Georgiou & Rafal Zaborowski, Media coverage of the "refugee crisis": a cross-European perspective, 2017, available at: https://rm.coe.int/1680706b00 [last accessed 30/10/2017].

27 The Migration Observatory, University of Oxford, A decade of immigration in the British press, 2016, available at: http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/reports/decade-immigration-british-press/ [last accessed 30/10/2017].

that in most countries, the story of migration was dominated by two themes: numbers and emotions. The study, written by journalists, found that in most cases coverage followed the political agenda, using language with negative connotations, such as the words *invasion* and *swarm*.[28]

GOOD PRACTICE: CARTA DI ROMA

The Charter of Rome, Carta di Roma, launched in 2008, is the result of the joint efforts of journalists' unions, Italian civil society, and UNHCR to promote accurate and respectful reporting on the topic of migration and asylum.

The Charter consists of a code of conduct, based on four key principles:

1. **Use of appropriate terminology.** Adopt an appropriate terminology that reflects national and international law.
2. **Accuracy of information.** Avoid spreading inaccurate, simplified, or distorted information regarding asylum seekers, refugees, victims of trafficking and migrants;
3. **Protecting those who speak with the media.** Adopt solutions to ensure that individuals who contribute to a story are not identifiable by name or image.
4. **Consulting experts.** Whenever possible, consult experts and organisations with a specific knowledge of the subject so as to publish clear and comprehensive information that analyses the roots of the phenomena.

The Association Carta di Roma was founded in 2011 to oversee the application and implementation of the code of conduct, to carry out research about Italian media, and to organise training activities for journalists. The Association also carries out a constant monitoring of the press, and publishes reports and guides for journalists and the wider public.

A key element of the Association is training, which is carried out with media at all levels, including major newspapers and television channels, and with young journalists at the university level: a training in Carta di Roma is now part of the compulsory education with Journalism Schools in Italy.

Carta di Roma has succeeded in improving the terminology used in media coverage: for example, a term which was until a few years back used by most media outlets, *clandestino* (clandestine; the term has a very strong negative characterisation in Italian) is no longer widely in use.

The Charter also includes a complaint mechanism whereby journalists who consistently violate the aforementioned principles can be called out and, if deemed necessary, removed from the Order of Journalists.

For more information on the code of conduct, consult the association's website: **https://www.cartadiroma.org/**

28 Ethical Journalism Network, Moving stories: international review of how media cover migration, 2015, available at: http://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/moving-stories-ejn.pdf [last accessed 30/10/2017].

SECTION C – MEDIA MONITORING FINDINGS

1. INTRODUCTION

Most of the findings in the study are presented on a country-by-country basis. The results in tables and graphs indicated as *Total* are percentages based on raw counts of the data aggregated across countries. The following description of the findings largely follows the order of the media monitoring coding sheet, available in Appendix I.

Articles and tweets were analysed according to three main areas: story, people in the story, and analysis. The first area, *Story*, provides general information about the main topic of the article in question, its geographical scope and the reference to any piece of human rights or refugee law legislation.

The section *People in the story* provides detailed information about the characters in the stories, focusing on those people who are identified as refugees or migrants. It includes their gender, age, country of origin, occupation, function in the story, the terminology used, whether they are directly quoted or not, and whether they are identified as having perpetrated or experienced any acts of violence, terrorism, or disaster.

The last section, *Analysis*, deals with the overall tone of the story and whether the story actively challenges or promotes stereotypes. Instructions were given to the volunteers who conducted the analysis to ensure that the answers were as objective as possible.

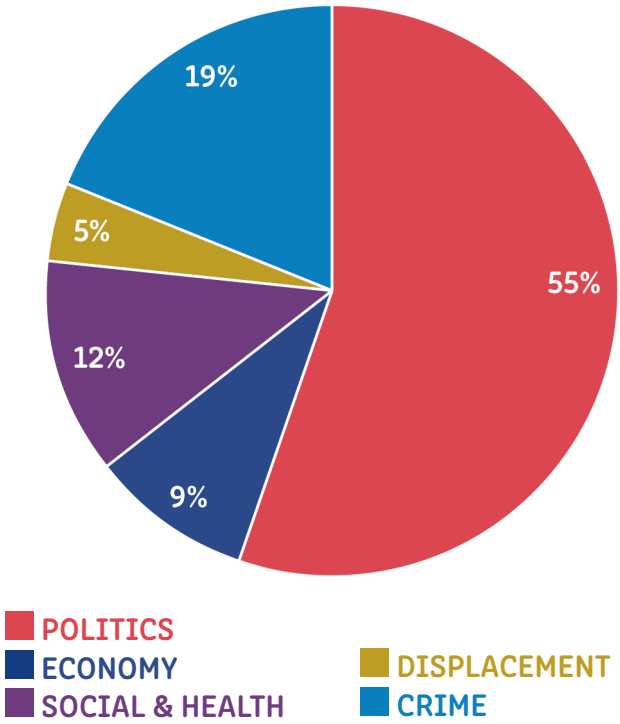
One initial observation stems from the number of pieces in the overall sample. Variations across countries are remarkable, but the relatively small sample size may indicate that migration and asylum are not currently at the forefront of the news.

2. STORY

2a. Topic

The first question of the monitoring coding sheet concerned the main topic of the news stories. A list of topics was made available to the country teams, composed of 34 topics grouped in five categories: Politics, Economy, Social and Health, Displacement, and Crime. The full list of topics is available in Appendix II.

Reflecting the high political interest in migration and asylum at local, national, and international levels, the majority of news articles (55%) were placed in the Politics category. The second most prevalent category (19%) was Crime. The high proportion of crime-related stories is probably due to the attack on London Bridge, which happened during the monitoring period and was widely reported about across Europe. Social and Health was third, at 12%, while Economy and Displacement were selected, respectively, for 9% and 5% of the items.



Graph 1. Main topics in asylum and migration news stories, all media, all countries

ONLINE	PRINT	TWITTER
01 National legislation	01 National legislation	01 Integration
02 Politics and governance (other stories) / Crime and terrorism by refugees	02 Integration	02 National legislation
03 Search and rescue at sea	03 Smuggling, trafficking, danger of passage	03 Politics and governance (other stories) / Crime and terrorism by refugees

Table 2. Top 3 topics across all countries

Table 2 provides more detailed information on the subtopics within the Politics category across all countries in the study.

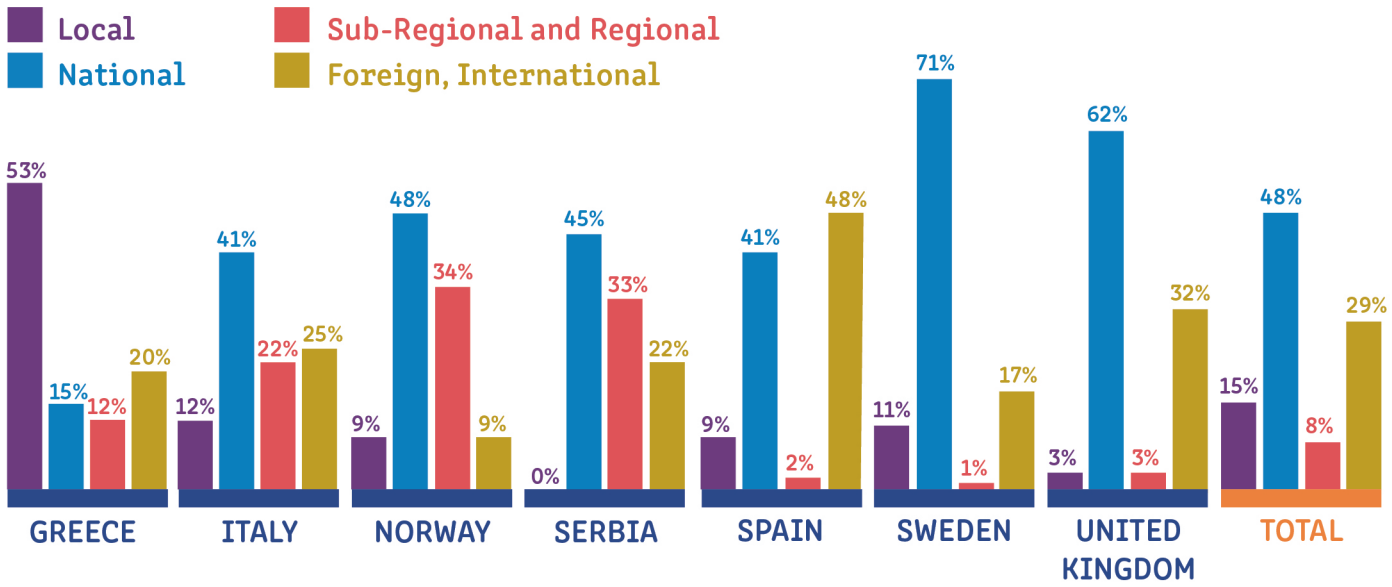
National Legislation was the most prevalent subtopic for Norway, Sweden, and the UK; *Integration* for Italy and Spain; *Relocation* for Serbia; and *Returns and Deportation* for Greece. These patterns reflect the focus of the political discourse within the countries, and help identify the main concerns in those countries concerning migration and asylum at the time of the study.

2b. Scope of news stories

Country teams were asked to note whether the news story was relevant to the local, national, regional or international sphere. The results below include both print and online newspapers.

Across countries, most news stories were found to have a national scope, with the exception of Greece, where the majority of stories had a local scope, and Spain, where the majority of stories had an international outlook. The Spanish national coordinator explained this on the basis of the language: "Spanish is spoken in all Latin America so with the emergence of digital media, the scope of Spanish newspapers (because of their online version), has become wider; for some of the analysed newspapers, such as El País, there are great number of readers in Latin America."

Considering the dominance of the Politics category, it is not surprising that the majority of news stories would have a national scope, especially given the emphasis on national legislation in the sample.



Graph 2. Scope of news story, online and print media

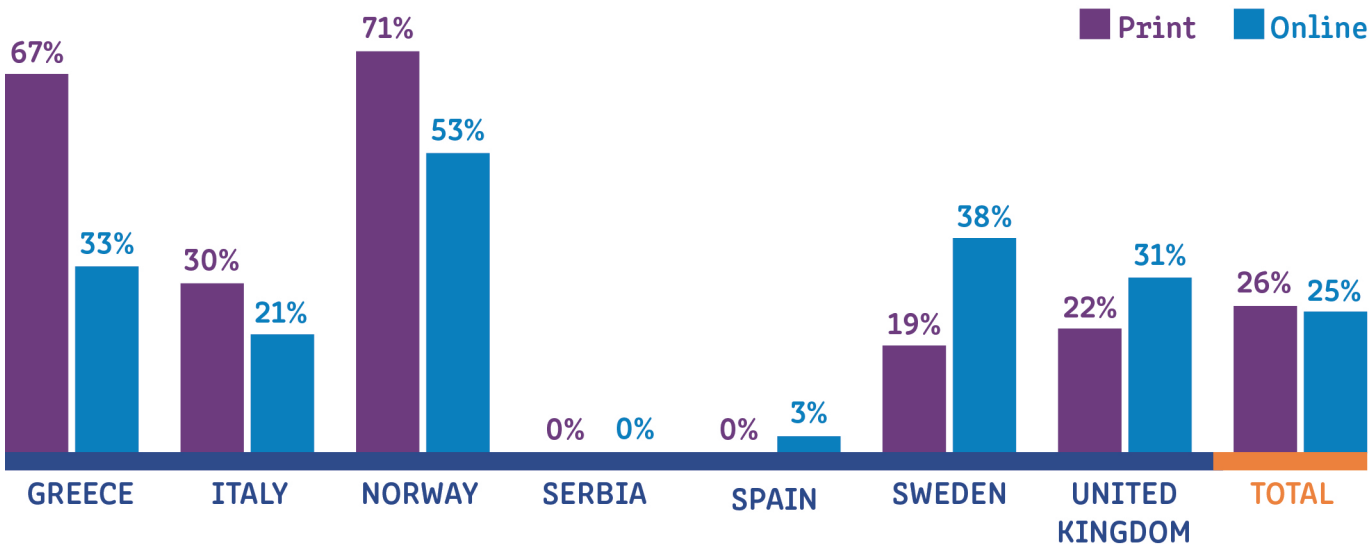
2c. Reference to human rights/refugee law legislation

This question was designed to reveal how many times articles offered a legal background on the stories presented. The idea behind this is that articles dealing with an issue as complex as asylum and migration would benefit from some legal grounding. This question also addresses the EJN core principles of *Accuracy* and *Impartiality*, and the *Know the Law* principle specific to migration reporting.[29]

It is important to underline how understanding and using the appropriate legislative frameworks is also a way to *challenge hate*. Providing accurate information based upon internationally and nationally agreed upon principles lessens the possibility of misinterpretation and misuse of the information.

The results show that **only 26% of the print newspapers sample** and **25% of the online newspapers** sample made any reference to human rights or refugee law legislation, with some significant variations across country, as shown in Graph 3 below.

Norway is the only country in which human rights or refugee law legislation is mentioned over half of the time in both print and online newspapers. The Norwegian national coordinator commented that it is customary for articles to refer to relevant legislation (not just in the field of migration) as an incentive for and explanation of action on a given issue.



Graph 3. Percentage of articles referring to human rights/refugee law legislation, print and online media

29 Refer to the EJN principles listed in Section B, 1, Media, Journalism and the existing normative framework for responsible reporting.

CASE STUDY 1:
ITALY AND REFERENCE TO REFUGEE LAW LEGISLATION

La storia

L'odissea di Kidane

I genitori uccisi in Eritrea, le torture in Libia ecco l'unico minore accolto dall'Europa

Di cinquemila migranti ricollocati fuori dall'Italia, è stato il primo non maggiorenne. Ora vive in Olanda

L'operazione ricollocamenti

"Tempi lunghi e burocrazia molti preferiscono fuggire"

STORIA DELLA CIVILTÀ EUROPEA

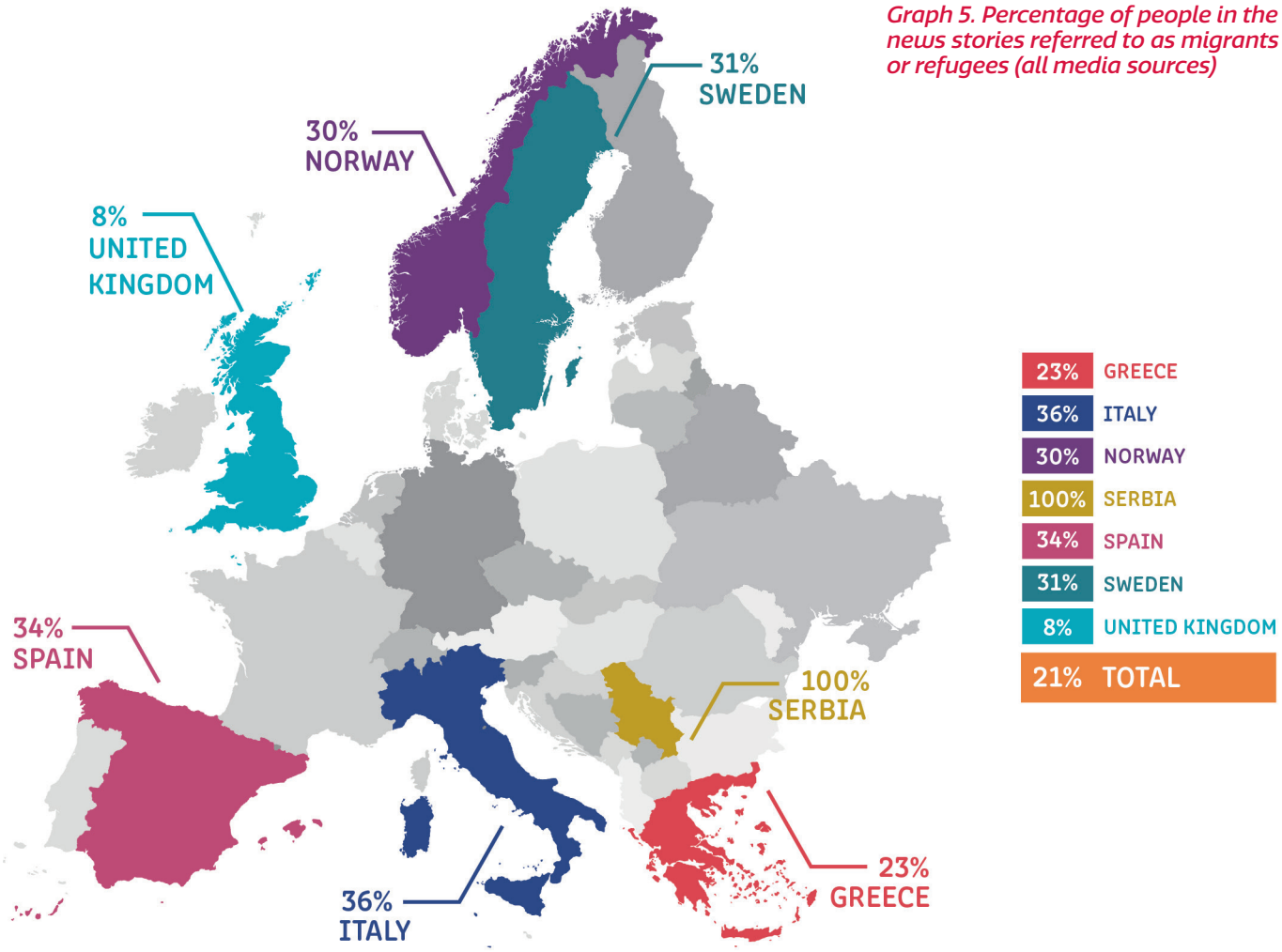
IN EDICOLA

Kidane's odyssey. Parents killed in Eritrea, tortured in Libya: the only minor accepted by Europe, La Repubblica, print, 30 May 2017.

The article tells the story of Kidane (name changed to protect the child's privacy), an Eritrean unaccompanied minor who arrived in Italy and was able to be reunited with a cousin in the Netherlands thanks to an exception in the family reunification procedure. Kidane's story is told with detail in several paragraphs and with direct quotes. The article focuses then on the legislative background of the story, namely, the laws concerning family reunification, explaining that the reunification in this case was possible thanks to the judge who chose the best solution for the minor.

The article is followed by an interview with a UNHCR spokesperson explaining that there are legislative gaps in the European laws governing family reunifications, and an in-depth analysis of the costs of receiving unaccompanied minors in Italy considered in the context of migrants' reception policies.

Kidane's story, then, sheds light on a wider issue. It represents a good journalistic example of adequately using human rights and refugee law legislation to provide an appropriate background for the story.



Graph 5. Percentage of people in the news stories referred to as migrants or refugees (all media sources)

3. PEOPLE IN THE STORY

3a. Refugees and migrants in the news stories

As shown in Graph 5, only **21%** of the people in the news stories about migration and asylum were named as migrants/refugees/asylum seekers, etc. This is due at least in part to the focus of the articles, which for the most part deal with political issues, and so tend to name politicians, lawyers, and organisational representatives. This topic is further addressed in the paragraph on *Function in the news*, Section C, 3g.

The low representation of refugees and migrants in the news articles, however, means that the debate on those topics occurs mainly outside the realm of the people directly affected by it. This makes it easier for the public to distance themselves from the issue, and not think about the human beings who are affected by the policies and laws under consideration.

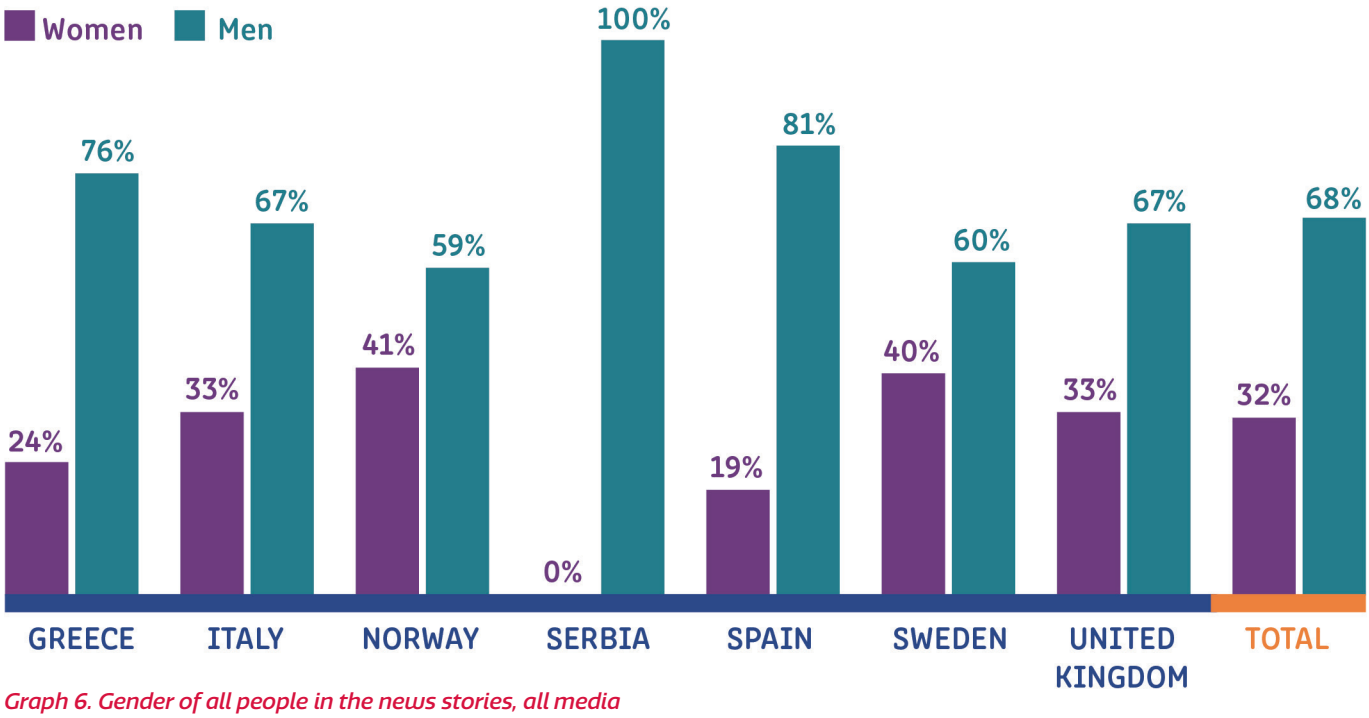
The representation of migrants/refugees in the news stories is particularly low in the British sample, where only 8% of all people in the articles about migration and asylum are referred to as migrants or refugees. It is, however, consistently low across all countries with the exception of Serbia, where (in this small sample) all people in the relevant stories were identified as migrants/refugees.

The low representation of migrants and refugees in the news stories about them was raised many times during the surveys with refugee-led organisations and groups. It also was no surprise to the participants in the Brussels consultation. This finding is consistent with the findings discussed in Section B, 2., "Press coverage of migration."

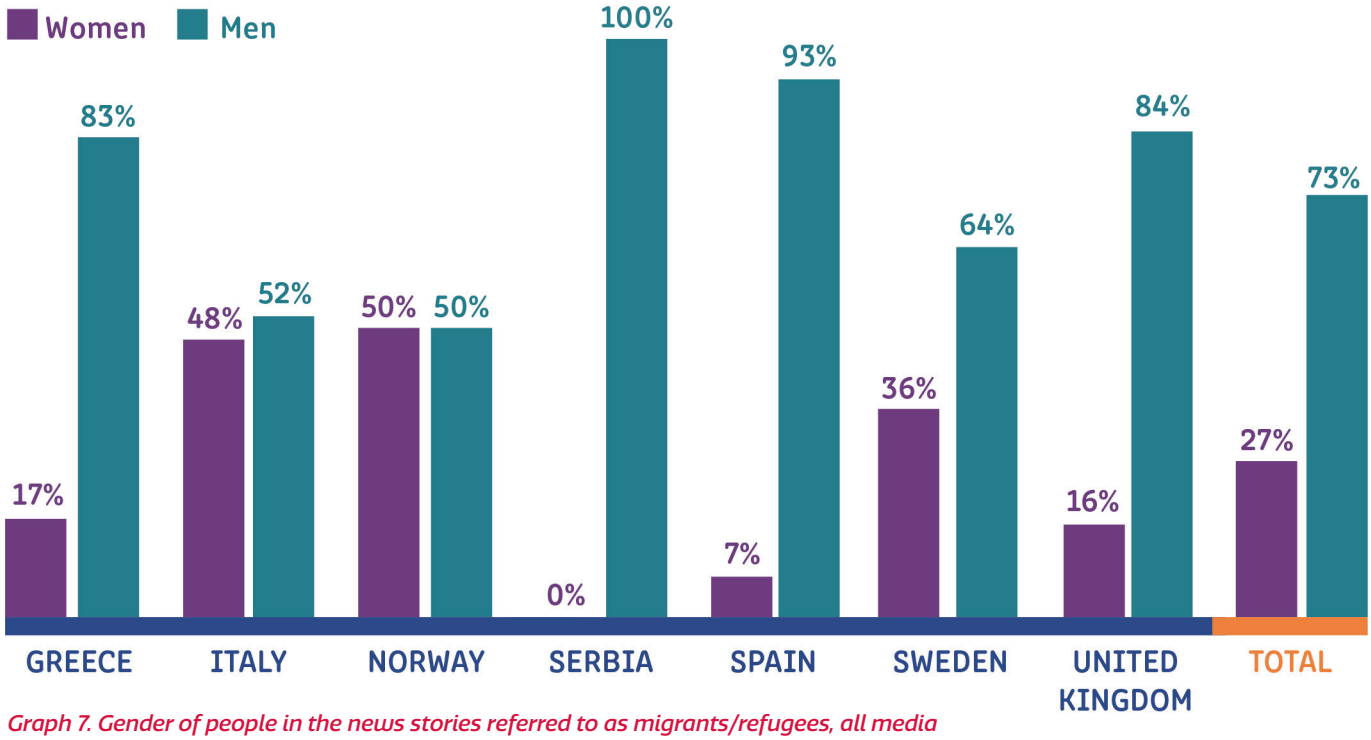
3b. Gender of people in the news stories

Men constitute the majority of people named in the articles about asylum and migration. As is shown in Graph 6, only 32% of all people in these stories are women.

The gender divide is even greater when people in the news story are referred to as refugees/ migrants; the percentage then drops five points to 27%. Norway is again an exception with a balanced gender representation. The national coordinator noted that this reflects the overall Norwegian society, where gender equality has for a long time been actively promoted in all sectors, so much so that journalists tend to include gender balance as an item on their mental checklist before submitting an article.



Graph 6. Gender of all people in the news stories, all media



Graph 7. Gender of people in the news stories referred to as migrants/refugees, all media

3c. Terminology

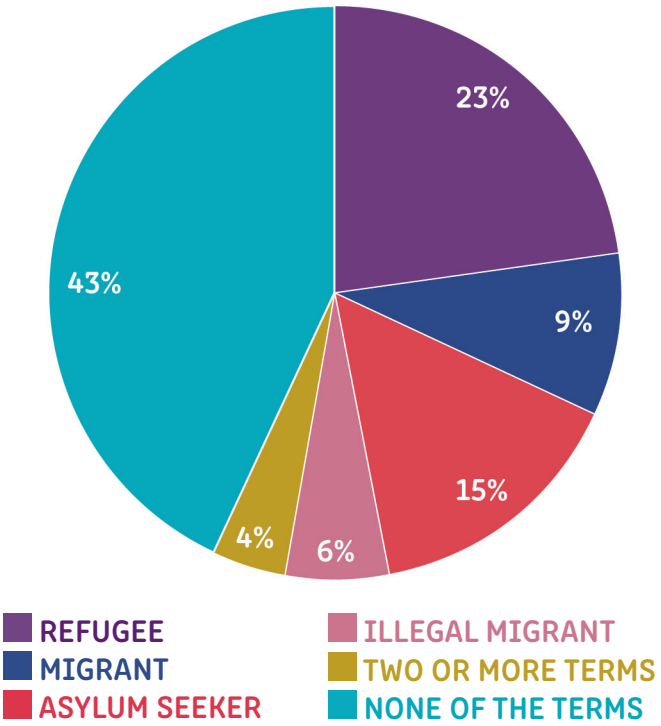
Terminology is a critical indicator when reporting about migration and asylum, raised by all guidelines and codes of conduct, and consistently underlined by all those involved. Correct terminology signifies on one hand the accurate understanding of the issues at stake, and on the other the avoidance of confusion in the minds of the readers.

For the purposes of this study, the categories available were *migrant* (which included economic migrant, irregular migrant, etc.), *refugee*, *asylum seeker*, and *illegal migrant*, (to ascertain whether this term was still in use). Two other categories of response were offered: *Two or more of the terms used to refer to the same person*, to understand whether the terminology was used consistently and *None of the terms used*.

The category *None of the terms* used was provided for cases in which none of the specific terms was used, yet, it was still very clear in the specific context that the person in question was not a national of the country. For example, in some countries the media may refer to a person using his or her nationality (e.g., a Moroccan) or using the general term *foreigner*. In these cases, the study identified the individual as a migrant, and the category *None of the terms* used was chosen to best represent this.

Graph 8, opposite, shows the results of the media monitoring analysis regarding the terminology used.

Table 3 displays the breakdown by country.



Graph 8. Terminology used to refer to migrants/refugees in the news stories, all media, all countries

The most frequently used category, *None of the terms used*, shows that some of the countries in the sample, and in particular Italy, Spain and Sweden, do not use the globally accepted terminology to refer to refugees and migrants. Because of the different national contexts and the different connotations associated with terms, it is not possible to ascertain whether the actual

Table 3. Breakdown of terminology used, all media

	Refugee	Migrant	Asylum seeker	Illegal migrant	Two or more terms	None of the terms
Greece	24%	10%	42%	-	14%	10%
Italy	23%	11%	-	11%	9%	46%
Norway	79%	-	17%	4%	-	-
Serbia	7%	66%	-	20%	-	7%
Spain	26%	2%	8%	8%	-	56%
Sweden	10%	-	8%	3%	5%	74%
United Kingdom	16%	17%	41%	2%	2%	22%

terminology used in this category has a positive or negative meaning within the specific society. At the same time, the low percentage of the use of *Two or more terms* to refer to the same person demonstrates the consistency of the terminology adopted.

The most surprising finding in this category, according to the comments of national coordinators and the participants of the Brussels consultation, is the low use of the expression *illegal migrant* in the study sample. This shows an increase in awareness about the negative connotation as well as the lack of legal basis of this term; however, it must be noted that some of the terms used in the *None of the terms* category may have an equally negative connotation. It is also important to highlight the widespread use of the term in the Serbian sample.

According to the Spanish national coordinator, the low use of the expression in the country is due to an evolution in the journalistic vocabulary about migration: as the phenomenon has become more common, many campaigns have been carried out to promote migrants' rights. The campaign "Words Matter", for example, led by Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants (PICUM), provided alternatives for "*illegal migrant*" in many European languages.[30]

CASE STUDY 2:
SERBIA AND THE USE OF THE WORD 'ILLEGAL'

The customs officers entered the truck in the city of Sid and saw this sack: when they moved it, they were shocked and immediately arrested the driver! (PHOTO) Telegraf online, 12 June 2017, accessible at http://bit.ly/2kzE42p

The article recounts some situations in which custom officers in Serbia apprehended migrants who were trying to cross the border hidden in trucks. The article states, "In just three days the customs officers prevented the illegal migration of 23 migrants."

The article reports the customs officers' perspective, and does not include the voices of the migrants. The descriptor applied to migrants are "three young men," "illegals hiding in two trucks," "the three of them tried to cross the border illegally." The migrants were also referred to based on their nationality (e.g., "three citizens of Afghanistan").

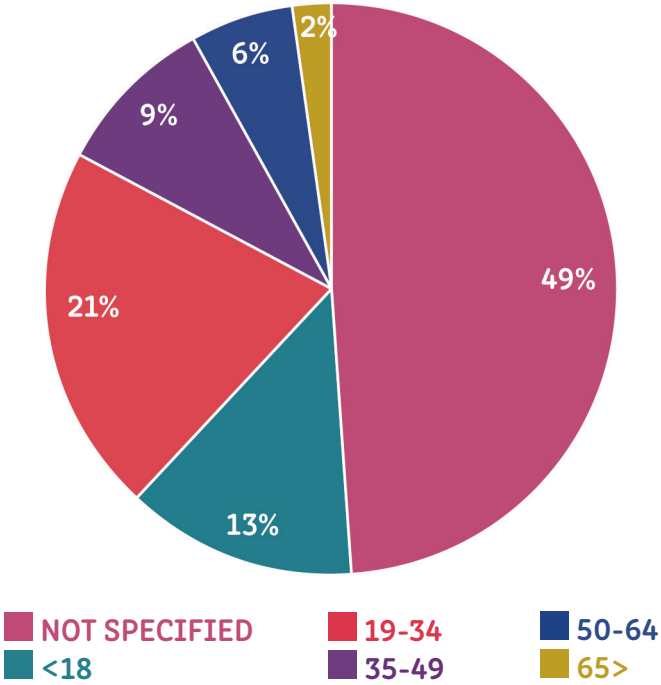
The article emphasises the illegal border crossing attempt. The stereotyped reporting style and story angle can easily fuel stigma and hostility towards migrants. Furthermore, the article includes images which are not a respectful representation of the migrants involved.

30 For more information, see http://picum.org/words-matter/ [last accessed 30/10/2017].

3d. Age and region of origin

For the questions on age and region of origin of refugees and migrants, the results of the media monitoring sample confirm the general trends: the age group most represented was 19 to 34 years, and the most common region of origin was the Middle East.

The majority of news stories, however, did not specify the age of the person. Graph 9, below, displays the results across countries for online and print newspapers.



Graph 9. Age of people in the news stories referred to as migrants/refugees, all media

The age-related result is in line with data available from Eurostat, which notes that for 2016,

More than four in five (83 %) of the first time asylum seekers in the EU-28 in 2016 were less than 35 years old. . . . ; those in the age range 18–34 years accounted for slightly more than half (51 %) of the total number of first time applicants, while nearly one third (32 %) of the total number of first time applicants were minors aged less than 18 years. This age distribution of asylum applicants was common in almost all of the EU Member States, with the largest share of applicants usually being those aged 18–34.[31]

The main regions of origin of refugees and migrants in the study were, as Table 4 indicates, the Middle East (23%) and North Africa (11%). This result is mostly in line with the data available on arrivals in Europe. Nigeria is an exception, figuring as the main country of origin for arrivals to Italy,[32] as well as the main country of origin of all people arriving by sea to Europe at present.[33] It is not, however, found in the top five countries of origin named in the news. In the 21% of news stories which referenced a refugee or migrant, only 2% were identified as West Africans.[34]

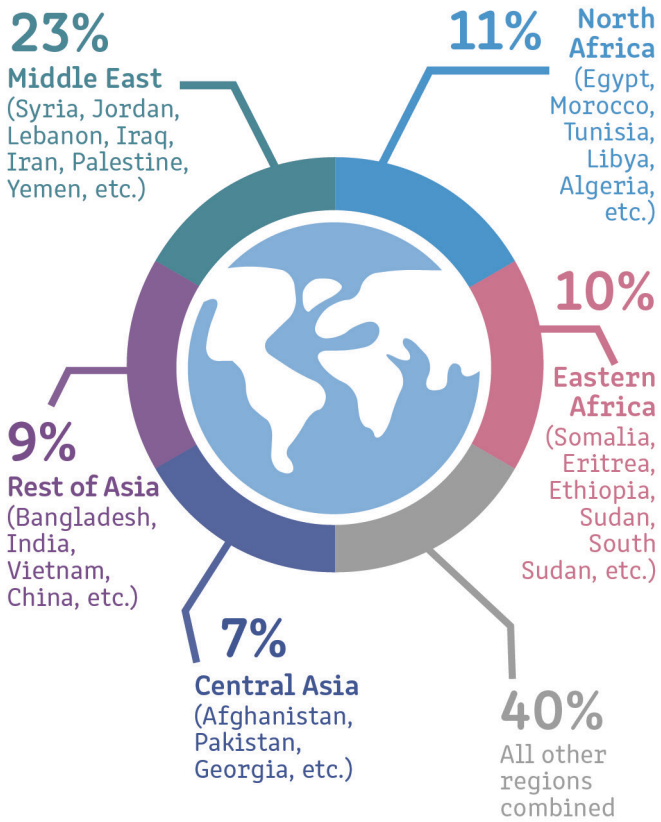


Table 4. Top five regions of origin of migrants/refugees in the news stories, all media

31 Eurostat, Asylum statistics, available at: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_statistics [last accessed 30/10/2017]. Note that this refers only to first-time asylum applicants in the EU.

32 AIDA, Refugee rights subsiding? Europe's two-tier protection regime and its effect on the rights of beneficiaries, Annex I, available at: http://www.asylumineurope.org/sites/default/files/shadow-reports/aida_refugee_rights_subsiding.pdf [last accessed 30/10/2017].

33 UNHCR Mediterranean data portal, available at: http://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean [last accessed 30/10/2017].

34 The category West Africa included Nigeria but also other countries, such as Gambia, Mali, Guinea, Senegal, Ghana, Niger, Ivory Coast, etc.

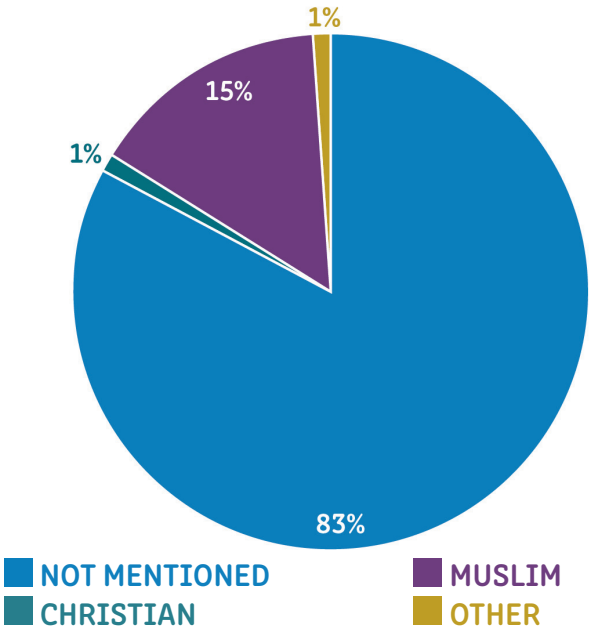
Furthermore, while Afghans represent the second-largest group of asylum applicants in the EU, they are only the fourth most represented group in the news stories.[35] This highlights the low visibility of certain groups of refugees/migrants, which do not appear in the articles in a way that is consistent with their presence in EU countries.

There are many possible reasons for this, one of which could be the difficulty for media professionals to access the communities, and the corresponding difficulty for members of the community to become visible to journalists. The concern is that invisibility to the public goes hand in hand with a lack of understanding of the reasons pushing people to leave their countries, which in turn can lead to a lack of tolerance, especially towards certain communities.

3e. Religion

In 83% of the news stories analysed, the religion of the person in the story identified as a refugee or migrant is not explicitly mentioned. This finding opens up the question of the increased identification between refugees/migrant and Islam. It suggests that the association is made by readers themselves, and not explicitly by the journalists.

When a religion is mentioned, Islam is identified in 15% of the cases versus 1% identified as Christian and 1% as affiliated with other religions.



Graph 10. Religion of people in the news stories identified as refugees/migrants, all media, all countries

The Swedish national coordinator suggested that these findings were due to the exclusion of opinion pieces from the sample, where more references to religion might have been found. For the Spanish national coordinator, the reason is the largely secular environment of Spain, and the belief that religion would be explicitly mentioned only if the article itself focuses on religion. The omission however, "can sometimes contribute to promoting stereotypes and creating prejudices, as readers may think that a migrant is a believer of a specific religion simply because they come from a given country."

3f. Direct quotes

The basis for the question on whether a person is directly quoted or not lies in the general understanding that a direct quote implies a more truthful representation of the person's words, and therefore, a more accurate representation of a person in the media. This is also in line with the principle of *Speak for all* in EJN's migration-reporting guidelines, which underlines the importance of letting migrants/refugees speak for themselves.

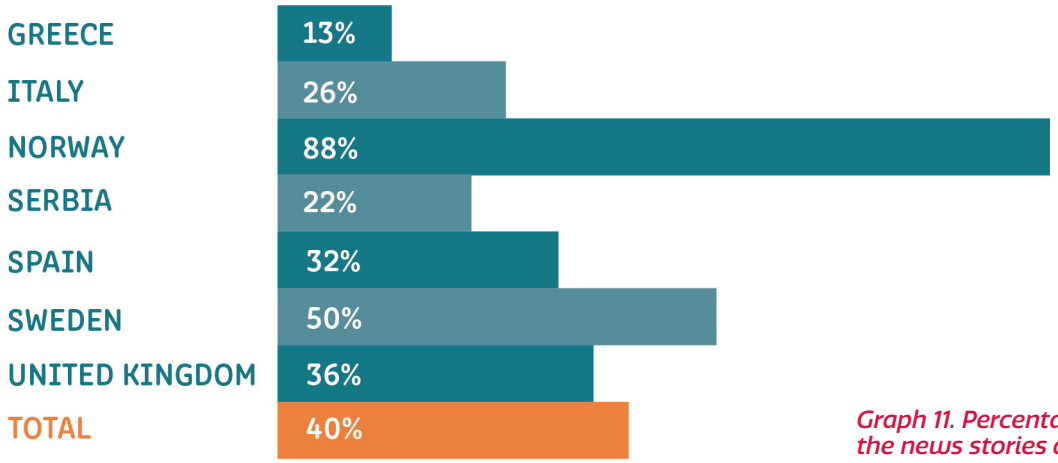
Graph 11, opposite, shows that 40% of the articles and tweets in this study directly quoted refugees/migrants.

The results across countries are, however, very different, with a very high 88% for Norway and a very low 13% for Greece. The Norwegian national coordinator explained Norway's result by referencing the Code of Ethics of the Norwegian Union of Journalists. This Code, which is adhered to by the majority of journalists in the country, states that the subject of an article should have a chance to comment on the issue.

The data suggests, however, that practices in the different countries vary widely, and that the principle of *Speak for all* is not always applied, and in some cases, almost never applied.

The finding is consistent with the results of the studies by the Council of Europe and the Finnish Cultural Institute, which found that the voices of refugees and migrants in the news are given very little space.[36] It is however, not only a question of space, but also of its quality: the next study question addressed this issue.

35 Eurostat, Asylum statistics, available at: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_statistics [last accessed 30/10/2017].



Graph 11. Percentage of refugees/migrants in the news stories directly quoted, all media

CASE STUDY 3:
NORWAY AND DIRECT QUOTES

Verken Norge eller hjemlandet vil ha Tita (62)

Den ene søsteren har bolig, jobb og oppholdstillatelse. Den andre har egentlig ikke lov til å være i Norge. Nå ber Rettferdighet i asylpolitikken om amnesti for de eldste, kvinnelige, ureturnerbare asylsøkerne.

Neither Norway nor her home country wants Tita (62) NRK online, 30 June 2017. Article accessible at: http://bit.ly/2y439aB

The article tells the story of two Eritrean sisters: Elizabeth (57), who arrived in Norway in 1992 and was granted asylum, and Tita (62), who arrived seven years later and was not recognised as a refugee. After describing Tita's situation as non-returnable, the article talks about the situation of non-returnable elder women who have been denied asylum. The story continues with quotes from lawyers and the Norwegian justice department on the issue.

The two sisters are the ones telling their stories, with direct quotes, and the article focuses on the sisters' life in Norway. The pictures of the two of them in their home make them look very well integrated into the Norwegian society and not much different from other grandmothers.

The article represents a good practice in the use of direct quotes, proving how effective an article can be when migrants and refugees can speak for themselves.

– Jeg ønsker å leve som vanlige folk og jobbe, sier Tita.

Fikk jobbe i over ti år

Tita Mekonnen fikk avslag på asylsøknaden, men ble værende fordi hun samtidig fikk skattekort og dermed muligheten til å jobbe. Noe hun gjorde fram til 2011. Da ble asylpolitikken strammet inn, og Tita mistet arbeidstillatelsen.

Elisabeth (57) og Tita (62) Mekonnen.
FOTO: OLE ANDREAS BØ / NRK

36 See Section B, 1, Media, journalism and the existing normative framework for responsible reporting.

3g. Function in the news story and occupation of people

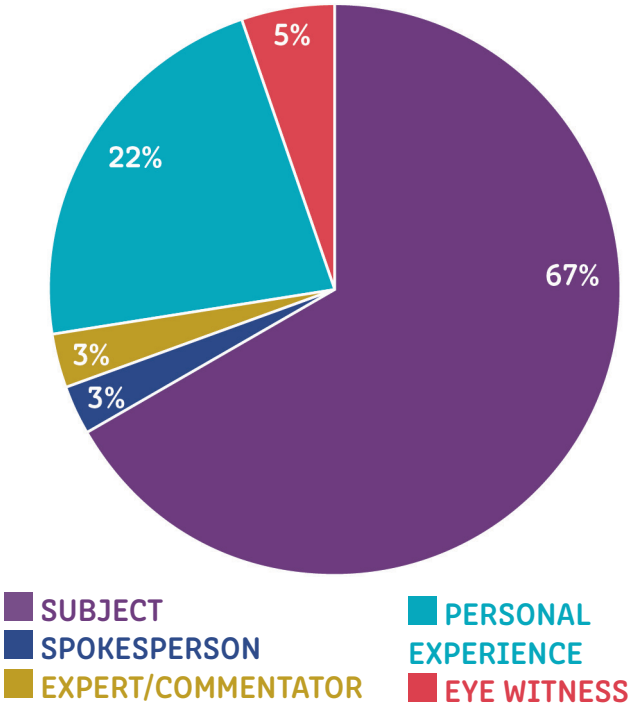
From a communication rights perspective, the function assigned to people in the news is as important as the space provided for them. To fully understand the quality of the space reserved for refugees and migrants in the news, it is essential to understand the functions assigned to refugees and migrants when they are present in the articles.

The following are the categories used for this question:

- **Subject.** The story is about this person, or about something the person has done or said.
- **Spokesperson.** The person represents, or speaks on behalf of another person, a group, or an organisation.
- **Expert or commentator.** The person provides additional information, opinion, or comment, based on specialist knowledge or expertise.
- **Personal experience.** The person provides opinion or comment, based on individual personal experience; the opinion is not necessarily meant to reflect the views of a wider group
- **Eye witness.** The person gives testimony or comment, based on direct observation (e.g., being present at an event).
- **Popular opinion.** The person's opinion is assumed to reflect that of an ordinary citizen (e.g., a street interview or vox populi); it is implied that the person's point of view is shared by a wider group of people.

Graph 12 illustrates the results across all countries and all media analysed.

In the majority of cases (67%), refugees and migrants are subjects of the stories, or in other words, they are spoken *about*. Only 3% of refugees and migrants are present in the story as experts or as spokespersons. This lack of direct representation furthers the idea that migrants and refugees are worthy only to be talked about, most likely by someone who is not a migrant or a refugee, and that they have no particular expertise to contribute to society. The personal experience angle is an improvement, as one can imagine people are being asked about their life, but it is still a perpetuation of the idea that migrants and



Graph 12. Function of refugees/migrants in the news stories, all media, all countries

refugees are not people in their own right, apart from their status as migrants and refugees.

According to the national coordinator for the United Kingdom, this suggestion is consistent with the country sample, where refugees were rarely considered as experts in the news. It also mirrors findings by a study in Norway, which analysed coverage of the so-called "refugee crisis" by ten local media outlets from August 2015 to July 2016 [37]:

"The local media demonstrates widespread coverage of different perspectives related to the refugee crisis. The perspective of help is the most prominent one, while seeing asylum seekers as a resource is the viewpoint that is given the least attention. Politicians—mainly national and local—comprise one-third of the sources. When it comes to local politicians, mayors make up more than half of the sources. The migrants themselves are rarely sources, but once they are, there are marked differences in the coverage, from north to south."

Furthermore, this result is in line with that regarding the occupation of people in the stories. Table 5 describes the top four

37 The full study is available, in Norwegian only, at https://www.idunn.no/nmt/2017/02/flyktningene_kommer_lokale_mediers_dekning_av_flyktningkri [last accessed 30/10/2017].

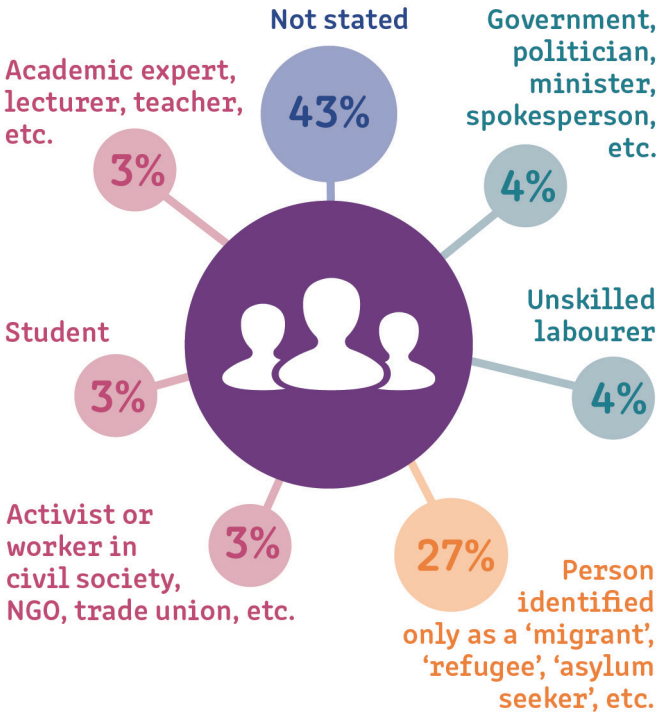


Table 5. Top four stated occupations of people identified as refugees/migrants in the news stories, all media, all countries

Table 6. Top four stated occupations of people in the news stories who are not refugees/migrants, all media, all countries

occupations of people identified in the story as refugees/migrants.

In 43% of the cases, the occupation of the person referred to as a migrant/refugee is not stated, while in 27% of the cases the only "occupation" mentioned is that of migrant or refugee. This continues the pattern of representation wherein the label of migrant or refugee is thought to convey the entirety of the story of a person. The lack of other occupational identifiers perpetuates the idea that refugees and migrants are hopeless persons in need of assistance to survive.

This is especially true when compared with the top four occupations of people in the news stories who are not migrants or refugees. As shown in Table 6, a majority (55%) of those identified in the story serve national governments in different capacities, occupations associated with power, respect, and responsibility. In the articles where people other than migrants are referenced, their occupations were unnamed only 12% of the time.

Labelling people creates dangerous precedents and stereotypes. When media does not go beyond the *refugee* label, and when the public tacitly accepts *refugee* as an occupation, people are deprived of their humanity and dignity. Not only are they not given a space to express themselves; by giving them a label it is assumed that this label is all that there is to know about the person.

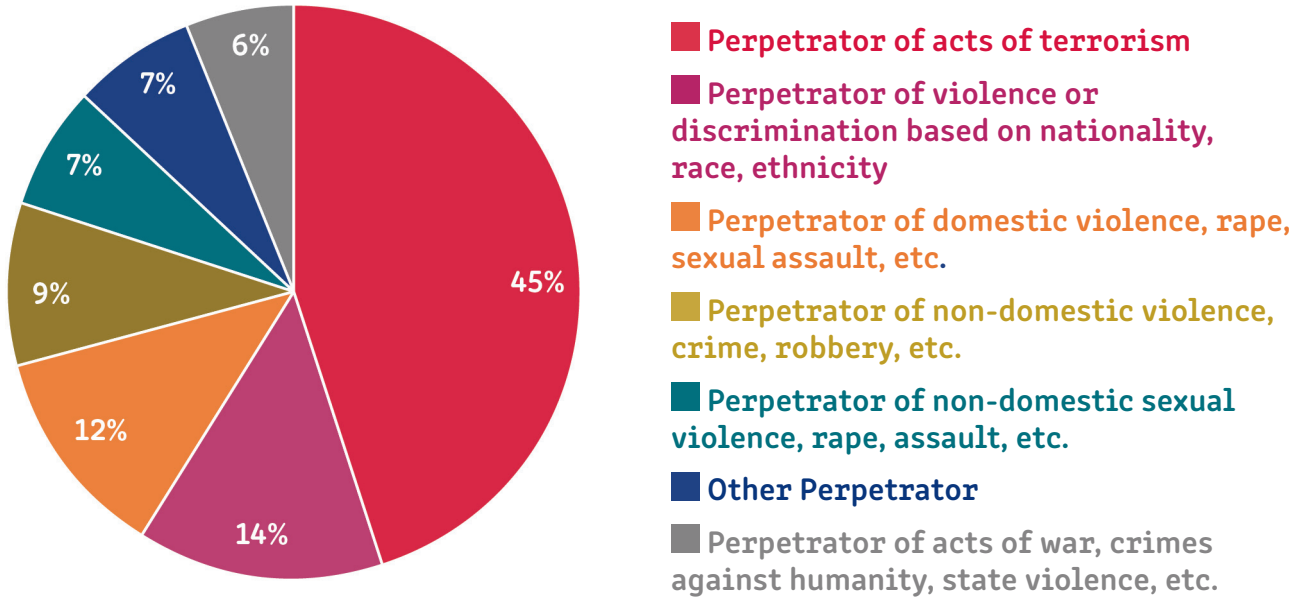
3h. Identification as perpetrator

One-third of the news stories in the sample, across all media and across all countries, identify refugees and migrants as perpetrators. That is, in 33% of the cases, the person is referred to as having perpetrated acts of war, terrorism, domestic or non-domestic violence, discrimination, etc.

As Graph 13 (overleaf) shows, within the 33% of stories identifying perpetrators, 45% of those individuals are called perpetrators of acts of terrorism.

It is important to highlight again that the London Bridge attack featured widely in the news across Europe at the time of the study. According to the national coordinator in the United Kingdom, media focused its attention on the fact that one of the attackers was identified as a formerly rejected asylum seeker. This man featured heavily in British news and there were many articles linking his former status to the act he committed. This was especially the case in right-wing media, which were included in the sample analysed.

Graph 13. Refugees/migrants in the news stories identified as perpetrators (33% of total), all media, all countries

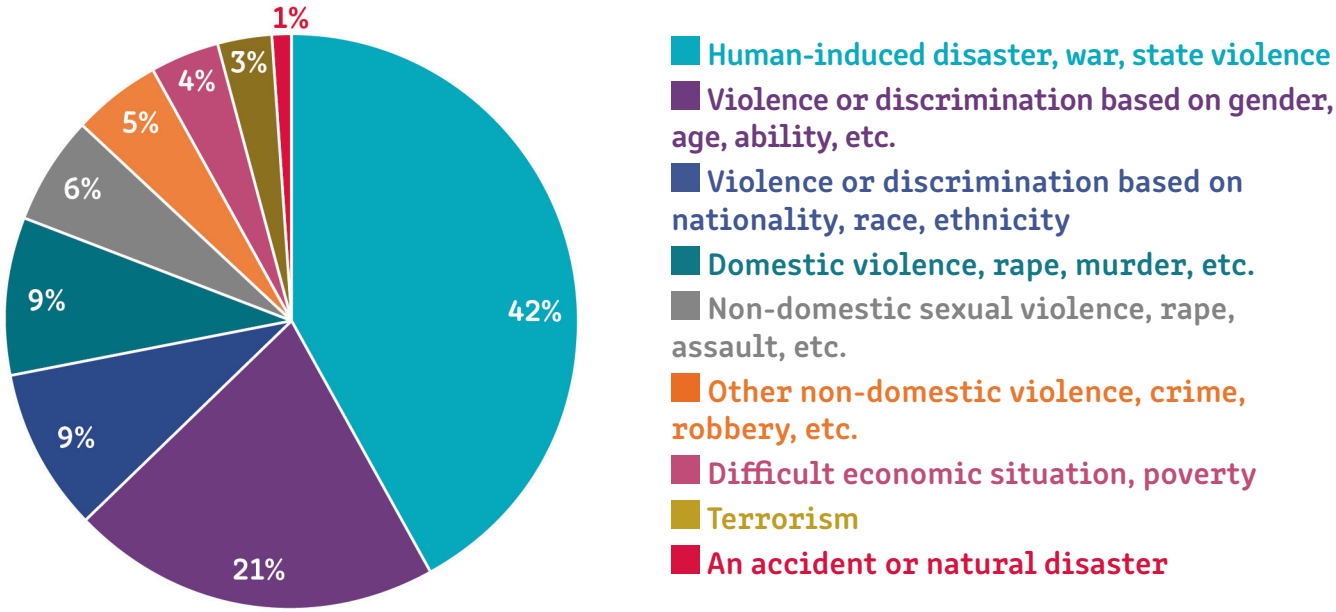


3i. Identification as victim/survivor

In contrast, 26% of refugees/migrants were described as victims/survivors, further disaggregated into the categories in Graph 14 below.

These results show that a little over one-third of the news stories identified the refugee/migrant as a perpetrator, while a little less than one-third put that person in the category of victim/survivor. This result represents a partial shift from a United Kingdom focused report, Victims and Villains, by the University of Coventry. The study found that, in the period leading up to the British 2015 General Elections, "Nearly half (46%) of all the articles framed migration as a threat and migrants as actual or potential 'villains.' A further 38% of the articles were rooted in the victim frame."[38]

Graph 14. Refugees/migrants in the news stories identified as victims/survivors (26% of total), all media, all countries



38 Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations, University of Coventry, Victims and villains: migrant voices in the British media, 2015, available at: http://www.coventry.ac.uk/Global/05%20Research%20section%20assets/Research/URC%20-%20Trust,%20Peace%20and%20Social%20Relations/Victims%20and%20Villains_Digital.pdf, page 5 [last accessed 30/10/2017].

4. ANALYSIS

Questions in the Analysis section were aimed at reflecting on the overall nature of the news articles, to determine its tone and whether it challenged or promoted negative stereotypes. This is an example of the guidance given to the teams conducting the analysis when approaching these questions:

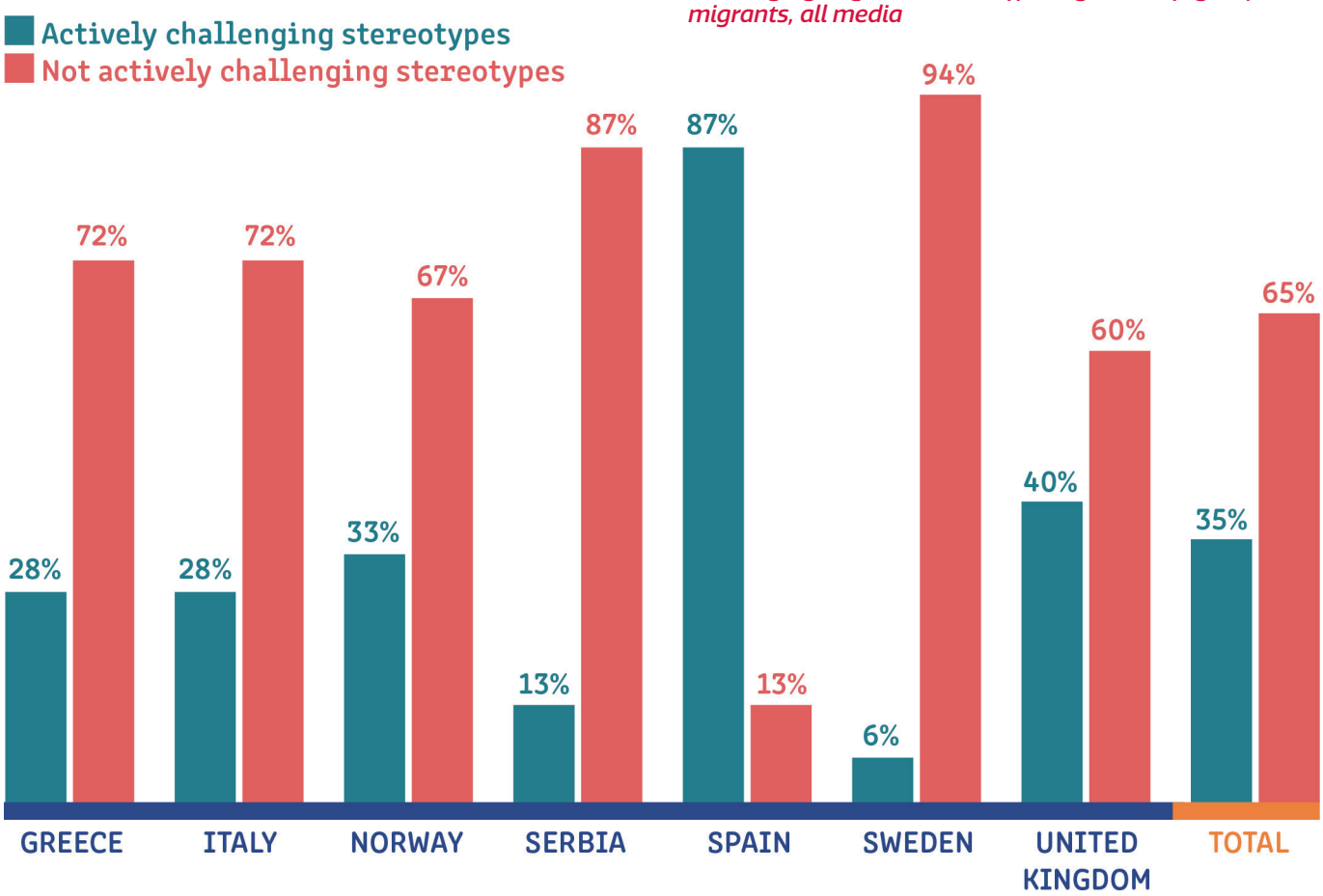
"Stories that challenge stereotypes include those that overturn common assumptions about refugees in relation to their host societies, their expertise or competence, their interests, their contributions, etc. For example, a story which portrays refugees as proper agents of their future and not passive recipients of aid can challenge a negative stereotype. While some stereotypes are common across countries, you will know your national and local context best, so you will be best placed to identify which stories are challenging a commonly held stereotype. It is important to note that stories that focus centrally on refugees do not necessarily challenge negative stereotypes. For example, a story about a refugee could highlight her/his dependency on state-funded social benefits, unwillingness to find a job, etc. This type of story may actually be promoting a negative stereotype. Similarly, it is important to note that some stories that do not focus centrally on refugees may in fact promote stereotyping. For instance, a story about the number of low-skilled jobs being held by non-nationals in a given country may perpetuate the negative stereotype of the low-skilled migrant, even if it does not focus on migration."

4a. Challenging negative stereotypes

The first question focused on news stories' challenge to negative stereotypes against refugees and migrants.

The results are relatively homogeneous across countries, with the majority of items perceived as not actively challenging negative stereotypes against refugees and migrants. Spain stands out as the only country where the majority of articles

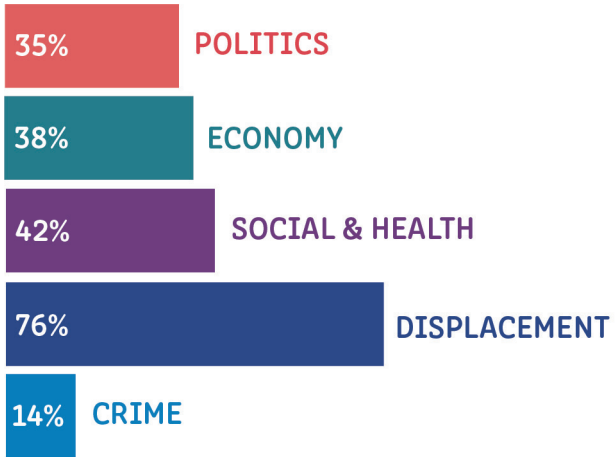
Graph 15. Percentage of news stories actively challenging negative stereotypes against refugees/ migrants, all media



were thought to do exactly that. According to the Spanish national coordinator, "Considering the geographical position of the country, migration is a reality that has been part of the public debate for the last 20 years, and there has been a lot of work from associations and communities to break down the negative stereotypes associated with migration." It is also important to highlight that the days of the media monitoring coincided with campaigns and initiatives in Spain aimed at promoting the arrival of refugees and defending their status.

Looking at the results across countries, Graph 16 shows that the majority of news stories challenging negative stereotypes are those pertaining to the topic of Displacement.

This finding is consistent with the idea that stories of displacement tend to be focused on the broader issue of forced migration. They are, therefore, more likely to provide richer background information, to analyse the reasons for the displacement, and to feature the main characters more prominently (see, for example, case study 6).



Graph 16. News stories challenging negative stereotypes by topics, all media, all countries

CASE STUDY 4:
BRITISH PRINT MEDIA CHALLENGING STEREOTYPES

Syrian women cook up way to survive

Egypt

Bel Trew Obour City

The only way that Sara, a Syrian refugee living near Cairo, can distract herself from worrying about her brothers, lost in Assad's jails, is to meet up with six friends and cook.

The 38-year-old mother is among a group of female refugees who last year set up Zeit Zeitoun, a catering service delivering Syrian food to people's homes. It is part of a growing trend of food tech start-ups in Egypt empowering housewives while meeting rising demand for home-cooked dishes.

Ramadan, when Muslims fast during daylight hours, is their busiest time of year as many people have less time to cook "iftar" — the meal eaten after sunset that breaks the fast.

Last Saturday, the first day of Ramadan, the women of Zeit Zeitoun started cooking at 6am in their kitchen in a refugee community centre in Obour, 21 miles northeast of Cairo. A deluge of orders had come in, and they were busy preparing and packaging everything from stuffed vine leaves to aromatic chicken and toasted almonds.

"Coming here helps distract us. This eases the psychological suffering, which is much worse than any physical pain," Sara said. Two of her brothers and her brother-in-law are held in Syrian jails in unknown locations after they were seized by the regime several years ago. An airstrike robbed her of another brother and a nephew.

In 2013, when her neighbourhood in Homs came under siege, she fled to Egypt with her husband and three sons. Four years later she is the family breadwinner and is known as the "kibbeh wizard" at Zeit Zeitoun for her ability to make the Levantine meat patty. "Zeit Zeitoun is my second home. Even if we don't have work we come here, just to talk and be together," she said.

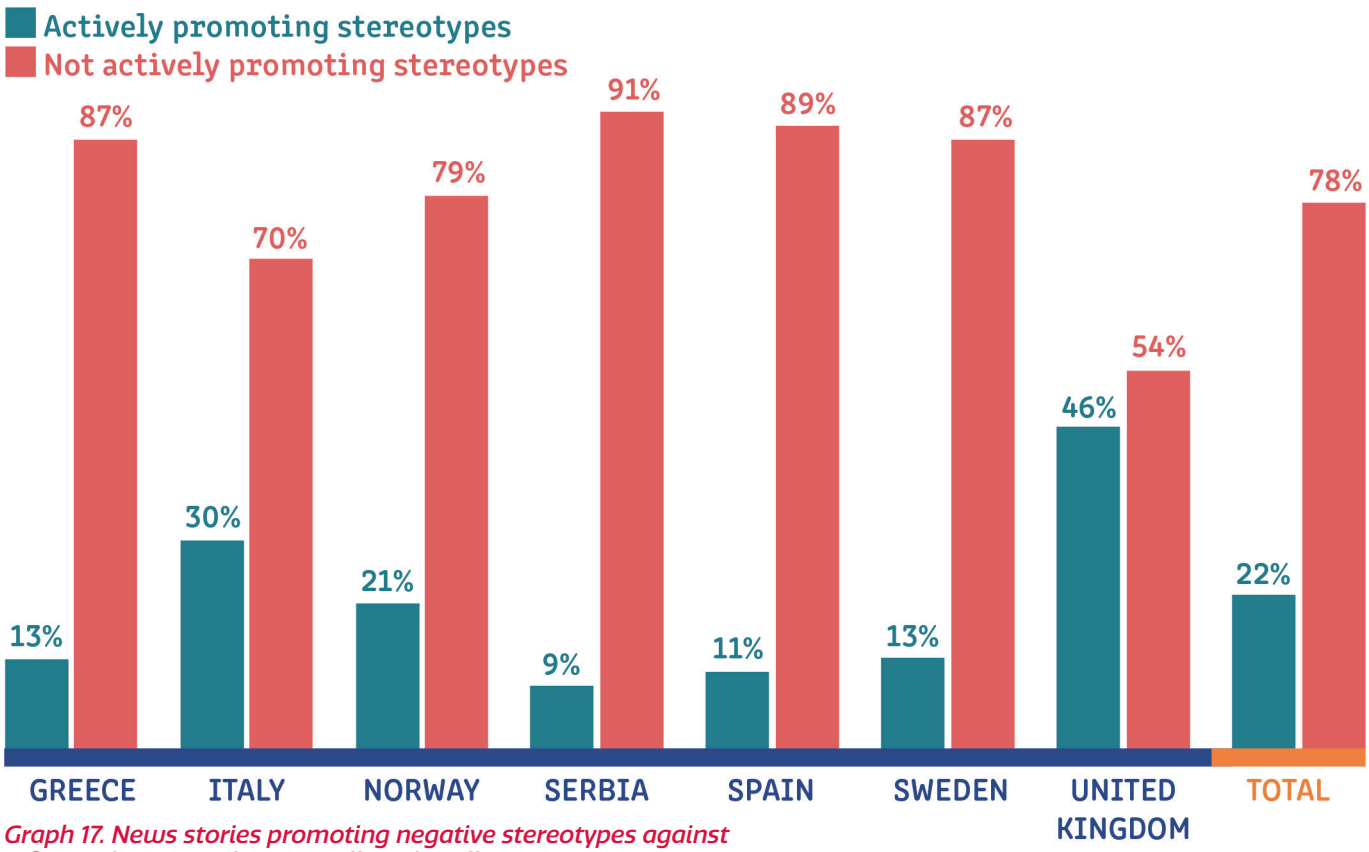
Lina Kassah, 42, from Damascus and the group's co-ordinator, said that many Syrian refugees arrived in Egypt destitute after selling everything they had owned to escape the war.

"We spent all our money getting out of Syria. We had no work, I suffered from severe depression for a year," she said. "Then we saw there was a growing market for home-cooked Syrian food."

The women earn £5 a day, well above Egypt's minimum wage. Ms Kassah said the work was also an important way to preserve their heritage. "Most of our children don't remember Syria at all, they come and learn what our grandmothers would have made."

Syrian women cook up way to survive, The Times, print, 30 May 2017

This article details how three Syrian women refugees have changed their situation setting up their own business, a catering service. All three women are treated as individuals in the article, with their names, ages, and backgrounds included. There is a good balance between providing background on their reasons to leave Syria and their success as businesswomen. They are all directly quoted in the article, allowing the reader to view refugees as everyday mothers, wives and family members who are making ends meet. This article was identified as an example of balanced, fair, and objective reporting.



Graph 17. News stories promoting negative stereotypes against refugees/migrants, by topic, all media, all countries

4b. Promoting negative stereotypes

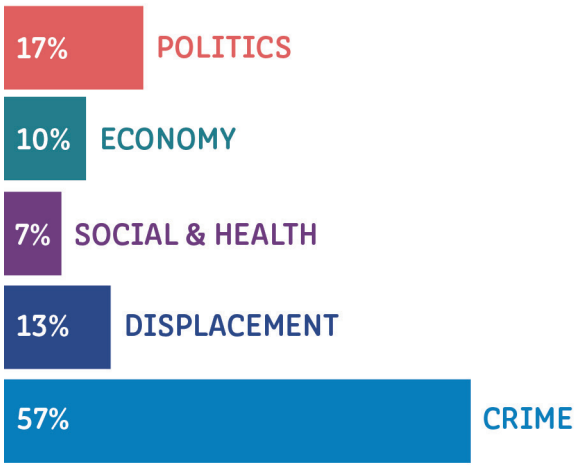
The second question deals with the opposite situation, in which the articles and tweets were perceived as actively promoting negative stereotypes.

The findings show that low percentages of articles across most countries are believed to actively promote negative stereotypes. The exception is the United Kingdom, where almost half (46%) of the articles are seen as promoting negative stereotypes.

According to the British national coordinator, who was not surprised by this result, media in the country is either indifferent or negative towards refugees. "Refugees," she stated, "are rarely spoken about as individuals, are rarely given opportunities to speak and are often used as scapegoats for example when a terrorist attack occurs." Furthermore, in her opinion, "the xenophobic attitudes towards refugees have been brewing for some time and contributed towards the UK voting to leave the EU. Brexit has in fact empowered media outlets to cover immigration and asylum stories in a negative light, feeling that their views are now reflective of the country."

Graph 18 looks at the topics most perceived as promoting negative stereotypes. In this finding, the Crime category stands out at 57%.

Again, the highest number in this sample comes from the United Kingdom (17 stories out of 32). As mentioned previously, the London Bridge attack undoubtedly affected the way in which the nationality and immigration status of the attacker were covered (see case study 5).



Graph 18. News stories that promote negative stereotypes, by topic, all countries, all media

CASE STUDY 5:
BRITISH ONLINE PRESS PROMOTING NEGATIVE STEREOTYPES

KILLER LOOPHOLE Moroccan London Bridge attacker Rachid Redouane exploited a loophole to sneak back into the UK with his Irish ID after being denied asylum

Jihadi Rachid Redouane gained entry to Britain again using documents picked up in Dublin after he married a Brit

Moroccan London Bridge attacker Rachid Redouane exploited a loophole to sneak back into the UK with his Irish ID after being denied asylum. —The Sun (online), 7 June 2017, accessible at: http://bit.ly/2fVMA6r

The article reports how Rachid Redouane—identified as one of the terrorists responsible for the attack in London on 3 June—was able to enter the UK through an Irish ID card, which he was granted after marrying a British woman. The article claims that the marriage was part of a plan to enter the UK after being refused asylum and that thousands of non-EU migrants are attempting to enter the UK by marrying EU nationals.

The story refers to migrants as scam artists and makes subtle links between asylum seekers and terrorism by revealing Rachid as an asylum seeker whose application was rejected by the UK. Both Rachid and his wife's photographs are present in the article, though they are not quoted. Their Irish neighbours are quoted instead.

The story uses a negative tone, with unbalanced reporting which could fuel negative stigma and bias against migrants.

4c. Tone of the news stories

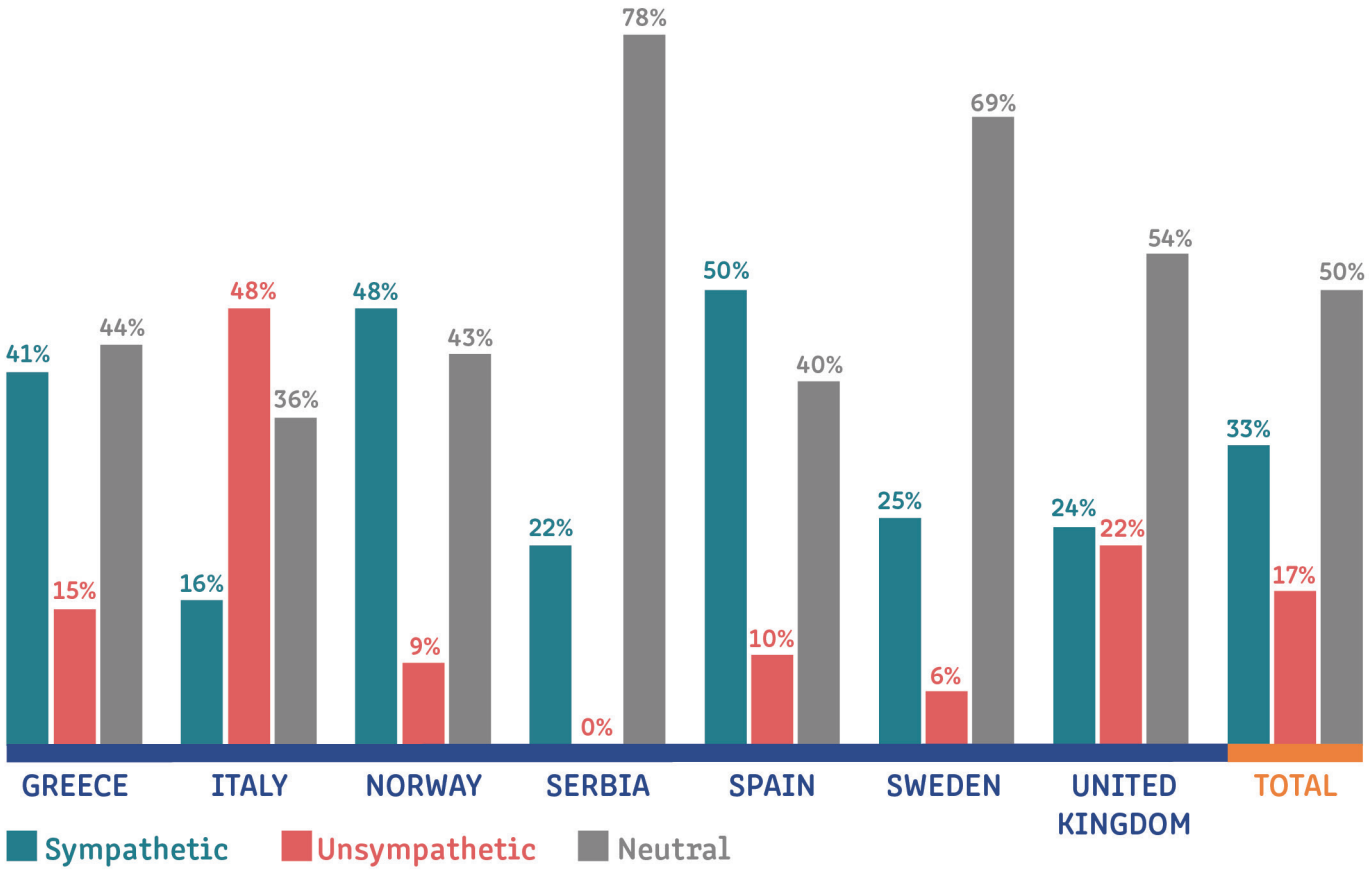
As shown in Graph 19 opposite, the study found that half of the news stories in the overall sample had a neutral tone and one-third had a sympathetic tone. The results are relatively homogeneous across the countries' samples, and attest to impartial reporting by journalists. This result was not a surprise for the Norwegian national coordinator, who linked this finding to the previously mentioned Code of Ethics of the Norwegian Union of Journalists.

Spain is the only country where a majority of articles were perceived as having a sympathetic tone. The national coordinator linked this to the monitoring days and the campaigns in favour of refugees taking place in the country at that time.

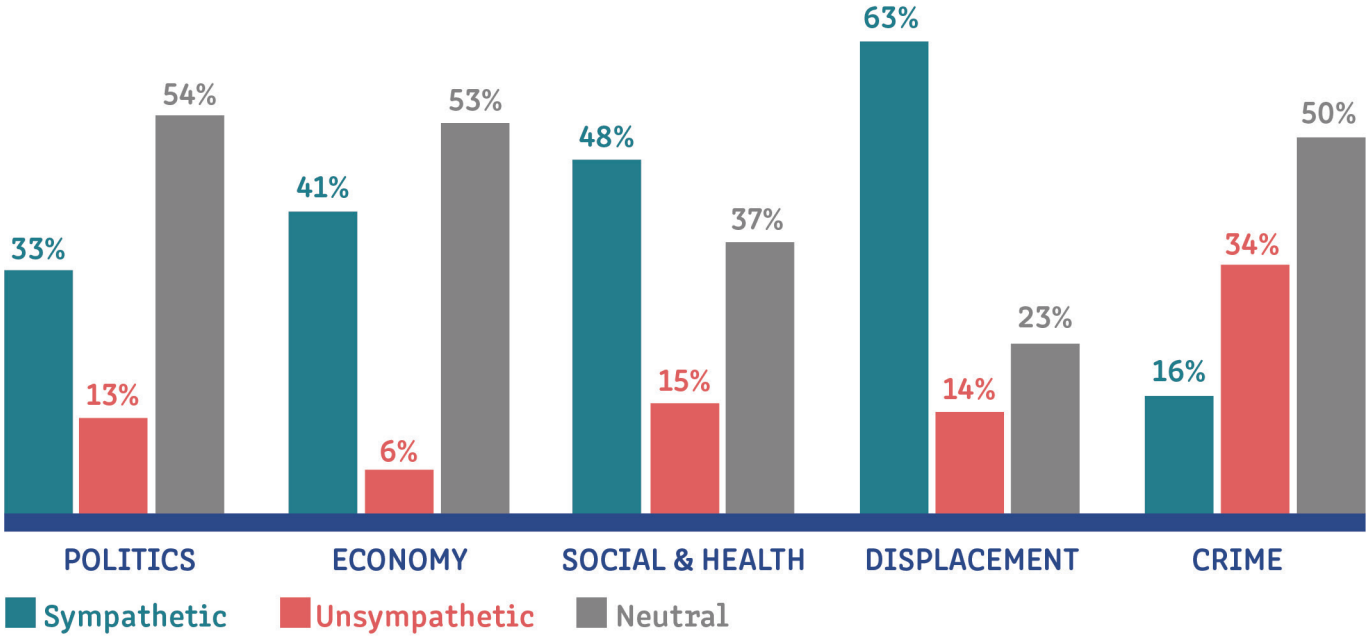
Graph 20 offers a topic by topic breakdown of the tone of the news stories across all countries.

Mirroring the findings displayed in Graph 16, a majority of articles within the Displacement category were found to have a sympathetic tone, followed by almost half of the news stories in the Social & Health topic. Similar to the findings in Graph 18, the stories categorized by the topic of Crime were most likely to have an unsympathetic tone—although the majority still have a neutral tone. For Politics and Economy, the majority of news stories in the sample had a neutral tone; very few were found to have an unsympathetic tone. These findings show that media professionals are for the most part adhering to the principle of impartiality, whereby facts and opinions are presented without trying to influence the reader.

Graph 19. Tone of the news stories, all media



Graph 20. Tone of the news stories by topic, all countries, all media



CASE STUDY 6:
ITALY AND FOCUS ON DISPLACEMENT

Il rumore dei passi nella savana

Bidi Bidi è il campo profughi più affollato del mondo
300 mila persone in fuga dalla guerra in Sud Sudan
Il dramma dei «bambini invisibili» rimasti orfani

dal nostro inviato a Oraba (confine Uganda-Sud Sudan) **Michele Farina**

Cinque bambine a piedi nudi sotto una tenda. Cinque sorelle. La più piccola, Esther, ha 8 anni. La più grande, Nuela, 13 compiuti. Sono arrivate da un paio di giorni. Da Maridi. Dal Sud Sudan, come tutti. Alla frontiera le ha portate una donna, una vicina che non poteva più sfamarle. Le sorelle Asante sono sedute per terra, nel campo di Imvepi. Hanno lo sguardo di chi non cerca nulla. Parlando attraverso un interprete, fanno capire che non sono sole. La capofa-

indica il suono che fanno le persone in marcia, racconta Cosmas Malish, 29 anni, perito informatico, che ha la casacca rossa di *Save The Children*. Anche lui scappato dal Sud Sudan, da quella che l'Onu definisce «la crisi umanitaria che cresce più veloce». E feroce. Un conflitto tra il presidente Salva Kiir e il suo vice Rieck Machar ha assunto tinte e proporzioni da guerra etnica: 50 mila morti dal 2013. Dinka contro Nuer e loro alleati. Kiir e il suo ridicolo cappello da cowboy regalo di George W. Bush chiuso nella capitale Juba, Machar nel suo comodo esilio sudafricano. Presi nel mezzo, tra violenze e carestia, 12 milioni di abitanti. Oltre 2 milioni sfollati (la metà bambini). Un milione scappati oltre il confine ugandese. La maggioranza arriva qui soltanto con gli abiti che ha addosso. I più agiati, con un materasso sporco sulla testa. O una tanica gialla per l'acqua da raccogliere al fiume. Un'emorragia silenziosa — circa duemila persone al giorno — lontana dai checkpoint e dai check-up dell'attualità mondiale: Liliane Woro, 40 anni, ci ha messo più di un mese per arrivare qui a piedi con i figli, dopo il rapimento del marito. Racconta di come sulla strada bande armate abbiano assaltato il gruppo. La sorella più anziana non ha fatto in tempo a scappare ed è stata dilaniata dai miliziani.

In posti così passa la voglia di fare domande. Robert Elisha, 10 anni, sguardo a terra, indossa fuseaux da bambina, troppo lunghi, coi cuoricini rosa. È Cosmas, di *Save The Children*, a spiegare che Robert è arrivato a Bidi Bidi con la sorella sedicenne. Loro due soli, come centinaia di altri minori non accompagnati. Il progetto a cui lavora Cosmas è finanziato dall'Unione Europea, che per l'emergenza profughi nel Nord ha stanziato 44,7 milioni di euro per il 2017.

L'Uganda è un partner che da anni adotta nei confronti dei profughi una delle politiche più aperte del mondo. Nessuno viene cacciato indietro. L'ambasciatore Ue Kristian Schmidt nel suo ufficio di Kampala paragona l'Uganda alla Germania di un anno fa. Ma l'ultima emergenza in Sud Sudan rischia di sfibrare questa linea di accoglienza. Il presidente Yoweri Museveni, da 31 anni al potere, ospite di un ricevimento in onore dell'Unione Europea nella residenza dell'ambasciatore, ha detto che «lo sviluppo economico conta più dei diritti dei bambini, delle donne e degli omosessuali». Come se si dovesse/potesse scegliere.

Nella terra dove è sorta dal nulla Bidi Bidi, da Arua (città natale dell'ex dittatore Idi

The noise of footsteps in the savannah, Corriere della Sera, print, 12 June 2017

The story describes the living conditions in the refugee camp of Bidi Bidi in Uganda. Refugees are not directly quoted, though their condition is described through their stories and the daily challenges they have to face. The journalist chose to put a human face on the story, which is evident through the frequent references to individual and family stories. This article represents an example of sensitive and accurate reporting, and of the use of a sympathetic tone.

SECTION D – LISTENING TO REFUGEES AND MEDIA PROFESSIONALS

This section presents issues that were raised in the surveys with refugee group representatives, the interviews with media professionals, and the consultation in Brussels in September 2017. The surveys and interviews identified issues specific to each group, while the discussion in Brussels provided an occasion for dialogue, sharing of advice, and suggestions for working together.

Trust in the media

Representatives of the refugee groups who participated in the project expressed an overall mixed opinion of mainstream media, with considerable differences depending on the countries. There was a strong correlation between the political climate and impressions of the media: in countries with an outright divisive and inflammatory political discourse which focuses on migration, media is perceived in the most negative terms, whereas in countries with a more moderate debate on migration, attitudes toward the media are more positive.

In some countries, according to those surveyed, the media does not do enough to question political power; simply deferring instead to the tenor of the dominant political discourse. That is not the case in all countries, however; for example, in Portugal, the media is perceived as supporting a welcoming environment for migrants and refugees.

The refugee groups surveyed expressed a common desire for more stories focusing on the positive contribution of refugees and migrants to the host countries.

Representation in the media

Another issue of concern was the perceived lack of direct representation in the news of refugees and migrants. This point was raised repeatedly throughout the project, and was confirmed by the findings of the media monitoring.

The feeling of not being provided adequate space in the stories was another common complaint. In light of the findings on function and occupation of refugees in the news (see Section C, 3g.), the concern appears to be valid: the vast majority of refugees in the news are portrayed only as subjects. A very small percentage were referred to as experts. In the majority of cases, occupation was not identified or stated only as *migrant* or *refugee*.

Refugee groups called strongly for media to go beyond the refugee label, and present the person behind the label as someone with his or her own personal experiences, stories, and expertise.

Women refugees in the media

The inclusion of refugee women was debated during the consultation, spurred by the results of the media monitoring, which indicated that only 27% of refugees/migrants in the news are women. The low percentage did not surprise any of the groups involved. All participants in the project, those from refugee groups as well as the media, noted that there are factors that sometimes make it more difficult to include women refugees in the news, such as a lack of trust in the media, or more difficulty in contacting refugee women. They also noted however, that good practices already exist in this regard, and that more efforts are necessary to include more refugee and migrant women in the news.

In Finland, for example, every year a refugee woman is acknowledged for her outstanding achievement, bringing light to the issue in which she is engaged and focusing the attention on the lives of refugee women.

Appropriate training for media professionals, together with development of cultural sensitivity, are needed to improve the gender ratio in reporting on migration.

Relationships between media professionals and refugees

For the refugee groups surveyed, the establishment of relationships with media professionals is quite challenging, especially for the medium- and longer-term. This is not the case when the group is focused on media relations; however, even in these circumstances, the relationship-building process was said to be very slow.

On the other hand, media professionals did not report much difficulty in contacting refugees and migrants, although the need to invest time in building trust and if possible, personal relationships, was emphasized. The journalists who reported a reliable network of contacts

are the ones who had invested a great deal in building that network and who had developed personal relationships as part of it.

A more fruitful and established engagement would benefit both groups: refugee groups would have easier access to journalists to propose stories or invite them to cover a particular event, while journalists could more easily reach communities of interest.

Media professionals and relations with NGOs

One issue repeatedly raised by media professionals is the difficulty of gaining access to certain places, especially refugee camps. In some cases, civil society or activist organisations which manage those camps, appoint themselves as "guardians" even without a proper mandate to do so. In these cases, according to the journalists interviewed, not only is it impossible to talk with refugees and migrants, but sometimes refugees are not even asked if they would like to talk with the media.

There are reasons for distrust of the media, and NGOs' concern to protect refugees is recognised by journalists themselves. However, by taking decisions on behalf of the people they are assisting, organisations are sometime depriving those they are assisting of the ability to decide whether or not they wish to talk with the media.

Ethical dilemmas

An example linked to the topic above was highlighted during the conversations and discussed in Brussels: a blanket ban on taking pictures of minors at the makeshift camps of Calais, France, due to State regulations. This ban was enforced by NGOs and groups present in the camps, and meant that the only pictures and interviews coming out of the camps were those of older people.

This had a strong impact on British public opinion at a time when the Dubs Amendment for the transfer of unaccompanied minors was being discussed. Because there were no minors in the pictures, there was little solidarity and understanding in the UK, which allowed a slow and ineffective partial implementation of the amendment.

While the publication of pictures of minors would not necessarily have changed that particular situation, this example is illustrative of the ethical dilemma between representation and protection. The use of imagery portraying individuals who may be in vulnerable situations in order to provide an understanding of a broader situation may at the same time risk putting in danger the individuals involved.

The role of journalism

Media professionals stressed throughout the consultation that the role of journalism is to be neutral, to use facts and provide evidence to inform people. It is not to advocate for or against any given situation. This view was shared by the representatives of refugee groups, who called for more empathy and less sympathy in reporting.

It is interesting to compare these comments with the findings on the tone of stories, in which half of the stories were perceived as neutral, but about a third were perceived as sympathetic. Sympathy may not in fact be the best way to present the topic of migration, as it could victimise refugees and migrants, who may be perceived as needing social assistance because they are unable to provide for themselves. This was raised by refugee groups' representatives, who are very aware of the victims/villains distinction and the uselessness of this style of reporting in creating a more tolerant social environment.

An empathic reporting is instead one that provides opportunity for the person to express him- or herself and covers the issue from a perspective of understanding, based on facts, and without partiality. It is thus important to ensure that the tone of reporting is neutral and based on an empathic rather than sympathetic understanding.

Pitching stories and media fatigue

Many refugee groups' representatives lamented the difficulty of reaching out to journalists and being heard—for example, when raising an issue or proposing a story.

For their part, media professionals highlighted the difficulty of convincing editors to publish stories on a topic on which so much has been published already, and the necessity of finding new and different ways of telling a story. Media fatigue was one of the key topics discussed, as the issue of migration and asylum appears to be slowly slipping away from the main news agenda.

The appeal of stories with a human angle was raised by both groups; talking about one person's situation is a way to showcase a broader situation, and this type of story can create a strong connection with the reader and inspire empathy.

Further suggestions

During the consultation, both groups put forward a series of suggestions for better collaboration and improvement in the representation of refugees and migrants in the news.

In the short-term, the role of social media as an outreach tool was highlighted. Through social media it is possible to directly contact media professionals and to generate live coverage of particular events, which may then be picked up by more traditional media. The organisation of more meetings between refugee groups and media professionals was also a common suggestion.

For the medium-term, both groups underlined the importance of working with students of journalism and training them to ensure that the next generation of media professionals will have developed a sensitivity to the topic of migration. Including migrants and refugees themselves in such training is essential.

For the long-term, it was deemed critical to include more people with a refugee/migrant background in the newsroom and on editorial teams to ensure that stories are more inclusive and better represent the views and opinions of refugees and migrants. Specific programmes for the inclusion of refugee journalists should be developed where they are not already available.

The final message coming out of the Brussels consultation was a call for refugee organisations, civil society, and media to work together to change the narrative: There is no such thing as a migration or a refugee crisis in Europe. This needs to be repeated, loud and clear, until the ears on which it falls are no longer deaf.

SECTION E – CONCLUSION

Based on the evidence from its media monitoring exercise, Refugees Reporting aims to create a debate on media portrayal of refugees and migrants in Europe. The sample represents a snapshot of the representation of refugees and migrants in the news of Greece, Italy, Spain, Serbia, the United Kingdom, Sweden and Norway in late May and June 2017. It does not aim to be a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the media in each country. There are, however, some identifiable trends.

Firstly, the small overall sample size may be a comment on the perceived importance of the topic of migration and asylum in the news of the countries that participated in the media monitoring. The topic of migration has become less prominent in the media of the countries analysed: media fatigue, changes in editorial choices, and the need to cover many other issues may be some of the reasons. Journalists themselves reported increasing difficulty in convincing editors of the necessity to keep talking about migration.

Secondly, the finding of low direct representation of refugees and migrants even in relevant stories is in line with the expectations of refugee group representatives and media professionals alike. Within this low representation, the limited portrayal of women is particularly concerning. This low representation is symptomatic of the invisibility of certain groups of people. Likewise, some entire communities of migrants are mostly invisible in the news.

Thirdly, the function and role of migrants in the news speaks to broader trends of marginalisation: in the majority of cases migrants and refugees are subjects of the stories; they are present as experts in a very small number of articles. This general trend contributes to the overarching narrative that does not seek to see the person behind the label applied to them, and has designated migrants and refugees as victims and people incapable of helping themselves.

Some of the results were surprisingly positive. The findings point, for example, to a low use of the derogatory term illegal migrant. This is a welcome sign and a step forward toward more accurate and fact-based reporting, though more analysis and research is needed on the tone of the country-specific terminology which is used in most of the cases to refer to refugees and migrants.

Media professionals and representatives of refugee groups were also pleased to learn of the overall neutral tone of the stories in the sample, which is in line with the key journalistic principle of impartiality.

Overall, the study findings and the input from refugee groups and media professionals constitute a useful basis for a continuing debate on the role and the responsibility of journalism in Europe, and it is hoped that they will spark further discussion and more research in this field.

The topic of migration and asylum came to prominence in 2015. While it appears to have receded from the forefront of the news in the countries which participated in the study, it is a topic that still affects millions of people in Europe and in the world. It needs to be further understood and debated in the public sphere. The role of media is thus more important than ever: building upon the already existing good practices, it should strive to always provide accurate information that allow for a factual and balanced debate. To achieve this, migrants and refugees need to speak for themselves.

RECOMMENDATIONS

For media professionals and news organisations

Adhere to the five core principles of ethical journalism: accuracy, independence, impartiality, humanity and accountability.

Respect the five-point guideline on migration reporting: Facts not bias, Know the law, Show humanity, Speak for all, Challenge hate.

Ensure a better and more consistent use of references to national and international legislation relating to human right and refugee law.

Continue using correct terminology; avoid at all costs the use of terms that have a negative connotation in the local context.

Include more individual refugees and migrants in stories on refugee and migration issues, and use more direct quotes from refugees and migrants.

Ensure that all communities of refugees and migrants living in Europe are given appropriate space in the news, to combat invisibility and improve social integration.

Go beyond the label: refugees and migrants are experts; include them as such in the news.

Seek and share news focusing on the positive contribution of refugees and migrants in host countries.

Consider training of journalists to promote cultural sensitivity to improve gender ratio in reporting on migration.

Foster links and mutual capacity building with refugee networks and groups.

Seek more diversity in the newsroom, including more people with a refugee/migrant background in newsrooms and editorial teams.

For refugee-led organisations and groups

Identify journalists at the local and national level who work on migration and asylum issues and reach out to them to develop working relationships.

Train and engage refugee communities in the use of social media to reach out to different publics, especially building upon the expertise of younger generations.

Engage with the media, at all levels, to raise awareness about refugee organisations, opportunities, situations faced, and needs of refugees and migrants.

Help identify individuals willing to share their stories and find ways to share refugees' direct experiences to aid public understanding of their realities and perspectives.

Understand the needs of the media in order to be able to present stories most effectively and in a way that enables media to make the best use of them.

For civil society organisations working with refugees and migrants

Grant refugees and migrants with whom the organisation is in contact the right to determine whether or not they want to engage with media professionals.

Ensure that refugees and migrants have a voice in all matters relevant to them.

Assist in identifying stories with a human angle.

Together with media professionals, develop training programmes to build media capacity for refugee-led organisations.

Together with refugee-led organisations, develop training programmes on migration reporting for journalists.

And for all

Work together to change the narrative in Europe from "crisis" to "opportunity", from "faceless floods" to individual people each with their own story, hopes and capacities.

Print newspapers coding sheet

1. Skip one row to code the next story.
2. Use as many forms as needed.
3. Code each person in the story on their own row in the "people in the story" section.

PRINT NEWS CODING SHEET

Story					Journalists	People in the story														Analysis					Basic information
								Complete if person is described as refugee, migrant, asylum seeker…																	
1 Topic	2 Scope	3 Space	4 Ref to refugee law/ human rights legislation	5 Specify (if YES to 4)	6 Gender	7 Gender	8 Age	9 If age is below 18	10 Person identified as	11 Region of origin	12 Alive or dead	13 Religion	14 Family relation mentioned?	15 Occupation or position	16 Function in the story	17 Person has experienced…	18 Perpetrator of …	19 Directly quoted?	20 Photograph?	21 Story about individual or group?	22 Tone of the story	23 Challenges (-) stereotypes	24 Promotes (-) stereotypes	25 Further analysis?	Monitor name _____ Country _____ Newspaper _____ _____ Media type: 1 Secular 2 Faith
																									Comments & Explanations *Continue on back of sheet if necessary*
																									11. Country of origin (if clearly stated)
																									20. The photo…
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	

List of topics

POLITICS & GOVERNANCE	
1	European asylum legislation (debates, approvals, rejections, Common European Asylum System)
2	National legislation (asylum, immigration, visas, etc.)
3	Returns and deportations
4	Sanctuary
5	Integration
6	Externalisation of migration controls (partnerships with third countries, EU-Turkey deal, Valletta Summit)
7	Access to Europe (fences, closed borders, impossibility to enter, etc.)
8	Search and Rescue at sea
9	Family reunification
10	Relocation
11	Detention
12	Other stories on politics and governance (specify the topic in the 'Comments' section of coding sheet)
ECONOMY	
13	Economic impact of refugees
14	Poverty, social welfare
15	Employment
16	Other stories on economy (specify the topic in the 'Comments' section of coding sheet)
SOCIAL AND HEALTH	
17	Health
18	Education
19	Living conditions
20	Children
21	Religion
22	Popular opinion
23	Other stories on social and health (specify the topic in the 'Comments' section of coding sheet)
DISPLACEMENT	
24	Displacement from wars, conflicts
25	Displacement due to persecution/discrimination
26	Displacement due to economic factors
27	Displacement due to climate change, disaster
28	Other stories on displacement (specify the topic in the 'Comments' section of coding sheet)
CRIME	
29	Crime, terrorism by refugees
30	Smuggling, trafficking, danger of passage
31	Attacks, crime, discrimination against refugees
32	Child abuse, violence against children
33	Other stories on crime (specify the topic in the 'Comments' section of coding sheet)
OTHER	
34	Other (use only if no other option available – try to avoid using this code)

List of media monitored in each country

SPAIN

PRINTED NEWSPAPERS	ONLINE NEWSPAPERS	TWITTER HANDLES
ABC	20 minutos.es www.20minutos.es	20 minutos.es @20m
Canarias7	ABC www.abc.es	ABC @abc_es
Córdoba	Canarias7 www.canarias7.es	Canarias7 @canarias7
Diari Ara	Catalunya Diari www.catalunyadiari.cat	Catalunya Diari @CatalunyaDiari
Diari de Girona	Ceuta al día www.ceutaldia.com	Ceuta al día @ceutaldia
Diari de Mallorca	Córdoba www.diariocordoba.com	Córdoba @CORDOBA_diario
Diari de Tarragona	Diari Ara www.ara.cat	Diari Ara @diariARA
Diario de Avisos	Diari de Girona www.diaridegirona.cat	Diari de Girona @DiarideGirona
Diario de Burgos	Diari de Mallorca www.diariodemallorca.es	Diari de Mallorca @diariomallorca
Diario de La Rioja	Diari de Tarragona www.diaridetarragona.com	Diari de Tarragona @diaridtarragona
Diario de León	Diario de Avisos www.diariodeavisos.elespanol.com	Diario de Avisos @diariodeavisos
Diario de Navarra	Diario de Burgos www.diariodeburgos.es	Diario de Burgos @diariodeburgos
Diario de Noticias de Navarra	Diario de La Rioja www.larioja.com	Diario de La Rioja @lariojacom
Diario de Sevilla	Diario de León www.diariodeleon.es	Diario de León @diariodeleon
Diario de Teruel	Diario de Navarra www.diariodenavarra.es	Diario de Navarra @DiariodeNavarra
Diario del Alto Aragón	Diario de Noticias de Navarra www.noticiasdenavarra.com	Diario de Noticias de Navarra @NoticiasNavarra
Diario Vasco	Diario de Sevilla www.diariodesevilla.es	Diario de Sevilla @diariosevilla
El Comercio	Diario de Teruel www.diariodeteruel.es	Diario de Teruel @diariodeteruel
El Correo	Diario del Alto Aragón www.diariodelaltoaragon.es	Diario del Alto Aragón @altoaragon
El Día	Diario Vasco www.diariovasco.com	Diario Vasco @diariovasco
El Diario Montañés	Directe.cat www.directe.cat	Directe.cat @directe
El Faro de Ceuta	El Comercio www.elcomercio.es	El Comercio @elcomerciodigit
El Faro de Vigo	El Confidencial www.elconfidencial.com	El Confidencial @elconfidencial
El Heraldo de Aragón	El Correo www.elcorreo.com	El Correo @elcorreo_com
El Mundo	El Día www.eldia.es	El Día @eldia

El Norte de Castilla	El Diario Montañés www.eldiariomontanes.es	El Diario Montañés @dmontanes
El País	El Diario.es www.eldiario.es	El Diario.es @eldiarioes
El Periódico	El Español www.elespanol.com	El Español @elespanolcom
El Periódico de Aragón	El Faro de Ceuta www.elfarodeceuta.es	El Faro de Ceuta @ElFarodeCeuta
El Progreso	El Faro de Vigo www.farodevigo.es	El Faro de Vigo @Farodevigo
El Pueblo	El Heraldo de Aragón www.heraldo.es	El Heraldo de Aragón @heraldoes
El Punt Avui	El Món www.elmon.cat	El Món @MonDiari
Hoy Diario de Extremadura	El Mundo www.elmundo.es	El Mundo @elmundoes
Ideal de Andalucía	El Nacional www.elnacional.cat	El Nacional @elnacionalcat
Información Alicante	El Norte de Castilla www.elnortedecastilla.es	El Norte de Castilla @nortecastilla
La Gaceta de Salamanca	El País www.elpais.com	El País @el_pais
La Nueva España	El Periódico www.elperiodico.com	El Periódico @elperiodico
La Provincia	El Periódico de Aragón www.elperiodicodearagon.com	El Periódico de Aragón @periodicoaragon
La Razón	El Progreso www.elprogreso.galiciae.com	El Progreso @elprogreso_Lugo
La Región	El Pueblo de Ceuta www.elpueblodeceuta.es	El Pueblo de Ceuta @ElPueblodeCeuta
La Vanguardia	El Punt Avui www.elpuntavui.cat	El Punt Avui @elpuntavui
La Verdad	Hoy Diario de Extremadura www.hoy.es	Hoy Diario de Extremadura @hoyextremadura
La voz de Almería	Ideal de Andalucía www.ideal.es/andalucia	Ideal de Andalucía @ideal_granada
La Voz de Galicia	Información Alicante www.diarioinformacion.com	Información Alicante @informacion_es
Las Provincias	La Gaceta de Salamanca www.lagacetadesalamanca.es	La Gaceta de Salamanca @LaGacetaSA
Levante	La Nueva España www.lne.es	La Nueva España @lanuevaespana
Mediterráneo	La Provincia www.laprovincia.es	La Provincia @laprovincia_es
Público	La Razón www.larazon.es	La Razón @larazon_es
Segre	La Región www.laregion.es	La Región @LaRegion
Sur	La Vanguardia www.lavanguardia.com	La Vanguardia @LaVanguardia
Última Hora	La Verdad www.laverdad.es	La Verdad @laverdad_es
	La Voz de Almería www.lavozdealmeria.es	La Voz de Almería @lavozdealmeria
	La Voz de Galicia www.lavozdegalicia.es	La Voz de Galicia @lavozdegalicia

SPAIN

	Las Provincias www.lasprovincias.es	Las Provincias @lasprovincias
	Levante www.levante-emv.com	Levante @levante_emv
	Mediterráneo www.elperiodicomediterraneo.com	Mediterráneo @epmediterraneo
	Nació Digital www.naciodigital.cat	Nació Digital @naciodigital
	Público www.publico.es	Público @publico_es
	Segre www.segre.com	Segre @SEGREcom
	Sur www.diariosur.es	Sur @DiarioSUR
	Última Hora www.ultimahora.es	Última Hora @UHmallorca
	Vilaweb www.vilaweb.cat	Vilaweb @VilaWeb

ITALY

PRINTED NEWSPAPERS	ONLINE NEWSPAPERS	TWITTER HANDLES
Corriere della Sera	La Repubblica www.repubblica.it	Sky TG4 @SkyTG24
La Repubblica	Corriere della Sera www.corriere.it	La Repubblica @repubblica
La Stampa	Il Fatto Quotidiano www.ilfattoquotidiano.it	Il Fatto Quotidiano @fattoquotidiano
Il Messaggero	TgCom 24 www.tgcom24.mediaset.it	Corriere della Sera @Corriere
Il Gazzettino	Rai News www.rainews.it	La Stampa @LaStampa
Il Giornale	Il Giornale www.ilgiornale.it	Avvenire @Avvenire_NEI
Avvenire	Libero Quotidiano www.liberoquotidiano.it	
	Quotidiano.net www.quotidiano.net	

NORWAY

PRINTED NEWSPAPERS	ONLINE NEWSPAPERS	TWITTER HANDLES
VG	VG www.vg.no	VG @vgnett
Dagbladet	NRK www.nrk.no	Dagbladet @dagbladet
Vårt Land	Dagbladet www.db.no	NRK @nrknyheter
Dagen	TV2 www.tv2.no	TV2 @tv2nyhetene
Aftenposten	Nettavisen www.nettavisen.no	Vårt Land @vaartland
Drammens Tidende	Vårt Land www.vl.no	Dagen @AvisenDagen

Fædrelandsvennen	Dagen www.dagen.no	Aftenposten @Aftenposten
Stavanger Aftenblad	Aftenposten www.aftenposten.no	Drammens Tidende @DrammensTidende
Bergens Tidende	Drammens Tidende www.dt.no	Fædrelandsvennen @fvn_no
Adresseavisen	Fædrelandsvennen www.fvn.no	Stavanger Aftenblad @StvAftenblad
Avisen Nordlys	Stavanger Aftenblad www.aftenbladet.no	Bergens Tidende @btno
	Bergens Tidende www.bt.no	Adresseavisen @Adresseavisen
	Adresseavisen www.adressa.no	Avisen Nordlys @bladetnordlys
	Avisen Nordlys www.nordlys.no	Nettavisen @Nettavisen

SWEDEN

PRINTED NEWSPAPERS	ONLINE NEWSPAPERS	TWITTER HANDLES
Metro (Stockholm north edition)	www.aftonbladet.se	SR Ekot @sr_ekot
Aftonbladet	www.expressen.se	Aftonbladet @Aftonbladet
Expressen	www.dn.se	Expressen @Expressen
Dagens Nyheter	www.svd.se	Dagens Nyheter @Dagensnyheter
Svenska Dagbladet	www.gp.se	Svenska Dagbladet @SvD
Sydsvenska Dagbladet	www.sydsvenskan.se	SVT Nyheter @svtnyheter
Tidningen Ångermanland	www.friatider.se	TV4 @TV4
Dagens industri	www.etc.se	
Östgöta Correspondenten	www.nyheteridag.se	
Upsala Nya Tidning		
Helsingborgs Dagblad		

SERBIA

PRINTED NEWSPAPERS	ONLINE NEWSPAPERS	TWITTER HANDLES
Politika	Blic www.blic.rs	Blic @Blic_online
Večernje Novosti	B92 www.b92.net	B92 @b92vesti
Blic	Kurir www.kurir.rs	Večernje Novosti @Novostionline
Kurir	Telegraf www.telegraf.rs	Kurir @KurirVesti

SERBIA

Danas	Večernje Novosti www.novosti.rs	Politika @PolitikaJavlja
	Politika www.politika.rs	Telegraf @telegrafrs
	Danas www.danas.rs	Rts Vesti @RTS_Vesti
	Dnevnik www.dnevnik.rs	
	Rts www.rts.rs	
	N1 rs.n1info.com	
	Press Online www.pressonline.rs	

UNITED KINGDOM

PRINTED NEWSPAPERS	ONLINE NEWSPAPERS	TWITTER HANDLES
Daily Mail	BBC News www.bbc.com/news	BBC News @BBCNews
Daily Record	CBBC Newsround www.bbc.co.uk/newsround	CBBC Newsround @cbbc
East Lothian Courier	Channel 4 www.channel4.com	Channel 4 @channel4
Edinburgh Evening News	Daily Mail www.dailymail.co.uk	Daily Mail @MailOnline
Evening Standard	Daily Record www.dailyrecord.co.uk	Daily Record @Daily_Record
Financial Times	East Lothian Courier www.eastlothiancourier.com	East Lothian Courier @elcourier
Morning Star	Edinburgh News www.edinburghnews.scotsman.com	Edinburgh News @edinburghpaper
Musselburgh Courier	Euro News www.euronews.com	Euro News @euronews
Scots Magazine	Evening Standard www.standard.co.uk	Evening Standard @standardnews
The Express	Financial Times www.ft.com	Financial Times @FT
The Guardian	Five News www.channel5.com	Five News @5_News
The Herald	Independent Media Centre www.indymedia.org	Independent Media Centre @IndyMediaSA
The Independent	ITV www.itv.com	ITV @ITV
The Mirror	Morning Star www.morningstaronline.co.uk	Morning Star @M_Star_Online
The National	North Star www.north-star-news.co.uk	North Star @NStarNews
The Scotsman	News Now Scotland www.newsnow.co.uk	Scots Magazine @ScotsMagazine
The Sun	Scots Magazine www.scotsmagazine.com	Scottish Socialist Voice @ssv_voice

The Telegraph	Scottish Socialist Voice www.scottishsocialistvoice.wordpress.com	Sky News @SkyNews
The Times	Sky News www.news.sky.com	Socialist Worker @socialistworker
The Voice	Socialist Worker www.socialistworker.org	Southern Reporter @SReporter
The Scots Independent	Southern Reporter www.thesouthernreporter.co.uk	STV News @stvnews
	STV www.stv.tv/news	The Economist @theeconomist
	The Economist www.economist.com	The Express @Daily_Express
	The Express www.express.co.uk	The Guardian @guardian
	The Guardian www.theguardian.com	The Herald @heraldscotlnd
	The Herald www.heraldscotland.com	The Independent @Independent
	The Independent www.independent.co.uk	The Mirror @DailyMirror
	The Mirror www.mirror.co.uk	The National @the_national
	The National www.thenational.scot	The Scotsman @TheScotsman
	The Scotsman www.scotsman.com	The Sun @TheSun
	The Sun www.thesun.co.uk	The Telegraph @telegraph
	The Telegraph www.telegraph.co.uk	The Times @thetimes
	The Times www.thetimes.co.uk	The Voice Online @TheVoiceNews
	The Voice Online www.voice-online.co.uk	Scots Independent @SI1926
	The Scots Independent www.scotsindependent.scot	

Names of national coordinators and volunteers who conducted the media monitoring

Team Spain.

National Coordinators: Míriam Díez & Alba Sabaté. Team: Antonio Kassidy; Álvaro Sevilla; Antón Parada; David Bertran Román; Carina Soriano Benedicto; Josep Lluís Micó; Jordi Sànchez; Meritxell Cabanas; Marta López; Xabier Riezu; Hamed Adil Liasid Lemague; Sara Abdelah; Nadia Admed; Meriem Mohamed; Marcelo López; Feliciana Merino; Eulàlia Tort; Ana Santamaría; Javier Sierra; Chema Martín; Cristina Ortiz; Jaime Vázquez; Paola Prieto; Noa Carballa; Fernando Martinez Vallvey; Lucas López; Carlos Martín; María José Pou; José María Albalad Aiguabella; Alfonso Corral.

Team Italy.

National Coordinators: Mirella Marchese & Monia Azzalini. Team: Celeste Satta; Daniele Grotto; Elisa Sandri; Federico Berger; Federico Sarri; Giovanni Sarani; Gloria Coscia; Ilaria Ungaro.

Team Norway.

National Coordinator: Hege Merete Andersen. Team: Hildegunn Schuff; Solveig Alice Skaara; Erling Jakobsen; Kari Klingsheim; Niels Fredrik Skarre; Signe Myklebust; Jan-Henrik Bjørhall; Tjøstolf Vittersø; Siv Bjørge Søremshaugen; Sigrid Flaata; Knut Refsdal; Ragnhild Lindahl Torstensen.

Team Sweden.

National Coordinator: Ulrika Nylén. Team: Susanna Löfgren, Linda Gustavsson, Sofia Sörner, Olof Frensborg, Kristina Helgesson Kjellin, Lotta Torstensson.

Team UK.

National Coordinator: Caroline Alabi. Team: David Bradwell; Zoe Bodsworth; Jawad Anjum; Paula Neubert; Patricia Keogh; Fahima Zaheen; Joanna Rose; Vili Costescu.

Team Serbia.

National Coordinator: Marija Radakovic. Team: Sara Anđelković; Petar Jeremić; Dragana Koštica; Aleksandar Plavšin; Vasilije Milnović; Irena Vukšić; Aleksa Samardžić.

Team Greece.

National Coordinators: Eugenia Siapera & Dimitra Dimitrakopoulou. The names of volunteers involved were not received.

Team France. *

National Coordinator: Najib Obaid Babakerkhail. Team: Abdul Jalil; Mariam Siaud; Mahdi Ehsham; Khalid Khalil; Selina Babakerkhail; Najeeb Alam.

*Team France participated in the media monitoring but did not submit any results.

(Partial) List of resources

Tools for journalists

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Notes

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www.RefugeesReporting.eu