European news?

A thesis on the coverage of refugees and migrants in Dutch newspaper *de Volkskrant* and Italian newspaper *La Stampa* in the period April 2015 to September 2015

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Abstract

In this thesis the coverage of refugees and migrants in Dutch newspaper de Volkskrant and Italian newspaper La Stampa was studied. Three events in the refugee crisis from the year 2015 were covered. The first event was the drowning of hundreds of refugees when a boat capsized off the coast of Lampedusa in April 2015. The second event was the decision that the EU made to relocate forty thousand refugees in June 2015. The third event was the drowning of the Syrian boy Alan Kurdi in September 2015. These three events structured the analysis, analyzing three articles from each newspaper, for each event. In total, eighteen articles were analyzed, using a combination of discourse analysis and grounded theory. It soon appeared that the coverage of the events in de Volkskrant did not differ significantly from the coverage in La Stampa. The same words were used to refer to migrants and refugees, and often, journalists from La Stampa and de Volkskrant used the same quotes in their articles. The differences in the coverages regarded mostly the tone and writing styles of the articles.
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Introduction
Having studied European Languages and Cultures, with Italian language and culture as a major, Europe has always been of interest to me, and Italy even more. Having lived in Italy as well, I always find it fascinating to compare Italy to my country of birth, the Netherlands. Especially when it comes to journalism and how journalists perform their tasks. I decided to use the knowledge from my bachelor for my master’s thesis and study the covering of migrants in two national newspapers from Europe: the Dutch newspaper *de Volkskrant* and the Italian newspaper *La Stampa*.

The refugee crisis has been ongoing for years now and every day, refugees coming from countries in the Middle East and North Africa risk their lives and flee their homes to travel to Europe. By the end of 2015, there were 21.3 million refugees worldwide (UNHCR, 2015). These people are often featured in the news. Be it on television, on radio programmes or in national or regional newspapers, all around the world. I am curious to find out how these refugees are covered in the news. What do journalists write about them? What words do they use to refer to refugees and even more interesting how the answers to these questions differ when we study two different countries?

The more general question behind this is what the differences and similarities are in the coverage of refugees in two European countries. I mentioned earlier how Europe and Italy are of interest to me and adding to this, Italy is a relevant country when studying refugees. In Italy, a great number of boats filled with refugees arrive and have arrived over the past years. This is obviously not the case in the Netherlands. This difference alone is already one example of why it is interesting to compare these two European countries to each other.

Since it is impossible to study all the media from Italy and the Netherlands, I chose to take newspaper articles from two national newspapers. The Italian newspaper *La Stampa* and the Dutch newspaper *de Volkskrant*. Following, the research question for this thesis is: *How were refugees covered in Dutch newspaper *de Volkskrant* and Italian newspaper *La Stampa in the period April 2015 to September 2015*? The period April 2015 to September 2015 was chosen because in this period there were multiple ‘events’ took place, concerning refugees. Moreover, the year 2015 is often labelled as ‘the year of the refugee crisis’. The year got this title because of the many deaths as a consequence of the refugee crisis. As a result, there was a lot of news about refugees.

The refugee crisis can be seen as an European, maybe even global problem, but is this also how it is framed in the national newspapers that were used for this thesis? Do journalists from European countries cover the issue as a European problem or is the news that they bring more nationally focused, for example writing only about the problems it brings to the own country? This is what I hope to find out, amongst other things, during the analysis. As the research question
shows, Europe is not the main focus of this thesis, but I did try to find answers to the abovementioned questions. It was important for me to keep an open view towards the newspaper articles that I analyzed. When focusing only on the European aspect in the newspapers, I could have easily looked over other interesting similarities or differences in the newspaper articles.

Definitions

As soon as I started with my research on refugees, it appeared to me that the word ‘refugee’ was often mixed up with the word ‘migrant’. As we will see in the upcoming chapters, both scholars and journalists use many different words to refer to refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers. When formulating a definition, many scholars refer to the international legal definition for ‘refugee’, that was contained in 1951 during the Convention Relation to the Status of Refugees (UNHCR, 2010). This definition is as follows,

“A refugee, according to the Convention, is someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion” (UNHCR, 2010, p. 3).

The abovementioned definition assumes that persecution is a necessary aspect when becoming a refugee. This is what the definition was often criticized for, for example by the Organization for African Unity (OAU). The OAU therefore added a sentence to the definition,

“The term ‘refugee’ shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of nationality” (OAU as cited in Shacknove, 1985, p.275-276).

For this thesis I made use of both the abovementioned definitions. However, as described above, scholars and journalists often mix up the terms. This made the gathering of data about refugees in particular almost impossible. Moreover, journalists often write about both refugees and migrants because it is simply not always possible to know whether a person is a refugee or a migrant. This said, when I use the word ‘migrant’, it is used to refer to persons that,

“[..] chose to move not because of a direct threat of persecution or death, but mainly to improve their lives by finding work, or in some cases for education, family reunion, or other reasons. Unlike refugees who cannot safely return home, migrants face no such impediment to return. If they choose to return home, they will continue to receive the protection of their government” (Commission on Human Rights, 1997).

The main difference between a refugee and a migrant is that a migrant can return to his or her country of birth safely and a refugee can not. The third group of people that need some explanation is the group consisting asylum seekers. In short, unlike migrants, asylum seekers actually claim or try to claim asylum in their country of destination (UNHCR, sd)
Relevance

I started this thesis by doing research on literature about refugees. I found out that a lot of academic research about refugees focuses on the framing of them in the media and on their stigmatization. Take, for example, the book *Bad News for Refugees*, written by Greg Philo, Emma Briant and Pauline Donald (2013). In this book, the authors delve deeper into the questions of how and why refugees are often stigmatised in a negative way.

Like this book, there are a number of books and articles that study the framing of refugees. At the same time, there were also studies that studied this framing in newspaper articles, for example by Leend’Haenens and Mariëlle de Lange (2001). However, this particular study focused on the framing of asylum seekers and not refugees. The focus of this thesis is quite specific. Studying two newspapers, from two countries and comparing newspaper articles in them, but only on a specific topic. After my initial research I soon found that I could not find similar researches, which makes this thesis a relevant addition to the existing academic field.

On a societal level, I think it is interesting to see how the refugee-crisis, that is still going on and can be encountered almost daily in the media, is covered differently in the Netherlands and Italy, and how we are also influenced by this as citizens. It can be insightful in understanding the problems that Italy, the Netherlands and the EU face. This thesis will also tell the different perspectives that Italy and the Netherlands have and how journalists deal with these perspectives.

Structure

This thesis starts by explaining the theory that was employed to study the relevant primary sources: discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is both a theory and a method and it has been valuable for this thesis. Chapter one will thus explain why and also how other scholars have used discourse analysis in their works.

The second chapter is a literature review on literature concerning refugees in relation to media. As I stated before, a lot has been written about the covering of refugees in the media. Consequently, I will give an overview of this literature. After this, chapter two also shows how Italy and the Netherlands have dealt with the covering of refugees in the media in the past.

After the theory and literature review, chapter three gives some historical context about the two newspapers that we study in this thesis: Italian newspaper *La Stampa* and Dutch newspaper *de Volkskrant*. This is both interesting and important and it helps in understanding how the two newspapers have done their work in the past and how they do it now. At the same time, this gives insights in how the two newspapers differ from each other.

Chapter four is an overview of the refugee crisis, with special attention to ‘the year of the refugee crisis: 2015’. This is the year that we study in this thesis and we have to understand the
events that happened, in order to understand the news articles that were written about them. This chapter also gives a timeline with the events that happened in 2015.

In chapter five, I will explain the method that was used for this thesis. Like stated above, discourse analysis was used both as a theory and as a method, but I added some extra dimensions to the theory that will be explained in chapter five.

The actual analysis is done in chapter six, where we study eighteen different newspaper articles. Nine from de Volkskrant and nine from La Stampa. This analysis is done in three different ‘rounds’. The idea behind this is explained in chapter five.
1- Discourse analysis; a theory and guideline

This thesis strives to lay out the differences and similarities in the covering of the topic of refugees in both the Italian newspaper La Stampa and the Dutch newspaper de Volkskrant. To do so, newspaper articles from both newspapers were analyzed. This study is based on the theory of discourse analysis. What discourse analysis is and why this theory was chosen, is explained in this chapter.

Discourse analysis is “[..] a way for researchers to gather information about how other human beings make sense of the world” (McKee, 2003, p. 1). Discourse analysis is both a method and a theory and scholars use it to study discourse. The term discourse covers all forms of communication, for example discussion, speech, talk, language etcetera. James Paul Gee (2014) defines discourse analysis as ‘the study of language in use’. (Gee, 2014a). According to him, discourse analysis is about relations between sentences and about contexts (Gee, 2014a, p. 20).

This thesis researches newspaper articles to understand how refugees are covered in an Italian and a Dutch newspaper. The subjected newspaper articles are a form of discourse. Discourse analysis is the perfect fit for this study, since I am dealing with the words and sentences that journalists use. In addition, I am curious of context of these words and sentences and how they can be interpreted.

Like Alan McKee explains, when we analyze a text (a text can be a film, radio fragment, written text etcetera), we make an educated guess at some of the most likely interpretations that might be made of that text (McKee, 2003, p. 1). Discourse analysis is thus about analyzing and interpreting texts.

“We interpret texts [..] in order to try and obtain a sense of the ways in which, in particular cultures at particular times, people make sense of the world around them. And, importantly, by seeing the variety of ways in which it is possible to interpret reality, we also understand our own cultures better because we can start to see the limitations and advantages of our own sense-making practices” (McKee, 2003, p. 1).

What is important to remember from the abovementioned quote of McKee is, that he states “in particular cultures at particular times”. Discourse analysis is about context, because we cannot understand a text if we do not understand the context of the time and environment in which it was written. This goes for newspaper articles as well. They are written in a certain moment in time, and when analyzing an article, the researcher has to understand the socio-political and economical status of the country at the time the article was written. Because this is so important, chapter four
will give a history and context of the refugee crisis and chapter three will do this for both the newspapers that are used in this study.

**A brief history of discourse analysis**

Discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary theory, meaning that scholars “[..] working in cultural studies, media studies, in mass communication, and perhaps even in sociology and philosophy” can use it (McKee, 2003, p. 1). The fact that discourse analysis is used in all these different fields of study has of course as a consequence that it is well known in a broad range of fields of study as well. At the same time, the first developments of discourse analysis happened in different fields of study.

Discourse analysis emerged from several disciplines from humanities and the social sciences. Think for example of linguistics, literary studies, anthropology, semiotics, sociology, psychology, and speech and communication. The development of discourse analysis took place at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s (Dijk, 1988, p. 17).

However, long before this, something similar to discourse analysis was practiced. “More than 2,000 years ago, rhetoricians like Aristotle specified the various structures of discourse and indicated their effectiveness in processes of persuasion in public contexts” (Dijk, 1988, p. 18). The focus then was very much on rhetoric of persuasion. Later however, rhetoric was often restricted to the study of figures of speech. It was just in the 1960s, when scholars found out that classical rhetoric had more to offer than the study of figures of speech. ‘Rhetoric’ was then redefined as ‘new rhetoric’ (Dijk, 1988, p. 18). This new rhetoric was used for structural analysis of discourse.

In France and Russia, the development of discourse analysis was closely tied to the emergence of structuralism (Dijk, 1988, p. 18). “A first branch of this structuralist enterprise grew from anthropology, linguistics and literary studies, later often unified under the label of semiotics” (Dijk, 1988, p. 18).

“Across several disciplinary boundaries it has especially been the work of Vladimir Propp, on the morphology of the Russian folk tale, which provided the main impetus for a first systematic analysis of narrative discourse” (Dijk, 1988, p. 18). France was the scene for the structuralist attempt. Propp was introduced there by anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss; Tzvetan Todorov translated the works of Russian Formalists (Dijk, 1988, p. 18). Later on, many of the developments in discourse analysis were influenced by the semiotic structuralism in France (Dijk, 1988, p. 19).

The original focus on linguistics and grammar alone soon spread, especially towards social sciences. In the end, although the field only has existed since a few decennia, discourse analysis has undergone major development. “[..]Both methodologically, theoretically and empirically, we have a rapidly developing full-fledged discipline, ready for new applications in unexplored areas” (Dijk, 1988, p. 23).
Descriptive versus critical discourse analysis

There are many different approaches to discourse analysis, too many to discuss in this theoretical framework. However, there are two main streams in discourse analysis that can be pointed out. These are descriptive discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis. These two streams differ greatly from each other, but are both important in the field. I will explain why this study employs descriptive discourse analysis and not critical discourse analysis. This is fundamental to understand, since at first sight, critical discourse analysis might seem like a good or even a better fit for this thesis. Critical discourse analysis is often used by scholars who study the portrayal of refugees and migrants in the news. Before I explain my choice for descriptive instead of critical discourse analysis, I will briefly explain the main ideas of these two streams.

In his book, James Paul Gee explains descriptive discourse analysis by stating:

“Looking closely at the structure of language as it is being used can help us uncover different ways of saying things, doing things and being things in this world. But why would we want to do this? Some approaches to discourse analysis, which we call ‘descriptive’ answer this question by saying that their goal is to describe how language works in order to understand it [...]. Though their work might have practical applications in the world, these discourse analysists [...] are not motivated by it” (Gee, 2014a, p. 9).

The difference with critical discourse analysis lies in the last sentence of Gee’s quote. “Though their work might have practical applications in the world, discourse analysists are not motivated by it” (Gee, 2014a, p. 9). This sentence explains how practical application is not the aim of descriptive discourse analysists. In comparison, the aim of critical discourse analysists is,

“[...] not just to describe how language works or even offer deep explanations, though they want to do this. They also want to speak to and, perhaps, intervene in, institutional, social, or political issues, problems and controversies in the world. They want to apply their work to the world in some fashion” (Gee, 2014a, p. 9).

In the abovementioned statement, we see how critical discourse analysists want to intervene in and change political or social issues in the world. Critical discourse analysis is thus more practically oriented than descriptive discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis is, in my view, also less objective than descriptive discourse analysis. Scholars that use critical discourse analysis to this because they want to change something in the world and they try to stimulate this change with their academic works.

The practitioners of the two different approaches to discourse analysis criticize each other. In short, the scientific value of critical discourse analysis is questioned by descriptive discourse
analysts and descriptive analysts are not active enough according to critical discourse analysists. In my view, this discussion is in some sense not about discourse analysis as a theory and method, but more about the role that a researcher takes on. Without going in length into this discussion, I will subsequently explain my choice for descriptive discourse analysis.

This thesis is a comparison between newspaper articles featuring refugees from both a Dutch and an Italian newspaper. The analysis will show the different ways of covering refugees in these newspapers. Which words can be used to refer to them for example or in what way the articles are framed. The aim of this thesis is not to actively change the ways in which journalists write about migrants. Nor is the aim of this thesis to actively change the portrayal of refugees in the media in general. The aim is purely to show the differences and similarities in the portrayal of refugees in a Dutch and an Italian newspaper. Therefore it is not critical discourse analysis that is used, but descriptive discourse analysis. Nevertheless can the outcomes of this research spark change in the assumptions we make about refugees or maybe even in the way journalists write about them.
2- Migration in the news; What has been written?

A great deal of research has been done on media coverage of refugees, immigrants and migration in general. A lot of this academic work is very relevant for this study. Therefore this chapter discusses some of the works from other scholars that studied media coverage of refugees, migrants and asylum seekers. What aspects of their studies are important to keep in mind during this study? What conclusions did they draw and how can I use their works for this thesis?

To comprise and structure it, this chapter consists of three parts. The first part is the most general, handling the works from scholars who used discourse analysis to study migration in the news. The second and third part focus on the two countries that we study in this thesis: the Netherlands and Italy. The second part gives an insight in the coverage of migrants in the news in the Netherlands. The past, currents and things to keep in mind when analyzing news articles from de Volkskrant.

The third part does the same for Italy, discussing the works of scholars that studied how refugees and migrants were covered in the Italian media. The second and third part of this chapter are of great importance, because they first of all show how relevant the topic ‘coverage of refugees/migration in the news’ is. In addition, it is important to know what other scholars have uncovered. We can use their findings during the analysis and take into account the questions that they came up with.

**Discourse analysis in relation to migration**

Greg Philo, Emma Briant and Pauline Donald (2013) used both qualitative as well as quantitative research methods to analyze news texts and news bulletins on television. In their book Bad News for Refugees (2013), they discuss the covering of refugees in the news. One of their main conclusions, relevant for this thesis, is that news about refugees is more often negative than positive. According to Philo, Briand and Donald, it is a long term trend in media coverage to scapegoat or stereotype migrant groups (Philo, et al., 2013).

In their book, Philo, Briand and Donald identify eight key themes in the coverage of refugees. They studied both television and newspapers. For their sample they studied news items from the British BBC1, BBC2, ITV and Channel 4. The newspaper samples were drawn from the, also British, Daily Mail, the Daily Express, the Sun, the Mirror, The Times, the Guardian and the Telegraph (Philo, et al., 2013, p. 50). The eight key themes that they identified are:

1. Conflation of forced economic migration
2. Numbers of exaggeration
3. Burden on welfare and job market
4. Criminality, threat, deportation and human rights
5. The need for ‘immigration control’
6. The benefits of immigration
7. Problems facing asylum seekers

These eight themes count for both the television fragments as the newspaper articles. In chapter six, we will find out if some of these themes can be applied to our case-study as well.

What springs to attention in the research that Philo, Briant and Donald have done, is that they looked at ‘who spoke’ in the articles or during the television items. In other words, whose quotes were used and whose opinions were written down by journalists? Did the journalist use institutional sources, people from the street or maybe even refugees themselves? It is important to keep in mind here that a source is not necessarily the same as a ‘voice’ in an article. This distinction was not made by Philo, Briant and Donald, but is important to make in my view. Since journalists often make use of press agencies, especially when it comes to international news, their sources are not always the same as the persons who ‘speak’ in their articles.

This is a relevant piece of information to keep in mind during the forthcoming analysis. It is possible that there is a difference in the type of ‘voices’ that are used in the Netherlands and Italy. This can have a huge impact on an article. Imagine what happens if a journalists would write an article entirely based on quotes from people on the street versus an article based on institutional sources only.

Majid KhosraviNik (2010) studied newspapers only. He used critical discourse analysis to analyze the representation refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in British newspapers (KhosraviNik, 2010). KhosraviNik’s research is useful both regarding the research method and the case-study that are very similar to the method and case-study of this research.

KhosraviNik’s main finding was that although the newspapers he analyzed were very different in political standing et cetera, the way they portrayed refugees was somewhat similar (KhosraviNik, 2010). KhosraviNik’s conclusion is in that way also comparable to the book by Philo, Briant and Donald, that concluded with the eight key themes that are mentioned above.

For this thesis, this should mean that there would be no difference in the coverage of migrants in Dutch and Italian newspapers. I think this is very interesting, because it seems difficult to believe, taking into account that in Italy refugees arrive by boat on a daily basis and in the Netherlands they do not. However, this is an assumption and we will see how this turns out during
Blinder and Allen (2015) have analyzed the coverage of immigration in the British national press as well (Blinder & Allen, 2015). They wanted to see if the negative sentiment about immigrants in Great Britain had something to do with the coverage regarding these immigrants in the newspapers. They concluded their study by stating “We suggest that news media construct the notion of immigration in selective and incomplete ways, that public understandings of immigration then draw upon these partial constructions” (Blinder & Allen, 2015, p. 33). Apart from covering immigrants in the same way like the abovementioned scholars stated, Blinder and Allen state that the coverage of immigrants is also incomplete and selective.

Teun van Dijk’s chapter New(s) racism, gives a good example of critical discourse analysis (Dijk, 2000). According to van Dijk, news in the press can contribute to “what is sometimes called the ‘new racism’” (Dijk, 2000). He takes a very strong stand in this as a scholar and actively strives to stimulate change. Although it is not critical discourse analysis that we use in this thesis, van Dijk’s study gives some interesting insights relevant for this thesis. Van Dijk makes claims about the coverage of immigrants in the news, as a result the chapter New(s) racism is discussed more into depth here, beginning with the explanation of ‘old’ and ‘new’ racism.

The difference between ‘old’ and ‘new’ racism is that old racism had connotations with slavery, apartheid, systematic discrimination etcetera, whereas new racism first of all denies itself being ‘racism’. In new racism, minorities are not designated as inferior, but as ‘different’ (Dijk, 2000, pp. 33-34).

New racism is more subtle in that sense. According to van Dijk, forms of new racism,

“[..] are expressed, enacted and confirmed by text and talk, such as everyday conversations, board meetings, job interviews, policies, laws, parliamentary debates, political propaganda, textbooks, scholarly articles, movies, TV programs and news reports in the press, among hundreds of other genres. They appear as mere talk, and far removed from the open violence and forceful segregation of the old racism. Yet, they may be just as effective to marginalize and exclude minorities. They may hurt even more, especially when they seem to be so normal, so natural, and so commonsensical to those who engage in such discourse and interaction” (Dijk, 2000, p. 34).

According to van Dijk, this new form of racism is practiced by the media. What is interesting to see here, is that van Dijk, like Philo, Briant and Donald, comes up with a list of key themes that can be recognized in news items. The striking difference between the work of Philo, Briant and Donald and the work of Van Dijk is that van Dijk studied the covering of immigrants in the media and Philo, Briant and Donald studied the covering of refugees in the media.

Instead of eight, van Dijk discovered ten different ways of framing articles covering immigrants:

1. “New (illegal) immigrants are arriving
2. Political response to, policies about (new) immigration
3. Reception problems (housing, etc.)
4. Social problems (employment, welfare, etc.)
5. Response of the population (resentment, etc.)
6. Cultural characterization: how are they different?
7. Complications and negative characterization: how are they deviant?
8. Focus on threats: violence, crime, drugs, prostitution.
9. Political response: policies to stop immigration, expulsion, and so on
10. Integration conflicts” (Dijk, 2000, p. 38).

Van Dijk’s list overlaps with the list that Briant, Philo and Donald came up with. More importantly, the statement that news about refugees is more often negative than positive is also made by van Dijk, concerning the news about immigrants (Dijk, 2000, p. 38).

In a guide on discourse analysis, David Hesmondhalgh explains how van Dijk analyzed media language for his research that we discussed above. “He makes use of a number of terms to help analyze media language […], which I have formed into rough groups:

1. Rhetoric, hyperbole, metaphor and rhetorical repetition- these are terms referring to the persuasive function of language
2. Passive sentences, comment, topicalisation- these are terms about the way in which language is structured, and about how priorities are assigned
3. Register, lexicalisation, ingroup designator- these are terms about the selection of words, with a particular selection having a particular persuasive function” (Hesmondhalgh, 2006, p. 135).

Aspects of these three terms that were used by Van Dijk will also be used for this thesis. As we will see during the analysis, that can be found in chapter six, the use of metaphors to describe refugees, is interesting to study. Jonathan Charteris-Black studied the usage of metaphors by journalists. Instead of analysing news texts, Charteris-Black (2006) studied the British election campaign of 2005, by using critical discourse analysis. Charteris-Black wanted to find out how metaphors contribute to the formation of legitimacy in right-wing political communication on immigration policy (Charteris-Black, 2006). Metaphors are of course also used by journalists in news articles. The words that are used to refer to persons or objects are very interesting to take into account. This study therefore strives to look beyond words and sentences only, analysing context and metaphors as well. We will therefore discuss the works of Charteris-Black here.

According to him, the role of metaphors is important in relation to immigration. This can be explained by the range of conflicting representations in public discourse when it comes to immigration (Charteris-Black, 2006, p. 565). For example,
“immigration is sometimes represented as desirable because falling birth rates create problems in supporting the cost of pensions for an increasingly aging population, while in other metaphors it is represented as undesirable. There is the possibility of immigrants undercutting the wages of those who are employed, the cost to the social welfare system and an association with human smuggling (Charteris-Black, 2006, p. 565)” and so forth.

From his analysis, Charteris-Black drew two recurring metaphors in the political talk about immigrants. Charteris-Black calls it the ‘container’ metaphor and the ‘fluid’ metaphor. “The largest group of natural disaster metaphors in the British right-wing corpus conceptualize immigration with the related image of an excessive flow of water; these include metaphoric uses of the words ‘flow’, and ‘wave’” (Charteris-Black, 2006, p. 570). The ‘container’ metaphor he explains as ‘the build up of pressure’. This pressure can come from both within the container as from the outside of it (Charteris-Black, 2006, p. 561).

Before reading the work of Charteris-Black I never realized how often journalists use these metaphors in their articles about refugees. Very often you read about a ‘wave of refugees’ coming into a country for example. After reading the article, I became more aware of the meaning behind these metaphors. Take for example the use of the word ‘swamp’ in relation to immigrants, which is an example from an earlier study of Charteris-Black (2005).

Charteris-Black studied political speeches and the rhetoric that was used in those speeches. Both Enoch Powell and Margaret Thatcher used the word ‘swamp’ in relation to immigration (Charteris-Black, 2005). Charteris explains how, in this context ‘swamp’ “[...]evokes strong emotions and creates a myth that immigration is excessive and communicates the ideological political argument that it should be stopped- or even be reversed.”

Further on in his research Charteris-Black explains how politicians can purposefully create relations of equivalence between legal and illegal immigration. By doing this, all immigration is represented as outside the law (Charteris-Black, 2006, p. 575). It can be interesting to see if this could be the case in the newspapers we analyze in this thesis as well. Theoretically, journalists should always check their facts and should not mix up legal immigration with illegal immigration. However, as I have already stated before the terms ‘immigrant’ and ‘refugee’ get mixed up as well every now and then. Moreover, if a journalist uses a quote from a politician, it can very well be that the politician in question purposefully mixes the concepts ‘immigration’ and ‘illegal immigration’ up.

To conclude this first part of the literature review, we could say that refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants are, according to most scholars, under-, and misrepresented in the media. When they are represented, the news items are often framed in the same recurring themes. It is
interesting to find out if this thesis will come up with new themes, or can confirm the abovementioned findings for Italy and the Netherlands as well.

**Tendencies in the coverage of migrants in the Dutch media**

In 2001, Leen d’Haenens and Mariëlle de Lange studied the framing of asylum seekers in Dutch regional newspapers. They assumed that there is a link between existing attitudes towards asylum seekers and news reporting in regional newspapers (D’Haenens & De Lange, 2001, p. 851). D’Haenens and de Lange analyzed news reports (and news frames) on asylum seekers and asylum seekers’ centers in various regional newspapers in the Netherlands. The reporting in *De Gelderlander* and *Haarlems Dagblad* differed from the reporting and news frames in *Rotterdams Dagblad* and *Zwolse Courant*.

To analyze the newspaper articles d’Haenens and de Lange made use of a questionnaire, of news frames. They applied this questionnaire to 298 articles from *De Gelderlander*, *Rotterdams Dagblad*, *Zwolse Courant* and *Haarlems Dagblad*. They also took three national newspapers, *De Telegraaf*, the *Algemeen Dagblad* and *de Volkskrant*, to be able to compare their findings about regional newspapers to national newspapers (D’Haenens & De Lange, 2001).

Their results showed that there was only a slight difference in the news frames that were used in the different regional newspaper. Interesting is the fact that they discovered that most articles were framed as human interest (D’Haenens & De Lange, 2001, p. 858). According to D’Haenens and De Lange, most stories were given a ‘human face’ to make them appealing to the reader. I am curious to find out if this can also be said about the articles from *La Stampa* and *de Volkskrant*. D’Haenens and De Lange studied different newspapers, but they were all Dutch. What happens when you compare an Italian newspaper to a Dutch one? Would the frames still be somewhat the same? If we look at the studies we discussed in the first part of the chapter, one might assume they will be. This will be tested in the analysis in chapter six.

In the Netherlands, the increasing number of asylum seekers’ centers spurred quite the commotion. As a result, the focus in the media, when covering asylum seekers, was mostly on these asylum seekers’ centers and the reaction of the Dutch citizens to them. Especially in 2016 there was a lot of protest against the opening of new centers in small towns. Both newspapers and television news programs covered it almost on a daily basis for a few of weeks. According to Kristel van Teeffelen, a journalist working for Dutch newspaper *Trouw*, the media had lost their balance in all the turmoil (Van Teeffelen, 2016).

In the first month of 2016 (22 January 2016), van Teeffelen wrote an article for Dutch national newspaper *Trouw*, where she took a meta-journalist approach¹. She wrote about how

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¹This article can be found online. For details, check the bibliography.

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Journalists have attention for and write about the extraordinary. When something abnormal happens, or is an exception to the rule, it becomes news. This is of course not new in itself. It is actually the basis of journalism that journalists write about what is different or new.

However, as a consequence, whenever a protest against an asylum seekers’ center took place, journalists where there to cover it and. As a result, protesting people holding up signs were on the news that evening, while at the same time, maybe a larger group of citizens had no problems at all with the center, but that just wasn’t ‘news’ (Van Teeffelen, 2016).

As the academic literature demonstrated, van Teeffelen also shows how the media reported more often negatively than positively about the refugees (Van Teeffelen, 2016). Also the amount of coverage varied a lot over time, coinciding ‘major events’ in the refugee crisis. Certain ‘milestones’ in the crisis, that lasted for an extended period of time, sparked new media attention. In the next example, Van Teeffelen explains how media attention can also change public perception.

Van Teeffelen takes the Syrian boy Alan Kurdi as an example. On the second of September 2015, the three year old Syrian boy Alan Kurdi drowned in the Mediterranean Sea and was washed ashore on the Turkish coast. He came from a refugee family that was trying to reach Europe. A press photographer took a picture of the lifeless body of the three-year old and this picture was soon spread across the globe. Shortly thereafter, the lifeless boy became a metaphor for all the refugees trying to reach Europe.

What was interesting to see was that in the days after Alan’s death, Dutch newspapers awarded more attention to the refugee crisis than the weeks before the tragic incident. This might seem obvious now, but in the weeks before Alan’s death, a lot of other tragic incidents concerning migrants took place. Nel Ruigrok, a researcher for the Nieuwsmonitor found that the amount of coverage in the newspapers tripled, making ten per cent of all the articles in the Dutch newspapers about refugees (Van Teeffelen, 2016). According to media-expert, Peter Vasterman, not only the amount of coverage changed, but the tone of the articles changed as well after Alan’s death. He states,

“What strikes is that most coverage is more positive now. Before the picture, the coverage was mostly about the large amount of refugees coming to the Netherlands and the question if we could handle this ‘flow of refugees’. After the picture, the coverage is more about people that are taking action to help the refugees and starting up help programs et cetera.” (Van Teeffelen, 2016).

2There have been different ways of spelling the name of Alan Kurdi, both ‘Alan’ and ‘Aylan’ appear in the media. I chose to use ‘Alan’ since ‘Aylan’ since the father of the boy told in a statement that this is the correct way. However, in the newspaper articles, other spellings might appear as well.
Figure 1.0 shows the diagram on the coverage of refugees in the Dutch newspapers. The lines indicate the coverage of refugees in the different newspapers in comparison to the total number of articles in the newspapers. Three major events in the refugee crisis are shown in the diagram. First is the drowning of seven hundred refugees at sea, just off the coast of the Italian island Lampedusa in April 2015. The second is the moment that the picture of Alan spreads around the world and the third is the moment when the political debate about the accommodation of the refugees in the Netherlands is in full swing.

The lines show the amount of news articles, published in the Dutch newspapers. Along with the three events, large peaks can be seen in the diagram. This means that during these events, the amount of articles in these newspapers soared. Right after the events a decline in the amount of articles can be seen.

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3 This diagram is derived from a diagram in the article of Van Teeffelen (2016) the original can be found in her article.
The research that is done here is qualitative and not quantitative. Therefore I will not count the amount of articles on migrants in La Stampa and de Volkskrant. However, the idea that right after major events, the covering increases and framing can change, is valuable for this thesis.

Right after a milestone in the refugee crisis, journalists might take a different angle for their stories, and be more either soft or maybe vice versa, this could, at the same time, also change public perception. When analyzing the articles, I will keep this in mind, because we study articles around the time of certain milestones. Knowing this, it is even more important to understand the context of these events and the run up to them. Chapter 4 will give an overview of the refugee crisis and major events that took place in 2015.

**Tendencies in the coverage of migrants in Italian media**

In the last decade, a lot of refugees have come to the Europe. Many of them ended up in Italy while fleeing countries in North Africa; crossing the Mediterranean Sea by boat to go to their destination Europe. By January 2014, nearly eight per cent of Italy’s population was of foreign origin (Bond & Bonsaver, 2015, p. 1). The geographical position of Italy makes it a key point on the route that a large number of refugees take when entering Europe. In Italy, a lot of refugees enter per boat over the seas. In this final part of the chapter, I will give an overview of the studies on migrants in the Italian press.

Before the 1990s the attention that refugees and migrants were given in the media was very scarce. ‘Migration’ was just not regarded as a major issue and therefore was not covered by the media (Bond & Bonsaver, 2015). Between the 1990s and the early 2000s, the media approach to migration was “alarmist, emergential, stereotypical, superficial and not complete, due to too much dramatization of the facts and events” (Bond & Bonsaver, 2015, p. 7).

As we saw in theory regarding other countries, in Italy migrants were often linked to criminality. The ‘us’ versus ‘them’ rhetoric was often present in the Italian media (Bond & Bonsaver, 2015). However, Bond, Bonsaver and Faloppa also mention some examples from Italian media were migrants and migration were covered from a different, less negative, perspective. According to the scholars, newspaper supplements such as Metropoli (from La Repubblica), Gazzetta Mondo, or satellite TV channel RAIMED that broadcasted in both Italian and Arabic, are positive examples of refugee and migration coverage in Italian media (Bond & Bonsaver, 2015, p. 9). In these examples, refugees were given a voice and the viewpoints of refugees were used as well, instead of linking them to criminality or using the ‘us’ versus ‘them’ rhetoric.

This is interesting because in all the literature that I studied on the coverage of migrants and migration in the media, examples of scholars that were positive about this coverage or gave examples of ‘good coverage’, were difficult to acquire. It remains difficult to know if this is the
consequence of an absence of this ‘good coverage’ in the media or an absence of academic literature on ‘good coverage’.

Vaccari (2010), like most scholars, criticizes the role the Italian media take on when it comes to the coverage of refugees in the media. Italy is the number one country where refugees actually arrive from overseas. Knowing this, one might assume that Italians form their perceptions of refugees by the experiences they have had with them. This is however not the case and millions of Italians form their perceptions of refugees through the images they are fed through the media, just like citizens from other countries where no refugees arrive would do (Vaccari, 2010). The role of the media is crucial. It can, and often does, shape public perception. Vaccari argues that the role that the Italian media take on is the wrong one. Let me illustrate what he means, by giving an example from his study.

In 2003, Gianfranco Fini, who was then Vice Primi Minister of a center-right government led by Silvio Berlusconi, said that legal immigrants in Italy should be given the right to vote in local elections (Vaccari, 2010, p. 148). After this statement, for about a month there was a great controversy in Italian politics, but eventually, no legislative overhaul occurred (Vaccari, 2010, p. 148).

“[..]the media could have provided a crucial contribution to such a debate. [..] However, journalists and politicians, bound by the collusive relationship that is typical of the Italian system, turned the debate on Fini’s proposal into a matter of political posturing, and thus missed an opportunity for a substantive public policy discussion that is long overdue in Italian society” (Vaccari, 2010).

To prove his claims, Vaccari studied three Italian newspapers and four television channels regarding the covering of Fini’s proposal. His main findings were that most of the media adopted a political frame for the stories. Rather than covering the actual policy, they covered politics and the ancillary matters. Think of relationships between political parties and party leaders (Vaccari, 2010).

According to Giovanna Campani (2001), in the nineties, the press adopted a strategy of anticipation when it came to refugees and immigration. Immigration was then a new and unexpected phenomenon for most of the Italian population. As a result, the press gave the Italian people ‘pre-formed images of foreigners’. Even before the Italian people were able to have a firsthand experience with immigration (Campani, 2001). These ‘pre-formed images’ are also described by Vaccari. He takes the statement even further by arguing that,

“[..]on an average day, one should not expect the Italian media to provide a very accurate and neutral picture of immigration and immigrants. Crime stories featuring illegal immigrants and news about citizen protests against the ‘invasion’ of foreigners, possibly with some reference to terrorism
and other threats, are the norm of what the Italian public is offered by the mainstream media” (Vaccari, 2010, p. 152).

This particular statement about the Italian media is obviously very negative and contradictory to the findings of Bond, Bonsaver and Faloppa, who gave examples of ‘good coverage’ of refugees in the media, using their quotes as well and showing their viewpoints. Chapter six will indicate if the articles from La Stampa are indeed as negative as Vaccari claims, or if La Stampa is an example of ‘good coverage’ as described by Bond, Bonsaver and Faloppa.

In 2016, Marco Bruno studied media representations of immigrants in Italy, with a focus on the real and symbolic borders that were mentioned by journalists. Earlier in this chapter, I described how Charteris-Black (2006) found two recurring metaphors in the coverage of refugees by the media. He called them the ‘container’ metaphor and the ‘fluid’ metaphor (Charteris-Black, 2006). Bruno refers to these metaphors as well. “The ‘need’ to build walls and barriers, restore boundaries, restraining ‘waves’ of refugees and migrants, appears one of the most urgent priorities involving European countries” (Bruno, 2006). According to Bruno, in the Italian media this has been of special interest the last years, especially concerning a specific border: the maritime border. Before we go on to the analysis, the next chapter will first give a brief history of Italian newspaper La Stampa and Dutch newspaper de Volkskrant.
Chapter 3 – Context and history of the newspapers

This chapter contains a brief overview of the history of La Stampa and de Volkskrant. These histories will aid when analyzing the newspaper articles that were published in their name. It will aid in understanding how the newspapers are oriented politically and, or religiously.

De Volkskrant- How a catholic trade union paper became a quality newspaper

“De Volkskrant starts her work. God bless this flag.” (de Volkskrant 2 October 1919 in Gessel, 1990, p.19). With these words, the first ever article of de Volkskrant was concluded. It was on the second of October 1919. The newspaper had four pages and only appeared every Thursday. In English, ‘de Volkskrant’ means ‘the peoples newspaper’.

De Volkskrant was founded as an instrument of the catholic trade union. “The newspaper has to be read by all catholic workmen; she’s the flag of our army [...]” (Van Gessel, 1990, p. 19). In 1921, de Volkskrant appeared as a daily newspaper for the first time and after the Second World War it became a successful modern catholic newspaper (Van Vree, 1996).

When de Volkskrant was founded, the Netherlands were pillarized. Pillarization meant that Catholics, protestants, socialists and liberals all had their own ‘pillars’ in society. In practice this means that they all had their own political, social and cultural organizations and that there was little to no interaction between the four ‘pillars’ of society (Van Gessel, 1990, p. 19). The pillarization was visible in all layers of society. A catholic would for example go to a catholic baker, a catholic bicycle seller and bring his or her children to a catholic school. De Volkskrant was a catholic newspaper and therefore part of the catholic pillar. Newspapers had an important role in the pillarization, because they functioned as the ‘mouth-piece’ of the own circle and as a defense against the ‘potion’ coming from the other circles (Van Gessel, 1990, p. 19).

During the night before the 25th of September 1965, the subtitle ‘Catholic daily paper for the Netherlands’ disappeared from the front page of de Volkskrant (Hemels, 1981, pp. 349-350). The decision was made by the then new editor in chief, Jan van der Pluijm. From that time onwards, de Volkskrant started ‘peeling off’ its catholic character. It was not immediately after losing the subtitle that the newspaper dropped the catholic character, but in the years after 1965 the newspaper slowly transformed in to a progressive newspaper that attracted a lot of young readers as well (Hemels, 1981, Gessel 1990, Vree, 1996). The circulation grew and the newspaper was awarded several times for its ‘journalistic quality’ (Van Gessel, 1990, p. 27).

In 1982, Harry Lockefeer became editor in chief. The newspaper expanded with a couple of
quires. When Pieter Broertjes became editor in chief in 1995 he spoke the words: “We will have to continue to innovate if we want to make it towardsthe turn of the century” (Van Vree, 1996, p. 202). And so de Volkskrant continued to innovate. In 1999 the newspaper had a circulation of around 350.000 papers a day and started issuing de Volkskrant magazine. It was an additional magazine, which was distributed together with the newspaper every Saturday (Volkskrant, 2002).

In 2006, de Volkskrant announced the publication of a free newspaper. A weekly magazine, focusing on jobs and vacancies was spread under peope under the age of 39. Nowadays, de Volkskrant’s belongs to the largest national newspapers of the Netherlands when it comes to circulation. The most accurate circulation numbers stem from 2015. In 2015, the newspaper had a circulation of 224.000 paid daily newspapers. It was one of the few newspapers that actually had a growth in circulation from 2014 to 2015 (Bakker, 2016). De Volkskrant magazine is still added to the newspaper on Saturdays and de Volkskrant.

The most important aspect to remember from the history of de Volkskrant is that it was first published as an instrument for the catholic trade union. Moreover, nowadays it is often said that de Volkskrant is oriented more towards the left side of the political spectrum, compared to other newspapers in the Netherlands, for example the Telegraaf, of which it is often said that it is a more right-wing or populist orientated newspaper. De Volkskrant is now part of the media publishing company De Persgroep, along with other newspapers like Het Parool, AD, Trouw and a lot of regional newspapers. According to Van Vree, de Volkskrant owes it’s succes not only to the journalistic qualities of the journalists that work for the newspaper. “The newspaper always relied upon idealistic principles, that have given the newspaper just as much substance and meaning as the journalistic qualities” (Van Vree, 1996, p. 202).

Italy’s ‘Polarized pluralist model’ and a history of La Stampa
La Stampa means ‘the press´ in Italian. The newspaper celebrates its 150th birthday this year and is more than hundred years older than de Volkskrant. One could argue that both La Stampa and de Volkskrant are quality newspapers with a high circulation number in comparison to other national newspapers. However, the two countries have fundamentally different media systems. The polarized pluralist system in Italy versus the Northern European or corporatist model in the Netherlands (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Before a brief history of La Stampa, wil be given, the media system that exists in Italy will be explained.

According to Campani, in Italy,

“[..] what might be called ‘autonomous journalism‘: that is to say a journalism based above all on the quality of the information and on the objective of trying to obtain the support of the audience
through the quality of information provided-is very much the exception in Italy” (Campani, 2001, pp. 39-40).

In the South of Europe, the press is arranged according to what Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini (2004) call the ‘Mediterranean or polarized pluralist model’ (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). The main difference between countries in Southern Europe and Northern Europe is that in Southern Europe, liberal institutions, including capitalist industrialism and political democracy, developed later, because the forces of the landholding aristocracy, the clergy and the absolutist state were stronger here (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 89).

According to Hallin and Mancini, the slower transition to democracy has resulted in a distinct pattern of relationship between the media and the political world (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 89). “The media developed in Southern Europe as an institution of the political and literary worlds more than of the market, like in Northern Europe and North America (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 90). Apart from political dependency, the press was often dependent financially from either political parties, the Church or wealthy private patrons (Hallin & Mancini, 2004).

The main differences between the Polarized pluralist model and the Corporatist model is that in the Corporatist model, the press was earlier oriented towards the masses, instead of towards the elite as is the case in the Polarized pluralist model. Moreover, the focus on the freedom of the press is less present in the Polarized pluralist model than in the Democratic corporatist model. And third, the level of professionalization was historically, lower in the Polarized pluralist model than in the Democratic corporatist model (Hallin & Mancini, 2004).

At the beginning of the 1880s, commercial newspapers emerged in Italy as well. However, “[...] a true mass-circulation press never fully emerged in Italy or other Mediterranean countries” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 91). A couple of years later, in 1895, La Stampa was born. However, the true roots of the newspaper lie in 1867, when journalist Vittorio Bersezio founded the Gazzetta Piemontese. It was the precursor of what we now know as La Stampa (Calcagno, sd). In 1895, the name of the newspaper was changed in to La Stampa and Alfredo Frassati became the editor in chief (Calcagno, sd).

In 1925, Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) came to power and Italy was introduced to fascism. Newspaper owners welcomed the rise of fascism. Many of them had struggled financially since the First World War and newspaper costs had risen. Moreover, strikes, blamed on communist agitators, affected the printing and distribution of newspapers. Fascists promised the newspaper owners stability (Hibberd, 2008, p. 34).

Mussolini himself was a journalist and he understood the importance of the press. The above mentioned circumstances had as a consequence, that many Italian newspapers became
openly pro-Fascist in the period 1921-1924 (Hibberd, 2008, pp. 34-35). Between 1922 and 1926, Italian newspapers underwent the so-called ‘fascistization’. In other words, “suppressing opposition newspapers, and changing editorial staff on others in order to gain their compliance” (Hibberd, 2008, p. 35).

Without going to great lengths in this interesting history of the press during the fascist era, one can categorize the newspapers during the fascist period in four groups, as done by Paolo Murialdi. First there was the group of newspapers that belonged to the opposition. They were suppressed and forced underground by the end of 1926 (Hibberd, 2008, p. 35). Second, there were the newspapers that already supported the fascist party, so there was no coercion needed.

Third, there was the group that ‘became’ fascist, without coercion. These newspapers transformed when Mussolini rose to power (Hibberd, 2008, p. 35). An example was Resto del Carlino, from Bologna (Hibberd, 2008, p. 35). The fourth group consists of the newspapers that eventually became fascism supporters, but coercion and persuasion was necessary. An example was Corriere della Sera (Hibberd, 2008).

La Stampa belonged to the first group. The opposition to fascism had as a consequence that the editor in chief, Frassati, was forced to resign. The immediate cause was La Stampa openly criticizing the murder of the socialist Giacomo Matteotti in 1924. (Hibberd, 2008, p. 36). After Frassati’s resignation, the newspaper was sold to Fiat (Hibberd, 2008, p. 36). Up until today, the newspaper is still owned by the car manufacturer.

La Stampa is a good example of the control that industry has over the press in Italy. During the 70s, La Stampa was criticized for this. It went as far that the newspaper and its employees were attacked by terrorists (Alvarez, et al., 1999, p. 73). Although the newspaper is closely linked to industry, politically it is said that La Stampa is ‘less explicitly aligned’ to political parties (Vaccari, 2010, p. 154). This is only a very brief history of one of the oldest newspapers in Italy, and for this thesis the early years of La Stampa are of the most significance.
Chapter 4- Introduction to the case study

More than one million refugees and migrants entered Europe in 2015. Because of the many deaths as a consequence of the dangerous routes that these refugees and migrants took, the year 2015 got the title ‘year of the refugee-crisis’. The refugees and migrants that fled to Europe in 2015, came from various regions in the world and took different routes to reach their destination. This chapter explains these different routes and gives context for the refugee crisis in general and the year 2015 in specific. It is important to understand how the crisis developed over the period of time that is study in this thesis, because it forms the background against which de Volkskrant and La Stampa published their stories.

The MENA region: background and prospects

A significant portion of the approximately 45 million refugees and asylum seekers globally, originate from countries in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) (Anker, 2014). Most of the migrants and refugees that cross the Mediterranean Sea to go to Europe, come from countries in this region (Iyengar, 2015). Therefore, the characteristics of this region will be explained, together with the factors for migration, forced or unforced, that are present.

Figure 2.0 shows the countries in the MENA region. There is a longstanding debate regarding the particular countries that belong to the MENA region. For this thesis, we follow the definition as used by Christien van den Anker (2014). In the book Refugee Politics in the Middle East and North Africa, the following countries are included in the MENA region by Van den Anker: Algeria, Bahrain, Djibouti, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malta, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, West Bank and Gaza and Yemen (Anker, 2014).
The Middle East and North Africa are two separate regions and the countries in them are diverse, however, these regions and countries are united by a number of political, religious and cultural commonalities (Anker, 2014, p. 5).

Andrä Gärber (2007), calls the MENA region a ‘gridlocked region at a crossroads’ (Gärber, 2007). Gärber explains this metaphor, showing facts about the region. The MENA region is blessed with approximately 65% of the worldwide oil reserves and approximately 45% of global natural gas reserves. “The region however suffers the curse of a distinct lack of democracy and thwarted development, caused by the paralyzing mixture of a high level of political conflict and the authoritarian structure of most of the region’s regimes” (Gärber, 2007).

There are many factors in the MENA region that can be seen as causes for migration. Gärber sums up the challenges that the MENA region faces,

- The pressure of a rising population
- Imminent changes in political leadership
- The challenge of providing adequate education and access to information technology
- A continued dependence on resource rents
- Tribalism dominating society
- The unresolved question of how to deal with the phenomenon of political Islam (Islamism) (Gärber, 2007).
Apart from the abovementioned challenges in the MENA region, the region also has to deal with a great amount of armed conflicts. There is the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Iraq conflict, the regional conflict between Sunni and Shia muslims, the latest war in Iraq and the conflict over Iran's nuclear program. According to Gärber, all these conflicts are increasingly interdependent (Gärber, 2007). This causes a constant tension in the region.

**Different routes**

According to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), 101,417 migrants and refugees entered Europe by sea in 2017, up to the 9th of July. Almost 85 per cent of them arrived in Italy and the remainder was divided between Greece, Cyprus and Spain (Africa Research Bulletin, 2017, p. 21738). These refugees take different routes, depending on their country of origin. The most common routes will be explained.

Figure 3.0 shows some of the main sea routes that refugees take to reach Europe. According to the UNHCR, in the first six months of 2015, 137000 refugees and migrants took one of these sea routes. In comparison, in the same period in 2014, there were 75,000 refugees, marking an 83 per cent increase over 2014 (UNHCR, 2015).

![Figure 3.0 - Sea routes to reach Europe (UNHCR, 2015)](image-url)
When travelling by sea, there are still some different routes that refugees take. There is the Central Mediterranean route, the Western Mediterranean route and the Eastern Mediterranean route. The Central and Eastern route are well portrayed in figure 3.0. These are the routes that refugees take when cross the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas, starting in countries like Libya or Egypt.

The proximity that Italy has to Libya, makes Italy an important destination for refugees attempting to reach Europe by sea (Africa Research Bulletin, 2017). Figure 4.0 shows how, almost through a funnel, the migration from Africa reaches Italy. It also shows how Spain and the island of Malta are important gateways to reach Europe. The refugees that enter Europe via Spain or Malta, make use of the Western Mediterranean route.

![Figure 4.0 Key migrant routes from Africa to Europe](image)

Figure 4.0 Key migrant routes from Africa to Europe (Africa Research Bulletin, 2017, p. 21739)
Not only do refugees come to Europe crossing the Mediterranean or Aegean Seas. Another route crosses the Balkan and does not cross any seas. Frontex calls this the ‘Western or Eastern Balkan route’. When refugees choose to take this route, they often originate from Syria and Iraq, traveling via Turkey, Greece, Macedonia, Serbia, and Slovenia to reach countries like Germany or the Netherlands (FRONTEX, 2017). Figure 5.0 shows the Balkan routes.

![Balkan routes](image)

**Figure 5.0: Balkan routes (Ionita, 2015)**

It must be noted that these routes change over time, due to the placing of fences at national borders. For example at the Bulgarian border with Turkey. As a consequence of this fence, refugees could not travel via Istanbul to Bulgaria. These fences are not visible in Figure 5.0.
2015: The year of the refugee crisis
Since 2015 is the year that we focus on in this thesis, I will give a brief overview of the events in the refugee crisis in 2015. The overview is given in a timeline that starts in April, when a boat capsized near Lampedusa. The timeline ends in November, with the Paris terrorist attacks. Of course, before April and after November, there were important events that happened as well. This timeline is by no means a complete overview of the refugee crisis in 2015. However, it aims at showing the major events to illustrate an overview of the year 2015. To make this timeline, I made use of a timeline as provided by the UNHCR, made by William Spindler (Spindler, 2015).

2015:
- **April:**
  - **up to 950 migrants drowned in the Mediterranean**
    A boat, carrying around 700 people capsized near the island of Lampedusa (Italy). More than 600 people drowned (Spindler, 2015). It must be noted here that in April 2015, multiple boats, with many refugees on them, capsized and sank.
  - **The EU triples funding after an emergency meeting**
    After the many incidents with boats at sea capsizing and the drowning of many refugees. The European Council came together in Brussels for an emergency meeting. They decided to triple the funding for rescue operations in the Mediterranean Sea (BBC, 2015).
- **June:**
  - **EU decides to relocate tens of thousands of refugees**
    Leaders from the European nations decided that around 40,000 refugees that arrived in Italy and Greece were going to be relocated within Europe over the next two years (BBC, 2015).
  - **Ferry workers strike**
    A strike by ferry workers in Calais caused major traffic jams. Thousands of lorries were parked and refugees were camping nearby the traffic jam, hoping to hitch a ride. Some lorry drivers were threatened by refugees. The ferry port and Channel Tunnel were closed (Taylor, 2015).
  - **United Kingdom announces the building of a fence**
    As a consequence of the events in Calais. The United Kingdom announced that it was going to build a fence at the Channel Tunnel Port in Calais (Ross, et al., 2015).

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4 The numbers of the exact deaths variate. First it was said that around 600 people drowned, but later on the number climbed up to 950.
- **August:** dead refugees in the back of a refrigeration truck
  71 refugees were found dead in the back of a refrigeration truck that was left abandoned near the Austrian border with Hungary (Spindler, 2015).

- **September:**
  - 2nd Alan Kurdi becomes the face of the refugees
    The body of the three year old Syrian boy Alan Kurdi washed ashore on a Turkish beach. Together with his family, he tried to reach Greece. The photograph of the boy lying on the beach lifeless spread across the globe and soon, Kurdi became the face of all the refugees, desperately trying to reach Europe (Spindler, 2015).
  - 5th Refugees march towards the Austrian border
    Over thousand refugees marched out of Budapest in Hungary. They marched towards the Austrian border in protest of the refusal by the Hungarian government to provide trains to Austria and Germany (Spindler, 2015).
  - 15th Hungary closes its border with a fence
    Hungary makes a fence along its border with Serbia (Spindler, 2015).

- **October:**
  - Operation Sophia came to action
    The EU comes with a new operation, Operation Sophia. This Operation focused on the Mediterranean again, but with special attention to the smuggling of migrants instead of on surveillance and rescue operations (BBC, 2015).
  - Turkey plan supported by the EU
    The EU made a Turkey action plan, with the hope of ‘easing the flow of migrants to Europe’ (BBC, 2015).

- **November:**
  - 13th Paris attacks
    A group of terrorists from IS attacked Paris, killing 130 people. There were multiple attacks. Later, it appeared that some of the terrorists had entered Europe together with refugees (Henley, et al., 2015).

**Three events for the analysis**
In this thesis, we analyze newspaper articles from *La Stampa* and *de Volkskrant*, covering not one, but three specific events from the timeline of 2015. These events are:

1. The drowning of hundreds people in the Mediterranean in April 2015
2. The EU deciding to relocate tens of thousands of refugees in June 2015
3. The drowning of the three year old Syrian boy Alan Kurdi in September 2015

The abovementioned events from 2015 were chosen because of the impact they had, not only in the countries they affected directly, but also in many other countries worldwide. These events were abundantly covered by European media. Since we analyze newspaper articles in this thesis, this is an important premise for the selection of the events that we analyze.

The first event happened just off the Italian coast. This is interesting because it therefore directly affected Italy. I am curious to find out if this had consequences for the coverage of the event in La Stampa. I can imagine that for the drowning of these people near Lampedusa, the Italian coverage is more adequate and makes more use of reporters on location.

The second event is more institutional, the EU relocating tens of thousands of refugees. This had an impact on both The Netherlands and Italy and with this event I hope to find answers to the question of how the European Union and European policy was covered in La Stampa and de Volkskrant.

The third event is, like the first event, more humanitarian. The drowning of Alan Kurdi shook the world and his image was spread all over the world. Of these three events, I can imagine that this last event is the best known. It is because of the great impact it had and because of the fact that the incident did not happen in Italy, or near the Italian coast, that this event was chosen. With this third event, I hope to find differences and similarities in the tone of writing that was used by Dutch and Italian journalists.

**European initiatives**

The focus of this thesis lies not only on the differences and similarities in the coverage of refugees and migrants in La Stampa and de Volkskrant, but also on their covering of the European Union and EU policy. I am curious to find out if there is a difference in the way the European Union and it’s policy towards refugees is portrayed in the articles from Italy and the Netherlands. Therefore, this subchapter gives context of some the initiatives that the EU took in the refugee crisis and how the Netherlands and Italy responded to them. It is important to understand the relations between Italy, the Netherlands and the EU and vice versa, because it can help when comparing the news articles from the two countries.

Already in 2013, Italy started with an operation called ‘Mare Nostrum’ (our sea). The Italian navy patrolled international waters between Italy and North Africa. To rescue boats in trouble and with the aim of decreasing the number of African migrants trying to reach Italy (BBC, 2014). It has been said that operation Mare Nostrum saved hundreds of thousands of lives at sea.

Starting November 2014, a new operation replaced Mare Nostrum. Operation Triton was a
European operation, coming from Frontex and supported by multiple countries. Operation Triton had only a third of the budget of operation Mare Nostrum. Seven boats, two planes and one helicopter with personnel from the Netherlands, Finland and Portugal were used (Frontex, 2016). The aim of Operation Triton was to rescue and rehabilitate migrants, however, the focus was on surveillance and the control of borders (Frontex, 2016). The program was highly criticized, saying it was “inadequate, ineffective and underfunded in comparison to Italy’s Mare Nostrum” (BBC, 2016).

Not only Operation Triton was criticized. As a result of the great amount of people fleeing countries in the MENA region, tensions in the EU have been rising. After the incident with the capsized boat off the coast of Italy in 2015, there was a wave of criticism on the EU’s handling of the refugee crisis. Antonio Guterres, the UNHCR, said in a statement: “This disaster confirms how urgent it is to restore a robust rescue-at-sea operation and establish credible legal avenues to reach Europe.” (BBC, 2016).

The second event that we study in this thesis took place in June 2015. The EU then decided to relocate forthy thousand refugees, to relieve pressure on Italy and Greece. This proposal was met with a great deal of criticism, coming from Romania, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary. They voted against the acceptance of mandatory quotas for refugees and asylum seekers. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Filippo Grandi stressed, “This cannot be an Italian problem alone” (Africa Research Bulletin, 2017).

The main point of debate within the EU remains how to tackle the problem of thousands of refugees trying to reach Europe over sea under dangerous circumstances. Heads of state stress that it is human trafficking in countries like Libya, that needs to be tackled. The Prime Minister of Italy, Matteo Renzi, called it plague in our continent” and French President Francois Hollande urging the E.U. to provide “more boats, more over-flights and a more intense battle against people trafficking.” (BBC, 2016).
Chapter 5 Method

In this thesis, discourse analysis in combination with aspects of grounded theory were used to analyze the covering of refugees in newspaper articles from La Stampa and de Volkskrant. This chapter explains how this was done exactly and what choices were made during the gathering of data and during the analysis. In the previous chapter, the timeline of the refugee crisis in 2015 was shown, highlighting key events in the refugee crisis in 2015. Because the amount of newspaper coverage about refugees in the year 2015 is so substantial, the choice was made to focus on specific events from this year. Not one, but three events were used as case-studies for this thesis. The analysis is therefore threefold and consists of three parts. The events that are studied in this thesis are:

1. April 19\textsuperscript{th} 2015: over 950 refugees drown in the Mediterranean
2. June 26\textsuperscript{st} 2015: the European Union decides to relocate thousands of refugees
3. September 2\textsuperscript{nd} 2015: Syrian boy Alan Kurdi drowns and becomes ‘the face of the refugees’

Sample and gathering of data

This study aims to make claims about the differences and similarities in the coverage of refugees in Dutch and Italian newspapers. However, instead of studying all the newspapers in both Italy and the Netherlands, we make use of a sample, consisting of newspaper articles from La Stampa and de Volkskrant. These newspapers were chosen because they are both quality newspapers that have a big circulation in their countries. Since discourse analysis is a qualitative method for research, the sample did not include tens of newspaper articles. A total amount of eighteen newspaper articles was analyzed.

To gather these newspaper articles, online newspaper archive LexisNexis was used. Both de Volkskrant and La Stampa are available there. However, La Stampa is a bit harder to find on LexisNexis. Therefore the online archive on the official website of La Stampa was used as well. This is an archive that goes all the way back to 1867 and onwards up to present (Stampa, 2017). For every part of the analysis, three articles from each newspaper were taken from LexisNexis and the archive from La Stampa. There is of course a difference in news articles, opinion pieces or background stories. For this thesis, opinion pieces are excluded. The focus of the analysis lies on both short, news articles and longer background stories. The reason for this is that opinion pieces are too personal to be seen as representative journalism from the newspaper as a whole.

For the selection of the data, LexisNexis and the archive were searched for the specific
dates of the event, April 19th, June 26th and September 2nd of 2015. If this did not result in the right newspaper articles, some keywords of the event were used to search LexisNexis, for the first event for example; the word ‘Lampedusa’. If LexisNexis did not have the Italian articles, the archive from La Stampa was consulted. In this archive, searching for the specific date of the event proved to be the most efficient way to get the data. All the newspaper articles from this day were scrolled through and the articles about the event in question were selected.

The following selection of three articles for every event was not done at random. For every event and for both newspapers, the first article, published after the specific event that we analyzed, was selected. Meaning on the day itself, or the day after, depending on the time the event took place. For the first part of the analysis, this means that an article from de Volkskrant was selected from April 20th, since this was the first appearance of the specific event in the newspaper. The same strategy was used for La Stampa.

The other two articles that were included in the analysis were articles from the two days after the event. Sometimes these were two articles from the same day, depending on the amount of articles available. Attention was also paid to the length of the article. Sometimes right after an event a very short update is published, and then a few hours, or maybe a day later, a longer, more extensive article is published. Since three articles per event were analyzed, there was room for both these forms. During the gathering of the data I tried to always have one newsarticle, and two follow-up stories, that gave more background of the event.

Grounded theory as a guideline

Instead of analysing the newspaper articles from April, June and September at the same time, the analysis was split up in three parts, meaning that this thesis does not consist of one, but three analyzes that support and supplement each other. How this works for this thesis will be explained later in this chapter.

The idea behind splitting up the analysis in three parts, is based on the concept of grounded theory, a qualitative research method. Grounded theory brings “systematic, yet flexible guidelines for the gathering and analysis of qualitative data, to subsequently construct theories based on the data itself” (Charmaz, 2006, pp. 2-3). What Katy Charmaz (2006) means by this is, in short, that grounded theory gives a researcher the possibility to adapt the research along the way. I find the next statement by Charmaz to be even more explanatory for what I would describe ‘the process of grounded theory’.

“Our grounded theory adventure starts as we enter the field where we gather data. We step forward from our disciplinary perspectives with a few tools and provisional concepts. A grounded
theory journey may take several varied routes, depending on where we want to go and where our analysis takes us” (Charmaz, 2006).

Instead of coming up with a precisely formulated research question before gathering the data, grounded theory scholars start with an idea or an assumption. After this, he or she gathers the data, the so-called ‘rich data’. After a first glance on this data and the first steps of analysis, a specific research question is formulated.

What is interesting about grounded theory for this thesis, is that it helps keeping an open view towards the data. Using this method, interesting aspects that normally would not fit the already specific research question are not excluded.

For this thesis we already have a research question, namely how refugees are covered in newspaper articles from de Volkskrant and La Stampa from 2015. However, this question is not as specific as most research questions would normally be. It is not a research question that can easily be tested or measured. Like David Hesmondhalgh explained, “qualitative methods, such as discourse [..], tend to be based on interpretation, rather than on measurement” (Hesmondhalgh, 2006, p. 120). During the analysis, the focus was consequently on context and the recognition of certain patterns. The research question is very broad and the outcome of the research still very open. During the analysis of the data, we let the data guide the way. In an inductive manner we are extracting patterns from the newspaper articles.

The analysis in three parts

For the analysis of eighteen newspaper articles, a protocol was made. This protocol is based on multiple tools from the toolkit that James Paul Gee provided (Gee, 2014b, pp. 199-204). Gee describes the different questions that should when analysing a text, using discourse analysis. He groups these questions under twenty-eight different tools. For this thesis, seven of these tools were used in the formulation of questions for the questionnaire. These are:

1. **The subject tool:** Ask why the speaker has chosen the subjects/topics he or she has and ask what other choices could have been made.

2. **The intonation tool:** Ask how a speakers’ intonation contributes to the meaning of an utterance. In the case of written texts, read them out loud and ask what sort of intonation contour readers must add to the sentences to make them full sense.

3. **The frame tool:** After the analysis is completed, see if you can find out anything additional about the context in which the data occurred and see if this changes your analysis. Always push the knowledge of the context as far as you can, just to see if aspects of the context
are relevant that you might at first have not thought were relevant of if you can discover entirely new aspects of the context.

4. **The why this way and not that way tool:** Ask why the speaker built and designed sentences and used grammar the way he or she did and see how this could have been done differently.

5. **The identities building tool:** Ask what socially recognizable identity or identities the speaker is trying to enact or to get others to recognize. Ask also how the speaker’s language treats other people’s identities.

6. **The relationships building tool:** Ask how words and various grammatical devices are being used to build and sustain or change relationships of various sorts among the speaker, other people, social groups, cultures and/or institutions.

7. **The politics building tool:** Ask how words and grammatical devices are being used to build what counts as a social good and to distribute this good, to or withhold it from listeners or others. Ask as well, how words and grammatical devices are being used to build a viewpoint on how social goods are, or should be distributed in society (Gee, 2014b).

After processing Gee’s tools, the first protocol was made. The protocol consists of five steps. The first step in the protocol is the highlighting of all words that refer to refugees and migrants. Think not only of ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’, but also of ‘illegal’, ‘arrival’, ‘them’. In chapter two we have seen how scholars found that for example the use of the word ‘them’, in the ‘us versus them’ rhetoric, can have negative connotations when referring to refugees and migrants.

After the highlighting of words, in step two, all the other interesting or striking sentences and words that could be relevant for the analysis were highlighted. After this practical highlighting of words and sentences, in step three the questionnaire was filled in. For the first part of the analysis, the following questions were answered in the questionnaire:

1. What type of article is it (news article, background article, follow-up story, other)
2. Who ‘speaks’ in the article (both direct as indirect)?
3. What sources are used?
4. How many sources are used?
5. Whose quotes are used?
6. What quotes stand out?
7. Is Europe mentioned in the article?
8. Who mentions Europe?

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5 The original protocols that were used can be found in the appendices.

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9. What is mentioned about Europe? Policy, opinion or politics?

After the questionnaire, step four was the part where the results were written down, discussed and linked to the literature. This is the step where the actual analysis takes place. All the findings can be found in chapter six.

Step five is the most remarkable part of the analysis. This is where grounded theory comes at play. After each part of the analysis, the questionnaire was adjusted and improved, depending on the findings in the previous part of the analysis. All the adjustments of the questionnaire were written down.

The idea behind this type of analysis is that during the analysis, patterns begin to show. It is important to keep an open mind for new theories and questions about the coverage. Moreover, it appeared that some of the questions in the questionnaire were just not possible to answer, or seemed less relevant during the analysis. Using this method, allowed me to change the questionnaire and improve the analysis. In my view, this more ‘loose’ and inductive way of analysing can produce the most interesting new findings. The adjustments to the questionnaires were shown below, highlighted in red.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire in part one of the analysis</th>
<th>Questionnaire in part two of the analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What type of article is it (news article, background article, follow-up story, other)</td>
<td>What is the focus of the article?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who ‘speaks’ in the article (both direct as indirect)?</td>
<td>Who ‘speaks’ in the article (both direct as indirect)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What sources are used?</td>
<td>What sources are used?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many sources are used?</td>
<td>How many sources are used?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whose quotes are used?</td>
<td>Whose quotes are used?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What quotes stand out?</td>
<td>What quotes stand out?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is Europe mentioned in the article?</td>
<td>Is Europe mentioned in the article?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who mentions Europe?</td>
<td>Who mentions Europe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is mentioned about Europe? Policy, opinion or politics</td>
<td>What is mentioned about Europe? Policy, opinion or politics?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The reasoning behind the adjustments to the questionnaire can be found in chapter six. The changes to the questionnaire after the second part of analysis are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire in part two of the analysis</th>
<th>Questionnaire in part three of the analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is the focus of the article?</td>
<td>What is the focus of the article?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What type of article is it (news article, background article, follow-up story, other)</td>
<td>What type of article is it (news article, background article, follow-up story, other)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who ‘speaks’ in the article (both direct as indirect)?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whose quotes are used?</td>
<td>Whose quotes are used?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What quotes stand out?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is Europe mentioned in the article?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who mentions Europe?</td>
<td>Who mentions Europe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is mentioned about Europe? Policy, opinion or politics?</td>
<td>What is mentioned about Europe? Policy, opinion or politics?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>What is the overall tone that the journalist uses for the article?</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Limitations

Of course, this style of analysis is more on the experimental side and has limitations. First of all, the sample consists of only two newspapers. One Italian, and one Dutch newspaper. This is certainly limited and similar research, using more newspapers could be valuable.

Second, the sample is limited in that only eighteen articles were analyzed. It could be interesting to continue this research, studying more events from the year 2015. Quantitative study would be helpful as well, to test the conclusions that were made in this thesis on a larger scale.

However, I like to think of this thesis more as a pioneering study. Exploring a new field of study, on a very recent case-study. Further research could definitely be interesting for this thesis.
6- Analysis

For this analysis, eighteen newspaper articles were analyzed. Nine from the Italian newspaper La Stampa and nine from the Dutch newspaper de Volkskrant. This chapter is structured in three different parts, which reflects the three different events that were analysed in this thesis. All the different steps from the protocol are discussed here, with examples from the data. When referring to an article, this is done with a number. All the articles have a number from one to eighteen. The first part of the analysis covers articles one to six, the second part covers articles seven to twelve and the third part of the analysis covers articles thirteen to eighteen. All the articles, can be found in Appendix four.  

Part one – A tragedy on the Mediterranean Sea

We begin the analysis with newspaper articles from April 2015. As we saw in chapter four, on the 19th of April 2015, a boat, carrying over 950 migrants, sank in the Mediterranean Sea, just off the coast off the Italian island Lampedusa. For de Volkskrant, the three newspaper articles that we analyze are dated April 20th, April 21st and April 23rd. For La Stampa the dates are April 20th and two articles from April 21st.

What words were used to refer to the migrants?

In all the articles, a lot of different words were used to refer to refugees. Like explained in earlier chapters, scholars often mix up terms like ‘refugee’, ‘migrant’ et cetera. This is not different in the articles from the journalists in this thesis it appears. In the Dutch newspapers the most commonly used words to refer to migrants were: ‘refugees’, ‘migrant’, ‘migrants’ and ‘they’. Other words were: ‘people’, ‘victims’, ‘economic migrants’, ‘labour migrants’, ‘customers’ and ‘passengers’.

When the word ‘they’ was used to refer to the refugees, it was in the ‘us versus them’ rhetoric. ‘Victim’ was used to describe the migrants that drowned in the incident. Except for one sentence, where the use of the word ‘victim’ remarkable. The sentence was as follows, “The victims are clear, refugees and economic migrants” (Article 3), referring not to the victims that drowned at sea, but to the victims of human smugglers. The context of the sentence was as follows:

“What does the system look like? The EU discusses the refugee crisis today at an urgency meeting.

The approach: saving people and fighting human smugglers. But who are they and how do you get

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6 All the coded articles can be found in the appendices. The idea behind this is that I am biased in multiple ways, for example the fact that I am Dutch has its consequences. By showing all the steps that I made during the analysis will not solve this, but does give more transparency.

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them? The victims are clear. Refugees and economic migrants, from the Middle-East and sub-Saharan Africa” (Article 3).

The ‘why this way and not that way’ tool from the toolkit that Gee (2014b) provided, can be applied here. Let’s ask ourselves, what other words could have been used here instead of ‘victims’? The author chooses to use the word ‘victim’ here and not for example ‘customer’. By doing this he makes clear that the refugees and economic migrants, as he calls them, do not make use of the services of the smugglers by choice, but are the victims of these smugglers. The words that could have been used as well by the journalist are: ‘customers’, ‘people affected’ or ‘clients’. Other than this time were the word ‘victim’ was used, there were no outstanding words used by the Dutch authors to refer to migrants.

In the Italian articles there were more remarkable words used to refer to refugees and migrants. The most commonly used words were: ‘migrant’, ‘migrants’, ‘survivors’, ‘passengers’, ‘illegals’ and ‘they’. Other words were: ‘shipwrecked person’, ‘persons’, ‘new arrivals’ and ‘boy’.

What stands out was the use of the word ‘clandestini’ or ‘illegals’ in English. ‘Clandestini’ can not be translated by ‘clandestines’ in English. ‘Illegals’ is a better translation, although it is less precise than ‘clandestini’. However in Italian, the word ‘clandestini’ does often refer to someone that is banned by the law or by an authority. The Italian dictionary explains how the word can be used ‘to a secretly embarking passenger’, referring to passengers on a boat. The word ‘clandestini’ was used in one of the three Italian articles (Article 4).

What sentences or words stood out?

Like we saw in chapter two. Journalists often make use of metaphors when writing about refugees and migrants. Interesting to see during the analysis, was that a Dutch and an Italian journalist used exactly the same proverb, referring to the sinking of the boat near Lampedusa. In article four, the journalists used as a subtitle: “Intrappolati nella stiva, sono tutti morti come topi!” which means in English: “Trapped in the hold, they all died as rats in a cage” (Article 4). This sentence was used in the article itself as well, referring to the migrants that were trapped in the hold of the boat that sank in the incident.

In article one, the journalist used a quote from survivor of the incident, a refugee from Bangladesh. The quote that the journalist used, was: “De smokkelaars hadden de deuren dichtgedaan. Ze zaten als ratten in de val.” (Article 1). In English, this quote translates as: “The smugglers had locked the doors. They were trapped like rats in a cage.” At first I was surprised to see this comparison in the two articles. However, I soon found that in both articles, the sentence was used as a quote coming from the same Bangladesh refugee. Both journalist have used the interview
with this man. This is not exceptional, due to the fact that journalists often make use of press agencies. This example does however confirm that both the article from de Volkskrant and from La Stampa was written, based not on what correspondents saw and experienced, but based on information provided by third parties, probably a press agency.

A second matter that earned my attention, were the titles of the articles. The Italian titles appeared more provocative and maybe even more sensational to me. The undertone was more emotional than the Dutch titles, which were a bit more businesslike and factual. Below are the titles from both newspapers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Italian Titles</th>
<th>Dutch Titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. La strage infinita - The endless bloodbath</td>
<td>1. Nieuwe ramp zet EU aan tot actie - New disaster calls EU to action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Il naufragio dei valori Europei - The shipwreck of European values</td>
<td>2. Weer twee boten met vluchtingen in de problemen - Again two boats with refugees in trouble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Settanta profughu in sette giorni - Seventy refugees in seven days</td>
<td>3. Wie zijn de smokkelaars die aan hen verdienen? Who are the smugglers that earn money from them?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The difference in titles is more visible when we compare them in their original languages. It is however visible how the Italian titles have words in them like ‘endless’, ‘a bloodbath’ and ‘shipwreck’. The strongest word that was found in the Dutch titles was ‘disaster’. The difference in tone was not just visible in the titles of the articles. The Italian articles seemed to be written with a more emotional undertone than the Dutch ones. Let me explain this by giving some examples from the articles. These examples are not from quotes, but only from the text by the journalist him- or herself,

Article four starts with the proverb described above, “Trapped in the hold, they all died as rats in a cage” (Article 4). After this, the author uses a somewhat poetic writing style. He writes: “Sono 950 i migranti inghiottiti dalle acque del Canale di Sicilia dopo un naufragio da record dell’orrore: 700 uomini, 200 donne e 50 bambini” (Article 4). This translates as: “950 migrants are swallowed by the waters of the Street of Sicily after a horrific shipwreck: 700 men, 200 women and 50 children.” What the author is actually saying in this sentence, is that 950 migrants drowned in the Street of Sicily, 700 men, 200 women and 50 children. These are the facts. The journalist chooses to write these facts in a different way, making it more poetic.
In Article five, the same style of writing was found. The journalist writes: “[…] la trasformazione del Mediterraneo in un cimitero.” (Article 5). Translation: “The transformation of the Mediterranean Sea into a cemetery”. The comparison of the Mediterranean Sea with a cemetery has a weight to it that was not found in the Dutch articles.

One of the metaphors that were found in the Dutch articles were: “Veelgenoemd als een regisseur achter de schermen wordt […]”, which translates as, “Frequently mentioned as a director behind the scenes is […]”(Article 4). In this sentence, the journalist refers to the headpiece of the human smuggling operation, using the word ‘director’ which is normally only used in the theatre or film industries.

Apart from the difference in writing style, something else was striking in the articles during this first part of the analysis. This was the mentioning of Europe. In article four I highlighted the sentence: “Italy was left alone to deal with the emergency”(Article 4). This specific sentence was preceded by sentences that explained how substantial the incident at sea was, also on a European scale. The author writes that Italy was left alone (by the other European countries), this is not a quote from a source. This sentence stood out for me because it is not common for a journalist to write down such a strong opinion about politics, especially not international politics and in this case European politics.

Before this thesis, I had my own assumptions about the differences and similarities that La Stampa and de Volkskrant would have. One of these assumptions was that, in the refugee crisis, Italians feel ‘left alone’ by Europe and the European Union. That they have the idea that they are not supported well enough by the EU. My assumption was that this could be something that people on the streets say to each other. However, I never thought that I would find this in a newspaper article, written by a journalist himself and not even in a quote. Article four confirms the assumption and this is not the only article that does.

In article five the author wrote: “All the countries in the EU have their own national political battles concerning immigration. In this manner, each of these countries believes that its own battle and problems are unique in difficulty and gravity.” (Article 5) This was not a quote either, but the personal opinion of the journalist. It must be said that when I read this article, I was in doubt whether this was an opinion piece or a background story. It leaned towards an opinion piece in my view.

When we compare these Italian articles to the Dutch articles, the differences become even clearer. Take for example article one, that tells almost exclusively about EU policy and politicians. The fundamental difference with the first three Italian articles is that in article one, the author uses quotes every single time an opinion is given. This article is a consideration of the different opinions from EU leaders. Not once does the author give his own opinion, like we did see in the Italian
articles. In article four this is slightly different. In this article, the author himself states: “Europe can’t just leave refugees to their faith” (Article 4).

In the next round of analysis, I will pay special attention to the mentioning of the EU and European policy by the authors to see if we can prove this assumption.

**Highlights from the questionnaire**

After a first read of the articles, one clear difference between the Italian articles and the Dutch articles showed; who spoke in the article. It was not so much who the sources where, I will come to this later, but it was who was featured in the article, direct or indirect and whose quotes were used by the journalists.

The Dutch articles were like a presentation of all the opinions and meanings of politicians. We already saw this in the way the Dutch journalists mentioned the viewpoints of European leaders in their articles. In article one, the persons whose opinions or statements are used in the article are: the European Commission, EU foreign affairs chief Federica Mogherini, Matteo Renzi, Community workers from Italy and Malta, a migrant from Bangladesh (indirect), François Hollande, the Prime minister fromm Malta Joseph Muscat, Martin Schulz, the president of the European Parliament, Amnesty International and the United Nations.

Besides the fact that this is a long list, it is clear that it contains a lot of politicians and political institutions. This was not only the case in Article one, but also in Article two and three. In the Italian articles, less politicians and political institutions were featured. In Article six, the author only uses one source and one person to ‘speak’, making it almost the draw up of an interview. In article five, only the author himself speaks and in article four the author has three different speakers, being the migrant from Bangladesh that was featured in the Dutch articles as well, and two other anonymous sources.

Although overall the Dutch articles had multiple voices in them, they barely featured migrants, like the Italians did. In none of the Dutch articles was a migrant directly quoted. The survivor Bangladesh was mentioned, but not in a direct quote like in an Italian article (Article four). In the Italian articles, the focus was more on the migrants than in the Dutch articles. Where the Italian articles wrote about the incident and explained what had happened and gave examples from similar events, the Dutch articles used the event only as an immediate cause to pick up the writing about the European policy concerning migrants.

**Conclusions**

After this first part of the analysis, there are a couple of things that can cautiously be concluded. First of all the difference in writing style. Where the Dutch articles were more factual, the Italian
ones used a more metaphorical and narrative writing style.

Second, in both the Italian and the Dutch newspapers I could not find standard metaphors that were described in the theory. In the theory in chapter two, we saw that migrants are often linked to for example criminality in news articles. I paid special attention to the eight key themes that were discovered by Greg Philo, Emma Briant and Pauline Donald (2013) and could find two of them in both the Italian as the Dutch articles. The two themes that I found in the articles were ‘Problems facing asylum seekers’ and ‘The need for immigration control’.

Thirdly, for now, it appears that the Dutch journalists focused more on Europe and European policy than the Italian journalists. In all the three Dutch articles, the European policy was discussed and was a major part of the article. This was definitely not the case in the Italian articles, where the EU was only mentioned shortly (Article 4) or not mentioned at all (Article 6).

**Adjustments to the protocol**

In the protocol that we used for this first round of analysis, I wanted to write down how many sources the author had used and who these sources were. However, soon it appeared that this was almost impossible. As reader, you will never know where the journalist got his or her information from, if these sources are not mentioned or used for quotes. This is often the case, because most information comes from press agencies. This is very visible in this first part of the analysis. In both newspapers, the same source was used. Namely the surviving migrant from Bangladesh. In both the Italian and the Dutch newspaper he is quoted by the journalists.

Because of this, the question ‘Who are the sources?’ and ‘How many sources were used?’, were removed from the protocol. The question ‘Who speaks in the article?’ stays. Contrary to the questions about sources, the question who gets to ‘speak’ in the article is very relevant and shows choices that the author made. The second and improved protocol can be found in Appendix 2.

Another change to the protocol is a new question for the questionnaire. Namely ‘What approach did the journalist choose?’. This question focusses on the angle that the journalist chose for the article. Is it an article that gives eye-witness reports for example, or is it an article that focusses on explaining the different viewpoints from politicians? This question helps me in summarizing the article in one or two sentences and moreover, it is helpful during the analysis when scrolling through the different articles. After the adjustments to the protocol, the questionnaire for the second part of the analysis is as follows,

1. What is the focus of the article?
2. What type of article is it (news article, background article, follow-up story, other)?
3. Who ‘speaks’ in the article (both direct as indirect)?
4. Whose quotes are used?
5. What quotes stand out?
6. Is Europe mentioned in the article?
7. Who mentions Europe?
8. What is mentioned about Europe? Policy, opinion or politics?

**Part two – Europe changes its course**

The event that we study in this second part of the analysis is fundamentally different from the event in the first round. Instead of looking at a humanitarian tragedy, we now look at a political event. Namely a debate of European leaders that took place in June 2015. During the Eurotop in June 2015, 28 European leaders spoke about the relocation of forty thousand refugees in Europe. Like in the first part of the analysis, we analyzed six articles in this second round. Three Dutch articles from *de Volkskrant* and three Italian articles from *La Stampa*.

**What words were used to refer to the migrants?**

Like in the first round of analysis. The most common words that were used in both the Italian and the Dutch articles to refer to refugees and migrants were: ‘migrants’, ‘refugees’, ‘asylum seekers’, ‘immigrants’. During this second round, the refugees themselves were less featured in the articles, because the focus was more on the political leaders and their statements. This explains why there was less variation in words used to describe the migrants. There were, however, some interesting words used to refer to refugees and migrants. In Dutch article eight the word ‘foreigner’ was used to describe a migrant. This was only done once and I did not find it in any other article yet. The choice for this word is remarkable because in the Netherlands ‘foreigner’ can be a sensitive word when it is used in referral to refugees or asylum seekers. There is often criticism on people that call migrants ‘foreigners’ and the official term that must be used to refer to people that live in the Netherlands but were not born there, was only recently changed to ‘people with a migratory background’. However, in article eight, the journalist does not use the word wrongly, because the migrant in fact is a foreigner. Still the choice to use this word remains remarkable.

**What sentences or words stood out?**

In Dutch article seven, the journalist wrote: “De regeringsleiders willen dat landen waar migranten vandaan komen of vanwaar ze vertrekken veel meer doen om de migratie in te dammen.” (Article 7). In English this means: “The government leaders want the countries were migrants come from or where they leave from, to do much more to embark the migration.” This sentence was highlighted, because of the word ‘indammen’, which means ‘to embark’. This is a word that normally refers to water, you embark a river. In article seven, the word is used to refer to the ‘flow of migrants’.
In chapter two, we already saw that this is common when migrants are covered in the media. Charteris-Black wrote about this:

“The largest group of natural disaster metaphors in the British right-wing corpus conceptualize immigration with the related image of an excessive flow of water; these include metaphoric uses of the words ‘flow’, and ‘wave’” (Charteris-Black, 2006, p. 570).

There are more articles were metaphors referring to natural disasters were found. For example in article eight, where the journalist speaks of a ‘flow of refugees’.

What also got my attention was the use of the word ‘fair’ in both Dutch and Italian articles. Politicians (Article 8) and sometimes journalists spoke of ‘a fair spreading of migrants over the European countries’. What does ‘fair’ mean in this sense? Using the word ‘fair’, implies that the opposite is also possible or maybe already the case.

In all the articles that we studied in this second round, there were numerous quotes from politicians. Most articles were like a summary of the debate, featuring quotes and describing how the debate fared. Since this was an important debate for the EU leaders, they made strong claims and accusations. These make of course good quotes for journalists. Take for example this quote from Matteo Renzi: “If this is your idea of Europe, than keep it!” (Article 9).

What is notable about this quote is the use of an exclamation mark. One could say that since it is a quote, this is not remarkable at all. However, in Dutch journalism it is quite unusual for a journalist to use exclamation marks. Most of the times, the journalists uses words only to make a sentence more ‘powerful’. The abovementioned quote implies that Renzi was actually raising his voice instead of speaking.

In Article nine, we saw more outstanding words and sentences. The title of the article is: “Een ‘smerige’ ruzie tussen het oude en het nieuwe Europa” (Article 9), which translates as: “A ‘dirty’ fight between the old and the new Europe’. This is a more sensational title than we have seen in the previous Dutch articles, which is in contradiction with what we saw in the first round of analysis, where the Dutch articles had less emotional titles than the Italian ones.

During this second part of the analysis the differences in titles and overall tone of the articles was less obvious between the Dutch and Italian articles. Article 9 stood out for its sensational character and the use of words like ‘dirty’ and ‘miserable’ in relation to the debate.

Highlights from the questionnaire

Since the focus in the articles during this second part of the analysis was mostly on politicians and on their debate, we saw a great overlap in the persons that ‘spoke’ in the Dutch and Italian articles. Furthermore, both journalist from de Volkskrant and journalists from La Stampa made use of anonymous sources, that were referred to as ‘inside sources’ or ‘an anonymous diplomat’.
Second, in both the Dutch and the Italian articles we saw a chronological writing style. The authors wrote down the statements that were made during the debate in a narrative style, that was often chronological as well.

Third, since the event was a Eurotop, Europe was mentioned in all the articles. The way Europe was mentioned did not differ much in the Dutch and Italian newspapers. Of course, Italy has a different perspective than the Netherlands, but reading the articles these different perspectives were not remarkably visible.

Conclusions
The second event that we studied was more political than humanitarian. However, what was interesting to see was that the articles almost all paid a large amount of attention to politics and ancillary matters instead of the actual debate. The journalists mentioned ‘awkward handshakes and cuddles’ between politicians (Article 9) and had a focus on the ambiance during the debate (Article 9, Article 12).

The differences between the Dutch articles and the Italian articles was less obvious in this second round of analysis. The events that we studied in the first and second part of this analysis are so diverse that the results are notably different, which at the same time broadened and complicated the research. What is decisive, is that in the third part of the analysis, we study a more humanitarian event again that can for that reason be compared more easily to the first round of analysis.

Adjustments to the protocol
In this second part of the analysis, we tested the new question in the protocol: ‘What is the focus of the article?’ This question was more than helpful during the analysis and will therefore stay in the questionnaire.

For the last part of analysis, some new questions will be added to the protocol as well. Since we saw a difference in the tone of the articles in the first round of analysis and since the event that we cover in the third round is somewhat similar to the event in the first round, I will try to extract the tone of the articles in the third round. I will add the question ‘What is the overall tone of the article’ to the questionnaire. With this question I hope to find the differences in writing styles. Did the author write in a factual and cool tone, or was the article for example written in a more narrative style, using many metaphors and sensational words?

After the adjustments, the questionnaire that is used for the third part of the analysis is as follows,

1. What is the focus of the article?
2. What is the overall tone that the journalist uses for the article?
3. What type of article is it (news article, background article, follow-up story, other)?
4. Who ‘speaks’ in the article (both direct as indirect)?
5. Whose quotes are used?
6. What quotes stand out?
7. Is Europe mentioned in the article?
8. Who mentions Europe?
9. What is mentioned about Europe? Policy, opinion or politics?

Part three– The boy that changed it all
For this last part of the analysis, we look at a tragic event from the second of September 2015. On this day, the body of the three year old boy Alan Kurdi was found on a Turkish beach. Alan tried to go to Greece together with his family. A journalist took a photograph of the boy lying on the beach, with his face down. This picture soon spread across the globe. It is often said that Alan became ‘the face of the refugees’. Newspapers all around the world wrote about this event. The gathering of data for this last part of the analysis took the least of effort, because newspapers wrote multiple articles about Alan and his family.

What words were used to refer to the migrants?
In this last part of the analysis, the words that were used to refer to refugees were less diverse in comparison to the previous parts of the analysis. The most commonly used words were: ‘refugees’, ‘migrants’, ‘asylum seekers’, ‘travellers’, ‘they’, ‘persons’. All these words were also found in the first and second part of the analysis.

After three rounds of analysis we can therefore state that saturation has commenced when it comes to the words that journalists from de Volkskrant and La Stampa use to refer to migrants. In chapter two, we saw that often the ‘us’ versus ‘them’ rhetoric is used when migrants are covered in the media. Although many scholars supported this theory, the data used in this thesis proved otherwise. The word ‘they’ was used a couple of times, but not in the ‘us’ versus ‘them’ rhetoric.

What sentences or words stood out?
Like in the second round of analysis, during this third and last part, multiple metaphors using ‘water’ to refer to refugees, were found. Apart from the words ‘flow’ and ‘flood’, I found in Dutch article fourteen: “The refugee flow that overflows Europe”(Article 14). Both in the Dutch and in the Italian articles the ‘flow of refugees’ is often mentioned, confirming the theory by Charteris-Black (2006).

This last part of the analysis still gave new insights. If we take another look at Dutch article
What caught my attention in this sentence was the use of the word ‘stuff’ (in Dutch it was ‘proppen’). This word is in Dutch quite banal to use for a journalist, especially in the context of this event. You would not use this word to refer to people normally. Since this is not a quote from somebody, but a sentence from the journalist himself, this sentence is quite laden. It shows the viewpoints of the journalist and is more sensational and emotional in tone.

Something similar was found in Italian article sixteen. In this article, the Italian journalist writes: “Era partito dalla Siria, un Paese che non esiste piú.” (Article 16). In English: “He came from Syria, a country that no longer exists.” Again, this was not a quote, but a sentence from the author himself. In this sentence, the author proclaims Syria to be non-existent, showing his bias. The adding of this subordinate clause: a country that no longer exists, give the sentence extra emotion.

Highlights from the questionnaire
Like stated above, the presence of emotion and sensation in the articles was clear during this last part of the analysis. Both Dutch and Italian journalists made use of eye witnesses and wrote their stories more so about the persons involved in the refugee crisis, giving moving examples from their lives (Article 13, Article 15, Article 14, Article 16, Article 17).

What was interesting to see was that the same quotes were used in the Dutch articles as in the Italian articles. Take for example article 17, an Italian article, where the next quote was used:

“We were with twelve and the boat was overloaded, when it capsized, shortly after we had taken of, I took my wife and children in my arms, but they slipped away. The waves were very high and it was dark, everybody screamed and I lost them.” (Article 17)

In Dutch article 14, the same quote was used:

“I was holding the hand of my wife, but the hands from my children slipped away. We hold on to the boat, but the boat was loafing. Everybody was screaming in the dark and I could not hear my wife and children.”

Especially the last part of the quote is almost exactly the same. The differences in the quote probably have to do with translation. These comparisons in the quotes that were used was already shown in the first part of the analysis. It shows how the journalists from La Stampa and de Volkskrant made use of the same information, that was probably provided by press agencies.

The similarity in quotes was visible in more articles. Italian article 18 was in various ways similar to Dutch article 15. Both articles were news articles that were written short after a statement
made by David Cameron. In Italian article 18, David Cameron states: “*with my head and my heart*”. In Dutch article 15 a slightly different quote is used, but the meaning is more or less the same: “Cameron said, as a father and a human, to be shocked, and wanting to act as a politician to prevent these kind of tragedies from happening.” It must be added that the words ‘as father’ were featured in the Italian article as well.

**Conclusions**

In this third and last round of analysis, we did not find new words to refer to migrants. The most common words that Dutch and Italian journalists from *de Volkskrant* and *La Stampa* use are still: ‘refugees’, ‘migrants’, ‘asylum seekers’, ‘immigrants’.

A result from this third round was that both journalists from *de Volkskrant* and journalists from *La Stampa* wrote about Alan Kurdi less factual and more personal. More than during the other parts of the analysis, quotes from migrants were used and personal stories written down. Especially in the Dutch articles we did not see this before. During this third round of analysis, the difference between the Dutch and Italian articles was minimal and there was a great deal of overlap in the quotes that were used in *La Stampa* and *de Volkskrant*. 
Conclusion & Discussion

Results
When I started this thesis, I was curious about the similarities and differences in the covering of migrants in a Dutch and an Italian newspapers. I assumed that these differences would be based on the socio-political situations in the Netherlands and Italy. I also assumed that there would be a difference in the way the EU would be featured in the news in Italy and the Netherlands. This thesis taught me otherwise.

In the first part of the analysis, the articles from April 2015 were analyzed. A different writing style was found in the Dutch and Italian articles. The Dutch articles appeared to be more factual and the Italian articles more sensational and emotional in tone. I did not find the metaphors that are often used by journalists, according to the scholars that were mentioned in chapter two.

In chapter two I explained how Greg Philo, Emma Briant and Pauline Donald (2013) found eight key themes in the coverage of migrants in the media:

1. Conflation of forced economic migration
2. Numbers of exaggeration
3. Burden on welfare and job market
4. Criminality, threat, deportation and human rights
5. The need for ‘immigration control’
6. The benefits of immigration
7. Problems facing asylum seekers

During the first part of the analysis, two of these themes were found: ‘Problems facing asylum seekers’ and ‘The need for immigration control’.

Regarding Europe, in the first part of the analysis, Dutch journalists focused more on Europe and European policy than the Italian journalists. In all the three Dutch articles, the European policy was discussed and was a major part of the article, which was not the case in the Italian articles.

During the second part of the analysis we studied articles covering the Eurotop debate, where European leaders gathered to talk about the relocation of forty thousand migrants in Europe. What was interesting in this second round of analysis was that instead of covering the policy, the journalists in both the Dutch articles and the Italian articles, paid a lot of attention to ancillary matters from the Eurotop. The journalists mentioned ‘awkward handshakes and cuddles’ between politicians (Article 9) and had a focus on the ambiance during the debate. The differences
between the Dutch articles and the Italian articles was less big in this second round of analysis.

The event that we used for the third round of analysis was similar to the first event in that it was also a humanitarian tragedy. In this last round of analysis, we studied articles from September 2015, when the three year old Syrian boy Alan Kurdi drowned just off the coast of the Turkish shore. A picture was taken of his lifeless body and this picture was spread around the world. Alan became ‘the face’ of the thousands of refugees trying to reach Europe.

Resembling the first two parts of analysis, in the third part we highlighted all the words that referred to migrants. However, after three rounds of analysis, we hardly found any new words. Overall, the most common words that Dutch and Italian journalists from de Volkskrant and La Stampa use are still: ‘refugees’, ‘migrants’, ‘asylum seekers’, ‘immigrants’.

A result from this third round was that both journalists from de Volkskrant as journalists from La Stampa wrote about Alan Kurdi with a very emotional and personal tone. More than during the other rounds of analysis, quotes from migrants were used and personal stories written down. Especially in the Dutch articles we did not see this before. During this third round of analysis, the difference between the Dutch and Italian articles was very little and there was a lot of overlap in the quotes that were used in La Stampa and de Volkskrant.

This thesis focused on newspaper articles from La Stampa and de Volkskrant. For further research it could be interesting to analyze more newspaper articles from other Italian and Dutch newspapers as well. Since the focus of this thesis was very much on showing the differences and similarities in the newspaper articles from de Volkskrant and La Stampa, the focus was less on the reasons why the journalists wrote what they wrote. This could also be interesting to study in further research. More socio-political context of Italy and the Netherlands would then be necessary as well.
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**Other:**


**Tools:**

Appendix 1

Protocol for the analysis of newspaper articles in round one

Each article is analyzed, following the next steps. Some aspects of this protocol are inspired by the work of James Paul Gee.

Since the articles are in Dutch and Italian, every title and subtitle will be translated. When a sentence or word is interesting, it will be translated as well. All these notes can be found in the original data, in appendix 2. The analysis can be found in chapter 6, were all the interesting aspects will be explained in English.

**Step 1: Highlighting of all the words that refer to refugees (in blue)**

**Step 2: Highlighting remarkable sentences or words (in red)**

**Step 3: questionnaire**

**Questionnaire:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions:</th>
<th>Answers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What type of article is it (news article,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>background article, follow-up story,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who ‘speaks’ in the article (both direct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as indirect)?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What sources are used?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many sources are used?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whose quotes are used?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What quotes stand out?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is Europe mentioned in the article?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who mentions Europe?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is mentioned about Europe? Policy,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opinion or politics?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Step 4: analysis of the coded words**

Here I will take a look at the sentences where refugees are referred to. Step 1 will be used to find the sentences. How is that done? How are the sentences made and what words are used to describe the refugees. What other words could have been used? Who uses these words?

**Step 5: Findings and adjustments to the questionnaire**

In this step, all the findings are taken together and written down. This is the process where patterns will or will not show. The findings will be written down in chapter 6, however, after every round of analysis, the questionnaire will be adjusted and added to the appendices.
Appendix 2

Revised protocol for the analysis of newspaper articles in round two
Each article is analyzed, following the next steps. Some aspects of this protocol are inspired by the work of James Paul Gee.
Since the articles are in Dutch and Italian, every title and subtitle will be translated. When a sentence or word is interesting, it will be translated as well. All these notes can be found in the original data, in appendix 2. The analysis can be found in chapter 6, were all the interesting aspects will be explained in English.

Step 1: Coding of all the words that refer to refugees (in blue)
Step 2: Highlighting remarkable sentences or words (in red)
Step 3: questionnaire

Questionnaire:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions:</th>
<th>Answers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is the focus of the article?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What type of article is it (news article, background article, follow-up story, other)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who ‘speaks’ in the article (both direct as indirect)?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whose quotes are used?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What quotes stand out?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is Europe mentioned in the article?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who mentions Europe?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is mentioned about Europe? Policy, opinion or politics?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Step 4: analysis of the coded words
Here I will take a look at the sentences where refugees are referred to. Step 1 will be used to find the sentences. How is that done? How are the sentences made and what words are used to describe the refugees. What other words could have been used? Who uses these words?

Step 5: Findings and adjustments to the questionnaire
In this step, all the findings are taken together and written down. This is the process where patterns will or will not show. The findings will be written down in chapter 6, however, after every round of analysis, the questionnaire will be adjusted and added to the appendices.
Appendix 3

Revised protocol for the analysis of newspaper articles in round three

Each article is analyzed, following the next steps. Some aspects of this protocol are inspired by the work of James Paul Gee.

Since the articles are in Dutch and Italian, every title and subtitle will be translated. When a sentence or word is interesting, it will be translated as well. All these notes can be found in the original data, in appendix 2. The analysis can be found in chapter 6, were all the interesting aspects will be explained in English.

**Step 1: Coding of all the words that refer to refugees (in blue)**

**Step 2: Highlighting remarkable sentences or words (in red)**

**Step 3: questionnaire**

**Questionnaire:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Answers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is the focus of the article?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the overall tone that the journalist uses for the article?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What type of article is it (news article, background article, follow-up story, other)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who ‘speaks’ in the article (both direct as indirect)?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whose quotes are used?</td>
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<tr>
<td>What quotes stand out?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Is Europe mentioned in the article?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Who mentions Europe?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is mentioned about Europe? Policy, opinion or politics?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Step 4: analysis of the coded words**

Here I will take a look at the sentences where refugees are referred to. Step 1 will be used to find the sentences. How is that done? How are the sentences made and what words are used to describe the refugees. What other words could have been used? Who uses these words?

**Step 5: Findings and adjustments to the questionnaire**

In this step, all the findings are taken together and written down. This is the process where patterns will or will not show. The findings will be written down in chapter 6, however, after every round of analysis, the questionnaire will be adjusted and added to the appendices.
Part 1

1.

**Newspaper:** de Volkskrant  
**Date:** 20 april 2015  
**Retrieved using:** LexisNexis  
**Length:** 824 words  
**Author:** Marc Peeperkorn

**Title:** Nieuwe ramp zet EU aan tot actie – New disaster calls EU to action  
**Subtitle:** Mogelijk 700 vluchtelingen verdonken na kapseizen bootje voor Libische kust – Possibly 700 refugees drowned after capsizing boat in front of the Libyan coast

**Article:**

De EU moet onmiddellijk in actie komen om nieuwe drama's met overvolle migrantenbootjes op de Middellandse Zee te voorkomen. Met deze klemmende oproep aan de lidstaten reageerden de Europese Commissie en EU-buitenlandchef Federica Mogherini zondag op het kapseizen voor de Libische kust van een vissersboot waarbij mogelijk meer dan 700 mensen zijn verdonken.

'We hebben al te vaak 'dit nooit meer' geroepen. Het is de hoogste tijd voor de EU deze tragedies zonder uitstel aan te pakken', zei Mogherini. Ze noemde het rijzende aantal doden in de Middellandse Zee 'onacceptabel' voor een Unie die is gebaseerd op solidariteit, mensenrechten en waardigheid.

De Italiaanse premier Matteo Renzi sprak zondag over een 'systematische afslachting' aan de Europese kusten. Mede op zijn verzoek raadpleegt EU-president Donald Tusk de Europese regeringsleiders over een speciale top op korte termijn.

De Italiaanse kustwacht kreeg zaterdagnacht een noodmelding over een grote, twee verdiepingen tellende boot die uitpuilde met vluchtelingen. Het dichtstbijzijnde schip, de Portugese vrachtaarder King Jacob, werd eropaf gestuurd. Toen dat schip zondagochtend vroeg in de buurt kwam, zouden veel vluchtelingen naar één kant van de boot zijn gerend om de aandacht te trekken, waarna de boot omsloeg.

Italianen en Maltese hulpverleners (Malta ligt ten oosten van Lampedusa) zeiden zondag dat de plek van de ramp een gruwelijke aanblik bood. Ze probeerden overlevenden te vinden tussen de lijken die in het water dreven. Gevreesd wordt dat de meeste vluchtelingen met de boot op de bodem van de zee zijn beland. Een overlevende uit Bangladesh vertelde aan het Italiaanse persbureau ANSA dat veel vluchtelingen zaten opgesloten in het laadruim. 'De smokkelaars hadden de deuren op slot gedaan. Ze zaten als ratten in de val.'

Vandaag buigen de Europese ministers van Buitenlandse Zaken zich in Luxemburg op aandrang van Mogherini over de migrantenkwestie. EU-ambtenaren verwachten een oproep om Operatie Triton - de zoek- en reddingsoperatie op de Middellandse Zee van Italië en de Europese grensbewakers Frontex - uit te breiden. Volgens de Franse president François Hollande is dit onontkoombaar. Tot nog toe trapten de meeste lidstaten op de rem om boten en vliegtuigen beschikbaar te stellen en het budget voor Triton (2,9 miljoen euro per maand) te verhogen.


De EU-ministers zullen verder naar verwachting oproepen tot een harde aanpak van de mensensmokkelaars en betere relaties met Libië, het land van waar de meeste vluchtelingenbootjes en -boten momenteel vertrekken. De politieke en militaire chaos in Libië maakt afspraken tussen de overheden aldaar en de EU zeer moeilijk.

De EU wordt de laatste tijd steeds scherper bekritiseerd door de
Verenigde Naties en mensenrechtenorganisaties. Zij verwijten de EU doof en blind te zijn voor het groeiende aantal verdrongen vluchtelingen. De EU is verdeeld over de vraag hoe daarmee moet worden omgegaan. Sommige lidstaten vrezen dat door acties om meer levens te redden, meer mensen de overtocht wagen. De zuidelijke lidstaten (Italië, Griekenland, Malta) klagen dat zij de meeste migranten ontvangen, de noordelijke dat zij het vaakst een verblifstervergunning verstrekken.

De Europese Commissie presenteert medio mei haar Migratie-agenda. Die moet een structureel antwoord geven op de honderdduizenden mensen uit Afrika en het Midden-Oosten die in Europa een beter leven zoeken. De Commissie wil meer opvang van vluchtelingen in de regio, bestrijding van mensensmokkelaars en meer legale migratie naar Europa.

Questionnaire:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions:</th>
<th>Answers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What type of article is it (news article, background article, follow-up story)</td>
<td>A follow-up article that gives background about what the EU has done so far and should do after the incident with the boat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who ‘speaks’ in the article (both direct as indirect)?</td>
<td>European Commission, EU foreign affairs chief Federica Mogherini, Italian Prime minister Matteo Renzi, Italian and Maltese community workers, a survivor from Bangladesh (via Italian press agency ANSA), President from France François Hollande, Maltese Prime minister Joseph Muscat, President of the European Parlement Martin schulz, Amnesty International, United Nations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What sources are used?</td>
<td>For this article, it is not completely clear what sources were used. The Italian press agency ANSA seems to be one of the sources from the journalist, the other sources are not possible to extract.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many sources are used?</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whose quotes are used?</td>
<td>EU foreign affairs chief Federica Mogherini, survivor from Bangladesh (indirect).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What quotes stand out?</td>
<td>Survivor from Bangladesh (indirect): “The smugglers had locked the doors, they (the refugees) were trapped like cornered rats.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is Europe mentioned in the article?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who mentions Europe?</td>
<td>Politicians</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.

**Newspaper:** de Volkskrant
**Date:** 21 april 2015
**Retrieved using:** LexisNexis
**Length:** 645 words
**Author:** Sarah Venema

**Title:** Weer twee boten met vluchtelingen in de problemen – *Again two boats in trouble*

**Subtitle:** -

**Article:**
Terwijl opnieuw twee boten met *vluchtelingen* op de Middellandse Zee in de problemen raakten, bleek maandag dat bij de boot ramp van zondagochtend mogelijk meer dan 700 *mensen* zijn omgekomen. Volgens een overlevende uit Bangladesh waren er 950 *vluchtelingen* aan boord, onder wie 250 vrouwen en 50 kinderen.

Voor de kust van het eiland Rhodos zijn maandag drie *mensen* verdrongen nadat een boot met tientallen *vluchtelingen* aan boord er was vastgelopen; het gaat om een man, een vrouw en een kind. Meer dan 90 *opvarenden* konden worden gered. Italiaanse en Maltese hulpdiensten waren op zoek naar nog een vluchtelingenboot die zou zijn gekapseisd; die werd niet gevonden.

De Italiaanse openbare aanklager die onderzoek doet naar de ramp van zondagochtend zei maandag op een persconferentie dat justitie een beeld begint te krijgen van de manier waarop de *vluchtelingen* reisden. 'Volgens de overlevende die we hebben ondervraagd, zaten 950 *migranten* op de boot die zeker 23 meter lang was', aldus openbaar aanklager Giovanni Salvi. 'De boot had drie niveaus. In het laadruim waren honderden *mensen gedreven* en de deur ging op slot. Honderden zaten op de volgende verdieping, die ook op slot ging. Alleen op het bovenste dek was een deel open.'

De overvolle migrantenboot vroeg zaterdagnacht de Italiaanse kustwacht om hulp, maar kantelde nog voordat de Portugese vrachtaarder die erop was afgestuurd de *inzittenden* in veiligheid had kunnen brengen. Op ongeveer

---

Translation: drifted (like cattle)
70 nautical miles from the Libyan coast and 110 nautical miles from the Italian island of Lampedusa, the ship sank Sunday morning. Only 28 passengers were rescued.

It is the second shipwreck in a week. A previous wreck in which it is believed that 400 migrants drowned made the death toll of 1,600 al many times higher than in the same period last year. In 2014, 3,500 migrants drowned when they tried to reach Europe via the Mediterranean Sea.

The disaster of past Sunday could be the deathliest migrant drama of all time. There is however not much official information yet.

We are trying to find evidence so that we can say something reliable about the numbers of dead, which are believed to have been unable to reach the wreck and were carried down with the ship.

Salvi complained about the fact that saving migrants and arresting smugglers has become much less efficient now the Italian rescue mission Mare Nostrum has been replaced by the three times smaller mission Triton.

We are trying to find evidence so that we can say something reliable about the numbers of dead, which are believed to have been unable to reach the wreck and were carried down with the ship.

Salvi complained about the fact that saving migrants and arresting smugglers has become much less efficient now the Italian rescue mission Mare Nostrum has been replaced by the three times smaller mission Triton.

The overlevende uit Bangladesh werd zondag per helikopter naar het ziekenhuis van de Siciliaanse stad Catania gebracht en is door de politie verhoord. De andere overlevenden werden maandag verhoord op het schip van de kustwacht waarmee ze ’s middags op weg gingen naar Catania.
**Questionnaire:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Answers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What type of article is it (news article, background article, follow-up story)</td>
<td>News article about a new boat incident, but a follow-up on the Lampedusa incident as well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who ‘speaks’ in the article (both direct as indirect)?</td>
<td>Italian public prosecutor Giovanni Salvi, survivor from Bangladesh,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What sources are used?</td>
<td>Italian public prosecutor Giovanni Salvi,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many sources are used?</td>
<td>Unclear. Giovanni Salvi seems to be source, but it is not clear if he is a direct or indirect source.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whose quotes are used?</td>
<td>Italian public prosecutor Giovanni Salvi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What quotes stand out?</td>
<td>He makes a comparison between operation Triton and Mare Nostrum and criticizes Triton using examples from rescue missions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is Europe mentioned in the article?</td>
<td>Not directly, but the rescue mission Triton is mentioned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who mentions Europe?</td>
<td>Giovanni Salvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is mentioned about Europe? Policy, opinion or politics</td>
<td>Policy, the rescue mission Triton.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.

**Newspaper:** de Volkskrant  
**Date:** 23 april 2015  
**Retrieved using:** LexisNexis  
**Length:** 1227 words  
**Author:** Ben van Raaij

**Title:** Wie zijn de smokkelaars die aan hem verdienen? – Who are the smuggles that earn money from them?  
**Subtitle:** -

**Article:**  
**Bootvluchtelingen**  
Egyptische, Ethiopische en Libische handelaren spelen allemaal een rol in de mensensmokkel. Hoe ziet het systeem eruit?

De EU bespreekt vandaag op een spoedtop de vluchtelingencrisis. De insteek: mensen redderen en de mensensmokkelaars bestrijden. Maar wie zijn dat en hoe pak je ze aan?

Master thesis Mediastudies (Journalistiek) Rijksuniversiteit Groningen  
Laura Anne Elisa Veneman
De slachtoffers zijn duidelijk. Vluchtelingen en economische migrants, uit het Midden-Oosten en uit Afrika bezuiden de Sahara. Vorig jaar waren het er zeker 174 duizend, van wie er minstens 3.200 omkwamen op zee. Dit jaar worden het er meer dan 500 duizend, en van hen zijn er nu al 1.700 dood. Maar wie zijn de daders, de mensen die al die migrants in wrakke boten naar Italië varen?

Het antwoord op die vraag hangt af van de route die je bekijkt. Migrants proberen van alle kanten illegaal de 'Schengen-EU' in te komen: met het vliegtuig (de meeste mensen komen nog altijd gewoon op een toeristenvisum binnen en blijven dan), over land (via de Balkan, ondanks de zware grensbewaking) en over de Middellandse Zee (de riskantste route).

De zeeroutes zijn in handen van internationale netwerken waarin honderden miljoenen euro's per jaar omgaan. Ze zoeken voortdurend de lucratiefste routes. Tien jaar geleden gingen Afrikanen vanuit Marokko naar de Canarische Eilanden. De afgelopen jaren zijn vooral de routes van Turkije naar Griekenland en Italië (voor Syrische vluchtelingen) en die van Libië naar Italië (voor Afrikaanse arbeidsmigranten) populair.


Door de steeds strengere grensbewaking van Fort Europa is de burgeroorlog in Libië een unieke 'window of opportunity' geworden voor zowel migrants als smokkelaars. Zo wordt het ook verkocht, zegt Ewa Moncure van Frontex, de Europese douane. 'De smokkelaars ronselen klanten ermee via social media. Ze geven er zelfs een verzekering bij: als het de eerste keer niet lukt, mag je het nog een keer proberen.'

De mensensmokkelarij was er ten tijde van Kadhafi ook al, maar zij was toen veel kleinschaliger. Vroeger waren het kleine organisaties met bootjes voor tien of twintig man, nu is het een professionele bedrijfsmatig bedrijf dat honderden mensen vervoeren, zegt migratie-expert John Salt van de Londen University College, die de sector al 18 jaar volgt.

De grote vissen
Het zijn internationale netwerken waarvan allerlei partijen deelnemen, van Libische, Egyptische, Soedanese en Ethiopische...
handelaren, Libische milities, woestijnstammen en bandieten tot de Siciliaanse mafia. Het is een soort piramide, zegt Moncure. ‘Wij pakken geregeld kleine vissen aan de onderkant, vorig jaar zo’n 10 duizend, zoals deze week de Tunesische kapitein van het schip dat zondag verging, maar de grote spelers aan de top blijven onzichtbaar.’


Zeker is dat ook de Libische autoriteiten een rol spelen. De twee regeringen kunnen niet alleen weinig tegen de smokkelaars uitrichten, ze zijn ook op de hoogte en profiteren mee, zegt de Britse Libië-analist Jonas Pack. Dat geldt ook voor de vele gewapende milities en een opstandige bevolkingsgroep als de Amazigh (Berbers). Het is hun belangrijkste inkomstenbron om de oorlog mee te financieren.


**Betalingssysteem**

Migranten betalen hun reis in drie etappes, vaak vooraf, via het islamitisch betaalsysteem van hawala. Eerst om van Ghana of Eritrea de Sahara over te steken naar Libië (4.000-5.000 euro), dan om met de boot over te steken naar Italië (1.000-1.500 euro), dan nog eens 1.000-1.500 euro om vanuit een opvangcentrum op Sicilië naar Noord-Europa te komen. Ze zijn dan vaak al hun geld kwijt en kunnen niet meer terug. En dan staan ze onderweg nog eens bloot aan allerlei onheil, van beroving tot verkrachting en terrorisme, zoals de IS-video van de onthoofdingen van dertig Ethiopiërs liet zien.

Europese leiders als de Italiaanse premier Renzi spraken afgelopen dagen veel over ‘mensenhandelaren’ die moeten worden gestopt, en trokken vergelijkingen met de vroegere slavenhandel. Dat is...

Het probleem framen als 'moderne slavenhandel' is op zijn minst onoprecht en op zijn ergst misleidend, aldus Simpson. 'De EU creëert een soort gemeenschappelijke vijand om de aandacht af te leiden van het falend eigen beleid: het dichthouden van de grenzen, waardoor vluchtelingen die asiel willen aanvragen wel de levensgevaarlijke route over Libië moeten kiezen.'

**Dilemma**

De vraag wat de EU vandaag moet besluiten hangt af van de definitie van het probleem. Gaat het over het redden of het tegenhouden van mensen? Het veelgenoemde instellen van een zeeblokkade is volgens veel deskundigen behalve onhaalbaar ook contraproductief. Het zal de mensensmokkel verleggen naar nog riskantere routes en daarmee de winsten en dodentallen opdrijven.

**Europa** kan de vluchtelingen ook niet aan hun lot overlaten. Voor Simpson is de oplossing duidelijk. 'Zolang je de structurele oorzaken van de vluchtelingenstromen niet kunt wegnemen, moet je weer een grote search and rescue opzetten, zoals Mare Nostrum. En zorgen dat vluchtelingen gewoon de EU in mogen om een asielaanvraag te doen. Op die manier onteem je de mensensmokkelaars hun markt.'

Volgens analist Pack blijft mensen redden, hoe moreel geboden ook, symptoombestrijding. Je moet de wortel van het probleem aanpakken, en dat is de burgeroorlog in Libië. En dan kom je toch op een blokkade of een vorm van interventie uit. 'Hoe langer de oorlog duurt, hoe meer inkomsten de milities nodig hebben, in de vorm van drugs of migranten.' Dat is pas aanzuigende werking.

De Ethiopiër 'Amici' zou de regisseur zijn die vanuit Libië opereert

**Questionnaire:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions:</th>
<th>Answers:</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What type of article is it (news article, background article, follow-up story)</td>
<td>Background article about human smugglers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who ‘speaks’ in the article (both direct as indirect)?</td>
<td>Ewa Moncure (Frontex), Gerry Simpson (Human Rights Watch), Analist Jonas Packs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What sources are used?</td>
<td>Ewa Moncure, Gerry Simpson, Jonas packs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How many sources are used? | Three clear sources, being Moncure, Simpson and packs. Other sources are unclear.
---|---
Whose quotes are used? | Ewa Moncure, Gerry Simpson, Jonas Packs,
What quotes stand out? | Simpson: “The EU creates something like a common enemy to distract the attention from the failing own policy: to keep the borders shut, because of this refugees that want to apply for asylum have to take the perilous route through Libya.”
Is Europe mentioned in the article? | Yes
Who mentions Europe? | Moncure, Simpson and Packs
What is mentioned about Europe? Policy, opinion or politics? | Policy and Europe is often mentioned as a destination for migrants.

4.
**Newspaper:** La Stampa
**Date:** 20 april 2015
**Retrieved using:** Archive from La Stampa
**Length:** 710 words
**Author:** Grazia Longo

**Title:** La strage infinita– *The endless bloodbath*
**Subtitle:** “Intrappolati nella stiva, sono tutti morti come topi” – *Trapped in the hold, like rats in a cage.*

**Article:**
«Eravamo quasi mille, intrappolati nella stiva come topi». La terra promessa è rimasta un sogno e il viaggio si è trasformato in un’ecatombe. Sono 950 i migranti inghiottiti dalle acque del Canale di Sicilia dopo un naufragio da record dell’orrore: 700 uomini, 200 donne e 50 bambini. Per la maggior parte stipati nella stiva: a loro è toccata la sorte peggiore, perché gli scafisti li avevano intrappolati bloccando i portelloni.

È per attirare l’attenzione dei marinai del King Jacob che i clandestini si sono affacciati tutti dalla stessa parte della carretta

Translation: We were with almost a thousand, trapped like rats in a cage.
Translation: swallowed
del mare, provocandone il capovolgimento. In una manciata di minuti, nella notte tra sabato e domenica, si è consumata la più grande tragedia in mare dal secondo dopoguerra. Per ora i sopravvissuti tratti in salvo sono 28 e le vittime recuperate 24, ma il bilancio è destinato a salire.

Il viaggio della speranza è iniziato a Zuara, sulla costa libica a 50 chilometri da Tripoli, a bordo di un peschereccio partito dall’Egitto. A bordo, quasi mille disperati in fuga dall’Africa dilaniata dalla fame o dalla guerra, ma anche dal Bangladesh. «Insieme a me c’erano uomini, donne e bambini provenienti da Algeria, Egitto, Somalia, Niger, Senegal, Mali, Zambia, Bangladesh, Ghana» riferisce alla squadra mobile di Catania il superstite in ospedale. Nato in Bangladesh, è in cura per patologie di natura indipendente dal naufragio.

Un altro naufrago, un eritreo che parla bene l’inglese, ha raccontato di oltre 700 passeggeri e la Guardia Costiera sta raccogliendo altre testimonianze a bordo delle navi accorse per il salvataggio.

La Procura di Catania, guidata da Giovanni Salvi, ha aperto un’inchiesta. Si procede per i delitti di naufragio colposo, omicidio colposo plurimo e favoreggiamento dell’immigrazione clandestina. All’esito delle prime indagini saranno valutate le responsabilità penali e meglio qualificate giuridicamente le condotte. Le indagini sono portate avanti dalla Guardia Costiera e dalla questura di Catania diretta dal questore Marcello Cardona.

Se davvero dovessero essere confermati i 950 passeggeri del peschereccio naufragato l’altra notte, salirebbero a 1850 i migranti morti inseguendo il desiderio di riscatto e le promesse di ignobili scafisti. Una sciagura immane, sulla quale incombe la latitanza dell’Unione europea. L’Italia è stata lasciata sola a gestire l’emergenza. Non c’è mai limite al peggio. Sembravano già assurdamene troppe quelle 366 bare allineate nell’hangar di Lampedusa dopo il naufragio del 3 ottobre 2013, ma oggi la strage si ripete e si supera. Tra i corpi recuperati quello di un ragazzino di una decina di anni con il volto immerso in una chiazza di nafta. Colpa di ignobili e spregiudicati scafisti che lucrano, a caro prezzo, sul trasporto di clandestini su barconi stracolmi oltre ogni limite umano.

Il copione sabato notte si è replicato: al Centro Nazionale Soccorso della Guardia Costiera è arrivata una telefonata da un satellitare da un uomo con un tono di voce relativamente tranquillo: «Siamo in navigazione, aiutateci». Una sorta di invito affinché le navi italiane raggiungessero il barcone per consentire ai «passeggeri» di concludere la traversata verso le coste italiane. Grazie al Gps la Guardia Costiera ha individuato le coordinate del punto dal quale era partita la telefonata e ha organizzato i soccorsi.
Il barcone era a circa 70 miglia a Nord delle coste libiche (110 miglia a Sud di Lampedusa) quando è stato raggiunto dal King Jacob, un portacontainer di 147 metri di lunghezza, con bandiera del Portogallo, che aveva già compiuto negli ultimi giorni quattro soccorsi di naufraghi e che è stato dirottato. «Appena ci hanno visto, si sono agitati - ha raccontato il comandante del King Jacob - e il barcone si è capovolto. La nave non ha urtato il barcone». Per ironia della sorte, il naufragio s’è consumato in presenza della nave di soccorso. Impompante la macchina dei soccorsi che ha coinvolto anche navi dell’operazione Triton, dell’agenzia Frontex: unità navali della Guardia Costiera, della Marina Militare italiana e maltese, mercantili e pescherecci di Mazara del Vallo (Trapani). Diciotto mezzi in tutto, coordinati dalla nave Gregoretti della Guardia Costiera, che ha assunto il comando dell’intervento.

I 24 cadaveri recuperati saranno trasferiti a Malta, mentre i sopravvissuti dovrebbero arrivare oggi a Catania. Le navi e gli aerei militari continuano a sorvolare l’area nella speranza di recuperare quanti più corpi possibile. In quel tratto di mare è impossibile l’utilizzo dei sommozzatori.

Questionnaire:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions:</th>
<th>Answers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What type of article is it (news article, background article, follow-up story)</td>
<td>News article about the incident near Lampedusa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who ‘speaks’ in the article (both direct as indirect)?</td>
<td>Bangladesh survivor, other survivor, an anonymous man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What sources are used?</td>
<td>Bangladesh survivor (direct or indirect), an anonymous survivor, and more unknown sources.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many sources are used?</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whose quotes are used?</td>
<td>From the survivor, from the Bangladesh survivor and from the anonymous man that called.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What quotes stand out?</td>
<td>The first sentence of the article, from a survivor: “We were with almost a thousand, trapped like rats in a cage.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is Europe mentioned in the article?</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who mentions Europe?</td>
<td>The author</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What is mentioned about Europe? Policy, opinion or politics?

Operation Frontex, but it is only mentioned.

5.

**Newspaper:** La Stampa  
**Date:** 21 April 2015  
**Retrieved using:** Archive from La Stampa  
**Length:** 765 words  
**Author:** Bill Emmott, translated by Carla Reschia  

**Title:** Il naufragio dei valori europei– *The shipwreck of European values*  
**Subtitle:** -

**Article:**

Può sembrare spietato descrivere la tragedia del barcone dei migranti come simbolica, dal momento che i corpi e le morti sono così reali. Tuttavia, a questo britannico filo-europeo, appare emblematica del modo in cui il vagheggiato approccio unitario e collettivo dell’Unione europea si sta traducendo in divisione, disillusione, risentimento e nel gioco dello scaricabarile.

Oltre queste divisioni, la trasformazione del Mediterraneo in un cimitero è anche un simbolo di impotenza, del fallimento dell’economia più grande del mondo, di un gruppo di Paesi tra i più ricchi e avanzati a livello globale ad agire con successo o almeno in modo efficace davanti all’instabilità e all’afflusso dei rifugiati nei propri territori.

Ma è anche un simbolo di ignoranza e mancanza di consapevolezza della visione d’insieme. Tutti i Paesi dell’Ue hanno le proprie battaglie politiche nazionali sull’immigrazione. Così ognuno di essi sembra credere che la sua battaglia, i suoi problemi siano unici per difficoltà e gravità. Questo fornisce una scusa per ignorare i problemi degli altri e incolparli di non dare loro nessun aiuto.

Per citare alcuni esempi: la Germania è il Paese dell’Ue - in realtà, del mondo sviluppato - che raccoglie il maggior numero di rifugiati. Più di 100 mila si stabiliscono ogni anno in Germania. Questo ha provocato manifestazioni di piazza contro l’immigrazione. La Svezia riceve il maggior numero di rifugiati in proporzione alla sua popolazione (più di 80 mila l’anno scorso). Questo ha rafforzato il voto per il partito di destra dei Democratici svedesi alle elezioni generali dello scorso anno.

La Francia ha la popolazione musulmana più ampia dell’Unione...
Tutto ciò dovrebbe suggerirci che nessuno è colpevole, ma tutti noi condividiamo la stessa, o una simile, serie di problemi: come regolare l’immigrazione clandestina, quanti rifugiati accogliere, come trovare il modo di integrare chi resta nella società, come affrontare i costi pubblici di questa integrazione, come affrontare le rimostranze dei cittadini che temono che i migranti stiano sottraendo loro il denaro o il lavoro.

Ecco perché è una follia non avere un approccio pienamente europeo, che tenga insieme tutti gli aspetti della questione migratoria, soprattutto ora che si stanno intensificando i flussi migratori dal Nord Africa e dal Medio Oriente. Invece, gli europei stanno collaborando solo su singole problematiche e questo in genere significa troppi pochi soldi e troppa poca energia, come dimostrano Mare Nostrum e il suo successore Triton, e sempre maggior divisione.

Una collaborazione più piena e coerente dovrebbe unire i temi dei controlli di polizia, del trattamento, dell’integrazione e della persuasione sotto lo stesso tetto, in modo che tutti i Paesi della Ue possano prendervi parte e scambiare informazioni ed esperienze. Siamo capaci di cooperare e coordinarci quando inviiamo le nostre marine a combattere i pirati nell’Oceano Indiano, quindi perché non possiamo fare lo stesso nel nostro mare, il Mediterraneo, e ai nostri confini orientali attraversati dai rifugiati siriani? Potremmo, ma per rendere la decisione politicamente praticabile avremmo bisogno di un approccio condiviso per decidere quali migranti possano restare e dove possano essere autorizzati ad andare.

Poi abbiamo bisogno di approcci condivisi su come integrare gli immigrati, che nell’immediato significa un approccio comunitario sui costi del welfare e sui diritti. Che renderebbe più facile convincere il pubblico in tutti i nostri Paesi che ciò che sta accadendo è giusto, riducendo la diffidenza e gli scaricabili.

Eppure, come l’ultima tragedia ha dimostrato, siamo lontani, molto lontani da questo punto. I valori europei stanno affondando.
**Questionnaire:**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Questions:</th>
<th>Answers:</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>What type of article is it (news article, background article, follow-up story)</td>
<td>Background article that lends towards an opinion piece.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who ‘speaks’ in the article (both direct as indirect)?</td>
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<td>What quotes stand out?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Is Europe mentioned in the article?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who mentions Europe?</td>
<td>The author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is mentioned about Europe? Policy, opinion or politics?</td>
<td>Policy and politics. The author has critique on both the policy of Europe and on the way politicians and national leaders do their job.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.

**Newspaper:** La Stampa  
**Date:** 21 April 2015  
**Retrieved using:** Archive from La Stampa  
**Length:** 391 words  
**Author:** Daniele Prato

**Title:** Settanta profughi in sette giorni – *Seventy refugees in seven days*  
**Subtitle:** -

**Article:**
I profughi in provincia sfiorano quota quattrocento. Il giorno più critico, ad Alessandria, è stato giovedì, prima ancora che tra Libia e Sicilia si consumasse il dramma di 700 migranti e che ieri, nel mare di Rodi, ad altri 200 toccasse la stessa sorte. Tra mattina e sera, in tre diverse tranche, sono approdati in città dal campo di Settimo Torinese, accolti da Croce rossa e medici Asl e poi trasferiti in strutture idonee in provincia, 49 persone, tra cui diversi bambini.

Negli ultimi sei giorni, i nuovi arrivi sono stati circa 70, giunti via Libia da Somalia, Eritrea, Africa sub sahariana, portando il totale dei profughi sul territorio a 376, quasi cento in più di febbraio: si va dagli oltre 130 nel capoluogo ai 20 di Ovada e Acqui. Dati della prefettura, che da Palazzo Ghilini coordina e monitora le operazioni di accoglienza, non senza grattacapi. Anche perché l’ultimo bando (di pochi giorni fa l’aggiudicazione provvisoria) per affidare l’ospitalità dei profughi a cooperative e associazioni, con 500 posti previsti, in termini numerici non avrebbe dato l’esito sperato: a quanto trapela, ci si sarebbe fermati parecchio sotto i 400. Ragion per cui, come spiega Fabio Scaltritti, della comunità San Benedetto del Porto e Casa di quartiere di Alessandria, pochi giorni fa sono stati convocati con urgenza i soggetti coinvolti nella gara per chiedere, com’è facoltà dell’ente appaltante, la maggiorazione di un quinto dei posti messi a disposizione.

«La disponibilità di tutti è stata massima, c’è chi si è attivato per offrire di più - dicono però in prefettura -. Purtroppo non basterà e saremo costretti a lavorare ad affidamenti diretti ad altri soggetti che hanno manifestato interesse. Usiamo in questo caso la massima serietà e rigore, per mantenere i livelli qualitativi garantiti finora ed evitare che qualcuno approfitti della situazione per fare di questa emergenza un business».

Che è poi il timore di Scaltritti, che al momento con la comunità di San Benedetto e la Casa di quartiere non offre posti per i nuovi profughi ma dà comunque sostegno nelle fasi critiche degli arrivi e corsi gratuiti di italiano: «La prefettura ci ha detto di aspettare...»
altri 150 profugi a breve. Avevamo chiesto a Stato e Regione, nel 2012, di pensare per tempo a un piano d’accoglienza che andasse oltre l’emergenza e ci consentisse di affrontarla ma non siamo stati ascoltati».

Questionnaire:

<table>
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<th>Questions:</th>
<th>Answers:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What type of article is it (news article, background article, follow-up story)</td>
<td>Follow-up/background article about the past 7 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who ‘speaks’ in the article (both direct as indirect)?</td>
<td>Fabio Scaltritti (San Benedetto community),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What sources are used?</td>
<td>Fabio Scaltritti,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many sources are used?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whose quotes are used?</td>
<td>Fabio Scaltritti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What quotes stand out?</td>
<td>Fabio Scaltritti: “We asked State and region, in 2012, to think in time about a plan that would go beyond emergency and would allow us to deal with it, but we weren’t heard.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is Europe mentioned in the article?</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Who mentions Europe?</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is mentioned about Europe? Policy, opinion or politics?</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Round 2

7.
**Newspaper:** de Volkskrant  
**Date:** 25 June 2015  
**Retrieved using:** LexisNexis  
**Length:** 569 words  
**Author:** Marc Peeperkorn

**Title:** Geen spreiding migranten in EU – **No spreading (of)** migrants in EU  
**Subtitle:** EU worstelt met vluchtelingen – **EU struggles with** refugees

**Article:**
De Europese regeringsleiders verwerpen het voorstel van de Europese Commissie. Wel zouden ze Italië en Griekenland willen helpen, maar wat is die toezegging waard?

De verplichte spreiding van **asielzoekers** over EU-landen op basis van een in Brussel afgesproken verdeelsleutel is van de baan. **De Europese regeringsleiders zullen het quotavoorstel van de Europese Commissie vanavond afwijzen.**

'Het plan voor door Brussel opgelegde asielquota heeft nooit op steun kunnen rekenen in de lidstaten en dat is niet veranderd', zei een nauw betrokken EU-ambtenaar woensdag. 'Zulke Brusselse quota werken alleen maar contraproductief.'

De EU-leiders willen Italië en Griekenland - landen die door hun ligging veel **migranten** opvangen - wel een helpende hand reiken bij het verwerken van de aanwassende **stroom asielzoekers**. De premiers gaan naar verwachting akkoord met het overnemen van 40 duizend **kansrijke asielzoekers** uit Italië en Griekenland, maar dat zal op vrijwillige basis gebeuren. De EU-ministers van Justitie en Binnenlandse Zaken moeten volgende maand afspreken hoe zo'n 'niet verplichtende inspanningsverplichting' eruit komt te zien.

In het voorstel dat de Commissie vorige maand presenteerde, was de spreiding van de 40 duizend **asielzoekers** uit Syrië en Eritrea verplicht. Volgens Commissaris Avramopoulos (Migratie) is **dwang noodzakelijk** omdat de huidige situatie aantoont dat vrijwillige solidariteit met Italië en Griekenland niet werkt. In de door de Commissie opgestelde verdeelsleutel zou Nederland circa 2.000 **asielzoekers** moeten opnemen. Den Haag ging daarmee akkoord, maar twaalf andere EU-landen wilden niets van quota weten.

In de ontwerpconclusies voor de EU-top vanavond komt het woord 'verplichtend' dan ook niet voor. Dat is een forse tegenslag voor de Commissie waar voorzitter Juncker zijn volle politieke gewicht
achter het voorstel had gezet. De regeringsleiders hadden eind april echter al laten weten alleen spreidingsplannen op basis van vrijwilligheid te accepteren. 'Wat de Commissie vervolgens op tafel legde, was compleet misplaatst', zegt een EU-ambtenaar.

Het is nu aan de verantwoordelijke ministers om volgende maand toch iets substantieels op tafel te leggen. Uitgangspunt is dat landen zelf aangeven hoeveel asielzoekers ze willen opnemen, in de hoop dat die aantallen alsnog optellen tot 40 duizend. Duitsland, Frankrijk en Italië hebben eerder aangekondigd daarbij druk op andere landen niet te schuwen. De hoop is dat ook Groot-Brittannië, Ierland en Denemarken (die wegens historische voorbehouden niet hoeven mee te doen aan Europees asielbeleid) een aantal asielzoekers zullen opnemen om het streefgetal van 40 duizend te halen.

De stroom van asielzoekers leidt niet alleen in Italië en Griekenland tot grote problemen. Ook Hongarije kan de komst van tienduizenden migranten niet meer aan. Het dreigt zijn grenzen dicht te gooien wat in strijd is met de Europese regels. De Hongaarse leider Orbán zal hierop worden aangesproken door zijn EU-collega's.

De regeringsleiders willen dat landen waar migranten vandaan komen of vanwaar ze vertrekken veel meer doen om de migratie in te dammen. Opschorting van ontwikkelingshulp kan daaraan bijdragen. Verder gaan de leiders akkoord met de komst van 20 duizend erkende vluchtelingen die in kampen buiten Europa verblijven. Deelname aan deze opvang is vrijwillig.

**Questionnaire:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Answers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is the focus of the article?</td>
<td>It tells that the plan from the European commission will be rejected and also why.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What type of article is it (news article, background article, follow-up story)</td>
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8.

**Newspaper:** de Volkskrant  
**Date:** June 26 2015  
**Retrieved using:** LexisNexis  
**Length:** 614 words  
**Author:** Marc Peeperkorn

**Title:** EU-leiders zwichten voor boze burger – *EU-leaders give in to angry citizen*  
**Subtitle:** Analyse verplichte verdeelsleutel voor asielzoekers van de baan – *Analysis of the mandatory distribution code for asylum seekers off the table*

**Article:**  
Het leek de enige oplossing. De enorme stroom vluchtelingen zou eerlijk over de EU-lidstaten worden verdeeld. Maar geen politicus wil zich vastleggen. Waarom niet?

Geen Brusselse asieldictaten. De tegenzin bij burgers om meer macht naar Brussel over te hevelen én meer asielzoekers op te nemen, laten de meeste EU-leiders ook geen andere keus. Dat was de boodschap van de Europese regeringsleiders na afloop van hun speciale migratietop eind april en dat is de boodschap die ze donderdagavond in Brussel herhaalden.

Het neemt niet weg dat de druk op de leiders groot is. De beelden van in de Middellandse Zee dobberende verdrongen *migranten*, de overvolle opvangcentra in Italië en Griekenland, de dreigementen vanuit deze landen (en Hongarije) om de asielzoekers door te laten naar meer noordelijke landen, ze dwingen tot vergaande stappen in een Europees asielbeleid. Maar verplichte spreiding op basis van een in Brussel opgestelde verdeelsleutel, gaat veel lidstaten een stap te ver.

De leiders weten maar al te goed hoe gevoelig de discussies in eigen land zijn over de opvang van *asielzoekers*. Premier Rutte verloor bijna zijn kabinet over de bed-bad-brood-regeling, en die
betrof slechts een handjevol uitgeproceederden. De Franse premier Hollande voelt de hete adem van Front National in zijn nek, een partij die niets moet hebben van migranten.

In Duitsland trekt de Pegida-beweging duizenden mensen met haar anti-immigratiemarsen. Om dan de asieldruk in Italië en Griekenland te verlichten door 40 duizend kansrijke asielzoekers aldaar te verdelen over de andere EU-landen, is een heikel besluit.

Dat is het ook omdat de Europese Commissie vorige maand die herverdeling verplicht wilde maken, met een verdeelsleutel die exact bepaalt welk deel van de 40 duizend asielzoekers elke lidstaat moet opnemen (Nederland: 2.047). Consistent overigens van de Commissie, die steeds heeft gezegd dat vrijwillige spreiding niet werkt.

Brusselse quota

Maar tegelijkertijd staat ze met het volle gewicht op de (lange) tenen van leiders die gruwen van 'Brusselse dictaten'. Nogal wat Oost-Europese landen verzetten zich tegen wat zij als een aanslag op hun nationale soevereiniteit betitelen, ook al is dat soms een excuus om een afkeer tegen buitenlanders te maskeren.

De Brusselse quota zijn dus van de baan, maar dat wil niet zeggen dat Italië en Griekenland in de kou blijven staan. Dat kan ook moeilijker anders: de opvangproblemen zijn te groot voor deze landen, daar kunnen de leiders hun ogen niet voor sluiten.

Daarnaast vrezen ze dat de hoeksteen van het Europese asielbeleid - het land waar een asielzoeker zich meldt, is verantwoordelijk voor de opvang - en het vrij reizen in Europa (Schengen) onderuit gaan als Italië, Griekenland en Hongarije uit boosheid hun grenzen openzetten.

Dus accepteerden de leiders donderdagavond wel dát er 40 duizend asielzoekers uit Italië en Griekenland verdeeld worden maar zonder verplichtende nationale quota.

De ministers van Binnenlandse Zaken en Justitie mogen volgende maand uitvechten hoe ze het EU-doel van 40 duizend gaan halen. Vermoedelijk komen er streefijzers waarbij de eerdere verdeelsleutel van de Commissie als referentiekader dient. Juncker toonde zich dan ook tevreden met het besluit van de EU-leiders. Hij heeft de premiers vastgepind op de 40 duizend, als ze dat niet leveren zal hij ze aan deze belofte herinneren. Juncker gaat ervan uit dat de groepsdruk tussen lidstaten zijn werk zal doen.
Questionnaire:

<table>
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<th>Answers:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is the focus of the article?</td>
<td>It explains why the proposal from the European Commission, to spread 40 thousand migrants over Europe, failed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What type of article is it...</td>
<td>Background article</td>
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<tr>
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<td>What is mentioned about Europe...</td>
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9.
**Newspaper:** de Volkskrant  
**Date:** June 27 2015  
**Retrieved using:** LexisNexis  
**Length:** 710 words  
**Author:** Marc Peeperkorn

**Title:** Een ‘smerige ruzie’ tussen het oud en en nieuwe Europa – A ‘filthy’ fight between the old and the new Europe  
**Subtitle:** Reconstructie ruzie over migratie - Reconstruction fight about migration

**Article:**
De sfeer op de eurotop was ‘akelig’ en ‘onprettig’. De Oost-Europeanen werd verweten niets over te hebben voor de opvang van asielzoekers.

Als voorzitter Juncker van de Europese Commissie publiekelijk en omstandig zijn gesprekspartner begint te knuffelen, weet je dat het
De omhelzing met EU-president Tusk vrijdag half vier 's ochtends was dan ook om de spanning over het migratiedebat te ontladen. De Pool was er fysiek onwennig onder.

Zes uur spraken de 28 regeringsleiders, Juncker en Tusk over de opvang van migranten in Europa. 'Het grootste probleem voor Europa in mijn jaren als kanselier', zei Merkel na afloop van het debat. De lakmoestest ook voor Europa: dat het meer is dan een markt met een munt, dat het de daad bij het woord voegt als om mensenrechten, veiligheid en solidariteit gaat. Maar in de nacht van donderdag op vrijdag ontaardde het debat volgens betrokkenen in een 'akelige, onprettige en soms smerige' ruzie.

'Het was een clash tussen het oude en het nieuwe Europa', zegt een EU-ambtenaar. Tussen Oost-Europese landen die niets van Brusselse asielquota willen weten en de noordelijke (Nederland, Duitsland) en zuidelijke lidstaten die bereid zijn dit te accepteren of door de asielvloed op hun kusten er om vragen (Italië en Griekenland). Maar het was ook een aanvaring tussen Juncker die de Commissie als aanjager ziet en Tusk die alle regeringsleiders tevreden moet houden en daarbij niet vergeet dat hij Pool is.

De Italiaanse premier Renzi schoot uit zijn slof. 'Als dit jullie idee is van Europa, houd het dan maar!' beet hij zijn Oost-Europese collega's toe. 'Of jullie tonen solidariteit óf dit is puur tijdverlies.' Dat liet de Litouwse president Grybauskaité niet op zich zitten. 'Waarom zet je een pistool tegen mijn hoofd over zo'n netelige onderwerp?' wierp ze de Italiaan voor de voeten.

Renzi maar ook andere premiers wreven hun Poolse, Tsjechische, Letse, Litouwse en Estse collega's onder de neus steeds de mond vol te hebben van solidariteit bij de verdeling van het EU-budget (zij meer geld) maar niet thuis te geven als Italië en Griekenland om solidariteit vragen bij de opvang van asielzoekers. Het knetterde, gaf Tusk na afloop toe. 'Het was een van de moeilijkste toppen die ik heb meegemaakt.'

De Oost-Europese en Baltische lidstaten keerden zich ook tegen Juncker. Die wist toch dat de leiders geen in Brussel opgestelde asielquota zouden accepteren? Dat hadden ze hem eind april duidelijk gemaakt dus waarom verziekte hij de avond door toch met de verplichte herverdeling van 40 duizend in Italië en Griekenland verblijvende asielzoekers te komen?

Dat was tegen het zere been van Juncker. 'Je m’en fou!' antwoordde hij de leiders, het kan me niets schelen. Hij stond pal voor het initiatiefrecht van de Commissie en zwaaidde met het Europees Verdrag dat hem het recht geeft asielquota voor te stellen als de nood in sommige landen te hoog wordt. 'Ik ben meer geïnteresseerd in het welzijn van 40 duizend vluchtelingen dan in
Vervolgens kreeg hij het aan de stok met Tusk over hoe in de conclusies van de top de woorden 'verplicht' en 'vrijwillig' konden worden vermeden en de herverdeling van de 40 duizend asielzoekers niet uit beeld verdween. Als gevolg van dit alles werd de met spanning tegemoet geziene Brexitdiscussie met de Britse premier Cameron een vrolijke reclamemonderbreking van de migratiediscussie.

'Een bescheiden resultaat', noemde Juncker het compromis waarop de leiders zich rond drie uur 's ochtends konden verenigen: de EU-landen beloven plechtig alles op alles te zetten het streefgetal van 40 duizend te halen, zonder de stok der dwang. 'Het geeft aan dat Europa niet altijd in staat is de ambitieuze doelen te bereiken die het zichzelf stelt.'

Voorzitter Juncker toonde zich geenszins uit het veld geslagen. Integendeel, hij kondigde de volgende 'oorlog' met de regeringsleiders alvast aan: een nieuw voorstel, eind dit jaar, dat de spreiding van asielzoekers niet alleen verplicht maakt maar ook automatisch (dus zonder verdere goedkeuring door de lidstaten) als de migrantenstroom te groot wordt.

**Questionnaire:**

<table>
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<th>Answers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is the focus of the article?</td>
<td>It is short summary of the debate that the EU leaders had.</td>
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<td>Background article, explaining where all the different stand in the issue.</td>
</tr>
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<td>Author, Angela Merkel, Matteo Renzi, Grybauskaité, Tusk, Juncker,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whose quotes are used?</td>
<td>Angela Merkel, Matteo Renzi, Grybauskaité, Tusk, Juncker,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What quotes stand out?</td>
<td>There are many interesting quotes. For example from Matteo Renzi: “If this is your idea of Europe, than keep it!” This quote was also highlighted in the original article.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is Europe mentioned in the article?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who mentions Europe?</td>
<td>The author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is mentioned about Europe? Policy, opinion or politics?</td>
<td>Politics, the author speaks about Juncker ‘cuddling’ another politician, and how the politicians were fighting with each other. It is about policy as well, showing all the different arguments in the debate.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.

**Newspaper:** La Stampa  
**Date:** June 25 2015  
**Retrieved using:** Archive La Stampa  
**Length:** 455 words  
**Author:** Marco Zatterin

**Title:** L’Ue accoglierà 40 mila profughi ma niente quote obbligatorie – *The EU welcomes 40 thousand refugees, but nothing mandatory*  
**Subtitle:** -

**Article:**

Il risultato pratico ci sarà. L’Europa è pronta a redistribuire 40mila fra siriani ed eritrei presi dai centri italiani e greci secondo criteri volontari che «tutti gli stati» determineranno «entro luglio». Buona notizia, ma finisce qui. Perché a questo primo magro passo verso una politica comune dell’immigrazione si è arrivati provocando gravi fatture.

La solidarietà condivisa si è scontrata con le paure dei populismi e la sfiducia reciproca. I più hanno contestato la strategia della Commissione, che proponeva regole automatiche e riallocazione vincolata. «Non c’è consenso, è controproducente», assicurano fonti del Consiglio riassumendo gli umori nelle capitali. Le stesse che, al Team Juncker deciso a tenere «sino all’ultimo» la sua linea, chiedono se «così non s’avveleni ancora il dibattito».

I diplomatici prevedono «una discussione lunga» sulle migrazioni stasera al summit dei leader Ue. La fuga in avanti tentata della Commissione non ha sortito gli effetti sperati, anzi. Invece
che spingere gli stati a fare di più per affrontare la tragedia del Mediterraneo, e non solo, ha finito per scatenare una bufera di particularismi. Altro che spirito comune. Pochi accettano che sia Bruxelles a dire quanti rifugiati prendere e come, molti sono granitici nella contrarietà agli obblighi. «Non c’è equilibrio nemmeno sull’approccio geografico», accusa una fonte dell’est europeo. Gli pare che ci sia troppo «mare Nostrum» e poca frontiera orientale.

L’ultima bozza di conclusioni del vertice stabilisce il principio della riallocazione coordinata, che va di pari passo al rafforzamento del sistema dei rimpatri: qui si sostiene la formula della Commissione di utilizzare Frontex anche per rispedire a casa gli illegali, condizione politicamente necessaria per tenere gli altri: attesa una «Road map» in luglio. Confermati gli «hot spots» in cui concentrare le operazioni di registrazione. L’Italia «ne avrà 5-6», dicono a Roma.

Il dibattito al vertice è complicato dal caso ungherese. Detto che Italia e Grecia non sono proprio felici di come il presidente del Consiglio Tusk ha gestito la vicenda - «se salta un punto, salta tutto», ha detto una fonte mediterranea, il premier Orban ha annunciato martedì di voler sospendere il regolamento di Dublino che lo costringe ad accogliere i migranti e poi ha fatto marcia indietro. Ieri ha scritto a Tusk e Juncker per spiegare le sue ragioni. Nel 2015 lo stato magiaro ha accolto 61 mila rifugiati, più dell’Italia. Invoca attenzione. Anche perché «la maggior parte di coloro che arrivano viene dalla Grecia». Un guaio? «Non del tutto - assicura una voce italiana -. Almeno tutti stanno capendo che l’alternativa è fra azione comune e caos».

**Questionnaire:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions:</th>
<th>Answers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is the focus of the article?</td>
<td>Explanation of the debate during the Eurotop and presenting the outcome</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What type of article is it (news article, background article, follow-up story)?
Newsarticle

Who ‘speaks’ in the article (both direct as indirect)?
Author, Juncker, anonymous sources from the council, Tusk, Orban

Whose quotes are used?
Juncker, Tusk,

What quotes stand out?
None really

Is Europe mentioned in the article?
Yes

Who mentions Europe?
The author,

What is mentioned about Europe? Policy, opinion or politics?
Policy,

11.

Newspaper: La Stampa
Date: June 25 2015
Retrieved using: Archive La Stampa
Length: 168 words
Author: -

Title: Cameron: l'Italia faccia di più, ormai siamo al caos – Cameron: ‘Italy does more, now we are in chaos”
Subtitle: -

Article:
Anche gli inglesi si sentono sotto assedio. Ieri il premier britannico, David Cameron, ha condannato le scene «totalmente inaccettabili a cui abbiamo assistito» mentre cresce il numero di immigrati che tentano di entrare illegalmente in Gran Bretagna nascondendosi nei camion in attesa al porto francese di Calais. Londra, ha assicurato, si impegnerà per aumentare la sicurezza alla frontiera e lavorerà con le altre nazioni europee per «mettere fine al problema all'origine, per rompere il legame tra salire su una barca e stabilirsi in Europa». «Vogliamo vedere migranti meglio schedati ma francamente molto di questo bisogna che sia fatto in
Italia, dove arrivano, piuttosto che in Francia», ha aggiunto.«Dobbiamo fare di più per assicurare che la Gran Bretagna sia un posto meno facile per i clandestini per arrivare e lavorare», ha sostenuto Cameron, sottolineando che non ha senso per Londra e Parigi di «puntarsi il dito contro reciprocamente». Soprattutto se c’è modo di farlo contro gli italiani.

**Questionnaire:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Answers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is the focus of the article?</td>
<td>It’s an article in response of a statement made by David Cameron.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What type of article is it (news article, background article, follow-up story)</td>
<td>Newsarticle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who ‘speaks’ in the article (both direct as indirect)?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whose quotes are used?</td>
<td>Cameron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What quotes stand out?</td>
<td>Cameron “putting an end to the problem, tackling the source and stop the link between hopping on a boat and settling in Europe.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is Europe mentioned in the article?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who mentions Europe?</td>
<td>Cameron,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is mentioned about Europe? Policy, opinion or politics?</td>
<td>Policy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
12.

Newspaper: La Stampa
Date: June 26 2015
Retrieved using: Archive La Stampa
Length: 650 words
Author: Marco Zatterin

Title: L'Europa nel caos sui rifugiati - Europe in the chaos from refugees
Subtitle: -

Article:

«È una discussione filosofica», confessa una fonte diplomatica. A tarda sera, dopo quattro ore di confronto acceso, i leader dell’Ue erano ancora impegnati a consumare la portata più indigesta del pacchetto Immigration, quella dei 40 mila rifugiati da ridistribuire insieme nel nome della solidarietà condivisa. Confronto durissimo, con rischio di rinvio a stamane. Il blocco baltico e orientale chiedeva di esplicitare il principio della «volontarietà». «Cambiare i criteri o cambiare il numero», dicevano i frondisti, apertamente contestati soprattutto da Italia e Commissione.

E su questo si faceva notte. La storia insegna che un compromesso, su questo, verrà. Presto o tardi. Ma ciò non toglie che la serata finirà fra quelle brutte nel curriculum dell’Unione, il giorno in cui Paesi come Polonia, Repubblica Ceca, Estonia e Ungheria hanno puntato i piedi per qualche centinaia di disperati da ospitare. Dopo un lavoro di preparazione certosino, il presidente del Consiglio Donald Tusk aveva messo sul tavolo un compromesso costruttivo che trasformava la formula della riallocazione obbligatoria proposta dalla Commissione in una sorta di accettazione volontaria dello stesso obiettivo vincolante.


Mogherini: «Se non siamo capaci di dividerci 40 mila rifugiati non siamo la Grande Europa che può andare a negoziare in giro per il mondo: così la nostra credibilità esterna crolla». Merkel ha
cerca di mediare. Il numero 40 mila, verso la mezzanotte, pareva essere sopravvissuto. Comunque vada, la ridistribuzione richiederà tempo. Luglio servirà a scrivere le regole, e poi bisognerà attendere l’Europarlamento, ai primi di settembre. Con gli obblighi tecnici, i primi trasferimenti avverranno in autunno. Se non più tardi. Il governo Renzi si è battuto per non restare solo nella gestione della marea dei migranti che approdano sulle nostre coste. Missione compiuta almeno in parte, si può dire. Ci sarà la ridistribuzione di una parte degli arrivati, mentre la missione Triton è stata rafforzata negli organici e nei mezzi finanziari, oltre che nella capacità operativa nel Canale di Sicilia, al punto di diventare una nuova Mare Nostrum con un contributo in fondi maggiorato dall’Unione. Sta prendendo il largo anche la missione navale Eunavfor Med, per ora limitata alla raccolta di informazioni sui trafficanti di uomini, comunque con comando italiano, in mare (sulla Cavour) e in terra (a Centocelle). In cambio l’Italia deve svolgere bene il suo ruolo di guardiano delle frontiere, smentendo i dubbi che si nutrono nei confronti dell’efficienza nazionale. I dati dicono che cacciamo davvero soltanto il 20% di quelli che etichettiamo come clandestini. Il sospetto che una buona parte dei migranti arrivati da noi siano fatti scivolare oltreconfine è concreto.

Per questo l’Unione spinge sulla stretta ai rimpatri e sul ruolo degli «hotspots» - centri polifunzionali di identificazione - che saranno pagati dall’Unione, che manderà i suoi a coadiuvare i nostri. Dal loro successo dipenderà il processo che potrebbe condurre a rivedere il regolamento di Dublino, quello che stabilisce il principio del porto sicuro più vicino per lo sbarco. L’Italia vuole cambiarlo. La riforma è allo studio della Commissione. Non avrà esito se il monitoraggio di frontiera non sarà all’altezza.

**Questionnaire:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions:</th>
<th>Answers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is the focus of the article?</td>
<td>Explanation of the debate that the EU leaders had.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What type of article is it (news article, background article, follow-up story)</td>
<td>Background article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who ‘speaks’ in the article (both direct as indirect)?</td>
<td>The opposition, Anonymous diplomat, ‘the opposition’, Donald Tusk, Renzi,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whose quotes are used?</td>
<td>Anonymous diplomat, “the opposition”,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What quotes stand out?</td>
<td>Mogherini: “If we are not capable to spread 40 thousand refugees, we are not the Great Europe that can negotiate around the world: then our external credibility declines.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is Europe mentioned in the article?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who mentions Europe?</td>
<td>The author, politicians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is mentioned about Europe? Policy, opinion or politics?</td>
<td>Policy and politics. The arguments from the debate are featured, together with things like how long the debate took and ancillary matters.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
13.

**Newspaper:** de Volkskrant  
**Date:** September 3 2015  
**Retrieved using:** LexisNexis  
**Length:** 788 words  
**Author:** Sarah Venema

**Title:** Met zwemvest van 7 euro wachten op de smokkelaar – *Waiting for the smuggler with a 7 euro life-jacket*  
**Subtitle:** Reportage in Turkije – *Report from Turkey*

**Article:**

Voor veel *migranten* begint de *sprong naar Europa* in Turkije, zoals ook voor het *jongje* op de foto. Maar niet alleen de zee is een gevaar.

Voor de loketten van de busmaatschappijen van Izmir slaapt een kleuter op de grond. Vaders lopen wegend met hun baby's langs de groepjes families die met vuilniszakken vol zwemvesten op de stoep zitten. Het is elf uur ’s avonds en de reis naar Europa kan ieder moment beginnen.

’We wachten op het signaal van de smokkelaar’, zegt Muhmad (27), die al uren met zijn familie zit te wachten. Ze weten nog niet vanaf welk strand ze zullen vertrekken of in wat voor boot ze zullen stappen en als gevraagd wordt of ze bang zijn, beginnen ze allemaal door elkaar heen te roepen. ’We hebben het al een keer geprobeerd’, zegt Muhmads vrouw, drie maanden zwanger. ’We zijn overvallen door mannen met zwarte maskers’, zegt zijn zus, weduwe en alleenstaande moeder sinds de bombardementen op hun thuisstad Raqqa in Syrië. ’Overvallers en Islamitische Staat, het is allemaal hetzelfde tuig’, zegt zijn vader. De zestiger laat zijn zieke vrouw in Turkije achter, omdat de reis naar Europa te gevaarlijk is.

Hoe gevaarlijk de oversteek is, bleek woensdag weer toen aangrijpende foto’s verschenen van een verdronken jongetje dat op een strand bij het Turkse Bodrum was aangespoeld. Volgens een lokaal Turks persbureau was de boot met zes *vluchtelingen* waar hij op zat, op weg naar het Griekse eiland Kos omgeslagen. Vier *opvarenden* kwamen om - een moeder en drie kinderen. Eerder op de dag waren aan dezelfde kust bij een andere schipbreuk al acht *migranten* verdronken.

De overtocht van Turkije naar Griekenland is korter dan van Libië naar Italië - met meer dan 2.300 doden dit jaar is die laatste oversteek door de Syriërs in Izmir omgedoopt tot ‘zelfmoordroute’. Op hun tocht zijn ze al door oorlogsgebied
getrokken en ze weten dat grenswachten en hekken in de Balkan straks de toegang tot hun eindbestemmingen zullen blokkeren. Maar het is het water waar ze het meest tegenopzien.

'Vooral de route naar Kos en Samos is gevaarlijk,' zegt Alaa, een 26-jarige student kernfysica. 'Ik had expres betaald voor een reis naar het eiland Chios, maar we dreven toch richting Kos.' Drie weken geleden voer de Syriër met veertig andere reizigers op een rubberboot richting Griekenland. Ze waren waarschijnlijk niet ver van de Griekse grens vandaan toen ze een andere boot tegenkwamen met vijf mannen aan boord. 'Ze droegen zwarte shirts en zwarte maskers en schreeuwden in het Engels met een gek accent', zegt Alaa. 'Ik weet niet waar ze vandaan kwamen. Het was geen Turks accent, dan had ik het wel herkend. De kinderen begonnen te huilen. De mannen hadden geweren bij zich en stalen al onze spullen: geld, paspoorten, telefoons. Daarna staken ze een mes in de boot.'

De VN-vluchtelingenorganisatie UNHCR heeft meerdere verhalen gehoord over gewelddadige aanvallen op de vluchtelingen en migranten op zee, zegt woordvoerster Katerina Kitidi. 'Wij nemen ze heel serieus.' Ook hulporganisatie Artsen zonder Grenzen sloeg onlangs alarm. Al sinds juli ontmoeten ze vluchtelingen uit onder andere Syrië en Irak die zeggen dat gewapende mannen hun boot kapot staken, hun benzine stalen of de motor in zee wierpen. Wie achter de aanvallen zitten, is niet duidelijk. In augustus arresteerde de Griekse kustwacht op het eiland Samos drie mannen op verdenking van beroving van migrantenboten.

Alaa wist bij de overval zijn telefoon te verstopporen en belde vanaf de lekke boot de Griekse kustwacht, die de Turkse kustwacht waarschuwde. Nu staat hij weer tussen zijn landgenoten bij de busloketten te wachten tot zijn contactpersoon zegt dat hij de bus moet nemen naar een havenstad. Als hij niks zegt, pakt iedereen straks zijn spullen weer op en gaat op zoek naar een hotel waar nog niet in Arabische letters 'vol' op de glazen deur staat. Contant geld neemt Alaa niet meer mee. Via Western Union zal hij het in Griekenland ophalen. 'Gelukkig is de tweede poging gratis', zegt hij.

Hij is niet de enige die opnieuw in de boot stapt. Om de hoek koopt Hussein (24) voor de tweede keer een zwemvest van de tafel die een Turkse verkoper op straat heeft neergezet. Een rood-blauw exemplaar kost 25 Turkse lire (7 euro), een oranje 'original' kost 80 lire (24 euro). Kinderzwemvestjes zijn even duur.

'Je moet de 'original' hebben want die andere gaat in het water gelijk stuk', zegt Hussein. Het geweld uit Irak staat in de vorm van een litteken op zijn scheen gekerfd. Bij zijn eerste poging naar
Europa te reizen, kwam hij niet verder dan het Turkse strand.

'De Turkse politie arresteerde ons', zegt hij. Toen raakte hij zijn zwemvest kwijt. 'Vanavond probeer ik het opnieuw.'

**Questionnaire:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions:</th>
<th>Answers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is the focus of the article?</td>
<td>Telling the story of the migrants that try to reach Europe using personal examples from migrants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the overall tone that the journalist uses for the article?</td>
<td>Personal, emotional,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What type of article is it (news article, background article, follow-up story)</td>
<td>A report from a place in Turkey where migrant leave to cross the sea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who 'speaks' in the article (both direct as indirect)?</td>
<td>Migrants that are at the place, Katerina Kitidi from the United Nations refugee help.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whose quotes are used?</td>
<td>Multiple quotes from the migrants and one from Katerina Kitidi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What quotes stand out?</td>
<td>Almost all the quotes from the migrants are very emotional in tone and tell personal stories. For example from a woman: “We were attacked by men wearing black masks”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is Europe mentioned in the article?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who mentions Europe?</td>
<td>The author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is mentioned about Europe? Policy, opinion or politics?</td>
<td>Europe is only mentioned once, as the end destination for the migrants.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**14.**

**Newspaper:** de Volkskrant  
**Date:** September 4 2015  
**Retrieved using:** LexisNexis  
**Length:** 648 words  
**Author:** Noël van Bemmel

**Title:** “Ik wil het niet hebben over die foto waarop de hele wereld mijn zoontje heeft gezien” Abdullah Kurdi (38) vader van Aylan Kurdi (3) – “I do not want to talk about the picture that showed my son to the whole world” Abdullah Kurdi (38) dad of Aylan Kurdi (3)
**Article:**

Met afhangende schouders en lege ogen staat Abdullah Kurdi onder een afdakje in de tuin van het Forensisch Instituut in het Turkse Bodrum. De 38-jarige kapper uit de Syrische stad Kobani wacht tot hij de stoffelijke resten terugkrijgt van zijn vrouw en twee kinderen. De jongste van hen, de 3-jarige Aylan, groeide binnen een dag uit tot het gezicht van de vluchtelingengolf die Europa overspoelt.


Volgens Abdullah, die later uitgebreider over het ongeluk vertelt tegen het Turkse persbureau Dogan, begon zijn rubberboot al na vijfhonderd meter peddelen water te maken. 'Onze voeten werden nat, er brak paniek uit. Toen mensen gingen staan, sloeg de boot om. Ik hield de hand van mijn vrouw vast, maar de handen van mijn kinderen glipten weg. We hielden de boot vast, maar die liep leeg. Iedereen schreeuwde in het donker en ik kon mijn vrouw en kinderen niet meer horen.' Abdullah zwom terug naar de lichtjes van de kust en hij ontdekte later in het ziekenhuis dat zijn gezin was verdronken.

**Derde poging**

Een Iraakse overlevende, die bij hetzelfde incident zijn vrouw, zuster en twee neefjes verloor, wacht ook in de tuin van het Forensisch Instituut op de stoffelijke overschotten. 'Onze boot is lek geprikt door de Turkse politie', beweert de huilende Yussuf Saran (27) uit Bagdad. 'Ik zweer het!' Abdullah, die in een andere boot zat, bevestigt die versie niet. De Turkse politie stelt dat het onderzoek nog loopt.

Het was de derde keer dat Abdullah met zijn gezin de oversteek naar Griekenland waagde. De eerste keer pakte de Turkse kustwacht hen op, de tweede keer kwamen de smokkelaars na betaling niet opdagen, uiteindelijk besloot Abdullah met een groepje zelf twee rubberbootjes te kopen en te peddelen naar het Griekse eiland Kos. Dat kan verklaren waarom slechts 12 respectievelijk 17 personen in de bootjes zaten. De zelfgekochte rubber boats were possibly smaller and less stable that the usual vessels with a motor that can at least carry fifty passengers.
bootjes waren mogelijk kleiner en instabieler dan de gebruikelijke vaartuigen met buitenboordmotor voor minstens vijftig passagiers. Van de 29 passagiers verdrongen er twaalf, onder wie acht kinderen.

Abdullah vluchtte vier jaar geleden naar Turkije en vroeg vergeefs politiek asiel aan bij de Canadese ambassade. Zijn zuster in Vancouver betaalde diens huur in Istanbul. Tien dagen geleden besloot het gezin via Bodrum te proberen Griekenland te bereiken. Canada bood woensdag toch hulp aan. 'Nu is het te laat', zegt Abdullah. 'Dat aanbod kan ik niet aannemen. We hadden dit kunnen overleven. Ik wil dat de hele wereld dit ziet. Laat dit lijden ophouden.'

Op de befaamde boulevard van Bodrum bivakkeren nog altijd grote families op het gras, tussen de kinderglijbanen en ijswinkels. Voor zo'n 1.500 dollar proppen smokkelaars hen in rubberboten zonder schipper. Wie klaagt over veiligheid en overvolle bootjes, krijgt een pistool op zich gericht. Het strand van Akyarlar, een uur rijden van Bodrum, is de populairste vertreklocatie. Van daar is het nog maar vier zeemijl naar Kos.

Op het Griekse eiland is de situatie nog schrijnender. Op de boulevard kamperen duizenden Syriërs, Irakezen, Bengalen en Afghansen in koepeltentjes. De wiskundeleraar uit Edlib, de student uit Aleppo, de sympathieke familie uit Kobani liggend op zwemvesten naast de bushalte; ze zijn allemaal enorm opgelucht dat ze de overtocht hebben overleefd.

**Questionnaire:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions:</th>
<th>Answers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is the focus of the article?</td>
<td>Telling the story of Abdullah Kurdi and his family and similar families.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the overall tone that the journalist uses for the article?</td>
<td>Emotional, personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What type of article is it (news article, background article, follow-up story)?</td>
<td>Interview with Abdullah, report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who ‘speaks’ in the article (both direct as indirect)?</td>
<td>Abdullah Kurdi, the author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whose quotes are used?</td>
<td>Abdullah Kurdi, Yussuf Saran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What quotes stand out?</td>
<td>Abdullah: “We could have survived this. I want the whole world to see this. Stop this suffering.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is Europe mentioned in the article?</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who mentions Europe?</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What is mentioned about Europe? Policy, opinion or politics? -
15.

**Newspaper:** de Volkskrant  
**Date:** September 5 2015  
**Retrieved using:** LexisNexis  
**Length:** 359 words  
**Author:** -  

**Title:** Kentering bij deel EU: toch meer opvang – *Change at the EU: yet more accommodation*  
**Subtitle:** -  

**Article:**

Langzaam maar zeker tonen West-Europese landen zich bereid meer vluchtelingen op te vangen. Groot-Brittannië en Ierland kondigden vrijdag aan 'duizenden' asiel te verlenen. Ook Spanje zinspeelde op een ruimhartiger toelatingsbeleid.

Oost-Europese EU-lidstaten hameren daarentegen op verscherpte bewaking van de Europese buitengrenzen om vluchtelingen te weren. Ook blijven ze zich verzetten tegen een verplichte spreiding van asielzoekers over alle EU-landen. Dat blijkt uit een verklaring die leiders van Tsjechië, Polen, Slowakije en Hongarije vrijdag verspreidden na spoedoverleg in Praag.

In de Hongaarse hoofdstad Boedapest, deze week het middelpunt van chaotische taferelen, stemde het parlement in met een nieuw pakket maatregelen om illegale immigratie te voorkomen. Wie ondanks het nieuw opgetrokken hek aan de grens met Servië toch Hongarije binnenkomt, riskeert een boete van duizenden euro's.


Het jongetje Aylan werd vrijdag begraven in de Syrische stad Kobani. Vader Abdullah Kurdi droeg ook een tweede zoontje en zijn echtgenote ten grave. 'Hij wilde alleen naar Europa om zijn kinderen een toekomst te bieden,' zei een oom tegen verslaggevers. 'Nu ze dood zijn, wil hij in Kobani blijven.'

Questionnaire:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions:</th>
<th>Answers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is the focus of the article?</td>
<td>The changes that EU leaders made to accommodate migrants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the overall tone that the journalist uses for the article?</td>
<td>A normal, factual tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What type of article is it (news article, background article, follow-up story)</td>
<td>News article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who ‘speaks’ in the article (both direct as indirect)?</td>
<td>The author, David Cameron, Abdullah’s uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whose quotes are used?</td>
<td>Cameron and Abdullah’s uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What quotes stand out?</td>
<td>Cameron said, as a father and a human, to be shocked, and wanting to act as a politician to prevent these kind of tragedies from happening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is Europe mentioned in the article?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who mentions Europe?</td>
<td>The author, and Abdulllah’s uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is mentioned about Europe? Policy, opinion or politics?</td>
<td>Europe is mentioned as Abdullah’s destination, and policy about the accommodation for refugees is mentioned.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16.

Newspaper: La Stampa
Date: September 3 2015
Retrieved using: Archive La Stampa
Length: 716 words
Author: Niccolò Zancan

Title: Aylan e quella traversata da Bodrum pochi chilometri diventati una trappola- Aylan and the crossing a few kilometers from Bodrum became a trap
Subtitle:-
**Article:**

Il bambino con la faccia nella sabbia si chiamava Aylan. Tre anni. Pantaloncini al ginocchio, una maglietta rossa, le braccia stese dalla risacca. Ieri mattina la corrente lo ha spinto indietro, fino alla spiaggia di Bodrum, Turchia, la stessa spiaggia da cui era partito poche ore prima.


Era partito dalla Siria, un Paese che non esiste più. Te lo dicono tutti. «Scuola, librerie, ospedali, acqua, cibo. Non c'è più nulla». Molti te lo dicono con rabbia e rimpianto: «Noi vorremmo stare in Siria, è il posto che amiamo, ma non si può». Bisogna partire. Lo fanno i ricchi e i poveri. Quelli che affollano i campi di accoglienza in Libano e in Giordania. Quelli che cercano di raggiungere il Nord Europa. Parte la classe media. Partono medici, ammalati, studenti, piloti d'aereo, professori universitari, uomini anziani con il bastone, signore in sedie a rotelle, gatti nelle gabbette, genitori, figli e neonati. Non è facile scappare da un Paese in guerra, dove cadono bombe dal cielo recapitate a casaccio dal presidente Bashar al Assad.


Possono bastare un motore fuoribordo 20 cavalli, tre ore di navigazione per l'isola di Kos. Non serve lo scafista. La terra si vede ad occhio nudo. C'è chi è partito persino su canottieri a remi, ed è arrivato. All'alba li vedi in spiaggia, con pochi vestiti, i soldi e il


**Questionnaire:**

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<th>Questions:</th>
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<tr>
<td>What is the focus of the article?</td>
<td>Explain who the migrants that come to Europe are, using Alan as an example</td>
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<tr>
<td>What is the overall tone that the journalist uses for the article?</td>
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<td>What type of article is it (news article, background article, follow-up story)</td>
<td>Background story, follow-up</td>
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<tr>
<td>Who ‘speaks’ in the article (both direct as indirect)?</td>
<td>Author, and indirect anonymous migrants, Turkish news agency</td>
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<td>Whose quotes are used?</td>
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<td>What quotes stand out?</td>
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<td>Is Europe mentioned in the article?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Who mentions Europe?</td>
<td>Author</td>
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<tr>
<td>What is mentioned about Europe? Policy, opinion or politics?</td>
<td>Only as being the destination for migrants.</td>
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17.

Newspaper: La Stampa  
Date: September 4 2015  
Retrieved using: Archive La Stampa  
Length: 468  
Author: Francesca Paci

Title: Il dolore del papà di Aylan “Lo riporterò a Kobane” – The suffering of Aylan's dad “I’ll bring him back to Kobane”

Subtitle: Non ha più voglia d'Europa, Abdullah Kurdi. All’uscita dall’obitorio di Yerkesik Town, dov’è andato a riconoscere i corpi del piccolo Aylan, dell’altro figlio di 5 anni Galip e della moglie 35enne Rehen, racconta di voler tornare indietro e seppellire con la famiglia la sua stessa esistenza. «Voglio solo vedere i miei bimbi ancora una volta, riportarli a Kobane e star con loro per sempre» dice ai cronisti accalcati in questa cittadina della provincia turca di Mugla.

L’immagine di Aylan riverso senza vita sulla spiaggia di Bodrum è diventata l’icona della marea umana in fuga dalla catastrofe siriana, ma per lui quell’immagine è l’ultima. La fine della storia. Un figlio della Guerra Abdullah Shenu, unico sopravvissuto della famiglia che per l’identità etnica i turchi hanno ribattezzato Kurdi, è un barbiere 40enne di Damasco, la città in cui originariamente abitava con moglie e primogenito. Le informazioni raccolte da «Bbc», «Cnn», «al Jazeera», intrecciano la sua vita a quella della guerra siriana. È lì, nel mezzo dell’inferno in cui è degenerata l’inizialmente pacifica rivolta contro il regime di Assad, che 3 anni fa nasce Aylan. «La famiglia ha lasciato Damasco nel 2012 per rifugiarsi a Aleppo e dopo, quando Aleppo è esplosa, è partita per Kobane» riferisce all’Afp il giornalista di Kobane Mustefa Ebdi. Kobane, dove il più piccolo dei Shenu ha verosimilmente trascorso i suoi primi e ultimi mesi e dove i genitori devono aver scattato le foto in cui posa col fratellino non è solo un luogo geografico, è il paradigma della trincea, la Stalingrado mediorientale che i guerrieri curdi hanno difeso per settimane dall’assedio dei tagliagola del Califfato.

Per questo, braccato dalle bombe, papà Abdullah sposta di nuovo tutti in Turchia, tenta invano di ottenere l’asilo nel Canada in cui vive la sorella Timaa e, a domanda respinta perché priva di
regolare status di rifugiato, chiede in prestito 4 mila euro per imbarcarsi alla volta dell’isola Kos, Grecia, Europa. «Me li ha sottratti il mare» «Eravamo in 12 e la barca era stracarica, quando si è rovesciata, poco dopo aver salpato, ho preso mia moglie e i bimbi tra le braccia ma mi sono scivolati via, le onde erano altissime, era buio, tutti urlavano e li ho perduti» racconta ancora Abdullah.

A riva, indietro al punto di partenza, dopo che le onde avevano inghiottito ben due scialuppe di disperati, la ricerca vana: «Credevo che fossero fuggiti per la paura e aspettavo nel luogo d’incontro di Bodrum ma non vedendoli sono andato all’ospedale e ho saputo la verità». Adesso il Canada si muove: volendo, Abdullah può avere l’asilo che sognava. Ma non lo vuole più: «Ora desidero solo portare i corpi a Suruc, al confine turco, e poi a Kobane per restare con loro tutta la vita».

**Questionnaire:**

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<td>Explaining what happened to Alan.</td>
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<td>Mustefa Ebdi, Abdullah Kurdi,</td>
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<td>Mustefa Ebdi</td>
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<td>What quotes stand out?</td>
<td>The one from Abdullah: “We were with twelve and the boat was overloaded, when it capsized, shortly after we had taken of, I took my wife and children in my arms, but they slipped away. The waves were very high and it was dark, everybody screamed and I lost them.”</td>
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<td>Is Europe mentioned in the article?</td>
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<td>Who mentions Europe?</td>
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18.

**Newspaper:** La Stampa  
**Date:** September 5 2015  
**Retrieved using:** Archive La Stampa  
**Length:** 505  
**Author:** Alessandra Rizzo  

**Title:** Cameron cede alle pressioni “Ospiteremo 4 mila siriani” –  
**Cameron gives in to pressure: “We will accommodate 4 thousand Syrians”**  
**Subtitle:**  

**Article:**  
Di fronte alla pressione crescente degli alleati europei e di un’opinione pubblica interna sconvolta dalle foto del piccolo Aylan, il bimbo morto su una spiaggia turca, David Cameron annuncia che il Regno Unito accoglierà «altre migliaia» di rifugiati siriani. Mancano i numeri precisi, anche se l’Alto Commissariato delle Nazioni Unite per i Rifugiati ha parlato di quattromila persone. Il primo ministro promette di aiutare i profughi «con la testa e con il cuore» e spiega che i rifugiati arriveranno direttamente dai campi al confine con la Siria. Stanza inoltre 100 milioni di sterline in aiuti umanitari destinati ai campi profughi in Giordania, Libano e Turchia. Dietrofront Solo pochi giorni fa Cameron era finito sotto accusa per essersi rifiutato, nel pieno della crisi che sta scuotendo la coscienza dell’Europa, di dare accoglienza ai rifugiati.  

A criticare il primo ministro sono stati non solo i rivali laburisti, ma deputati del suo stesso partito conservatore (tra cui un peso massimo, il sindaco di Londra Boris Johnson), le maggiori autorità religiose del Paese e i leader delle organizzazioni umanitarie. Più di 100.000 cittadini hanno firmato una petizione per chiedere al governo maggiore solidarietà. E giovedì quasi tutti i giornali britannici, compresi quelli vicini ai conservatori, hanno pubblicato in prima pagina le immagini di Aylan, il bimbo morto annegato con la mamma e il fratellino nel tentativo di raggiungere l'Europa dalla Siria.  

Già George Osborne, cancelliere dello scacchiere e stretto alleato di Cameron, aveva detto che «la prima cosa da fare è contrastare lo Stato Islamico e le associazioni criminali che hanno ucciso quel bambino». Poi Cameron stesso ha detto di essere rimasto sconvolto, da padre, da quelle immagini, e poco dopo ha ammorbidito la linea. I quattromila saranno prelevati dai campi profughi, ha spiegato durante una visita a Lisbona, «così da garantire una via sicura e diretta nel Regno Unito ed evitare loro
un pericoloso viaggio che è costato così tante vite». Non rientreranno nel sistema di quote europeo, cui Londra ha detto no, ma saranno sistemati secondo uno schema di accoglienza ai profughi siriani varato dalla Gran Bretagna l'anno scorso.

Finora appena 216 persone ne hanno potuto usufruire. L'alleanza con Berlino-Cameron deve barcamenarsi in una situazione delicata. Da una parte sa che il tema dell'immigrazione è tra i più sentiti dai cittadini britannici, anche in vista del referendum sull'Ue che si terrà entro il 2017. Dall'altra non può ignorare gli appelli al «dovere morale» di aiutare quanti fuggono da zone di conflitto e persecuzione, né può permettersi di trascurare le richieste di solidarietà del governo tedesco: Londra sta rinegoziando i termini della permanenza nell'Ue e il sostegno di Berlino è imprescindibile. La Germania ha detto che accoglierà 800.000 profughi. La Gran Bretagna ha dato asilo, dall'inizio della crisi siriana nel 2011 al giugno di quest'anno, a cinquemila siriani. Troppo poco. E Cameron, alla fine, se ne è reso conto.

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