MEDIVA

MEDIA FOR DIVERSITY AND MIGRANT INTEGRATION

Thematic Report 2011/02:
Media Content

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Adam Mickiewicz University, Miramedia Center

Thematic Report

Media Content

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MEDIVA PROJECT

The MEDIVA Research Project

Media for Diversity and Migrant Integration: Consolidating Knowledge and Assessing Media Practices across the EU

The MEDIVA project seeks to strengthen the capacity of the media to reflect the increasing diversity of European societies and promote immigrant integration. To achieve this objective, the project will organize the knowledge produced so far and will create a searchable online database of all relevant studies on media and diversity/integration issues that will be made available for use by the media professionals as well as the general public. Building on the existing work and combining it with a series of in depth interviews with senior journalists across Europe, the MEDIVA project will generate a set of media monitoring indicators (which will be available in 8 languages) that can work for different media, in different countries, and that can provide the basis of a self- and other-assessment and future monitoring mechanism in the media. Four thematic reports will be written to reflect on how journalists and other media professionals deal with migrant diversity in five areas of their work: in recruitment/employment conditions; in training provided; as regards codes of ethics; in news making and programme production; in presenting diversity (news content). Finally, five Regional Workshops will bring together media professionals, NGOs and researchers to discuss the role of the media in promoting migrant integration. The MEDIVA project is hosted by the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies and co-ordinated by Prof. Anna Triandafyllidou (anna.triandafyllidou@eui.eu). The EUI and the RSCAS are not responsible for the opinion expressed by the author(s).

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Scope and methods:
The present report is based on an analysis of studies, published in English, German, Dutch, Polish and Italian[1] between 2000 and 2010, about the representation of migrants in the media, and on interviews about this topic with media professionals in Greece, Great Britain, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands and Poland. The focus is on migrants who do not have nationality of an EU country, so mainly first generation migrants, asylum seekers and refugees. The results provide insight into the role of media in the portrayal of these groups and the definition of issues related to migration and integration of migrants in public discourse in the 2000s.

The aim was to identify patterns in the findings related to how often, in which context, and in what way do media talk about migrants, which sources are presented and quoted in the media, how and from which perspective is information presented. Do we see a preference in media for certain themes, groups, sources, definitions and perspectives, when treatments of migrant issues are concerned. To what extent are migrants given the opportunity to have their voice heard in news that concerns them, and are they treated as reliable sources. How are migrants represented within the context of general news, how is their portrayal affected by coverage, and what are the effects of negative portrayal on attitudes and opinions towards migrants.

The studies reviewed examined used a number of methodologies to study *how often* and in *what way* media covered events and issues about third country nationals in the EU: from discourse analysis looking at the use of language and argumentation, to quantitative studies analysing larger sets of media coverage. The interviews were based on a questionnaire informed by the literature review.

Main findings:
Media coverage varies greatly between Member States in terms of tone and balance. Different immigrant groups (as indicated by their migration category, country or origin, religion, age and sex) also receive different treatment in the media. Room for positive practice appeared to depend also on the status and length of stay of migrant groups, the period of investigation and the type of coverage (key events or long term background coverage).

A major finding confirming earlier research is that in coverage about migrants the media frequently feed on oppositions between a positive 'us' and a negative 'them'. Migrants are frequently represented as group rather than individual, and then either attributed characteristics of threat, or associated with problems, in particular crime and conflicts. But some studies also identified the use of humanitarian arguments in press discourse. It is also found in the literature that migrants are more negatively represented than non-migrants in

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[1] One of the selection criteria for the studies was the language of the publication. The selected languages are: English, German, Dutch, Polish and Italian referred to as EN, DE, NL, PL and IT respectively throughout the report

similar news contexts; this finding was revealed in both quantitative and discourse analytical studies and confirmed by the MEDIVA interviews with journalists. Several studies indicated the negative effects of mainstream media coverage on attitudes towards and treatment of migrants in society.

Positive examples of coverage were found in local press, in particular in metropolitan areas, in quality newspapers that had reporters specialised on the topic and allowed for background reporting and investigations, and contextualisation of reports, and in programming by Public Service Broadcasters in a number of countries. As also confirmed by the interviews, depending on the type of media, the editorial policy and the news agenda more positive examples can thus be found. Although local press reporting sometimes had a more positive bent, a difference is observed between media conceived negatively as a (political) mobilisation tool for conflicts between 'locals' and 'TCN' on the one hand, and the positive view on use of (local) media as a means to foster integration/participation and sense of community, on the other.

In general, second and third generation migrants are more visible, more often quoted and their portrayal is more balanced compared to that of new immigrants or refugees. However, several studies claim the quotation of minority or migrant sources is overall still quite limited, but is a little better in quality and local press. MEDIVA interviewees also reveal that visibility of migrants on television is more easily achieved in niche programming and entertainment than in prime-time news and talk shows.

A specific finding for coverage in the 2000s is the stereotypical representation of Muslims in the media, e.g. by association of Muslim men with religious fundamentalism and the representation of Muslim women as the victims of a backward culture and inferiorising religious precepts. In the 2000s, so the studies reviewed reveal, the position of migrants in society is increasingly given meaning through Islam, by means of generalisations, and the selection of specific news themes and formats and negative portrayals by which religious difference is seen as an essential trait of migrants. Such difference is frequently used in formats that 'explain' the disadvantaged or victimised position of e.g. Muslim women. Although in specific instances there was room for more balanced portrayal, investigative and background reporting, and debate, where the position of Muslims was concerned, in most media studies the predominant picture is that of Islam as a threat to security, the culture and fundamental values of the West. This has also led to a general shift in meaning away from participation towards conflict when migrant issues are discussed, and in some cases to the blending of foreign reporting about international conflicts and national news agendas.

When terminology describing migrants is examined, the findings are that this was at times fuzzy and inaccurate, over-generalising and at times even biased for groups that in reality are internally greatly diversified in terms of for example legal status, origin, and identity. This is also confirmed by part of the interviews conducted for MEDIVA, especially in countries with a more recent immigration history. Also, in many studies in part of the countries analysed for

this report national or ethnic origin of suspects is still mentioned in crime reports, or − as emerged from the interviews conducted - the awareness not do so is becoming less strong. Journalists interviewed emphasised their application of professional standards, and specific awareness of the need for neutral and accurate reporting about migrant-related news similar to any other news, in particular in quality press and public broadcasting. However, part of the interviews confirmed a lack of precision in terms or specification of status and origin of migrants in particular by journalists or chief editors of general or popular newspapers with no particular interest in the topic.

Concerning access to migrant sources, there is no clear agreement among journalists: while some indicated access problems, and programs to overcome these, others, in particular print media journalists, claimed that access today can no longer be an excuse for not citing migrants. Some journalists mentioned issues of reliability and newsworthiness when migrant sources present news. The interviews do confirm the finding from the literature review that use of migrant sources in press reporting appears to have diminished and the reason for this may be the decrease in specialist reporters and a more general fatigue, among several migrant reporters to be regarded as the migrant community specialist.

On the basis of the research reviewed it is not possible to identify one common trend in the development of media content: some studies highlight negative portrayals and framing also compared to previous decades, while other publications stress increased investigative reporting, counter-argumentation, and use of migrant sources as signs of less essentialising portrayal.

Several projects aimed at improving the portrayal of migrants, e.g. by establishing dialogue and networks that create connections and understanding between immigrant organisations and media professionals. The interviews conducted have also provided examples of organisations investing in either training or professional development of their staff so as to facilitate accurate reporting about ethnic religious and cultural diversity. Other organisations rely on firm editorial policies to guarantee journalistic quality in general, or pay specific attention to the search for and preparation of migrant guests and sources.

The specific position of TCNs is however, from what we have been able to assess, not specifically addressed in practices concerning media content. This is an issue which deserves further investigation as it may well be that awareness schemes inspired by logics of racial or ethnic diversity may be less effective when dealing with diversity caused by new immigration and the position of TCN.

Moreover, this report recommends that research take into account the changing position of the journalistic profession and the role of journalists in public debate about migrant integration related issues. The analysis of media content would need to encompass not just the representation of social groups and their negative or positive evaluations in the news, but also, as was done in part of the studies reviewed, the ways in which migrant and integration topics are explained, evaluated and accounted for in the news, and what claims and demands are

made in terms of remedies, and consequences, within the context of the changing public discourse about integration of migrants.

Samuel Bennett, Jessika ter Wal, Artur Lipiński, Małgorzata Fabiszak, and Michał Krzyżanowski

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1. Introduction

It is since long claimed in a vast body of research that the representation of migrants in news content is vital to the public perception of, and hence to the reproduction and challenging of, attitudes and beliefs about migration and migrants in ethnically, culturally and religiously diverse societies. This in turn is part of a mechanism by which the interaction with and treatment of migrants in society is also influenced by what is reported upon in the media. Decades of research in the area have consistently found that the contents of media reports far from fairly represent diversity and migrants. On the other hand, it is believed that a fair and balanced representation of migrants in the media can support the integration of migrants, and vice versa. While most existing research has focused on national coverage of migrant issues, MEDIVA presents an innovative approach by combining a review of the existing research in Europe with fieldwork among journalists in six EU countries. The present report aims to verify the current developments and latest research results and to identify indications and possibilities for improved portrayal of and reporting about migrants.

The findings of this thematic report are based on a comprehensive and systematic review of the relevant literature on media representations of TCNs in Europe published between 2000 and 2010. The review of literature about media content was carried out on publications in English and Polish, by the members of the Polish team (S. Bennett, M. Fabiszak, M. Krzyżanowski and A. Lipiński), and on publications in Dutch, German and Italian by the Dutch researcher (J. ter Wal). The report is also based on the results of sixty-eight interviews with media professionals, i.e. reporters, editors in chief and programme makers, from newspapers, television and radio in Ireland, the Netherlands, Italy, Greece, Poland and the UK.

The report is divided into three main sections. Following this introduction, section two provides information about the research background and methodology. Section three analyses the key thematic findings of the literature review and section four discusses the findings of the interviews. In the concluding section, the findings will be compared and evaluated and placed in the wider context of the MEDIVA project.

2. Research background and methodology

This section first elucidates the methodological approaches in media content analysis (2.1), the main theoretical backgrounds (2.2) and national research traditions (2.3) and then explains the methodology of the literature review and interviews (2.4) and general characteristics of the research data (2.5).

2.1 Methodological approaches to analysing media content

Most of the literature that analyses the contents of media reports or programmes is focused on two methodologies that have specific origins and aims.

Firstly, *quantitative content analysis* counts the occurrence of specific features, such as the frequency of different actor types and subjects, their role, and the frequency of quotation of different actors, and the frequency of specific words or semantic fields, in particular in headlines. From such studies,

inferences can be made about the 'representation' of TCNs/migrants in the media, to the extent that there is then a numerical indicator of the presence of such groups or individuals, in specific functions, e.g. as spokesperson, expert, organisation, victim, crime suspect, etc. as compared to other non-TCN actors. Another strand in this research, influenced by research on gender representation in the media, has attempted to also compare the news on TCN (or migrants) with the news in general, in order to account for claims of specific media bias on negative themes or actors, where TCN are concerned (see ter Wal 2004b, ter Wal, d'Haenens and Koeman 2005). In the monitoring of audiovisual data, the occurrence of visibly different actors can be counted against the amount of time they appear on screen and the subjects with which they are associated (e.g. d'Haenens and Koeman 2005, Pennekamp, 2011). This quantitative research is more firmly based in communication sciences. The value of numerical evidence is based on the idea that they provide information at face value about the way in which media deal with diversity, and that this can be done for large data sets, over longer stretches of time, allowing for the analysis of trends. However, also more qualitative indicators are frequently used as the basis for quantitative research, such as the attribution of negative, neutral or positive traits or passive vs. active roles to actors, or the occurrence of subject-specific frames (e.g. d'Haenens and Bink 2006; Koenen, 2008; Broos and van den Bulck, 2008a; van Gorp, 2005) inspired by agenda setting research (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).

Secondly, the largely *qualitative analysis* of media content over the last decade is mostly informed by linguistics, discourse analysis and frame analysis. Since the 1990s, media studies have been conducted not only within the fields of media and communication research but also in the wider social sciences including, inter alia, sociology, political science and linguistics where aspects of media contents such as framing, argumentation, construction of in- and out-groups are often scrutinised in detail. At the intersection of those fields, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has played a prominent role since the 1990s by moving the otherwise abstract research on language towards the more critically macro-oriented research on the role of (media) language in shaping attitudes, beliefs and opinions (about diversity) in contemporary societies (for example, van Dijk, 1991; Matouschek et al, 1995). By the same token, work performed in semiotics and cultural studies – for example those inspired by the work of Stuart Hall and others – has also been influential for the emergence of a new focus on the use of images and inter-textuality in contemporary media content.

Although pertaining to different research traditions, a combination of quantitative content analysis, on the one hand, and qualitative (discourse) analysis, on the other, is often used in the literature. For example, discourse analysis by van Dijk (1991) included an extensive *quantitative* analysis of British and Dutch press reporting during the 1980s. While the numerical data allows basic 'evidence' to be given of patterns in media contents, the qualitative analysis allows going more in depth, either in a systematic way or through a case-study approach. It allows the examination of specific characteristics of the way in which specific groups are portrayed, and how news is framed or formulated, thus highlighting, inter alia, the social and political functions of news discourse. In a somewhat similar vein, the recent analyses by e.g. Baker et al (2008) have proposed a combination of quantitative corpus analysis with qualitatively-driven analyses according to CDA. While corpus linguistics allows for scrutinising large-scale corpora (i.e. a corpus of almost all British quality and tabloid, nationwide and regional newspapers and their discourses on migrants and asylum seekers), CDA adds a necessary dimension of looking more in-depth in the discursive representations (of selected 'peaks' of relevant reporting initiated by means of corpus and frequency analysis). Also, though still not very prominent, research on the audience-reception and influence of media contents is another approach that is gaining ground.

2.2 Theoretical background

The analysis of media contents is informed by knowledge and theories about routines and constraints in news-making, about media cultures, and journalistic values that are more or less consciously employed when producing news or other media contents (cf. Preston, 2009; Triandafyllidou, Wodak and Krzyżanowski, 2009). When discussing media contents, as happened also during the fieldwork for this paper, journalists often refer to their values of journalistic quality as the primary criterion by which to judge diversity and non-discrimination in media contents. Quality is then associated with such values as accuracy, balance, source diversity and reliability, and the journalistic 'myth' of media reflecting, registering and representing society in all its diversity and addressing also the diversity in its audiences. This diversity is also reflected in staff composition and awareness. Thus, although the existing literature shows there are a number of specific content-related features that provide important information about the position of TCN, we cannot completely separate a discussion on media contents from the other three areas addressed in the MEDIVA project notably newsmaking/programme production, recruitment/employment, and training practices of the media (cf. Gemi, Ulasiuk and Triandafyllidou, 2011; Markova and McKay, 2011; O'Boyle, Fehr and Preston, 2011).

Besides the *discourse analytical perspective* on the role of the media mentioned so far, there are a number of different theoretical perspectives within the communication and social sciences that have informed the literature on media content.

Firstly, *news-making theory* argues that news-making routines are dictated by common news values such as negativity, proximity, and the extraordinary. Routines are also characterised by organisational constraints, constraints inherent to the media industry, and the composition of and socialisation in the newsroom. These findings are based on classic ethnographic research in newsrooms or interviews with media professionals (e.g. Cottle, 2000). When applied to content analysis, news-making theory relates the occurrence of different actors to routines in source use; and the occurrence of negative themes to established ideas of what is newsworthy (see also Gemi, Ulasiuk and Triandafyllidou, 2011, MEDIVA report on news making practices).

Secondly, *agenda setting theory* as well as approaches within critical discourse analysis have focused on the role of political and institutional elites or 'gatekeepers' (in the agenda setting approach) in the formation of agendas. When applied to content analysis, this means examining the selection and definition of issues in the news, and the quotation of different news actors in more or less prominent positions, and the attribution of credibility and accountability to the different actors.

Thirdly, *framing theory*, though diverse in its practical application, argues that the media frame the news, as part of their news-making routine, and to some extent together with relevant actors, both elite and non, and as part of more widely held patterns of belief systems and collective representations. By analysing such frames it is then possible to say something about the meanings or interpretative frameworks that are conveyed through media messages.

Finally, *claims-making approaches* generally using a quantitative methodology, look at the way in which migrant actors manage to set different identity- or citizenship-related issues on the media agenda (e.g. Koopmans et al 2005). The studies do not look at functioning of media, but take media as an indicator to study social and political phenomena, i.e. migrant participation in public sphere. This approach allows for a bottom-up perspective as opposed to the prevalently top-down focus of agenda setting and CDA approaches. It is likely that this approach may highlight a more active, participatory role of migrants in the public debate.

2.3 Research methods in the studies and national research traditions

In this section we will discuss which of the methodological approaches were most used in the studies collected in the different languages, and how these, in our view, relate to the different research traditions in these linguistic areas/countries.

Firstly, in the analysed *English-language* studies a strong tendency towards applying a discourse analytical approach to the study of representation of migrants within the media was found. This quite possibly reflects a more general tendency towards the use of qualitative methods within the social sciences in the English-speaking world where, especially in the UK, the aforementioned CDA and other discourse-oriented approaches have been widely applied to media studies for some time. This stems from the fact that, to a large extent, CDA initiated the research on racism and discrimination (e.g. Matouschek et al, 1995; van Dijk, 1991; Wodak, 1996) while drawing on more prevalent approaches to racism and discrimination proposed in the 1990s (cf. inter alia, Essed 1990, 1991).

By contrast, in the *Polish* body of analysed research, quantitatively oriented content analysis is more often applied. As such, this has been the main research tradition in Polish media studies initiated by, inter alia, Pisarek (1974) within the country's once leading media research institution at the Krakow Centre for Press Analysis (*Ośrodek Badań Prasoznawczych*). Recently however, one can observe the growing popularity of discourse analysis employed by researchers not only with linguistic but also social science background. Also, research interest in media representations of migrants has started mainly with the recent arrival of new migrant groups in Poland (in particular after the 2004 EU accession). However, it is necessary to mention that media debates on this issue are still extremely rare – also due to the still low politicisation of migration-related issues in the Polish public sphere as such – with media reports often referring to foreigners in general, rather than to immigrants as such.

Similarly, the *German* language area has a strong quantitative tradition in media studies, going back to the handbooks on content analysis by Krippendorff (1980) and Merten (1983) as well as the first study on foreigners in the press by Merten (1986). This tradition is also reflected in part of the literature produced in the 2000s, based on research in communication science departments, which emphasise the need to analyse large corpora of newspaper data over several years (Georg Ruhrmann in Germany, Heinz Bonfadelli in Switzerland). German language studies also show diversity in methodological approaches, including discourse analysis (Schiffer, 2005; Wengeler, 2006) semiotics (Thiele, 2005) critical discourse analysis (Jaeger and Halm, 2007; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001) and semantic and stylistic analyses combined with measurement approaches from studies in social psychology and theories of media effects (Sommer, Leipzig University; Ruhrmann, Jena University).

In the *Dutch* language, both quantitative and qualitative studies, and combinations of these, are found. The University of Gent communication department has a strong lead on quantitative studies in the field. We see in several studies produced in Flemish the attempt to deepen the methodological utility of research, i.e. to produce longitudinal studies, i.e. repeated monitoring over time of same datasets, testing of implementation of codes and manuals, testing of hypotheses against conclusions from previous research. At the University of Amsterdam, qualitative research has focused more on diversity in fiction (de Bruin 2003, 2005) or on the study of journalistic cultures and profession values in relation to diversity (Deuze, 2002), and more recently for example on quantitative analyses of source use patterns (Paalvast and Bos, 2010). The work by van Dijk (1991) formerly based at University of Amsterdam has had more following in the international English literature (see above). On the other hand, quantitative research continues to be fundamental for acquiring basic information about media contents (Nijmegen and Utrecht University research), which is then often complemented

with qualitative methods of frame analysis (d'Haenens and Bink, 2006; van Gorp, 2006) or discourse analysis (ter Wal, 2004a). Another interest shown in recent Dutch language studies is the attempt to analyse the perception of media contents by diverse audiences, including migrants (e.g. Broos and van den Bulck, 2008b; Devroe, 2004), the role of interactive and online media (e.g. Witschge, 2008), and the effects of (mis)representation on the position of migrants in society (Nievers and Andriessen, 2010; Siebers, 2010).

In *Italy*, overall the emphasis on numbers is shown from the research available. We see official research institutes and individual researchers who have either followed strictly quantitative approaches of a descriptive nature at the University of Rome La Sapienza, recently in cooperation with the national press federation (Binotto, 2005, Binotto et al 2009) by large public research institutes (Centro Studi Investimenti Sociali, 2002) or monitoring bodies (Osservatorio di Pavia, 2011). A more critical perspective using cultural studies and discourse analysis is also found (e.g. Maneri, 2009). Also NGOs take a role in monitoring media with a mostly quantitative approach, such as Cooperazione per lo Sviluppo dei Paesi Emergenti in Florence/Bologna (Corte, 2008; Meli and Sorrentino, 2009).

2.4 Literature review and interviews sample selection

In general, the position of TCNs, has been underdeveloped in reviews of media research, and it is therefore an important aspect of our review to fill this gap. The position of Third Country Nationals in the media is often the most precarious and prone to discrimination and negative treatment. Indeed, while awareness of professional codes and non-offensive or even 'anti-racist' coverage does seem to become engrained in practices of journalists in countries with a longer immigration history, this mostly seems to apply, however, to ethnic minorities. Journalistic awareness was found to be less strong as hostility in coverage continued when newcomers were concerned (for example, Greenslade, 2005; Law, 2002; Statham, 2002). [2]

Thus, while research analysing the position of TCN was included, *studies focusing exclusively on one or more of the settled (or 'established') ethnic minorities such as Ukrainians in Poland, Russians in Estonia or South Asians (Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian) in the UK were to a large extent excluded*. However, as some studies contained considerable overlap in terms of their focus with migration-related issues, they where deemed worthy and relevant and were therefore included in the review. In the Dutch language literature, the overlaps between TCN and ethnic minorities could not always have been avoided, e.g. when studies focus on representations of diversity or Islam. In the Netherlands and Belgium, the distinction between third-country nationals and longer settled minorities was often not made in the data description of the studies. In some cases it was made, but both groups were included in the analysis, and also interesting comparisons were made in terms of portrayal and representation. Many studies include '*allochtonen*' that can be either first, second, or third generation. Except when the issue of asylum seekers was explicitly addressed, as in one study in Belgium, one could not be sure it concerned TCN. Also the studies on Muslims or Muslim women did not specify representations of which generation of migrants were studies. Italian studies mostly

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[2] Moreover, in particular instances, the importance of professional codes regarding coverage of cultural diversity in general may move to the background in a changing political and societal climate, such as the rise of populist parties and debates about the end of political correctness (ter Wal, 2007).

concern first generation migrants so there was no need to filter these. German language studies often dealt with the position of refugees in media contents (as this has also been a major political issue in Germany and Switzerland).

In addition, *any piece of research had to be primarily devoted to migration as such, or to diversity issues that were linked directly to migration, rather than the wider issues of multiliculturalism, intergroup relations and so on*. However, in some cases and countries (NL, DE) research with the main focus on ethnic, cultural or religious diversity was also included as migration was often inscribed into such wider frames. Indeed, a frequent finding of our research was a shift in the framing of immigration and integration issues by the press from one of race to one of culture or religion.

A vast amount of discourse/content analysis studies during the 2000s has been carried out on Islam and integration in Europe. This followed on from a number of key events: the terrorist attacks in New York (2001) Madrid (2004) and London (2005), the Mohammed cartoon controversy in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* (2005), and the murder by an Islamist extremist of the Dutch filmmaker and TV columnist Theo van Gogh (2004), as well as the political, societal and media reactions to these events and the rise in popularity of extreme right-wing or populist politics, such as Jean Marie le Pen's second place in the French presidential elections (2002), the electoral landslide of populist Fortuyn (2002) and of Wilders' Freedom Party (2006, 2010) in the Netherlands and the gains made by the British National Party in European and local elections in the UK (2006, 2008, 2009).

The third criterion by which literature was selected for the review was that *studies should focus on third-country migration into EU states*. Therefore, the sample was again further focused geographically in two ways – in terms of destination and origin. Firstly, any literature on immigration into receiving states outside of the EU, predominantly the US, Canada, Israel and Australia, were automatically excluded unless they were comparative pieces such as Teun Van Dijk's *Racism and Discourse in Spain and Latin America* (2005). Secondly, studies of internal EU migration were generally excluded, although one exception to this is the case of A10 accession states post-2004 and 2007, which were included.

The final three criteria were the date and quality, and language of publication. The literature review was limited to include Dutch, English, German, Italian and Polish language publications only.[3] A majority of studies was written in English and mostly, though not exclusively, focused on the UK. Studies based in NL, BE, DE, IT were reviewed through the publications in their local language. Although publication in English of local studies is in general an indication of quality, such studies are often preceded or accompanied by publications in their own language.

Our study works published from 2000 onwards – the publications before 2000 have been reviewed for the then 15 EU Member States in ter Wal (2002). Through the literature review researchers were guided by the quality of the work. Texts were only taken from academic publishers, peer-reviewed journals or research institutes, and any methodological failings were highlighted in critical annotations for the database. MA theses and doctoral theses were included in the lesser known languages where there were very few other studies on the topic. The literature was gathered using

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[3] French language publication were not included because of the language proficience of the participants. The researcher accept that such literature would be an important and relevant contribution to the review and there is space for such research.

existing databases, literature databases such as SSCI, library catalogues, inter-library loan systems and through visits to libraries and other institutions.

In applying the criteria outlined above, the literature review returned over one hundred and fifty relevant content/discourse analysis studies focusing on the position of TCN in EU member states media.

In addition to the scholarly publications reviewed, this report is based on 68 interviews carried out in Italy, Ireland, Britain, Netherlands, and Poland in the summer of 2011. Interviewees included senior journalists and reporters, as well as people working in relevant positions such as editors, editors in chief, HR managers, program makers, producers and researchers. The interviewees came from a broad range of media: public and privately-owned, TV and radio, broadsheets, tabloids and periodicals (see for details the attached Annex).

2.5 Typology of research data

In order to analyse the varied literature on media content, we had to take into account that the countries involved had different media and that the focus on different media types leads to a different contextualisation of research findings.

A large proportion of the discourse/content analysis studies included in the literature review took their samples and corpus from newspapers, although there were some language variations in this. In German and Dutch language studies, television was more often included, in German more than the press, and in Dutch more than in the past, in particular in the quantitative studies. In the Netherlands, quantitative TV studies were mostly linked to monitoring efforts by broadcasting organisations as part of their diversity policy (Sterk and van Dijk, 2003). In Belgium quantitative studies may include (Devroe, 2007; Saeys et al, 2007) or be focused solely on TV, combined with audience interviews (Broos and van den Bulck 2008ab). In Dutch and German language, we also see qualitative TV analyses using discourse and narrative analysis, stemming often from Master or doctoral research projects (de Bruin, 2003, 2005; Luginbuehl, 2007; Thiele, 2005; Uhlemann, 2004) or larger research projects (Ruhrmann, Sommer and Uhlemann, 2006). Overall, academic research in the Netherlands still more often resorted to the analysis of print media, not least because such sources are also more easily retrievable. In Italian, we found a number of influential quantitative studies that include TV news data (Osservatorio di Pavia, 2011; Censis, 2002; Diamanti et al, 2008; Marchese and Milazzo, 2002).

In English language studies, television, radio and internet representation of migrants was understudied, especially when the focus of the research was on UK media. In EN studies in which television was analysed, there was a greater variety of genres analysed such as debate programmes in Norway (Alghasi 2009) and the UK (MacDonald, 2007), reality shows in Norway (Eide and Simonson 2009) and soap operas in Slovenia (Mlekuz 2008).

The increasing study of TV is of course a positive development as it is a medium that has a broader and more diverse audience. Because they are more labour intensive, studies of TV coverage, in particular when they have a major quantitative component, are often undertaken by larger institutions or communication departments that have the budget and facilities to organise these. This does not mean they are a-critical: quantitative studies can reveal distortions in TV coverage (Osservatorio di

Pavia, 2011) or provide evidence for the limited representation of ethnic diversity on TV (Sterk and van Dijk, 2003; Koeman, Peeters and d'Haenens, 2007; Pennekamp 2011) and also monitor the developments in this over time.

In the English language, the articles studied came primarily from national newspapers and within the UK the three main newspapers analysed were the *Daily Mail*, *the Sun* and *the Guardian*. There were also a number of studies that looked at specific regions such as the Information Centre for Asylum and Refugees' report prepared for the Mayor of London's office '*Reflecting Asylum in London's communities'* (2005). Alternatively, other studies used regional/local newspapers as part of a larger corpus to analyse migration in Italy (Mai 2002), the UK (Buchanan, Grillo and Threadgold, 2004) and Spain (Belmonte, McCabe and Chornet-Roses, 2010). In Poland the local and regional newspapers constituted the empirical data of Ząbek and Łodziński's (2008) and Kolankiewicz-Lundberg, Sabik and Trojanek (2008) papers.

In the German language, the specificities of local press coverage were analysed by Fick (2009), Mueller (2009, Dortmund), while Stopfner (2010) compared these with online and ethnic media in the Tirol region. In Dutch, the contents of newspapers produced in Antwerp were analysed quantitatively by Ronsmans (2004) and for Dutch local press in Leurdijk (2004).

There were a small number of studies, in particular from the Dutch and German language areas, that quantitatively analysed multiple media, such as 'How news content influences anti-immigration attitudes: Germany 1993-2005' (Boomgarden and Vliegenhart, 2009) which analysed newspaper articles and TV news reports, this happened also in Belgium-based Devroe (2007) and d'Haenens and Koeman (2005). The study 'Television debate, interactivity and public opinion: the case of the BBC's asylum day' (MacDonald, 2007) analysed TV debate programmes and their online discussion forums.

The Polish language literature review on media representation of migrants consisted of just nine studies, all of which analysed Polish national media. Most of these studies were content, rather than discourse, analytical and took their material for research from one or more of the main daily national newspapers. The publications vary varied in respect of their scope, comprehensiveness, time frames and research design. Most of the analyzed Polish studies focused exclusively on the representation of the immigrants in media. The salient example of a different situation, however, was Koss-Goryszewska's report on the representation of women as victims of human trafficking (2010). Although Weinar's (2007) and Kolankiewicz-Lundberg, Sabik and Trojanek (2008) articles were focused on media representations of immigrants, they restricted their focus to single case studies.

In the Polish case, the most comprehensive and methodologically sound were the studies by Grzymala–Kazlowska (2007), Mrozowski (2003) and Koss-Goryszewska (2010). Grzymala-Kazlowska's book–length analysis of the main *topoi* used to construct the image of immigrants, scrutinized four dailies: quality newspapers *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Rzeczpospolita*, and *Nasz Dziennik* as well as a tabloid *SuperExpress*. The analysis spanned three full selected years: 1993, 1998, 2003. Mrozowski's research from 2003 was in fact a follow up of the analysis done in 1998 in order to determine whether the media representation of immigrants had changed on the eve of EU accession. His sample consisted of 12 broadsheet and tabloid newspapers of nation-wide circulation published in the second half of 2002. Although Koss-Goryszewska worked on the sample took merely from Gazeta Wyborcza, she analysed issues from 1991 to 2009, employing quantitative and qualitative content analysis and semantic field analysis (2010).

Other works analysed more than one media type or genre. One study by Ząbek and Łodziński's (2008) took its corpus from regional and national newspapers and another, by Kolankiewicz-Lundberg, Sabik and Trojanek (2008), analysed local and national newspaper as well as bulletins on the websites of news television channels and third (Mrozowski, 2003) included broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. Generally however, there were only a limited number of studies which took into account sources other than newspapers, ie. television or the internet.

Surprisingly, the internet was also understudied in EN publications which discursively analysed migrant immigration or integration. Two worth highlighting are Del-Teso Craviotto's study of Spanish online discussion forums (2009) and Polson and Kahle's analysis of the British Broadcasting Corporation's (BBC) special website on 'destination UK' (2010). Internet data was however included in a number of studies with multiple media samples in Belgium (Ronsmans, 2004; Witschge, 2008) and Italy (Stopfner, 2010).

Negative media content

Within the EN corpus, the focus of a majority of studies was on bad practices of media outlets: negative reporting and the problems in the discursive representation of migrants. The concentration of 'negative' findings in the discourse analytical literature brings up the question of whether negative reporting on migrants prevails in the media or whether, indeed, scholars have highlighted these negative practices because of their concern with the perpetuation of ethnic prejudice and racism in society. If at all, the focus on negativity could thus be emphasised by the critical theoretical perspective of discourse analytical studies.[4] However, also descriptive content analytical studies of large data corpora in different countries consistently find the prevalence of negative themes, frames and actor attributions in the news about migrants. Overall, however, we can say that there is variation in the occurrence and frequency of negative representations and portrayals, depending, among other things, on the type of medium that was studied and the time of monitoring.

Given that by now a lot of both quantitative and qualitative studies have been carried out that consistently produce similar findings, there is ground to believe that negativity in findings is not the result of selective sampling. For example, in studies of British media two tabloid newspapers of large circulation known for their sensationalist reporting, *the Sun* and *the Daily Mail*, were quite often sampled (Charteris-Black, 2006; O'Halloran, 2009) but also larger scale research which incorporated both tabloids and broadsheets from across the political spectrum produced similar final results (Baker et al. 2008). Moreover, in some cases positive developments were observed. Within the PL, IT, DE and NL corpus there were examples of positive vs. negative reporting.

The different theoretical perspectives outlined above present different explanations for the focus on negativity in newsmaking in general, and in newsmaking about migrants, in particular. We will briefly summarise these here. Firstly, from the perspective of newsmaking theory, negativity has to do with news values, routines and the construction of news events and hypes. Indeed, negativity and the extraordinary constitute common news values. Also agenda setting and framing theories provide

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[4] Triangulation of data has been recommended as a means to avoid such critique among others by Barkho (2008) in an article about Al Jazeera, CNN and BBC comparing news content with interviews with journalists, with journalistic style guides, and observations of newsmaking processes (cf. also Barkho, 2011).

explanations for the use of negative news in processes of political decision-making and campaigning. In addition, a fourth perspective focuses on the lack of professional preparation and awareness on the part of journalists where specific reporting about TCN is concerned, so that negative practice is perceived as an unintentional practice that can be countered by training, manuals, signing of professional codes or charters. Such studies often link to recommendations for fair reporting on TCN (see also Markova and McKay, 2011, MEDIVA report on recruitment and employment practices in the media; and O'Boyle, Fehr and Preston, 2011, MEDIVA report on training practices of the media). Within the research corpus, good practice guidelines for reporting on immigration were proposed by two reports: the Information Centre about Asylum Seekers and Refugees' (ICAR) report commissioned for the Mayor of London (Tate et al, 2004), and the human rights organisation, Article 19' report *What's the Story?* (Buchanen, Grillo and Threadgold, 2004). Belgian studies devised and also checked the extent to which existing recommendations were implemented in media content (Saeys et al, 2007). The overview of existing research and practice presented in ter Wal (2002) also contained a set of recommendations and examples of good practice.

It may not be possible to establish to what extent negative practices 'prevail' and if these practices can be explained away completely by news-making routines and similar systemic characteristics, or to what extent the coverage about migrants is impacted or indeed improved by other factors. Only a few studies were designed to compare general (news) coverage with news specifically involving migrants or ethnic minorities. The European day of Media Monitoring in 2003 presented this comparative approach in order to substantiate claims about the specific negative media practices where TCN and ethnic minorities are concerned (ter Wal 2004b; ter Wal, d'Haenens and Koeman, 2005). However, because of the massive sample sizes involved, it is more difficult to organise such research longitudinally.

Having taken into account some of the specific characteristics of the research studies and data, in the following section we discuss the main findings of the literature review below.

3. State of the Art: News Content Studies

Several discourse analytical studies of the representation of migrants in the media have examined processes of group designation and labelling in news. The content and discourse analytical studies often find that the portrayal of specific groups and group characteristics is stereotypical and/or negative focusing on roles of the victim or the threat prevails. The studies have often found a predominance of negative news themes such as crime and terrorism when migrant issues are covered, but some studies also identified humanitarian frames and arguments. The lack of quotation of migrants as source, and their underrepresentation on screen have also been repeatedly found. Although there are exceptions of media outlets where migrants do get quoted and shown, this does not apply to TCN specifically, but mostly to migrants of the second or third generation. The findings indicating more positive developments and the differences between media are also worthwhile noting. They indicate that depending on the journalistic genre, the editorial policy and the media agenda, more neutral or positive and in-depth attention to diversity can be and is achieved to some extent. In the following we elaborate on each of the aspects listed here by referring to the literature.

3.1 Group designations and labelling

The MEDIVA project examines the integration of third-country nationals into EU states. However, throughout the literature review, the term, and indeed the concept, of a third-country national was almost entirely invisible from media reports of immigration and thus from content or discourse analyses of media representations. TCN is not a media-relevant topic unlike *Islam Muslims/asylum seekers/illegal immigrants* (in EN studies), *allochtonen* (NL), *immigrati/ extracomunitari* (IT) and *Ausländer/Migranten/innen* (DE), *uchodźcy/imigranci* (PL). Rather, it is a technical/legal term used by governments, supra-state bodies such as the EU, and by the NGOs. This is not to say that third country nationals are not the subjects of media reports. To be sure, a lot of the studies in the literature review concentrate on media construction and representation of migrants into EU countries from outside of Europe. However, it should be noted that because of the practice of highlighting national or ethnic origin in reports about migrants, even people of second and third generation were treated or depicted in the news (erroneously) as foreigners (i.e. TCN).

Buchanen et al. (2004) maintain that the media, especially tabloids, fail to distinguish sufficiently between economic migrants, asylum seekers and refugees. Giving weight to this proposition, Kundani argues that "as soon as asylum seekers are described as 'illegal immigrants', it is a small step before the debate spills over to immigrants generally, and the very notion of Britain as a multiracial society is called into question" (Kundnani: 2001, 50). Also Thiele (2005) noticed the blurring of distinctions between immigration and asylum issues in German TV discourse. Furthermore, Polson and Kahle (2010) found that immigration is not only reported negatively, but also nonsensically with concepts such as 'illegal refugee' being used. Instead Cerase (2010) noted an improvement in terms used, from the negative 'illegal immigrants' to the more neutral 'immigrants' in Italian front-page reports (cf. de Menezes 2008, who still found the pervasive use of the 'illegal immigrant' label). The discourse surrounding the legal status of TCN in Italian media was referring also to Europe, because of the term '*extracomunitario*', i.e. non-EU immigrant, a term which is used less frequently today (Maneri, 2009; Sciortino and Colombo, 2004). Similarly, the old juxtaposition of immigration *tout court* with crime has been replaced in Italian journalism with the juxtaposition of *illegal* immigration with crime (Corte, 2008). Dutch language studies in particular lamented the lack of distinction when speaking in generalising terms about 'Muslims' (e.g. d'Haenens and Bink, 2006; Shadid, 2009).

One of the classical and regulated indicators for fair portrayal of migrants is the avoidance to mention nationality or ethnic origin in crime news (this is often discouraged in codes of ethics/press codes). Here we see huge differences. German and Dutch media do not mention nationality generally, in Germany this appeared a recent practice attributed to greater awareness among journalists (Mueller, 2009). Although in the Dutch media this tradition is long, interviews with journalists conducted for this project show that the practice is changing and some newspapers appeared less reluctant to mention nationality in reports. The existing studies claim that in Flanders and Italy negative practice prevails (for Belgium, Saeys et al, 2007; Broos and van den Bluck, 2008b), even more in Italy where almost all studies denounce the mention of nationality of migrants in reporting (e.g. Censis 2002). Also in Switzerland the practice is negative (Luginbuehl, 2007).

3.2 Representation of Muslims

In the 2000s one major theme in the press reporting of immigration analysed in content and discourse analytical studies was that of Islam, linked with terrorism, cultural (in)compatibility, and Islamophobia. For example, in his study of media reactions in Germany to a new immigration law,

Bauder (2008) recognised that coverage of immigration increased after the suicide bombings in Madrid in 2004. Similarly, in the Netherlands, after the murder of Theo van Gogh and 9/11, immigration was represented through the frame of Islam (Roggeband and Vliegenthart, 2007; d'Haenens and Bink, 2006). An analysis of election campaign coverage in the UK showed a negative framing of Islam, in response to the 'war on terror' since 2001 and the invasion in Iraq in 2003 (Richardson, 2009).

German TV news saw a similar change in reporting after 9/11, with the use of the so-called 'war on terrorism frame' (Uhlemann, 2004). In 2003, over one third of news was about terrorism, in particular Islamic fundamentalism and security issues; even events without any aggression or harm were connected to the danger of terrorism and reported within that frame (Ruhrmann, Sommer and Uhlemann, 2004). Before this shift, discourse in German media had focused more on asylum issues (Uhlemann, 2004). By contrast, in Italian media this shift appeared absent, as TV coverage on immigration during the last four months of 2001 did not increase, possibly because the topics were less interlinked in the Italian context as immigration is mostly framed as a political home affairs issue (Marchese and Milazzo, 2002). In Italian media the predominant – *separate* - narratives since 2001 were that of protection against the presumed terrorist, the fundamentalist, and Islam in general, the narrative of the invasion by illegal immigrants, and the narrative of neighbourhood conflicts around deviance and urban decay (Maneri, 2009).

In general, analyses of the representations of Muslims show one-sidedness and negativity, with a focus on aggression and threat, specifically associated with religious identity (Namin, 2009). Indeed, some authors (Yildiz, 2009) have noted a re-articulation of the representation of particular migrant groups from an ethno-nationalist to a religious frame focusing on Muslims in reaction to real world events such as the terrorist attacks described above. While the frame of the article may differ, the strategies employed remain the same over time. That is, in-group/out-group categories are maintained but the author argues that the tone has shifted from 'abused Turkish woman' to 'abused Muslim woman' so that they are seen as victims of religion rather than a national-culture (Yildiz, 2009). Like Bauder's work, Yildiz also notes the impact of the new immigration law on the discursive construction of Turkish minorities in Germany. As also evidenced in other studies (Krzyżanowski *forthcoming*), in many countries (e.g. Austria, Switzerland, etc.), which traditionally have large Turkish migrant populations current variants of Islamophobic tendencies now clearly replace the anti-Turkish stereotypes and resentments.

In the Netherlands this shift is also observed (Shadid, 2009). One analysis revealed a similar shift in the coverage about Muslim women: from frames during the 1990s focusing on emancipation and participation to dominant conflict frames related to religious identity during the 2000s (Koenen, 2008). According to the author, the representations of women as victims, in relation to their religious and social identity, featured the general discourse about Islam in the Dutch press during those years.

Schiffer (2005) found the framing of Islam in German media favoured a focus on extremism, on symbols such as headscarves, minarets, mosques, Islamic prayer, on arbitrary linking of events and Islamic groups, and stereotypical portrayals and metaphors.

By contrast, a Dutch study that focused on argumentation about Muslims in a quality newspaper during 1998-2002 showed a result that goes counter to the classical us-them (in-group out-group) division in press discourse. Newspaper contents analysed qualitatively showed that battles of ideas

occurred both within different groups and within the individual. Diversity was not always interlinked with ethnicity or religious identity but also with personal ideas/convictions, when specific religious issues were addressed in press coverage (ter Wal 2004b). This insight may help to avoid essentialisation and may give more room to democracy/participation in the media around specific issues that are important to (the position of) TCN in society.

3.3 Negative and stereotypical portrayal of migrants

The discourse analytical studies, and to a lesser extent, the content analyses, highlighted the recurrent use of certain linguistic strategies, employed by journalists, when representing migrants in the media. Many of these refer back to and support Teun van Dijk's claims, inspired by social psychological theory about intergroup bias, that the relevant strategies include the creation of a positive in-group vs. negative out-group dichotomy. The in-group is often represented as the victims of immigration and the out-group as a threat. For example, Nordberg (2004) highlights the discursive construction of Roma asylum seekers in Finnish newspapers and Mai (2002) has investigated the conceptualisation of Albanian refugees in the Italian media as Bauder (2008) and Kapllani and Mai (2005) have both researched the strengthening of in-group national identity through the negative representation of immigrants in Germany and Greece respectively. Broos and van den Bluck (2008) found that *frames* representing Muslim women on documentary television used the same us vs. them oppositions and that Muslim audiences did not feel this reflected their identity. The same was found in Germany for the representation of Muslims (Schiffer, 2005).

Innes (2010) and others have found that a negative out-group, in this case asylum seekers in the UK, was constructed homogenously and collectively and represented also as a threat and not given individual voices. Another frequent portrayal is that of the asylum seeker as victim. Actually the two representations often coincide, e.g. in the coverage on Swiss TV until the 1990s as analysed by Luginbuehl (2007). In Belgium, when asylum seekers were not constructed as a threat, they were still framed as passive 'victims' of atrocities or natural disasters (van Gorp, 2005, 2006). Thus, although this was, prima facie, a better representation than that of a threat, asylum seekers were still denied agency. Similarly, passivisation and objectification was a strategy found in Polish reporting on women victims of human trafficking. They were not only silenced but also represented as an object which was acted upon. Interestingly, the agent's position was in most cases occupied by perpetrators, not the judiciary (Koss-Goryszewska, 2010).

Other studies found that media often contribute to the negative portrayal of immigrants, through the use of metaphors, especially water metaphors (Hart, 2010, Refaie, 2001), but also war (Refaie, 2001; Luginbuehl, 2007) and the country as a container (Charteris-Black, 2006).

Sciortino and Colombo (2004) have studied the shift in public discourse in Italy and have concluded that since the 1990s, there have been changes in the way immigration is discursively constructed to one of a risk and danger.[5] According to Maneri (2009) labels, as well as generalisations and

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[5] For a related discussion on securitisation in political science see, for example: Campbell (1999), Buzan (1983) and Waever (1997). For securitisation as a category used to analyze the phenomenon of immigration see van Munster (2010).

racialisation used in Italian press headlines and reports systematically associate migrants with negative acts and situations. Based on moral panic theory, the author claims such practices are aimed at creating a climate of social conflict.

Inspired by the discourse historical research tradition developed at the University of Vienna (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001; Krzyżanowski, 2010; Wodak and Krzyżanowski, 2008), many publications in the English language have focused on linguistic and argumentation aspects of media contents. One example is Hart (2010), who identifies among others argumentation strategies (*topoi*) used to construct migrants as an external danger, and associate them with disadvantage, burden, finance, displacement, exploitation, crime and disease, in order to legitimise the exclusion of migrants from access to specific rights.

Wengeler (2006) analysed argumentation about migrants in German press coverage between 1960 and 2002. His analysis not only finds the negative *topoi*, but also 'positive' or counter-arguments representing the economic benefits of immigration, as opposed to the argument of immigration as a burden. Also in the coverage the topos of threat was opposed to that of humanitarian arguments, and another ambivalent '*topos* of assimilation', in particular in the discourse about Muslims, was observed.

Elsewhere, the Dutch and German language studies reveal some inclusion of diversity in TV programming, but there is often a critical note about 'how' diversity is portrayed there. For example, in fiction, inclusion of diversity may again in specific instances be reinforcing stereotypes and practices of tokenism (de Bruin, 2005). Qualitative research into one of the favourite German crime series *Tatort* showed that the roles portrayed still did not invite migrant groups to watch (Ortner, 2007).

3.4 Negative themes and roles associated with migrants

Content analytical studies consistently show that the way in which TCN were presented in the news was 'biased' towards negative themes and actor roles related to migration (Cerase, 2010; Sibon, 2005; ter Wal, 2004b), or towards groups regarded as more visible or newsworthy, such as male migrants or minors (e.g. Censis, 2002).

The obsession with crime news in Italian media, in the press and in particular TV is highlighted by most recent studies and is also reflected in the news about migrants (Binotto 2003, Binotto, Bruno and Lai, 2009, Censis, 2002, Marchese and Milazzo, 2002, Osservatorio di Pavia, 2010). Also, in analyses of Italian press coverage it has been observed that immigration is linked with security issues and crime, not only because of the general focus on crime news, but also because political entrepreneurs construct moral panics and organise social conflict around deviance as means to manufacture consent (Maneri, 2009). Also, ethnic labelling of crime suspects continued to be found in print media in Italy (Sorrentino and Meli, 2009). An analysis of Italian TV news during the first six months of 2008 found the predominance of crime news and an overrepresentation of migrants in these stories. This type of reporting was most pronounced in the commercial TV news bulletins (Binotto, Bruno and Lai, 2009).

The persistence of stereotypical portrayals of immigrants juxtaposed to crime and violence was found in print media studies elsewhere (Sveinsson, 2008; FRA, 2010). Also a study about Flemish TV news by Devroe (2007) and by Broos and van den Bulck (2008b) showed that the predominant theme when

reporting about migrants was crime. However, Devroe (2007) noted, migrants were not only portrayed as suspects, but also as victims of crime, and ethnicity or nationality was not connected systematically to crime in the news items analysed. Instead Ronsmans (2004) found that TCN were more often depicted as perpetrators, and when they were the victim, the suspected culprits were often excused or their acts were minimised. In the Dutch language we also find studies about the negative coverage around the opposition to arrival of asylum seeker reception centres (van Gorp, 2006). Moore, Mason and Lewis (2008) analysed the representation of British Muslims in British print media 2000-2008 and found that the bulk of coverage of British Muslims (around two thirds) focused on Muslims as a threat (in relation to terrorism), a problem (in terms of difference in values) or both (Muslim extremism).

3.5 Source use and quotation

A consistent finding is the frequent quotation of authority figures in reporting of news about migrants (Meli and Sorrentino, 2009; De Menezes, 2008; Rasinger, 2010; Van Dijk, 2005). Vliegenthart et al (2008) found that politicians presented themselves differently to the media than in parliament, and Roggeband and Vliegenthart (2008) found that framing in Dutch parliament was more diverse and included contestation of the framing of Islam as threat, a frame which was instead predominant in the media.

A second finding is the rare usage of quotes from immigrants or asylum seekers and refugees (e.g. Buchanan, Grillo and Threadgold, 2004). Indeed, even when the focus of the media was on asylum seekers, such as the BBC's asylum day project, asylum seekers were kept on the fringes of the debate. Rather than speaking to asylum seekers, dramatic reconstructions were used, along with explanations from TV presenters. Thus, Macdonald (2007) concludes that the asylum seeker was kept both invisible and unheard.

Devroe (2007) found that migrants were less often interviewed on Belgian TV to speak about issues concerning them, while they appeared to be represented primarily as group. When they were quoted, this was very rarely as experts, and mostly about asylum and violence committed by migrants. In the news items analysed, when experts were heard these were almost exclusively non-migrants. In Italy, Meli and Sorrentino (2009) also found that immigrant associations were quoted rarely, and that when they were quoted their positions confirmed the general line of the article. Corte (2008) found that also in press agency reports migrants and/or their organisations were rarely quoted. Because Italian daily newspapers follow the formats of popular media, news is often reduced to casual individual 'human interest' stories, without room for investigation into backgrounds and causes (Corte, 2008). Also, Italian journalism was found to have a tendency to check sources superficially in favour of messages that create an easy effect (Censis, 2002).

By contrast, in Dutch speaking print media quotation of migrant spokespersons was found to be relatively frequent, and portrayal mostly neutral (d'Haenens and Koemans, 2005). From other studies emerged that claims could be made quite effectively in the press, via investigative reports, and opinion columns by TCN (origin) in the Dutch quality press (ter Wal, 2004b, d'Haenens and Bink, 2006).

Indeed, the increasing importance of the genre of investigative reporting means that there was more room for diverse sources opinions and backgrounds in coverage (d'Haenens en Bink 2006). However, this trend is not specific for TCN but includes also the second and third generation migrants and in itself this did not guarantee more positive reporting. Another study comparing the mention of ethnicity in reporting revealed a more active role of specific migrant groups, e.g. 'Moroccans' in Belgian media, in the sense that they were more often interviewed (Devroe, 2007).

However, a recent study of print media in the Netherlands registered a lack of differentiated source use in news reporting in the two major newspapers, and a decrease in the use of migrants as news source between 2001 and 2009 (Paalvast en Bos, 2010). The limited use of minority sources by print media was also found in a recent study in six EU countries commissioned by European Fundamental Rights Agency – formerly European Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (FRA ,2010; (see also Gemi, Ulasiuk and Triandafyllidou, 2011, MEDIVA report on newsmaking and programme production practices in the media).

Generally speaking, in GB, NL and DE quotation of TCN in media reports was evident more in the quality press and in the local press.

The relation between media contents, portrayal and newsmaking practices is highlighted in a study commissioned by the Dutch Association of Journalists (NVJ) into the attitudes towards journalists covering conflicts in (multiethnic) urban areas. The reason was that journalists in such areas are frequently attacked and threatened (Bovenkerk and Odekerken, 2005). In a debate organised by Mira Media in 2009 following the publication of this study a Dutch PSB correspondent in Paris stressed the importance of investing in contacts with the inhabitants of disadvantaged areas, to build trust before coming back to do a coverage and give an accurate picture of the developments.

A study by Witschge (2010) into online discussion forums also concluded that actual diversity of opinions is often limited there too. According to the author, moderators may exclude particular opinions from participation, and therefore freedom of expression does not necessarily mean having one's voice heard.

3.6 Monitors focusing on numerical representation

Monitors focusing on numerical representation observe an under-representation or biased representation of migrants in the news. In the Netherlands and Belgium, news monitors have been developed which include monitoring gender and ethnic diversity. In 2010 an official monitor of Dutch broadcasters, both public and commercial, showed that representation of people of colour lagged behind in particular in news and debate shows, as opposed to entertainment and fiction programmes, where the representation of people of colour was higher. Compared to monitors held in 2002 and 2005 the participation of coloured people had decreased slightly (Pennekamp, 2011). Monitors in Belgium and the Netherlands found that ethnic news, programs or actors in overall coverage was around 14% (Devroe, 2007, d'Haenens and Koeman, 2005, Sterk and van Dijk, 2003, ter Wal, 2004ab, Udris, Ettinger and Imhof, 2007). Overrepresentation or bias in representation of migrants as criminals is another frequent finding of quantitative studies (Osservatorio di Pavia, 2010; Sibon, 2005).

In a recent report by the European Broadcasting Union, Vilegas (2010) analysed TV shows for their representation of three key elements of diversity: i) immigration, ethnic and religious minorities, social integration, racism; ii) physically and mentally disabled or handicapped people; elderly people,

pensioners; iii) homosexuals and sexual minorities. He found that 'diversity is largely a minority topic on TV in Europe'. Less than 3.1% of the newly registered shows favoured diversity. Immigration appeared in more than one-third of these programmes. The shows identified as favouring diversity were aired mostly on the PSBs, and marginally on private broadcasters. In fictional shows, PSBs also led by a broad margin. The UK was the territory that launched the highest number of shows that showed diversity; the next most active market was France, followed by Spain and the Netherlands. Germany and Italy came last.

3.7 Differences between different media types

In the UK at least, linguistic strategies can differ between tabloids and broadsheets. KhosraviNik, found that the *Daily Mail*, a tabloid, "perpetuates" stereotypes and thus "reproduces negative attitudes" (2010: 493). *The Daily Telegraph*, a broadsheet, on the other hand was more creative and "refrain(ed) from reproducing the stereotypes explicitly" (ibid) According to O'Halloran's study of *The Sun* newspaper in the UK (2009) over time, regular readers will infer certain deductions from the linguistic strategies employed by journalists and editors. This in turn will lead to the cultural reproduction of negative projections of immigrants and immigration. Similarly, in the German context, in a situation where immigration is seen as a threat and asylum seekers as dangerous, PSB and a number of newspapers such as *Frankfurther Rundschau*, *TAZ*, and the weekly *die Zeit* have reported about these issues from a different angle, but these initiatives have not been enough to counterbalance the representations propagated by private radio stations, or the tabloid *Bild Zeitung*, which continue to air or publish reports guided by an editorial policy of sensationalism (Geissler, 2000).

Also Dutch studies comparing tabloid and quality press found a difference in the coverage from negative in the tabloid with a focus on crime and negative news, to predominantly neutral or positive in the quality press, with a focus on institutional sources or experts and background reports (Dekkers, 2006). Analyses of German and Italian TV noticed differences between public and private broadcasting, the latter being more one-sided and negative (Uhlemann, 2004; Censis, 2002).

Not only do linguistic strategies differ between the types of newspaper, but there are also variations in strategies employed depending on the political positioning of the newspaper. Charteris-Black (2006) found that centre-right media are more likely to discuss 'immigration' as a process whereas right wing papers discussed 'immigrants'. Grzymala–Kazlowska noticed that the analyzed newspapers represented four different discourses, which partially overlapped with different philosophies of migrant integration. *Nasz Dziennik* represented an ethnonationalist discourse, *Rzeczpospolita* pro-state discourse, *Gazeta Wyborcza* multicultural discourse and *Superexpress* a discourse of sensation and deviation (Grzymala – Kazlowska, 2007).

Similar differences are found in the Italian press. Cerase (2010) found that left-wing Italian newspapers paid less attention to crime associated with migrants, but also published less investigations and backgrounds about this. Rumi and Ieracitano (2010) found that left-wing newspapers in Italy focused on immigrant rights and solidarity when covering specific events, whereas right-wing press highlighted the need for restrictive policies. The largest quality mainstream newspapers in Italy refrained from such political positioning in their reports (*ibid*).

Media effects

Although limited in number, the studies that actually investigate audience perception of media contents constitute an important factor in arguments for a fair and balanced portrayal of migrants.

In the Netherlands, the negative portrayal and under-representation of people of migrant or ethnic minority background in the media is frequently highlighted as a problem for the socio-economic position and wellbeing of migrants. The 2010 report about discrimination of migrants in the Dutch labour market, by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research found that employers consider non-Western migrants as a risk, also because of negative reports in the press (Nievers and Andriessen, 2010). Siebers (2010) found that tensions among colleagues in a large Dutch public organisation, triggered by public events and related media coverage that express hostility towards migrants, fuelled career insecurities of migrant employees and negatively impacted their career opportunities. Vliegenthart (2007) investigated the relation between media attention and support for anti-immigrant parties in the Netherlands, and found that the two reinforce each other.

In 2010, an Open Society Institute study about Muslims in European cities reported that municipal authorities in Amsterdam and Antwerp were critical of the role they felt the media played in increasing or exacerbating tension and for failing to report examples of the good work and initiatives being developed in their cities.

Van Drunen (2010) analysed audience frames about Muslims in the Netherlands and found these corresponded only to a limited extent to established media frames. The effect of media associating certain social groups with threat was measured, and it was found that Dutch non-Muslims more often experience various threats simultaneously when the threats are associated with Muslims as opposed to when they are not. The same effect was found for immigrants, but the effect for Muslims was significantly stronger. Literature regarding media coverage of out-groups did show some common ground with the audience frames that were found: problem frame, Islam frame, origin out-group frame, cultural out-group frame.

In a German study combining social psychological methods with media material, Geschke, Sassenberg, Ruhrmann and Sommer (2010) found that linguistically biased news reports about minorities lead to higher levels of prejudice. Their claim was that not only the contents but also the style of reporting negatively affect attitudes towards minorities and 'inter-group bias'.

3.8 More positive reporting

Neutral or even positive portrayal and the fair representation of minorities was found in local reporting, in freesheets, and in investigative background reporting. Negative reporting was mostly event-based or campaign-based both at national and local level.

The English, German and Dutch corpus saw a difference between local and national reporting about migrants. For example, Fick (2009) found that local media in Siegen, Germany, changed their representation of migrants from one of 'undesired aliens' in 1996 to one of necessary migration and integration in 2006; at the same time, an analysis of German national weeklies reporting about Islam found a rather negative and stereotypical image was produced (Namin, 2009). A study about German regional press reporting in 2007 noted an increased anti-racist awareness among journalists, in particular in coverage of local news and crime news (Mueller, 2009).

Ronsmans (2004) found that one big national newspaper, *De Nieuwe Gazet,* and several regional and local newspapers produced in Antwerp contributed to including the perspective of TCN in their reports, in background reports and editorials, and in direct quotes in particular in the regional press. Instead another national newspaper, with a smaller readership, *De Gazet van Antwerpen*, was predominantly negative.

In general, the EN studies show that local media was more positive and less vitriolic than national media, in particular when these were areas with large migrant populations. An ICAR research of 2005 showed that while coverage about asylum seekers may be accurate in facts reported and terminology, it nevertheless constructed a portrayal of asylum policies as being fundamentally 'chaotic'. However, a positive trend was found in local coverage of the same issues in another ICAR research of 2005 (Georgiou and Joo, 2008).

The ICAR report (2005), commissioned by the Mayor of London, concluded that reporting of asylum seekers and refugees in London contained many examples of good practice and that London regional papers were more sensitive to the community, fairer and more sympathetic towards asylum seekers and refugees than national newspapers. The study also found that reporting in London was more accurate and wide-ranging.

In the Spanish context, Belmonte, McCabe and Chornet-Roses (2010) underlined the good practice of local freesheets in comparison to broadsheets in the use of quoted reported speech of migrants. They found that local editions of freesheets represented migrants as confident, successful and well-adapted to their environments. This is in contrast to the broadsheets; where migrant voices were used to depict human suffering.

When the focus of study moves away from newspapers in a metropolitan area (London, Madrid), these examples of positive representation were less visible. In the region of East Anglia in the UK, Rasinger (2010) studied the output of a local newspaper of stories about local migration issues. Using van Dijk's news analysis approach, the author found that the newspaper used negative headlines and often used quotes from figures of authority such as police chiefs and members of parliament.

In general the more positive practice of local media does not seem to apply to the Italian data analysed in the existing studies. For example regional media in Tirol Italy used predominantly conflict and problem frames, and frequently represented migrants as a threat (Stopfner, 2010, Stopfner and Vorhover, 2011). Instead, the author found that in ethnic media these frames and representations were less, and more positive elements prevailed.

In mainstream quality press in Italy and the Netherlands, negative reporting diminished when events received more elaborated long-term attention, including background reporting and investigations or debate, independently of the groups concerned: African labour migrants in the Italian press (Rumi and Ieracitano, 2010) or Muslims in a Dutch popular newspaper (d'Haenens and Bink, 2006). D'Haenens and Bink analysed press reports before and after 9/11/2001 and observed a positive trend in that journalists since 9/11/2001 had done more investigative work on Islam-related news, and in that the coverage about Dutch Islam included publication of different opinions and interpretations.

A study about Muslims in European cities (OSI, 2010) showed that local media play an important role in informing Muslims about local events. Nevertheless, Muslims in both Hamburg and Berlin felt to be underrepresented in local media organizations and almost absent from reporting about issues that

concerned them. Also the Rotterdam study put this finding in perspective: although improving, respondents in the Netherlands' second largest city found that reporting on Muslims remained object of generalizations, subjective language, sensationalism, and associations with negative events such as terrorism, threats and violence. This was the case also for coverage in other cities, Antwerp in particular. In Amsterdam news coverage of Dutch Muslims and of issues related to Islam in the Netherlands, with the exception of the main tabloid and of commercial television channels, had improved and was less negative or one-dimensional, according to the Muslims interviewed there. Although sensation very often played a role in direct news coverage, this was often corrected in further coverage and background reports. The challenge thus appeared when some politicians were seen to utilise news about Muslims in the media to further their own agenda and discourse (OSI, 2010).

Also other studies observed that in particular the focus on event-based journalism where migrants were concerned favoured an emphasis on negative themes and roles (Censis, 2002). However, when thematisation (as opposed to event-based reporting) occurred in the light of political or election campaigns, this did not lead to more positive coverage (Maneri, 2009; Osservatorio di Pavia, 2011; Udris, Ettinger and Imhof, 2007). Also local conflicts can be a source for negative reporting: inspired by Stuart Hall's 'Policing the Crisis', critical research in Italy have analysed the coverage of conflicts in urban peripheries around stories about deviance (Maneri, 2009) and local protest mobilisations by migrants (Rumi and Ieracitano 2010).

In a study about Polish media Morozowski (2003) argued that, in comparison to 1996, migrants were represented in a more nuanced and friendly manner. They were more frequently attributed with positive characteristics and even idealized.

3.9 The European context

In the English and Polish language, academic studies were focused on specific national contexts (UK, Italy, Poland and Germany) with some countries (most notably the UK)[6] putting their national-specific occurrences into a wider, European context. Migration problems were conceptualised as resultant from EU membership and deeper (i.e. more federal and possibly less nationally-driven) integration. In the Polish sample, the theme of 'return to Europe' or 'Europeanisation' appeared. However, this had nothing to do with any institutional or legal considerations, and more with the sense of national pride that the country is recognized as developed and prosperous enough to be considered as a destination by immigrants (Grzymała–Kazłowska, 2007). This line of argumentation has a flipside, namely, the perception that due to the EU accession the country opens itself to the threats and problems Europe has already to deal with.

Polson and Kahle (2010) argue that the media often frame immigration from a nation-boundary driven perspective which is in opposition to the trans-national, interconnected nature of international migration. However, some researchers have argued that a lot of media content obscures the reasons for immigration. Polson and Kahle (2010) argue that this is a barrier to fully understanding immigration and investigate possible solutions and furthermore, by not providing solutions, there is a

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[6] This UK-relevant finding was quite unexpected providing the traditionally Eurosceptic – or 'Euro-realist' – tone of the British quality and tabloid press (cf. Mautner, 2000).

risk that audiences will rely on previously conceived concepts of race and immigration that are more generally negative.

In Italian studies, the topic 'EU and migration' appeared when studies critically analysed the 'fortress Europe', and the Italian media discourses that reinforced this logic ('sharing the burden' discourse) (Maneri, 2009). Also, the Turkish context was mentioned but as a historic reference, e.g. in editorial comments. The North-South discourse (global patterns) and Italy's own emigration history were topics that popped up mostly in the ideologically coloured discourses of Left and Catholic faith inspired media (ter Wal, 2002).

German studies tend to highlight self-presentations of Germany as having relatively recently accepted its status as country of immigration, compared to others in Europe, followed by a focus on active (assimilationist) integration policies. With the focus on securitisation after 9/11, German media were found to have blended foreign reporting in the national news (Hafez and Richter, 2007, Hafez, 2009). In NL, mention of EU and migration is not prominent either, nor is it a research focus in CA and DA, if not from the point of view of common security issues (no specific country mentioned), or in the light of media's focus on terrorism and Islamist fundamentalism.

4. Analysing Findings from Fieldwork among Journalists

During June-August 2011, a total of 68 media professionals were interviewed (15 Greece, 12 Poland, 11 Ireland, 10 Netherlands, 10 UK, 10 Italy); these were categorised under four occupational groups: senior-management (9), editorial staff/ producers (23), journalists (31) and other (3). 39 of the selected media organisations are owned privately (or have mixed-ownership), 30 were public media organisations (9 were not defined or other).[7]

Responses were diverse and opinions differed across Europe and within national media landscapes. For example, whereas in the Netherlands everyone was convinced of the importance of migration issues for their work, as indicated by the place of these issues in their outlet, in Poland it was clearly a more marginal topic. Also, differences between broadcasting and press were observed. Despite this, some themes were broadly present and reoccurred in a number of interviews. Taken together the interviews, by and large, confirmed four finding from the literature review (3.2.1 to 3.2.4). In addition, other themes were found related to journalistic standards (3.2.5).

4.1 Usage of TCN as a concept/Group labelling and designations

Not surprisingly, the concept of TCN is not used in the media. It is seen as technical/academic term (Int. 21, PL) that most of their audience would not understand and cannot differentiate between them (Int. 34, IR).

> "Generally, as far as news is concerned the easier the language of the news the
> better. One should not be too academic when constructing the news. If there are only
> a few words in the news which are not understood by the viewer and they are forced

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[7] Interviews were numbered and provided with a country-code. The information about interviewees is provided in a numbered list in the Annex, where each number corresponds to the number provided in the text.

to check them on the internet it is already bad journalistic work. In order for the news to reach the audience the message should be as simple as possible. Most of the viewers do not understand the news. And it is not only the Belarusian but the Polish case as well. Most of the people do not fully understand TV news. […] The news is becoming more dynamic and shorter. That is why we try to use more general terms"

(Int. 21, PL).

Rather, media outlets prefer terms that make sense, were obvious to the reader and easy to relate to (Int. 66, IT). In the Netherlands, the term TCN does not reflect the reality of the Dutch multicultural society. Journalists especially those from public broadcasting organisations that have an active policy in this, wish to speak about diversity, not about migrants specifically of the first generation; that is not part of their conceptual horizon. There is a tendency to address diversity issues from a colour-blind perspective, just representing the diversity that is there, where everyone is addressed as a citizen, and origin is mentioned only "when relevant". This may also imply that when coverage is specifically about TCN, there is no specific policy, and mention of nationality or legal status (asylum seeker, labour migrant) may be the most common practice. Sometimes, the scope and significance of real world events provide the incentive to draw very precise lines between various categories of immigrants. One of the Italian interviewees refers to Lampedusa, which has drawn the attention of the world to the issue of immigration. Even then, however, the time pressure led to many mistakes in the terms employed (Int. 61, IT).

The interviews confirmed the findings in the literature review that there is often blurring of terminology within national media traditions when identifying or representing migrants. This was primarily a concern for interviewees in Italy, Greece and Ireland – all countries with a history of emigration but that are now experiencing increased levels of immigration – but it was also present in interviewees from other countries such as Poland (Int. 13, PL). This inter-changeability of terms was sometimes intentional, such as the case of using the term illegal to identify migrants on hunger strike in Greece who were both legal and illegal (Int. 56, GR). Other reasons given for this blurring was that at the very least not enough attention was paid by journalists to differences in terminology such as referring to Romanians in Italy as immigrants rather than EU citizens (Int. 60, IT). Misrepresentation often occurred because journalists didn't understand (Int. 34, IR; Int. 17, PL; Int. 13, PL and Int. 45, GR), or were not interested (Int. 59, IT and Int. 45, GR) and that due to time constraints, mistakes were made (Int. 61, IT and Int. 58, GR). Others blamed the blurring of terminology on the over-reliance on news from agencies (Int. 64, IT). In the UK, one respondent replied that their magazine would always use the word 'immigrant' because they tried not to emphasise a person's legal status (Int. 5, GB). Despite this blurring, a large number of individual interviewees noted that using the correct terminology was important (Int. 8, GB and Int. 45, GR) and that all the possible mistakes in the texts are being eradicated during internal meetings (Int. 17, PL). One respondent working in Polish radio noted that their wording needed to be precise because their audience were possible future migrants to Poland who needed to be made aware of the migrant situation in the country

"It is absolutely necessary for us to be extremely precise as far as these categories are concerned. We have to approach all the migration flows in a very sophisticated way. First of all, we do not know where our listener lives. We have to use very value-neutral, surgical and emotionless language so as to present our message in categories acceptable to everyone. I'm not speaking about a mechanical application of the politically correct language, but the way in which most of the Polish media

speak about immigration is different from the way we have to speak about it. We are in a very specific position, because we can be potentially listened to by a person living in Central Asia, for example, listening to our Radio station via the internet and considering whether Poland is a good place to come. Such a person might be potentially a very interesting candidate for the Polish employees. Because of that, we have to use such language so as not to put them off but, on the other hand, so as they had very clear picture of what they can expect after coming to Poland."

(Int. 20, PL)

A number of other respondents stated that distinctions made were necessary to, for example, give a more detailed picture of a particular issue (Int. 16, PL and Int. 53, GR). A number of Polish interviewees stressed the novelty of this distinction in a traditionally non-immigrant country and their willingness to improve the practice in this respect (Int. 19, PL).

In the responses from the Netherlands, it appears that there has been, and continues to be, a debate about definitions of migrants. According to respondents, the liberal press and broadcasters describe children of migrants born in the Netherlands either as Dutch, 'new Dutch', '*Hollanders*' or '*allochtonen*', or use the hyphenated Moroccan-Dutch or Dutch-Moroccan. Instead conservative or less critical media continue to describe these groups by their ethnic origin, i.e. as Moroccan.

However, lack of awareness about offensive language or opposition to PC was also found: one Dutch interviewee admitted the paper received a complaint when the word *negro* had been used; one of the studies of opinion articles in the Italian right-wing conservative press also reported the use of this term.

4.2 Negative themes: migrants and crime news

The interviews confirmed findings from the literature review that migration was reported on through the frame of crime, in particular in Greece and Italy (Int. 59, IT, and Int. 45, GR). An Italian interviewee adduced an example to explain the mechanism: if an Italian makes a robbery, the headline would normally be 'Robbery at a Supermarket', if it is a Senegalese who stole something 'A Senegalese Robs the Supermarket' (Int. 59, IT). Furthermore, one respondent in the Netherlands noted while describing general media practices that the framing or language of headlines differed depending on the nationality: "when they are Moroccans, it is street terror, and when they are Dutch it is nuisance. When a Turk kills his wife it is an honour crime, and ridiculous and terrible and when a Dutch man kills his wife and children, then it is a family drama" (Int. 28, NL). In the Polish case, where the media rarely raise the migration issue, the event related to immigration does not necessarily has to have anything to do with the crime in order to be covered (Int. 19, PL).

Despite this, one mention of good practice that emerged from interviews in all countries, although by no means in every interview, was the withholding of ethnic origin when reporting generally, and about crime in particular unless absolutely necessary or relevant, such as cases of extradition (Int. 36, IR and Int. 9, EN). However, the actual definition of relevant is in itself relative to each national context and media outlet. For example, the chief editor of a free newspaper in the Netherlands stated that: "When it is relevant we mention it (...). When a Moroccan gang is active we will say it is a Moroccan gang" (Int. 30, NL). Other respondents argued that national origin should be included and

indeed, if it were excluded, questions would be asked (Int. 33, IR). Usually it was claimed that the details of the origin were provided whenever it was necessary to fully understand the message (Int. 63, IT; Int. 47, GR). In the Dutch context, one respondent noted that at her newspaper, there was more racial awareness and sensitivity towards the use of national identifiers in the case of people of Moroccan or Turkish origin than in the case of Polish migrants:

> "Our editor-in-chief of home affairs believes we are less reluctant, although there is no specific policy, in mentioning the nationality of new EU citizens as either negative or positive. When Turks or Moroccans are concerned we are more quickly alarmed and ask is this really necessary (...) I think we have less concern about relevance when Poles are concerned, because it is purely nationality, so with the Poles the fear to be labelled racist does not exist (...) Our newspaper did not report that the man who killed the comedian with his car was a Moroccan. Perhaps if it were a Pole, we would have mentioned it." (Int. 23, NL)

In the UK, a TV creative producer from the BBC noted that they would use the term 'emerging communities' in order to prevent viewers from forming stereotypes (Int. 3, EN).A Dutch reporter of migrant origin working at the local news desk of a popular national newspaper confirmed that there is more attention and a greater emphasis on negativity in crime news involving migrant suspects.

> "Generally speaking, so not specifically for my newspaper, it is clear that some groups get more attention. If a member of that group does something it is front-page news with photos. The same story for the same crime is reacted to less strongly. That happens with Moroccans and Antilleans. And more recently stories about Polish and Bulgarians, but that is not as bad yet as with the Moroccans and Antilleans. If someone from these groups does something it is always more serious, according to the press, than with other groups. We know this." (Int. 28, NL)

The idea that local news can be more positive is in the case of the Dutch interviews confirmed for newspapers reporting on cultural events (Int. 30, NL). It is also here that the readership is an important consideration, so that newspapers with a large migrant readership have more interest to report on this than newspapers with a predominantly white readership.

4.3 Source use and quotation of migrants

Several respondents noted that authority figures were used as sources for quotes (Int. 59, IT, see also Gemi et al. 2011, MEDIVA report on newsmaking and programme production practices). All respondents readily admitted that official institutions provide an important source for newsgathering. For example, British interviewee referred to Home Office in this context (Int. 1, GB). Some argued that press releases from, for example the police and government ministries were objective and neutral (Int. 49, GR) others noted that police communications were discriminatory (Int. 66, IT) and that they filtered official communications for language (Int. 53, GR). One reason given by a Greek radio broadcaster said that migrants did not participate in studio debates because of the language barrier and instead ministers or NGOs spoke on their behalf (Int. 45, GR).

While the literature found that migrant sources are quoted less frequently, interviewed journalists gave some input as to why this occurs. As one interviewee from an Amsterdam based outlet remarked, journalist look for reliable, unbiased sources, and for balanced reports and there may be a problem of access to such sources (Int. 31, NL). Another one talked about the difficulty of getting hold of people from NGOs. As most of these organizations are voluntary, they are usually unable to provide full – time service. The interviewee claimed that it was quite tricky to manage to track people down (Int. 7, GB). Another, albeit similar, explanation is connected with the low level of organization of immigrant communities and the lack of structures or organizations responsible, among other things, for communication (Int. 5, GB). The Italian interviewee added two additional explanations. First, as very often interviews have to be done personally with immigrant sources it makes it more difficult to get the information. Secondly, there are problems with approaching new immigrants due to cultural and language barriers (Int. 61, IT).

In the Netherlands, a multicultural public TV talk program based on panel discussions seeks guests who are able to speak the Dutch language and can express themselves in front of the camera, a requirement given by the format of the program. Guests other than the 'usual suspects' are invited, but first visited and prepared specifically for their performance on screen. In other words, instead of avoiding the migrants' voice, the migrants are sought after and trained to speak in the program (Int. 29, NL). Another broadcaster who worked with documentaries and on-site filming gives minorities a voice (Int. 24, NL). Both broadcasters have a multicultural staff, so that also the people producing the programs or 'titles' work from different perspectives on the subjects. However the respondents representing these broadcasters did state that language competence is still today a prerequisite for sources to be interviewed on screen – the use of subtitling is seen as a tool that underlines diversity, whereas the programme aims at commonality. Also, these are not prime-time broadcasters; the late night talk-shows do not have the same diversity in guests according to the majority of respondents in the Netherlands this is one of the biggest problems, which Dutch PSB tries to tackle with special funds for renewal of guest books, and on-line directories with video material of migrant guests (Int. 26, NL).

Closely related to the question of source use, our interviews confirmed the literature finding about an increased thematisation in press reporting about Muslims, the more active role of migrant actors in the news, and the increased positive reporting in the sense of more diversified, better checked information and background reports, as in the interview with a reporter/editor of migrant background at a popular Dutch newspaper:

> In the past I read so many stories that were not true, about Islam, stories that were not checked, and no one intervened to challenge this practice. After 9/11/01, more journalists were going in-depth in this material, the Islam, the backgrounds of migrants, the debate, then the coverage improved, there were more backgrounds. Maybe also the Internet played a role there, it became easier to retrieve information about the backgrounds of migrants. (Int. 28, NL)

However, the same interviewee also confirmed the finding that in recent years, the use of sources is less diversified and the use of migrant sources decreased, while there is not really a reason for this: access to migrant sources or language is not a problem. One reason may be that there are no reporters specialising on migrant issues anymore, as (migrant) reporters in newspapers are often appointed as generalist or with an additional portfolio for other topics that are considered more important for the readership (Int. 28, NL).

4.4 Journalistic standards

The interviewees revealed a concern with journalistic standards when reporting about migrants and diversity. Firstly, a majority of the respondents claimed that they tried to give a balanced, non-sensational interpretation of migrant issues (Int. 25, NL and Int. 4, GB). Sometimes they referred to ethical values governing they professional practices, like "sense of decency", "humanitarian values" (Int. 15, PL and Int. 18, PL), sometimes to the general ideology of the journal – "republican line of the journal" (Int. 17, PL). Equally often, they pointed to journalistic ethics of impartiality and objectivity or to the neutrality of their media outlet (Int. 3, GB and Int. 30, NL). Moreover, the interviewees frequently emphasized independence of their media outlet from the political agenda and presented themselves as agenda setters. They also declared their reluctance to sensationalize the issue of immigrants. Further to this, it was also important for many to find balance of positive and negative reporting and images within story and/or within a certain publication (see also Gemi et al. 2011, MEDIVA report on newsmaking and programme production practices).

Secondly, none of the respondents' media outlets had specific policies on representation of migrants (See also O'Boyle et al. 2011, MEDIVA report on media training practices). Rather, they again pointed to journalistic good practices of impartiality. Any guidance came from the outlet's charter (BBC and *Irish Times*), general codes of ethics or style sheets or as in the Dutch context, the *Volkskrant* newspaper had a statute stating that their starting point was to give a voice to the weak in society (Int. 23, NL). A number of British interviewees also highlighted the BBC's guidelines for producers (Int 3, GB; Int 6, GB). One of the Polish interviewees emphasized the general rules of good journalistic practice he learned during his internship at the BBC (Int. 20, PL). As with the BBC in the UK and other public broadcasters, Dutch public broadcasting has a responsibility to include and offer programmes to the whole population (Int. 33, NL). For some broadcasters, as NTR, this specifically includes programmes catering for the largest minority groups, namely, Moroccans, Turks, Surinamese and Antilleans (Int. 24, NL). However the respondent, who was head of diversity for the channel, noted that refugee groups were harder to reach and were not included in their mandate. Other Dutch PSB do have diversity policies too, that affect the representation of migrants in news more indirectly, by training and by diversifying the workforce and the networks/sources journalists use for newsgathering (Int. 24, NL; Int. 25, NL).

> "We have acknowledged we have blind spots; we train the editors to be aware of this, and then to learn to pose the right questions. Secondly we try to expand our network we try to get people in from those areas where we think we have blind spots. To get those people in touch with our editors so that the networks grow." (Int. 25, NL)

In general, it appeared from the Dutch interviews that refugees are less easily represented. An individual 'case' e.g. of a refused asylum request, has to be representative for the whole group or a policy issue in order to receive coverage (Int. 25, NL, Int. 24, NL). Also, a reporter of migrant origin remarked that NGOs or social assistants working for the support of migrants are not regarded as objective and therefore would not be contacted so readily by a journalist. However he also admitted that official sources have a perspective on a story too, but in his newspaper political and official sources are also critically assessed and not everything is published (Int. 31, NL).

Thirdly, a lot of interviewees argued that it was important to contextualise the story as much as possible and to introduce the nuances to stories (Int.1, GB and Int. 31, NL). In general, the amount of contextual information is, according to the most of the interviewees, always connected with the story to be told. Others noted that this wasn't possible because of time/space constraints and the interests (or in the case of one, the intellectual capacity) of their audiences. Quite few noted the need to contextualise images. With regards to images, in the Netherlands, there appeared to be an active attempt to make pictures or video representative of diversity of the population as whole (Int. 23, NL and Int. 25, NL)

Finally, quite a few felt it was the duty of journalists to help people learn about other cultures, to challenge existing stereotypes (Int. 24, NL) and be accurate. Some media outlets in Poland took a progressive stance and perceived it as a professional mission to support the immigrants, and intervene in the situations when they can be threatened by the negative attitudes of state institutions or society (Int. 11, PL).

5. Concluding remarks

The research reviewed shows very clearly that the representation of TCN in the news is still a problem. Independently of the methodological approach that is used, studies in Europe of the 2000s continue to find frequent and systematic forms of negative reporting: in the themes that are reported on, in the portrayal of and associations with represented migrant actors, in the language and in the frames used. They also find that overall migrants are scarcely represented and quoted in news concerning them. Several studies also highlight the negative impact this practice has on attitudes towards migrants in society.

Not surprisingly, the portrayal of and discourses about Muslims in the media constitute an important part of the international literature gathered for this period. The terrorist attacks and the rise of populist anti-immigrant politics during the last decade have affected public perceptions of migrant groups, of conflicts between different social and ethnic groups, and of political debates and positioning about 'integration', and their framing by the media.

From a methodological point of view the study of news content is challenged to rationalise analytical approaches in this changing environment. Ideally, such approaches should take into account the changing position of the journalistic profession and the role of journalists in public debate about migrant integration related issues. The analysis of media content would need to encompass not just the representation of social groups and their negative or positive evaluations in the news, but also the ways in which migrant integration topics are framed in the media, i.e. explained, evaluated and accounted for in the news, and what claims and demands are made in terms of morality, remedies, and consequences, within the context of the changing public discourse (cf. Sommer and Ruhrmann, 2010).

On the basis of the research reviewed it is not possible to identify one common trend in the development of media content: some studies highlight negative portrayals and framing also compared to previous decades, while other publications stress increased investigative reporting, counter-argumentation, and use of migrant sources as signs of less essentialising portrayal.

Media coverage varies greatly between Member States in terms of tone and balance. Different immigrant groups (as indicated by their migration category, country or origin, religion, age and sex) also receive different treatment in the media. Room for positive practice appeared to depend also on the status and length of stay of migrant groups, the period of investigation and the type of coverage (key events or long term background coverage). In addition, TCNs are portrayed and represented differently in different kinds of media. For example, they are more likely to receive positive coverage by a public broadcaster or local newspapers in metropolitan areas, than in the national tabloid press.

Although local press reporting sometimes had a more positive bent, a difference is observed between media conceived negatively as a (political) mobilisation tool for conflicts between 'locals' and 'TCN' on the one hand, and the positive view on use of (local) media as a means to foster integration/participation and sense of community, on the other.

These differences raise the questions: in what circumstances do TCN and integration issues receive balanced and accurate treatment in the media; what are the reasons for the positive coverage; and what are critical success factors for achieving fair and balanced media coverage?

The findings from the fieldwork interviews conducted for this report indicate that in individual cases

recommendations for fair portrayal and accurate representation of diversity have been taken to heart by media organisations. It appears that in public service broadcasting this awareness is most developed, as PSBs are able to diversify their contents, whereas print media deal with bigger pressures and demands that make it more difficult to incorporate such recommendations on a daily basis. To illustrate this, in a recent survey among Belgian journalists Teugels et al (2009) found that the need to meet pressures of performance and deadlines on the one hand, and ethical standards of journalism on the other is one of the major stress factors and potential causes of burnout in the journalistic profession.

The 2010 EU Handbook of Integration restated that journalistic codes and 'self-regulation does not in itself prevent unfair and discriminatory discourse about immigrants and immigrant groups', as the whole context of news and media organisations in a time of crisis and globalisation needs to be taken into account.

Notwithstanding these pressures, many recommendations have indeed been implemented and several projects aimed at improving the portrayal of migrants, e.g. by establishing dialogue and networks that create connections and understanding between immigrant organisations and media professionals (cf. Migration Policy Group, 2007; EIF funded projects Migrants in the Media, 2010 and Multicultural Europe in the Media, 2011). The interviews conducted have also provided examples of organisations investing in either training or professional development of their staff so as to facilitate accurate reporting about ethnic religious and cultural diversity. Other organisations rely on firm editorial policies to guarantee journalistic quality in general, or pay specific attention to the search for and preparation of migrant guests and sources. The specific position of TCNs is however, from what we have been able to assess, not specifically addressed in practices concerning media content. This is an issue which deserves further investigation as it may well be that awareness schemes inspired by logics of racial or ethnic diversity may be less effective when dealing with diversity caused by new immigration and the position of TCN.

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Annex 1. List of Interviews

ANNEX1: Profile of Respondents

Profile of Respondents

No	Country	Media	Gender	Age	Years in media	Role in media	Ethnic origin
1	UK	News agency	Male		44.0	9.0	reporter	White British
2	UK	News agency	Female		47.0	7.0	archivist	Mixed
3	UK	TV	Female		40.0	17.0	creative producer	Northern Irish
4	UK	Radio	Male		52.0	30.0	radio producer	White British
5	UK	Magazine	Male		34.0	13.0	editor	White British
6	UK	TV	Female		49.0	22.0	creative head of productions	White Caucasian
7	UK	TV	Female		42.0	10.0	documentary film producer	South African
8	UK	TV& radio	Female		47.0	8.0	radio presenter	English-Italian
9	UK	TV	Female		43.0	18.0	investigative journalist	Romanian
10	UK	TV & radio	Male		51.0	15.0	investigative journalist	White British-Romani Gypsy
11	Poland	Radio	Female		48.0	20.0	editor-in-chief	Polish
12	Poland	TV & radio	Female		45.0	20.0	journalist	Polish
13	Poland	TV	Female		34.0	14.0	reporter	Polish
14	Poland	Newspaper	Male		40.0	17.0	deputy editor-in-chief	Polish
15	Poland	Radio	Male		48.0	18.0	deputy director	Polish

#	Country	Media	Gender			Role	Background
16	Poland	Radio	Male	38.0	21.0	newsreader, reporter	Polish
17	Poland	Newspaper	Male	63.0	29.0	commentator	Polish
18	Poland	Newspaper	Male	35.0	15.0	columnist	Polish
19	Poland	Magazine	Male	51.0	30.0	editor-in-chief	Polish
20	Poland	Radio	Male	53.0	30.0	deputy editor-in-chief	Polish
21	Poland	TV	Male	38.0	15.0	manager	Belarusian
22	Poland	Radio	Male	42.0	23.0	editor-in-chief	Russian
23	Netherlands	Newspaper	Female	42.0	16.0	managing editor	Dutch
24	Netherlands	TV	Male	45.0	15.0	head of diversity	Dutch
25	Netherlands	TV	Female	50.0	29.0	managing editor	Dutch
26	Netherlands	TV & radio	Female	30.0	4.0	diversity manager	Dutch
27	Netherlands	TV& radio	Female	56.0	13.0	head HR	Dutch
28	Netherlands	Newspaper	Male	42.0	18.0	reporter	Moroccan
29	Netherlands	TV & radio	Male	45.0	24.0	editor, anchor, columnist	Surinamese
30	Netherlands	Newspaper	Male	54.0	27.0	editor-in-chief	Dutch
31	Netherlands	Newspaper	Male	33.0	11.0	reporter	Surinamese
32	Netherlands	TV	Male	49.0	28.0	editor	Dutch
33	Ireland	Newspaper	Male	48.0	20.0	reporter	Irish
34	Ireland	Radio	Female	37.0	5.0	presenter	Italian-Sri-Lankan
35	Ireland	Newspaper	Female	30.0	7.0	reporter, sub-editor, proof-reader	Irish

36	Ireland	Radio	Female	30.0	7.0	reporter	Irish
37	Ireland	TV	Male	30.0	6.0	reporter	Irish
38	Ireland	Newspaper	Male	55.0	36.0	editor	Irish
39	Ireland	TV & radio	Male	56.0	34.0	correspondent	Irish
40	Ireland	TV	Female	44.0	0.3	HR	White European/Irish
41	Ireland	Newspaper	Male	38.0	12.0	correspondent	Irish
42	Ireland	TV	Male	44.0	20.0	editor	Irish
43	Ireland	TV	Male	63.0	46.0	editor	Irish
44	Greece	Newspaper	Female	46.0	26.0	reporter	Greek
45	Greece	TV	Female	47.0	25.0	editor-in-chief	Greek
46	Greece	Newspaper	Female	33.0	10.0	editor-in-chief	Albanian
47	Greece	News agency	Male	50.0	17.0	senior journalist	Greek
48	Greece	Newspaper	Male	42.0	5.0	reporter	Albanian
49	Greece	Magazine	Male	38.0	9.0	director	Greek
50	Greece	Newspaper	Male	51.0	22.0	editor-in-chief	Greek
51	Greece	Radio	Male	49.0	24.0	director	Greek
52	Greece	Newspaper	Male	50.0	28.0	senior journalist	Greek
53	Greece	TV& radio	Female	34.0	11.0	journalist &reporter	Greek
54	Greece	Newspaper	Male	45.0	24.0	editor-in-chief & radio producer	Greek
55	Greece	TV & radio	Male	49.0	25.0	senior journalist & editor-in-chief	Greek

56	Greece	TV	Male	31.0	11.0	journalist &reporter	Greek
57	Greece	Newspaper	Male	30.0	7.0	journalist &reporter	Greek
58	Greece	Radio	Male	28.0	7.0	journalist & reporter& editor-in-chief	Greek
59	Italy	Radio	Male	37.0	5.0	correspondent	Italian
60	Italy	TV	Male	41.0	31.0	director	Italian
61	Italy	Radio	Female	41.0	16.0	journalist	Italian
62	Italy	Radio	Female	47.0	29.0	journalist	Italian
63	Italy	Newspaper	Male	55.0	30.0	journalist & director	Italian
64	Italy	TV	Female	40.0	15.0	correspondent	Italian
65	Italy	Newspaper	Female	51.0	30.0	journalist	Italian
66	Italy	Newspaper	Female	37.0	14.0	journalist	Italian
67	Italy	Newspaper	Male	56.0	40.0	journalist	Italian
68	Italy	TV	Male	56.0	40.0	journalist	Italian