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PEOPLE BETWEEN THE LINES

A handbook on migration
for (future) journalists

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People between the lines

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Acknowledgements

Preface

As journalists we are well aware that this quote by Walter Lippmann, journalist, philosopher and one of the classic theoreticians of media from the first half of the 20th century, applies to us as well. We realize that the world we live in is too big, too complex, too *liquid*, as Zygmunt Bauman (2004) puts it, for us to be able to fully understand or describe it.

At the same time, as journalists we have to take into account our social responsibility as well as our duty to try to bring our audiences the most complex, diverse, exact, and balanced information possible about the world we live in. Information which allows our readers, listeners and viewers to make the best and most well-informed decisions when tackling the challenges, we have to face as inhabitants of different countries and of the whole planet.

To be able to do this, we have to start with ourselves and try to make sense of the complexity and liquidity of today's world as best we can to be able to interpret its image to our audience. It's the aim of this handbook to help us – and you, our readers and students – with this task.

Although the central topic of this handbook is migration and related questions, it's possible that on the next pages we will learn as much about ourselves as about migration.

Who are we and what does it have to do with our perception of migration? Why do we think about migration the way we do as individuals, and journalists in our societies? How and why does it happen that we often think that migrants (for the moment, we can imagine whoever we want when we hear the term) are this way and that, but definitely not the same as *us*?

When writing stories on this topic, choosing the content and form, what role (positive and negative) do media organizations play and what role do we play – the journalists within those organizations? How do our, often unconscious, decisions about migration-related topics impact public opinion and politics in our country? How does public opinion and political discussion impact us and our work? What does that all mean for us as journalists?

This handbook hopes to answer at least some of those questions. It will help us better understand the basic variables and factors that play a role in the presentation of this topic and allow journalists to better reflect on their role in the process of reporting on migration.

We can then apply this understanding to different social groups, too. Especially when it comes to *the other. The other* can mean many different social groups, which we don't think we belong to, which are beyond what we consider *our own*. They can be migrants as well as members of other minorities.

In the next chapters, we will try to give you a chance to fully absorb this approach while gaining more knowledge about the topic. To this end, we will use a number of examples, case studies, questions, and exercises of various levels of interactivity and length.

Last but not least, this handbook aims to highlight a fact pointed out almost a hundred years ago by the previously mentioned Walter Lippmann, that mass media and the journalists who produce them have an immense social responsibility. It's a responsibility we should never forget and should take into account when writing each sentence, we present to our audiences.

We would like to encourage future and current journalists and students of other fields to try to step out of their own worlds, to look at the world and society from the perspective of *the other*, and to see reality in a little more complex and responsible way.

Doubt everything

As a final point of the *Preface* before you begin reading this book, a word of caution.

First of all, don't trust anything we tell you. You're the journalists; you have to check and verify everything. Look for different points of view, alternative explanations, missing variables and facts we may have omitted. Read our texts while applying critical thinking, respectful doubt and a healthy dose of skepticism – it's not only the foundation of rationalism, epistemology and the entire modern science, but also the bedrock of good journalistic work. Also remember that the handbook is written from a central European perspective and experience and cannot be universal for other European perspectives per se.

De omnibus dubitandum.
Everything must be doubted.

We hope you enjoy using this handbook
and learning from it.

The authors

The handbook is divided into three parts that approach migration from different perspectives:

Chapters 1 and 2 present the theoretical background necessary to understand the topic of this handbook. We try to answer the questions 'how is the image of migration in media created?' and 'what impact it has on who we are?'

Chapter 3 discusses the phenomenon of migration in more depth. It presents important concepts, hard facts and softer information.

Chapter 4 moves from theory to more practical matters introducing the circumstances of writing about migration in Europe, sometimes in comparison with the situation in the Czechia, Slovakia, Estonia, and other countries.

At the end, we offer a popular practical topic. These chapters are called *In the Field* and *Working with data sources* and in it you'll find practical tips and methods used by journalists.

How to use this handbook?

This handbook (and its educational approach) is based on the Evocation, Realization of Meaning, Reflection (E-R-R) framework. That means we use three phases. First, we try to *evoke* an idea about a given topic. Then we support this idea with facts and clearly defined terms to achieve a *realization of meaning*. In the *reflection* phase, we relate the gained knowledge to ourselves and try to identify our connection to the topic and how we can react to it in a premeditated and informed manner.

This method was not chosen at random. Its purpose is to help you better fathom the following chapters' content so that you get the most out of this handbook.

Abbreviations

AP	The Associated Press
API	American Press Institute
BIPs	beneficiaries of international protection
BSPs	beneficiaries of subsidiary protection
CEAS	Common European Asylum System
EEA	European Economic Area
EC	European Commission
EJO	European Journalism Observatory
EJN	Ethical Journalism Network
EMN	European Migration Network
FDI	foreign direct investment
IOM	International Organization for Migration
ODA	Official development assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development
PICUM	The Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants
TCNs	third country nationals
UN	The United Nations
UNHCR	The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

1. A crisis – when media show their true colors

"Migration is part of the human condition. Ever since humankind emerged out of East Africa it has been on the move – searching for a better climate, looking for supplies of food and water, finding security and safety."

In the introduction to the Ethical Journalism Network's publication, Moving Stories, Aidan White and Kieran Cooke write that in 2015 migration "suddenly jumped to the top of the news agenda".

"During 2015 journalists reported the biggest mass movement of people around the world in recent history. Television screens and newspapers have been filled with stories about the appalling loss of life and suffering of thousands of people escaping war in the Middle East or oppression and poverty in Africa and elsewhere."

In 2015, Europe was only just recovering from the biggest financial crisis since World War II. The socio-economic consequences are still not fully known. History teaches us that the echoes of such ruptures can take years and decades to be resolved.

That unbearably hot summer, Europe sudden-ly[1] became the destination of hundreds of thousands of people – all at once, in long processions. That year, the continent was seized by almost apocalyptical images of endless lines of people walking along highways, crowds in railway stations in Budapest and other cities on the so-called *Balkan route*, and refugee camps in Schengen states. Images familiar from humanitarian crises which in the mind of most Europeans happened somewhere far away, started to appear on our doorstep. Mass migration grabbed the public's attention in a way that Europe had not seen for generations. Policymakers, civil society and the media had to react.

The so-called *refugee* or *migrant crisis* became not only a topic in the media, but also a subject of extensive research and analysis on the portrayal of migration in European media. They showed a number of interesting phenomena. Firstly, there was the paradoxical situation that media treated migration as increasingly topical, even though after 2015 the public interest declined. Secondly, the findings showed that the stories media brought to their audi-

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1   Only from the perspective of broader public discourse, the development was no surprise for those who followed the situation.

ences across Europe differ in a similar but not necessarily the same way[2] as the public discourse and political debate in those countries (Fengler/Kreulter 2020). Media in the West pay more attention to the situation of migrants and refugees and discuss the topic of helping them. Media in Central and Eastern Europe, on the other hand, focus more on the problems connected to migration, migrants and refugees, and the protests again them, claims an analysis conducted by the *European Journalism Observatory* (EJO) and *Otto Brenner Stiftung*, a German foundation (Fengler/Kreulter 2020).

It's therefore appropriate to ask what (or who) are actually the media and journalism following the topics of migration? Who are we, the journalists who publish in them? What is the role of journalism and journalists in relation to challenges such as migration? What challenges do the journalists face in their job (loss of credibility, media as a source of entertainment)? Who are our readers, how do they behave and change in time? What powers do we have and what can we do to use it responsibly?

1.2 What is journalism and who are we, journalists?

"You are a reporter, not a star. You are a servant of the people, not a ruler. You are a seeker of knowledge, not its guardian. You know people, but you are not everyone's friend. You are there, but not seen – you are a shadow. You are present, but you are not the object of the piece of news, nor the one something is happening to. You are not the protagonist of the news article. You do a profession which is mundane work. You are a professional, according to whose information the majority of us construct our worldview."

Aino Suhola, Seppo Turunen a Markku Varis, 2005 (In mediaguide.fi 2015)

When we search the phrase "what is journalism?", we get several definitions. What they have in common is the gathering, processing, and dissemination of news and information in more or less the public interest (see infobox 1.3). The essence of journalism is that it aims to inform the audience about events and phenomena. Nowadays, the entertaining aspect of journalism might be gaining more prominence

but it still stays in the shadow of the primary function: helping the audience to understand the world around us. "The purpose of journalism is thus to provide citizens with the information they need to make the best possible decisions about their lives, their communities, their societies, and their governments" (*American Press Institute*).

Infobox 1.3: Functions of journalism

(list is not exhaustive)

- Brings information
- Educates
- Interprets what is happening around us
- Helps form opinions
- Allows for the existence of democratic decision-making processes
- Helps change the world
- Entertains

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2   An analysis conducted in Czechia, Estonia, and Slovakia (Pospěch, Jurečková et al. 2019) indicated that while the public discourse about migration is similar in Slovakia and Czechia, media reacts to it differently.

The type of media is not relevant in this. Kovach and Rosenstiel (2014) write: "The purpose of journalism is not defined by technology, nor by journalists or the techniques they employ; [but rather] [...] by something more basic: the function news plays in the lives of people." This hasn't changed even in the era of the Internet. What changed is us, the journalists, and who we are (or aren't).

The founder of the *Ethical Journalism Network* (EJN) Aidan White points out that up until recently the position of a journalist was rather clear-cut. We considered someone to be journalist if they worked for a media organization and either had the right qualification – like a university diploma – or were members of an association or union of journalists. This is no longer true and it's a lot more difficult to identify a journalist (White 2015[3]). Therefore, it's important to find what defines who is and isn't a journalist. White emphasizes the importance of standards and quality in the journalistic work arising from various ethical codes. Truthfulness, impartiality, independence from commercial and political interests, as well as responsibility (see Mediaguide.fi 2016[4]), or accuracy, balance, freedom from bias, and objectivity (see the Reuters handbook[5]) – the exact words may differ but the essence is the same.

Journalists who abide by these standards (so they can for instance separate their own opinions from their reports) can contribute to the next function of journalism, which is supporting and sustaining the credibility of the decision-making system in the public sector (Mediaguide.fi 2016). Ideally, this is achieved by informing citizens accurately and reliably.

It is important to add that these attributes should not make the definition narrower, but rather more inclusive. Almost anyone can participate in journalism these days as long as they uphold the core standards and principles mentioned above. Consistently abiding by clear and publicly declared journalistic standards in a way that the audience can recognize is arguably how journalists can help audiences distinguish between journalism that is in the public interest and content that is deceptive or self-serving.

1.4 The role and position of journalism and journalists when covering topics related to migration, and the challenges they face

Journalists like all people have human weaknesses and strengths, interests, opinions, (gaps in) knowledge, and ideas about the world. At the same time, they are members of their media organizations – each of which has its own internal policies, ideological leanings, and interests of its owners. And last but not least, they are members of society and create content for an audience that represents a fraction of that society and whose members have their own expectations and ideas about the world (see infobox 1.5).

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3   ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/resources/videos/what-is-journalism-who-is-journalist
4   mediaguide.fi/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/media_guide_eng_painoversio_final.pdf
5   handbook.reuters.com/index.php?title=Standards_and_Values

Infobox 1.5: The bugs in our mind (an experiment)

When considering the role and position of journalists who are reporting on migration, we should start with ourselves. We should never forget that our minds have their natural limits when gathering, processing, and disseminating information. These limits manifest more strongly in relation to polarizing topics, or topics that are either alien, or familiar to us (geographically, culturally, socially, etc.).

We will demonstrate these limits on something seemingly unrelated to journalism – optical illusions. They can very clearly show us the gaps in our perception and reflection of the world around us. This phenomenon relates to journalism that journalists' perception influence how they chose to portray stories about migration and other topics.

Which line is longer?

Which square is darker, A or B?
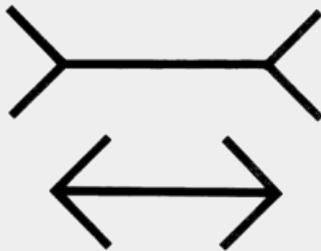
This is a Müller-Lyer illusion. Of course, the two lines are identical. The problem is that we see them as different even though we know they're not. The issue is not with our eyes; it is our brain that's deceiving us.
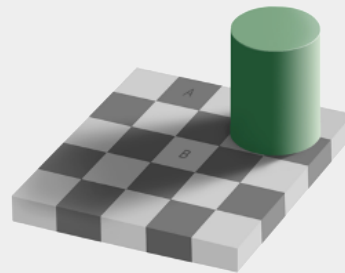
The correct answer is that square A is darker. Or is it? In reality they have the same color even though our brain refuses to acknowledge it. Don't believe it? See this YouTube video: bit.ly/shade-illusion.

What does this have to do with journalism? Our inability to see that two squares have the same colour is related to the fact that our mind isn't considering two random unrelated squares but automatically takes into account the whole chessboard, which is a specific, well-known pattern. Our mind organizes the incoming data into a familiar context, but the interpretation in interaction with other inputs (like in this case the cylinder and its shadow) isn't necessarily correct.

Now imagine we would think like this about a topic we're covering. Even though these two examples are abstract, it's not hard to imagine similar mechanisms manifesting in more complex topics. To say nothing of stories that are alien to us in some way, which is easily true of topics related to migration. That's why our internal warning lights should go off in those cases and we should pay attention to the limits that are embedded in ourselves.

People – including journalists – tend to generalize facts about other people based on what they know, on their deep-rooted prejudice. The origin of these perceptions is among others related to who we are and where we're from. This is true for our perception and reflection on the topic of migration, as well. We are more apt to believe "the pictures in [our] heads" than to come to judgment by critical thinking (Walter Lippmann, 1922). These tendencies are very strong and they will be discussed further in the next chapter.

What else, more tangible, interferes with the decision-making of journalists when creating content? On a personal, media, and societal level? There are a number of factors.

Studies imply that the information disorder triggered by the rise and ubiquity of the Internet has created incentive structures that encourage sensa-tionalism, divisiveness and even disinformation in order to drive enough traffic for media to survive via programmatic advertising. The knock effect of journalism struggling to find new funding models often results in lower pay, lack of expertise among editors, and a lack of resources necessary to cover some stories comprehensively. At the same time, the Internet has opened up editors and journalists to avenues for social and political pressures, manipulations, and abuse. In an attempt to not displease their audience, some media move away from balanced and well-founded coverage of a topic, and fulfill the expectations of the audience, verging on disinformation and *fake news* (Pospěch, Jurečková et al. 2019; ICMPD 2017). Social networks and their capacity to provoke hate also play a role.

To withstand these challenges and pressure is a challenge on its own. Some media are managing

better than others. As a result, it turns out (among others from the studies mentioned above) that the media coverage of migration is often biased, superficial, simplifying, using insufficient or bad sources, and only following the dominating narrative presented by political elites and expected by the audience. Migration is overwhelmingly portrayed and framed by the media as a problem, instead of looking at the topic in its complexity and seeing it as a global phenomenon that presents both risks and opportunities.

1.6 Who are our readers? How do they behave and how do they change with time?

„Video killed the radio star"

The Buggles, 1979

Thanks to digital technologies, the line between journalists and their audience is getting thinner. Technologies disrupt the former monopoly of media and journalists on the gathering, processing, and dissemination of information; thanks to *Web 2.0*[6] practically anyone can dabble in journalism (not the same as being a journalist). It's not only the way that the audience obtains information that changed, but also the position from which they approach the information.

Social media have become the new front page, put together by the audience themselves (with the unsolicited help of hidden algorithms). The platforms give their users easy access to news and information and at the same time allow them to actively participate in their creation by commenting, sharing, and posting (Holton et al. 2015). If we apply the *agenda-setting theory* and *principle of gatekeeping* (see infobox 1.8 and Chapter 2) we can say that the audience and social media have taken a part of the power from journalists. The time when viewers waited until the evening news to learn the events of the day is gone forever. Today we have become news omnivores, devouring information throughout the whole day (Thorson, Wells 2015).

Audiences are partially setting their own agenda and they have to an extent become their own gatekeepers (see infobox 1.8). At the same time, by showing their preferences (through the likes given to the sources they follow and the posts shared by "friends" in their feed) and courtesy of mysterious algorithms, they run the risk of avoiding information that does not fit their worldview. They only read what they want to read without having to listen to any contradicting ideas. What information people are exposed to is, to a large degree, subject to the interests and behavior of their connections on social networks (Thorson, Wells 2015). In the case of polarizing topics, which need a more nuanced approach rather than superficial coverage, this can lead to getting isolated in *filter bubbles*.

This doesn't mean that traditional media (that is those employing professional journalists) don't still produce most media messages, even those that reach audiences through social networks (Domingo et al. 2015). The difference is that media can no longer reliably predict and influence the reach of their output, and the fact that these messages may not end with the audience passively accepting it. The use of online spaces and social networks is especially prominent in the case of young people. *Reuters Institute's Digital News Report* from 2019[7] points out that people aged 18-24 years (Generation Z) automatically head to social networks, straight to an environment personalized by their algorithms, bypassing the news media.

Not only does this make it problematic for media to reach their audiences (especially young people) and to support a viable business, but also the audience's habits can be considered a challenge to the realization of journalism itself and to democracy as a whole (Elvestad (ed) 2014: 1; Min 2010). Young audiences also incline more to new formats, such as podcasts and videos, instead of written text.

The transition to the online environment and social networks is not the only indication of change. Another evolution the audience went through is the increasing demand for entertainment and unwillingness to pay for news. Older generations may still remember a time when the news was something serious, a morning or evening ritual of absorbing information. Today, people see news differently – often as a source of entertainment rather than a source of knowledge and dependable information. And they

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6   Web 2.0 is a "term devised to differentiate the post-dotcom bubble World Wide Web with its emphasis on social networking, content generated by users, and cloud computing from that which came before" Britannica.com, www.britannica.com/topic/Web-20

7   www.digitalnewsreport.org

choose based on what's not boring. Media houses have data showing people not finishing articles and often decide to make them shorter, since people don't finish articles anyway. People often just glance at the title, the lead paragraph, the photo gallery or the video. Moreover, if the article does not gain traction on social networks, it's (almost) as if it does not exist at all.

However, the internet, web 2.0 and social media don't only pose potential dangers, they also offer new opportunities such as alternative funding models for media independent of large media outlets and enabling different relationships with their audiences, therefore incentivising higher quality journalism.

1.7 What power do we, journalists, wield and what can we do to use it responsibly?

Do you think journalists have any power? Experts, lead by Teun A. van Dijk (1995), a renowned linguist in the field of discourse analysis, prove it without a doubt. They have a power on a level of symbols and persuasion. Media have a certain potential to influence the minds of their readers and viewers but not to directly control their actions. As journalists we should reflect critically[8] on our position of power (see infobox 1.8). We should be aware of its existence and use it responsibly. In the context of media and journalists it means searching for, awareness of and reflection of power imbalances within a society, trying to find out who influences others and who is being influenced, who holds power (in the broadest sense of the word), who are the potential victims and how they get in that position.

As journalists, we possess one of the active tools of power relations that determine and influence the essence of how we see and think about the world. When examining the power of journalists, van Dijk recommends looking for *dominance* (1995). That should be our starting point. Social reality is always founded on hierarchy, on who is "subordinate" and who is "superior," and that hierarchy is everywhere. If we want to get to know an issue or a phenomenon, we have to make sure these relations and their consequences do not have a negative impact on the journalistic content we are creating. For example, in the context of media, the "superior" may be a journalist who unknowingly reflects the world from the privileged position of a relatively wealthy European in a prosperous country, not taking into account the point of view of the billions of people living in poverty far more dire than what the majority of Europeans have known or witnessed first hand.

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8   The term *critical* has several meanings. On the surface, we understand as critical for instance when our friend makes blunt remarks about out new hairstyle. This is not what we mean here.

Infobox 1.8: The processes in which the power of media manifests itself when informing about *the other*

Representation – How we see the world.

Interpretation – Through the representations they spread, media offer the recipients of their content explanations, they teach people how to make sense of the world, others and ourselves.

Evaluation – When interpreting, media constantly favour certain topics and identities over others to which they attribute lower value. In that way, they attribute certain opinions to the information.

Dissemination of information – Nowadays, media content is spreading globally, all you need is Internet access, which is available to more and more people around the planet every day. The intensity quality and quantity of media interaction is reaching completely new levels.

Gatekeeping (process through which information is filtered for dissemination in media) – The process of controlling who and what is included in the presented information and whose voices are heard (Lewin, 1947).

Agenda setting – The process through which media present topics (agenda) on which they focus and which the public consequently perceives as important (McCombs/Shaw, 1972).

Source: O'Shaughnessyho a Stadlera, 2008 (adapted)

Van Dijk (1993) works with the idea that elites, as representatives of a superior social entity, have more of an opportunity to influence the "public mind". And journalists can in a sense be also considered as an elite since they're in a position to influence public opinion. Later, van Dijk goes less abstract and applies his theory to majority–minority relations with an emphasis on the so-called new minorities, meaning people of migration origins. According to van Dijk, media are naturally in the hands of the majority leading to the hierarchy discussed above.

The majority decides what images are presented in media. We see minorities based on these images, rather than seeing what they're really like. And the majority only shows what it sees or wants to see. These images then affect the structure of the majority's dominance through shared ideas (representations) of a dominant group about a certain social group and about their relations. In other words, most of what majorities know and believe about minorities, they receive through discourse and communication (van Dijk 1993: 113) and that affects their behavior. Another equally important fact is that most people want to see social groups they don't identify with as negative, and themselves as positive (Bauman 2004). There is sociological principle that we tend to see groups other than our own as more homogenous and negative, and our own group as more diverse and positive.

In reality we can imagine this on the selection of topics and how they're presented. Van Dijk (1993) uses as an example events initiated by African Americans in American suburbs and by Muslims in Paris. They were presented as racial unrests, not as a form of protest or resistance, and the emphasis was on irrational violence, which is a stereotype expect-

ed from the other. At the same time, more in-depth aspects of the issue – poverty, inequality, discrimination, harassment by the police, and so on – were downplayed. We can see similar patterns in news coverage of migration, migrants and refugees – reports showing migrating people often leave out the background and context presented in reports about the majority of the population. For instance, when talking about the unrests in the suburbs of Paris, many media talk about ethnic backgrounds, religion, and violence, but often leave out inconvenient socio-economic factors and the geographical and social exclusion of the communities. That rarely happens in reports about the majority.

How can we handle this power responsibly? We have to approach it with discretion and analyze each situation. When creating news on the topic of migration and on many other topics, we can ask ourselves the following questions (based on Návojský 2017, Ivanič 2017, adapted). They can help us reflect different points of view on the topic. They can also aid us in a conscious effort to handle our own prejudice, stereotypes, opinions, and the power we have. Don't take them as strict instructions, though. They should serve as a framework to think about difficult topics and help you reflect on who you are so that you can work more efficiently and bring your audience a more nuanced and balanced portrayal of the topics you are covering.

1. Are you aware of your own position as an author with a certain socio-economic background, worldview, origin, and possibly also as a member of the majority?

2. Are you using inclusive language? Think about when you're using words like *we*, *us*, *they*, *them* and how you're using them to describe people.

3. How are you approaching topics and stories you don't understand?

4. Are you using sources that reflect different cultures, opinions, and perspectives?

5. Are you treating migrants and refugees as one entity and the majority or the European Union as their opposite?

6. Are you using diverse sources? Are you using sources that represent different cultural and social contexts and viewpoints as much as those do that represent "your" (personal, European, majority) perspective?

7. Are you avoiding constructions that suggest a "right" or "wrong" image about other cultures? Are you leading the audience to an image they should adopt?

8. Are you including authentic voices of the people you're writing about and do you know the context of their lives?

9. Do you think about whose voice is included and whose isn't? Are you offering also the perspective of the portrayed groups and do they have enough space? How are people in your article presented and described? Are they connected to a collective identity or label?

10. Are you aware how you are framing your story? What photos, headlines, and section headings you choose, which people you quote? What is the tone of your reporting?

11. Are you looking for the untold before settling on an explanation stemming from your deep-rooted perceptions about the world (e.g. missing socio-economic or socio-historical factors vs. ideas about genetic predisposition to certain behavior)?

12. Are you just repeating old truths? Is the content you are creating too consistent with received or learned ideas about a given social group, in this case migrants and refugees?

The media have an uneasy task when informing about all kinds of *the other* – from migrants to minorities. They have to balance the need to detoxify the otherwise extremely toxic public debate – for instance by actively avoiding or challenging racism and not letting extremists to express themselves with due scrutiny and consideration of the news value/public interest of giving them a platform – without unwillingly/unknowingly trivializing the concerns and fears of the public which could lead to losing credibility.

Anyone who deals with these topics and has the power to influence public debate – not only journalists, but also politicians and others – should refrain from playing "the migration card"[9], to stoke fear, avoid confrontational and hostile language, and should encourage an open dialogue across the whole of society. They should use their power responsibly.

To paraphrase a cognitive psychologist and linguist from Harvard Steven Pinker's essay from the website of *The Wall Street Journal* (2018)[10], we shouldn't show things as better or worse, but as accurately as possible.

We have to not only be aware of suffering and injustice but also how it can be mitigated. The opposite approach can lead to calling for simple answers to complex questions, only wannabe solutions, not real solutions, and that is not something we journalists should encourage.

In the next chapter, we will go a step further: from individual to society-wide influences that have an impact on our work and the coverage of topics related to migration.

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9   An example of playing the "migration card" is described in this article: svet.sme.sk/c/20753677/mladu-svedku-brutalne-napadli-o-migrantoch-pise-len-alternativa.html.
The authors of the analyzed texts used an unrelated reference to the foreign population in Malmö to point their audience to a specific explanation – they framed the situation. At the same time, they acted unethically, working with fear and instead of reporting (which should be impartial and unbiased) they were doing politics.
10   Steven Pinker. "The Enlightenment is Working." Wall Street Journal, 9 Feb 2018. Available at: www.wsj.com/articles/the-enlightenment-is-working-1518191343

2. The power of media – What stories journalists choose, why, and how do they present them?

Exercise 2.1: Choosing topics (15 minutes)

"When I write about it, it's about a topic I get from my editors (1). And they give me crime stories. How a Syrian killed or raped someone, stole something (2). In short, they want the things that people will read, that will get a rise out of them (3). And since we're writing for a readership we know, we write what they want to hear (4)."

A journalist working for online media (Pospěch, Jurečková et al. 2019)

Instructions: This quote is by a participant in a survey among Czech, Slovak, and Estonian journalists that analyzed how the topic of migration is covered in these three countries (see Pospěch, Jurečková et al. 2019). Read it and try to match the numbered sentences with these concepts, which we will discuss more in this chapter:

A.   Tabloidization and clickbait

B.   Framing

C.   Keeping in compliance with the dominant discourse

D.   Agenda-setting

When you match the sentences and concepts, think about the following questions. If you're doing this exercise together with other people, discuss them together. You can find the correct answers at the end of the exercise.

Questions:

·   What role (in both a positive and a negative sense) do media and the journalists who work for them play in creating news – choosing content and form?

·   What impact do our – the journalists' – often-unconscious decisions, when informing about topics like migration, have on public opinion and public policy in our city, country, or continent?

Answers: 1–D, 2–B, 3–A, 4–C

A couple of years ago, when a radio editor and university teacher Trina Creighton and her colleagues from the University of Nebraska-Lincoln examined the media coverage of crime in relation to ethnicity, they reached remarkable conclusions. The researchers found that in Nebraska, a state in the American Midwest known more for cowboys and corn than a multicultural population[11], 60% of TV news from Omaha, the state's biggest city, were concerned with crime. That wouldn't be that weird in itself but more than two thirds of these 60% discussed crimes by African American men. Despite the fact that African Americans represented less than a third of people arrested in Omaha (Creighton et al. 2014).

Even though this is not directly related to migration, it raises relevant questions about how the public can be informed in such a biased and distorted way. And apart from wondering what similar research about minorities in our country might reveal[12] we, as journalists, should pay attention to these questions:

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11   Of the state's population, 4.8% are African Americans. In Omaha, the biggest city, it is 13.7%.
12   For instance in Slovakia, the campaign *Syndróm Róm* showed that most Slovaks don't realize that "average" Romani live the same way as the majority, intermingled among them (Ľudia proti rasizmu: *Syndróm Róm*). That's mirrored in the presenta-

- Why is this happening?

- What role (in both a positive and a negative sense) do media and the journalists who work for them play in creating news – choosing content and form?

- What impact do our – the journalists' – often-unconscious decisions when informing about topics like migration have on public opinion and public policy in our city, country, or continent?

- Conversely, what impact does public opinion and political debate have on us and our journalistic work?

- What does it all mean for us as journalists?

In this chapter, we will follow up on the previous chapter and learn:

- What is *agenda-setting*?

- How is our work related to terms like *discourse* and *framing*?

- What is the *power of language* and the way we use it?

2.2 What stories do we write about and why?

To describe how and why media inform the public about some stories, events, phenomena, and facts – and not about others – is the effort of the *theory of agenda-setting* (see infobox 2.3). In relation to this we have already quoted Walter Lippman's almost a hundred-year-old book *Public Opinion* in the preface. Back then, shortly after World War I and long before television and the Internet, the American theoretician of media has already identified the essence of agenda-setting, even if that wasn't the term he used (Lippmann 1998).

This man – who was, among other things, the first to use the word *stereotype* in the sense we understand it today (Kleg 1993) – also came up with the claim that media are the principal connection between what is actually happening in the world around us on one hand, and the pictures of those events in the minds (or heads as Lippmann puts it) of the public on the other (Lippmann 1998). This wasn't at all far from the actual idea of media's agenda-setting.

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tion of the Romani in Slovak media where most coverage, if a place of residence was mentioned, discussed the Romani in settlements (Romano kher – Rómsky dom and SGI: *Mediálne zobrazovanie rómskej menšiny a opatrení zameraných na ich začlenenie na Slovensku*; 2017, available at www.governance.sk). Yet, in Slovakia, only about 18% of the Romani live in settlements – segregated from other communities.

Infobox 2.3: Agenda-setting theory

The agenda-setting theory describes the "ability (of the news media) to influence the importance placed on the topics of the public agenda". The theory claims that media has a great influence on their audience by instilling what they should think about instead of what they think. That is, if a news item is covered frequently and prominently (for instance at a better airtime or at a more prominent place spot in a newspaper or on a website), the audience will regard the issue as more important.

Two basic assumptions underlie most research on agenda-setting:

1. The press and the media do not reflect reality; they filter and shape it.

2. Media concentration on a few issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues.

Therefore, this research searches for correlations between how media inform their audience about a certain event or phenomenon and how important their audience finds this event or phenomenon. Those who provide information — not only journalists, but also politicians and others — set the agenda. In other words, they decide what is important. We have to be aware of this power and use it responsibly.

Source: McCombs, Shaw (1972)

However, the concept of media's ability to significantly (and measurably) influence the importance given to a topic in public debate was first empirically tested and identified half a century later by two theoreticians, Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, in a quantitative study of a presidential election in the US (1972). The two men tested Lippmann's thesis about "pictures in our heads" and found a strong correlation between the issues reported by media and the issues named as important by undecided voters who they interviewed (McCombs, Shaw 1972). In other words, they found that the salience of issues emphasized by the news media could be transferred to the public's mind (Vu, Guo, McCombs 2014: 670). They were the first to use data to demonstrate and measure the power of media and their influence on public opinion and public policy.

The theory was later empirically tested in hundreds of other studies in different parts of the world and in various contexts and to this day, no one has been able to disprove it. McCombs himself wrote in a 2005 article in *Journalism Studies* how encouraging and intellectually stimulating it was to see that their theory proved to be true in many different contexts.

This led McCombs to claim rather categorically that "journalists do significantly influence their audience's picture of the world" but adds that in most cases it's due to a practical issue – the "agenda-setting influence is an inadvertent by-product of the necessity to focus on a few topics in the news each day" (2004:19). In short, before the Internet, there was only so much space in a newspaper or time in a broadcast. Despite this, practicality studies show that what media decide to publish correlates with their own views on politics, economy, or culture. It's also obviously true that countries that have more geopolitical power receive more media exposure (McCombs 2004).

As the legendary study *Bad News* by the *Glasgow Media Group* puts it, journalists are *the gatekeepers of content*, and only feature news what they find appropriate; they decide what viewers will learn about (Giddens, 2013: 686). We need to emphasize, though, that the potential influence changes with technologies and today scholars are focusing on questions connected to the relationship of so-called *traditional media* and *the virtual world* (Aruguete, 2017) with new relations, structures, and opportunities for the audience itself to create and share content or make it more visible by clicking on it (see infobox 2.4).

Other studies on this topic focus on other aspects of agenda-setting by the media, for instance on their ability to create, in the minds of the audience, not only images, but also associations between different topics etc. (Vu, Guo, McCombs, 2014: 670-1). Thus, they expand the original concept of "pictures in our heads" introduced by Lippmann a century ago into even more detail.

Infobox 2.4: The "upclicking" mechanism

The distribution of power between journalists and their audiences is now partially changing as the audience can – through clicks and other ways, like sharing on social media – move some topics to the main page or increase the spreading of content without the editors' active contribution (for instance when it goes viral). As a consequence, this can make some pieces of information more "important" than others. However, journalists still pick the specific pieces information they will present to their audiences (based on various motivations, including trending topics), enabling them to click on it in the first place.

Another change was brought by Web 2.0, which gave more people and groups the ability to create their own content and spread it through social media. This allowed new media content to enter the discourse – content created not by the media or journalists, but by members of the more or less concerned public.

2.5 The power of discourse and media framing

Exercise 2.6: Who discovered America? (15 minutes)

Instructions: Answer the following question automatically, without thinking. Pick an answer you know from school. Then watch the video linked below and answer the questions at the end of this exercise.

Who discovered America?

a)   Christopher Columbus

b)   The Vikings

Watch this video – bit.ly/kristof-kolumbus – and think about the following questions:

· What does the video point out?

· What answer was missing in the quiz?

· Why is the version of a historical event generally accepted in Central Europe so different from the one described by Native Americans?

· What's the "correct" answer?

· Can we apply this reflection of a historical character's role on the media presentation of topics related to migration?

"*In elementary and secondary schools, we are taught that Christopher Columbus discovered America. We don't question this interpretation of history, it's generally accepted. Just like the fact that Western civilization sees Columbus as a symbol of a brave explorer whose discovery changed the image of Europe at the time*" (Návojský, 2017). Is it really a generally accepted fact? And is it "the truth"? That depends. Is it even possible to find all the answers in books? If we look at the "discovery" of America in a different, critical way that disrupts the phenomenon of a hero and explorer, the image in our heads can change. And we can find a new perspective, for instance that the

events connected to Columbus's journeys can have many interpretations. One of which is that Columbus treated the natives brutally on his expeditions, murdered and enslaved them. These are wrongs that the inhabitants of the Americas feel to this day.

What does the video in exercise 2.6 show us? To put it in simple terms, it shows us that certain phenomena and events can be interpreted in different ways depending on our point of view, or the position we're in.

To think this way often means to let go of our preconceived ideas about the world. This is not always easy. To be able to accomplish it, we have to try

to look at a story – not just the one about Columbus – through the eyes of others, especially those who are in the weaker position in the story, who have limited or no power. It doesn't mean to give them preferential treatment, just to give them a voice that they deserve. We will discuss looking through someone else's eyes and searching for different points of view in the following section.

Discourse and its power

"[T]he Straight Line which he called his Kingdom, and in which he passed his existence, constituted the whole of the world, and indeed the whole of Space. Not being able either to move or to see, save in his Straight Line, he had no conception of anything out of it. [...]

King: Exhibit to me, if you please, this motion from left to right.

I: Nay, that I cannot do, unless you could step out of your Line altogether.

King: Out of my Line? Do you mean out of the world? Out of Space?

I: Well, yes. Out of your World. Out of your Space. For your Space is not the true Space. True Space is a Plane; but your Space is only a Line."

Edwin A. Abbott, 2015 (1884)

The way we see the world around us depends on many different things. Starting with what culture, in the broadest sense of the word, we come from, our socio-economic background and current situation. We're also influenced by out prejudices and preconceptions ("truths" that we take as given) which help us create frames and stories which in turn help us make sense of the world around us.

Our education, religion or other forms of belief, our family, our contact with people from other cultures, and our social environment in the broadest sense of the word (including political establishment and policies generally, traditional and modern institutions, and so on) influence the way we see the world. Last but not least, our perception as journalists is, to an extent, also influenced by the kind of media in which we publish.

Therefore, with the knowledge of *the agenda-setting theory* (see infobox 2.3) we can safely say that people form their ideas about the world based largely on the information they receive from media, i.e. from journalists. Thus, the way media (and other actors such as politicians or other influential persons) frame information can strongly influence and possibly change how society perceives a certain topic or story.

As we discussed in the previous chapter, we shouldn't forget that journalists are people as well. We shouldn't be surprised that all of the influencers mentioned above have an impact on their own ideas about the world. The more journalists are aware of how these ideas come to be and that they exist at all, the more they're able to work with this important information.

This way we circle back to what sociologists call *discourse*, that is a determining dimension, which decides the essence of our idea about the world. According to Giddens, *discourses set up borders around subjects that limit what can be <u>sensibly</u> said about these subjects* (Giddens, 2013: 685). Discourse predetermines the structure and borders of a debate, defines the terms and rules of creating and perceiving the truth. We could almost say that it determines what we are allowed to think.

The discourse we live and think in creates a sort of lens through which we rather unknowingly look at the world. It may be the lens of the majority population of a country when looking at foreigners or minorities, the lens of a member of the middle class when looking at people who live in excluded communities, the lenses of people from rural areas or from cities, the lenses of religious people or atheists.

The problem is that *discourse* – the lens we use when we look at the world – can easily become dominant and accepted, no questions asked. Logically, the lenses that become dominant are usually the ones representing the perception (and interests) of people or groups with more power in society. In our case that can be the majority population when compared to foreigners coming into the country. Another example is the way the majority sees minorities, the way members of the middle or upper class see people who live in poverty, and so on.

As we know from the *agenda-setting theory*, journalists can influence the attitudes and opinions of their audiences. This accounts for a specific quality of discourses – they are not only a reflection of reality, the dissemination of knowledge, ideas, and

images which determine how we see the world, but also the tools which themselves construct reality, for instance in the form of political decisions taken (see infobox 2.7).

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Infobox 2.7: The power of the discourse of security

In Slovakia, the discourse of security in connection with the events from 2015 and 2016 (narrowing the topic into issues of security, protecting borders, terrorism, and threats) promoted primarily by representatives of the political party governing at the time, but other entities as well, could have contributed to the fact that after the 2016 elections the parliament managed to pass a package of so-called anti-terrorist laws. These laws gave more power to the police and other agencies, and increased the risk of violating the rights of migrants living in Slovakia as well as all other inhabitants (Kríglerová, Chudžíková 2016).

Unlike Slovakia, Hungary's government managed to get the support of most of the media. Pro-government media directly influenced by the ruling party (which constituted 80% of the Hungarian media market in 2019) received instructions on how they should treat the topic of migration, what vocabulary and photos to use, how to frame the news. Since the media – at the government's request – presented refugees and migrants as a danger or a threat, they may have contributed to the 2018 election victory of Viktor Orbán, who presented himself as a protector of the country against this alleged danger. (Nolan, Walker 13 Apr 2018).

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We always have this lens, a template through which we see the world. It's natural that we live in a discourse; the goal is to realize it and take it into account. Be aware of the way we see the world and why, what impact it has on the way we approach stories and the events that we relate to our audience. Media and we, the journalists who work in them, have a tendency to build our stories on the already mentioned preconceived ideas about the world and thus promote them further. Not based on a careful analysis but just because "that's how it is".

In reality, we often spread information based on a certain way of seeing the world without realizing it and rarely try to fight it deliberately and systematically – to discard the lens and look for other points of view. Migration and its presentation in the media are an area where the inability to "discard the lens" is very strongly manifested. That's why it's important to understand how and why information is framed in a particular way and what discourse and power dynamics are the foundation of these frames. And how it affects us who work in media. If we manage to do that, we can learn to frame information carefully so that we can bring our audience complex, accurate, diverse, and balanced media content, which will allow them to make decisions that are more informed.

The upshot of this approach consciously challenging our preconceived ideas about the world is entertaining and intellectually stimulating. It can be fun.

Let's now think about these questions:

- Is it a problem if a single discourse dominates public debate?

- What reaction would you get if you stepped out of the dominant discourse in your articles? Can negative reactions lead to self-regulation or self-censorship?

- Do you think that we as journalists are responsible for the spreading of some dominant discourses? If so, is there something we should do about it?

Exercise 2.8: The pictures in our heads (15 minutes)

Instructions: Watch this video – bit.ly/danger-of-single-story-en – of a TED talk by Nigerian author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie. It offers a more literary perspective on the "pictures in our heads", the discourse we live in and through which we see the world, or as the author puts it, the "danger of a single story". The first 8 and ½ minutes are the most important for our topic but we recommend you watch the whole video.

Questions:

- What kind of discourse about Africa is dominant according to the author?

- What image of Africa is dominant in our country?

- How does this image impact our journalism about Africa?

Frames as the "filling" of discourse

Exercise 2.9: Context and criticism (15 minutes)

Source: commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Boda_Boda_riders_on_stage.jpg

Step 1: Look at the photo and read these two potential captions:

1. Boda boda, Kampala, Uganda

2. A typical day in Kampala, Uganda

Now think about these questions:

- What have you learned from the captions? Is the provided information sufficient?

- How do the captions frame the situation?

- What does the second caption make you think? Does it reinforce a negative stereotype about lazy relaxed Africans; does it fit a dominant discourse about certain people and countries?

Step 2: Now read a third caption and consider the following questions:

3. Waiting for customers. The driver of a *boda boda*, a type of local taxi in Kampala, Uganda.

- Has this changed your idea about the situation?

- What's the difference?

Source: Návojský 2014 (adapted).

Another theory we need to consider is *discursive framing* (framing, media framing, etc.). Discursive framing is part of every communication, including presentation in media. We could say that it connects discourse with media.

It's the setting of discourse and its elements into a particular context of terms and symbols which people understand, which are clear to them as if automatically. For example, do you recognize this discursive frame: *Africans are lazy and relaxed ("everybody knows that") and migrants are just the same, naturally ready to drain welfare benefits but at the same time to take our jobs.*

Sociologist Erving Goffman pointed out two aspects of framing. The first is the principle that *"observers actively project their frames of reference into the world immediately around them"* (Goffman 1986: 39). We project our ideas about the world into the actual world.

An example of such a projection is our image of 'the Orient', brilliantly described by Edward Said in his now classic study *Covering Islam* (1997) that analyzed the media presentation of Islam, the Muslim world, and the people who live in it. The image we have of the Orient was created by the society we live in. Aladdin, One Thousand and One Nights, hookahs and harems – a complete opposite of European life, ethereal and mystical but also primitive and unreliable, essentially unfit for democracy and human rights. These orientalist conceptions can unconsciously frame our coverage of the Middle East. Similar conscious and unconscious prejudices often creep into how we frame many other parts of the world.

The other important aspect of framing described by Goffman is that like discourse itself, frames are not used consciously. If we live in them, we don't even notice them, just like when we're framing 'the Orient', the events and stories related to migration, or the presumed 'lazy Africans' from the opening exercise. It's an automated process of placing situations into specific frames based on our convictions, experience, knowledge, or opinions – the discourse we live in and through which we see the world. The fact that this is not objective reality plays no role.

According to Robert Entman, *"to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text[13], in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described"* (1993: 52). It's the selection of what highlight and prioritize that creates a selected version of reality (see infobox 2.11). For instance, in the media coverage of events of 2015 when hundreds of thousands of people travelled through Europe, it was common to portray the people as a burden on administrators, a challenge for the police, or as a crisis in itself, while little or no emphasis on the causes (push factors) in their countries of origin. This gave the audience the impression that the refugees are the cause, not a consequence (Tkaczyk at al. 2015). In other words, we consciously or unconsciously direct the audience's attention to certain aspects of a story and to a particular interpretation very distinct from any other possible interpretations. If that reminds you of a journalist's job, you're not wrong.

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13   Text doesn't necessarily mean written text.

Instructions: Look at the following posts that were shared on Twitter by two big press agencies (Associated Press and Agence France-Presse) in 2005 when hurricane Katrina came through New Orleans. Then answer the questions at the end of the exercise.

"A young man walks through chest deep flood water after looting a grocery store […]"

"Two residents wade through chest-deep water after finding bread and soda from a local grocery store […]"

Questions:

- What's the difference between the two pictures and their captions? How do the two posts frame the story?

- What elements do the posts emphasize and what do they leave out?

- Why do you think the journalists decided to describe the situation the way they did?

- Do you think they did it on purpose?

Infobox 2.11: Frames, frames, frames

Among other things, our **choice of interviewees** plays a role in framing – if we choose police officers, security analysts, a minister of the interior, we frame the situation very differently (security discourse) than if we ask the experts who investigate the basis and causes of the phenomenon, like sociologists, social workers, humanitarian workers, or human rights specialists (social/humanitarian discourse).

We also frame information by the language we use, the choice of metaphors, synonyms, nouns and adjectives, whether we use a passive or active voice of verbs and so on.

We can also frame the whole narrative, that is "a story or a description of a series of events; a particular way of explaining or understanding events" (Cambridge Dictionary). For instance, a narrative based on winners and losers, or a narrative based on uncovering wrongs can direct the audience to a certain way of thinking about the subject.

In short, **there are many ways of framing and it's not easy to recognize all of them. That's why it's important to be aware of their existence and try to become more sensitive to them**. Which we don't always manage.

Through agenda setting and *gate keeping*, media and journalists play an important role in influencing discourse and the frames that fill it. Unfortunately, when it comes to migration, negative frames and narratives often predominate over balanced ones.

Whenever we journalists create content, we choose – consciously, or unconsciously – how we frame it. It's us who to an extent define reality by choosing to interpret phenomena and events in a certain way, to point the audience in a certain direction – one that doesn't clash with our possibly subconscious ideas about the world, our discourse in which and through which we reflect the world. That's a big responsibility we have to take into consideration and work with, for instance, by deliberately striving for balance through an awareness of our own position in society (see Chapter 1). Essentially, we often project our worldview – regardless of whether it's a reflection of it or just our more or less accurate idea of that reflection – on the reality around us. And we share it with our audience who we thus help form their images of the world.

Exercise 2.12: How (not) to frame (15 minutes)

Instructions: Imagine you're writing an article about the policies of integration of foreigners. Who would you ask for comments and why? Which studies would you quote? You don't have to list specific names, just think of types of people and studies. Compare your approach with this article: bit.ly/integration-foreigners. Then answer these questions:

- Who has the author of the article talked to? Who have you decided to talk to?

- How does the article feel based on the choice of interviewees? What direction does it give to the article?

- What words does the author use?

- What do you think about the two realities – in your hypothetical text and in the article?

- How could have the article been different if the author had chosen different people to interview and different words to use?

What should we pay attention to when framing topics related to migration?

Language

Language is an important part of the power relations between the majority and minorities, or *the others*, like migrants. Always choose your words carefully. An example can be the choice of words used to describe groups of foreigners that have an emotional connotation. Refrain from using words related to animals or natural disasters.

Statistics

Interpreting numbers related to migration is even trickier than with numbers related to the rest of the population. It's necessary to consistently distinguish between different types of people (migrants, refugees, asylum seekers) and compare only what is comparable (see Chapter 6).

Objectification

We shouldn't write about migrants and refugees without including them. However, that doesn't mean it's enough to interview someone in a refugee camp or an asylum seeker. That could actually serve to frame these social groups in a particular way. We should consider talking to relevant experts on migration as well, to help a more balanced framing.

Pictures

Don't pick photos based on what the audience expects, pick those that reflect reality (for instance, when covering the events in Greece, don't use leading shots of angry young men when 60% of the inhabitants of Greek refugee camps are women and children). At the same time, take into account the human dignity of the portrayed people. Always ask yourself if you would publish a similar picture of someone you know or who is in your social group. If not, why would you do it to others?

Stereotypes

Trying to fight stereotypes can be like walking on thin ice. Sometimes even genuine effort to fight them can lead to spreading them further.

2.14 Legal norms and journalism ethics in covering topics related to migration

"The conclusions from many different parts of the world are remarkably similar: journalism under pressure from a weakening media economy; political bias and opportunism that drives the news agenda; the dangers of hate-speech, stereotyping and social exclusion of refugees and migrants. But at the same time there have been inspiring examples of careful, sensitive and ethical journalism that have shown empathy for the victims."

Moving stories, Ethical Journalism Network, 2015

The inspiring examples mentioned by the *Ethical Journalism Network* are what we, as journalists should strive for. As with any other topic, for dilliegnt migration reporting you need to apply journalism ethics and good storytelling, and include a balanced selection of reliable sources[14]. In addition, migration journalism often ends at just describing the problematic parts – in order to write better and more interesting stories, you can also include possible solutions.

From UN conventions to our keyboard

In different countries, *journalism ethics* are set in different legal and/or professional systems on several levels, from international to the personal level of individual journalists. The non-discrimination principle is a part of international documents like the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, the *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union*, and the *European Convention on Human Rights*. To follow the hierarchy of legal norms, the principles from these documents are then included in the constitutions or constitutional law of individual countries that usually include passages about non-discrimination, including the protection of minority rights, which can be applied to migrants and refugees. The next level in the legal system is specific non-discrimination legislation. In the European Union it is part of the accumulated legal norms of the EU, which all member states had to include in their legislation. It directly and specifically defines and bans discrimination based on ethnicity, religion, origin, and so on, and gives a foundation to challenge and fight discrimination. This ban applies to media and journalists as well.

Apart from the law, the next level is that of professional organizations, the individual media themselves. They tend to have ethical codes, which, apart from banning discrimination, often include various instructions on how to avoid derogatory or hateful language, how to treat interviewees with sensitivity, how to work with visual materials and captions, and how to remain impartial. With a few exceptions, it's not common for these codes to explicitly address migration. Nevertheless, many media take their approach to migration reporting seriously as shown by the selection of articles from 2015 below.

At the hectic time of the so-called *refugee/migrant crisis*, the debate was opened by Qatari TV station *Al Jazeera* who decided to refer to all people attempting to reach Europe by crossing the Mediterranean as refugees, rather than migrants. Other important media organizations and experts also contributed to the discussion. You can see some of the major contributions to the debate in chronological order below:

- Al Jazeera – *Why Al Jazeera will not say Mediterranean 'migrants'* – Malone, B. (20 Aug 2015) – bit.ly/migrace-aljazeera

- The Washington Post – *It is time to ditch the word "migrant"* – Taylor, A. (24 Aug 2015) – bit.ly/migrace-wp

- The New York Times – *Migrant or Refugee? There Is a Difference, With Legal Implications* – Sengupta, S. (27 Aug 2015) – bit.ly/migrace-nyt

- BBC News – *The battle over the words used to describe migrants* – Camila Ruz (28 Aug 2015) – bit.ly/bbc-migrace

- The Guardian – *We deride them as 'migrants'. Why not call them people?* – Marsh, D. (28 Aug 2015) – bit.ly/migrace-guardian

- Faculty of Law of Oxford University – *Refugees are Also Migrants. And All Migrants Matter* – Carling, J. (4 Sept 2015) – bit.ly/migrace-oxford

- The Conversation – *Migrant or refugee? Why it*

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14   An example of good storytelling as well as applying journalism ethics and non-discrimination: bit.do/BuzzFeed_story.

matters which word you choose – Taylor, Ch. (14 Sept 2015) – bit.ly/migrace-theconversation

· Language on the move – *Who is a real refugee?* – Bodis, A. (23 Sept 2015) – bit.ly/migrace-language

Exercise 2.15: How (not) to frame II (15 minutes)

Instructions: Read the following texts and think about the accompanying questions.

Text 1: *Al Jazeera* – "Why Al Jazeera will not say Mediterranean 'migrants'" – bit.ly/migration-aljazeera

· What do you find interesting about *Al Jazeera's* approach?

· Do you agree/disagree with what is said in the text? Why?

Text 2: *BBC News* – "The battle over the words used to describe migrants" – bit.ly/migration-bbc

· What do you find interesting about *BBC's* approach?

· How is it different from *Al Jazeera's* approach?

Text 3: Faculty of Law of Oxford University – "Refugees are also Migrants. All Migrants Matter" – bit.ly/migration-oxford

· Which approach to ethical coverage makes most sense to you?

· Think about the arguments the media mentioned above used to defend their approach to using certain terms. What argument do you consider the strongest? Why?

· Do the languages you report in have similar dilemmas and questions as English? For instance, according to analysis of media coverage of migration conducted in 2019 in Czechia, Estonia, and Slovakia (Pospěch, Jurečková et al. 2019), the terms *refugee* and *migrant* have changed meaning and have gained new connotations. In Hungary, it's possible to find out, which media are directly influenced by the government (up to 80% of the country's media) and which are independent based on the term they use (government-influenced media are not allowed to use the term *refugee*).

· Have you talked about this topic at your journalism school, at work or with your fellow journalists? Is it included in any of the journalistic codes your have used?

At our keyboard

The cited norms from the global level of the UN to the ethical codes of individual media always end in one place – the journalists. We are the last instance that can intervene and, in accordance with our professional integrity, choose to uphold journalism's ethical codes and adhere to international legal norms.

This is related to being aware of many things mentioned in this and the previous chapters, especially in the sections about framing and power of language, as well as the power dynamics or imbalance of social agency between journalists and migrants. In relation to this there are many valuable sources we can refer to. One of them is quite simple, yet dense checklist from the Ethical *Journalism Network's Five-point guide for migration reporting* (see the complete text in infobox 2.16 below).

Infobox 2.16: Five point guide for migration reporting

1) Facts, not bias

Are we accurate and have we been impartial, inclusive and fact-based in our reporting? Are we acting independently from narratives that stem from politics and emotion rather than facts? Are we fairly and transparently reporting the impact of migration on communities?

2) Know the law

Asylum seeker? Refugee? Victim of trafficking? Migrant worker? Do we use irregular migrant? Do we understand and use migrant definitions correctly and do we articulate to our audience the rights migrants are due under international, regional and national law?

3) Show humanity

Humanity is the essence of ethical journalism. But we must keep our emotions in check, avoid victimization, over simplification and the framing of coverage in a narrow humanitarian context that takes no account of the bigger picture.

4) Speak for all

Do we have migrant voices? Are we listening to the communities they are passing through or joining? Question how representative self-appointed community and migrant spokespeople really are.

5) Challenge hate

Have we avoided extremism? Have we taken the time to judge whether inflammatory content about migrants or those who seek to limit migration can lead to hatred? Words like "swarms", "floods" and "waves" should be treated with caution, as should indiscriminate use of "racism" and "xenophobia."

Source: Ethical Journalism Network

The Ethical Journalism Network's migration guidelines were drafted in 2016 at the height of the so-called *migrant crisis* and therefore focus on the challenges and common and tropes mistakes that media in Europe were making at the time. While still very useful, we need to be careful when applying guidelines like this into different geographical contexts and periods.

For example, in the Gulf, migration guidelines for media often focus on how to report on the rights and abuses of labour migrants largely from Africa and Asia, rather than refugees.

Source: The ILO Regional Fair Migration Project in the Middle East (FAIRWAY)

In countries like Armenia and Moldova, however, the focus is often covering their large diaspora and the consequences of emigrating for seasonal work, rather than immigrants.

Despite common themes, the challenges of migration reporting differ from country, which is why national initiatives such as the Carta di Roma in Italy are so important. Both were created with a wide range of stakeholders including media and migrant rights experts to address particular challenges. Because of their participatory design and bespoke nature they are far more likely to influence Italian media.

Find out more about the formation and ongoing work of Carta di Roma on their website: www.cartadiroma.org/who-we-are/

Do you think your country's media would benefit from going through a similar process, to create agreed guidelines?

Freedom of speech vs. hate speech

Where does freedom of speech end and hate speech begin? Is it necessary to limit hate speech?

In February 2019, the secretary-general of the United Nations António Guterres confirmed his resolution to fight against hate speech: *"We are also seeing a groundswell of xenophobia, racism and intolerance – including rising anti-Semitism and anti-Muslim hatred. Hate speech is a menace to democratic values, social stability and peace. It spreads like wildfire through social media, the Internet, and conspiracy theories. It is abetted by public discourse that stigmatizes women, minorities, migrants, refugees and any so-called 'other'. Indeed, hate is moving into the mainstream – in liberal democracies and authoritarian systems alike."*[15]

The efforts to fight against hate speech raise worries in a certain part of the public, which is rightfully asking if these efforts aren't suppressing the freedom of speech and how far can they go.

Freedom of speech and hate speech are truly interlinked. To simplify, we can say that freedom of speech ensures our right to say whatever we want, regardless of whether it's factually correct and objective. Where is the line of hate speech? At the point when it limits the freedom of speech and realization of others and therefore denies their rights. (Ethical Journalism Network)

There is no universally agreed definition of hate speech but we can take into consideration the one by the UN which defines hate speech as "*any kind of communication in speech, writing or behavior, that attacks or uses pejorative or discriminatory language with reference to a person or a group on the basis of who they are, in other words, based on their religion, ethnicity, nationality, race, color, descent, gender or other identity factor.*"[16] Freedom of speech is therefore limited by hate speech – that which limits the freedom of speech of others based on who they are.

In case of journalists, they are not only concerned with avoiding being perpetrators of hate speech but also with how the respond to the hate speech of others, such as political representatives or extremist groups. We should ask ourselves if journalists should let politicians spread hate speech in media? If they do report on their hate speech, how should they do so? If they chose to ignore it, how can they justify this to the public?

Exercise 2.17: Hate speech (60 minutes)

1. Find an example of hate speech against migrants in your country.

2. Imagine that you are working in an online newsroom. Your editor asks you to write the headline and introduction to a story about that hate speech for the website. The editor has decided that it is a newsworthy story and wants to publish it quickly to compete with your rivals. He only gives your 15 minutes to write the headline and first three paragraphs.

3. Write the article to the deadline using the original hate speech from the politician or extremists group etc. (Not how it was reported in the article that you found. Imagine that this is breaking news).

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15   www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/speeches/2019-02-25/remarks-the-human-rights-council
16   www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/documents/UN%20Strategy%20and%20Plan%20of%20Action%20on%20
Hate%20Speech%2018%20June%20SYNOPSIS.pdf

Now read this answer to the question about how media can deal with hate speech by a Slovak chief editor in the analysis of media coverage of migration conducted in 2019 in Czechia, Estonia, and Slovakia (Pospěch, Jurečková et al. 2019). He said that he wouldn't publish a statement, which promotes hate and doesn't respect the human dignity of migrants even if a prominent politician made it. To honor balanced journalism, he might react to it with a comment or in a similar way, not ignoring the situation but choosing a proactive approach, not allowing the information to spread without reflecting on its hateful nature.

Ask yourself; do you think your article lives up to his advice?

Now let's take this one step for using the Ethical Journalism Network's test for hate speech. It begins by saying:

When it comes to hate speech, Journalists and editors must pause and the time to judge the potential impact of offensive, inflammatory content. The following test, developed by the EJN and based on international standards, highlights questions in the gathering, preparation and dissemination of news and helps place what is said and who is saying it in an ethical context.

The questions that it suggests you consider are:

1. Status of the Speaker

    ·   How might their position influence their motives?

    ·   Should they even be listened to or just ignored?

2. Reach of the speech

    ·   How far is the speech travelling?

    ·   Is there a pattern of behavior?

3. Goals of the speech

    ·   How does it benefit the speaker and their interests?

    ·   Is it deliberately intended to cause harm to others?

4. The Content Itself

    ·   Is the speech dangerous?

    ·   Could it incite violence towards others?

5. Surrounding Climate: Social / Economical / Political

    ·   Who might be negatively affected?

    ·   Is there a history of conflict or discrimination?

Don't Sensationalise! Avoid the RUSH to publish. Take a Moment of reflection

You can find more details about each aspect of the test here: ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/resources/publications/hate-speech

HATE SPEECH

TURNING THE PAGE OF HATE:
A MEDIA CAMPAIGN FOR
TOLERANCE IN JOURALISM

When it comes to hate speech, journalists and editors must pause and take the time to judge the **potential impact** of offensive, inflammatory content.

The following test, developed by the EJN and based on international standards, highlights questions in the **gathering, preparation** and **dissemination** of news and helps place what is said and who is saying it in an **ethical context**.

4 REACH OF THE SPEECH

How far is the speech traveling?

Is there a **pattern** of behaviour?

5 GOALS OF THE SPEECH

How does it benefit the **speaker** and their **interests**?

Is it **deliberately intended** to **cause harm** to others?

A 5 POINT TEST FOR JOURNALISTS

1 THE CONTENT ITSELF

Is the speech **dangerous**?
Could it incite **violence** towards others?

3 SURROUNDING CLIMATE

SOCIAL / ECONOMIC / POLITICAL

Who might be **negatively affected**?

Is there a history of **conflict** or **discrimination**?

2 STATUS OF THE SPEAKER

How might their **position** influence their **motives**?

Should they even be **listened to** or just **ignored**?

DON'T **SENSATIONALISE!**

AVOID THE **RUSH** TO PUBLISH

TAKE A **MOMENT OF REFLECTION**

(cc) BY NC SA SHARE IT!

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EJN
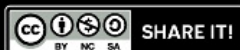
Ethical Journalism Network
ethicaljournalismnetwork.org

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Now review the questions in the hate speech test.

Complete the same task using the same piece of hate speech but this time use the hate speech test as a guide. This time you have 15 minutes.

If you are working as a group, or in pairs, give the two articles to the person next to you. You can also review the two versions yourself.

Read both articles and consider:

1. How does the second report compare to the first?

2. Which one better adheres to the ethics of journalism?

3. Which one gives more information to the reader?

4. Any other comments...

Share your thoughts with your partner.

Investigating hate speech and propaganda against migrants

Some journalists take reporting on hate speech one step further. Read this investigative by Daniel Howden from *Refugees Deeply* that *"uncovers the anti-refugee propaganda machine that fostered xenophobia in Hungary, derailed the E.U. response to the refugee crisis and is spreading to the Czech Republic and beyond."* bit.do/Howden_HateSpeech

Reflection:

1. What do you think of the report? Are you surprised by these revelations?

2. Why do you think media so rarely investigate other media companies?

Conclusion

Considering how we should respond to hate speech brings us to the classic *paradox of tolerance* defined by Karl Popper who writes: *"Unlimited tolerance must lead to the disappearance of tolerance. If we extend unlimited tolerance even to those who are intolerant, if we are not prepared to defend a tolerant society against the onslaught of the intolerant, then the tolerant will be destroyed, and tolerance with them"* (Popper 2013).

To define the exact line isn't always easy and ethical codes won't solve it for us. Even tools like the EJN's Hate Speech test only ensure we are asking ourselves the right questions. The decision remains with individual journalists and media organizations to make these difficult judgements. That's why we have to primarily start with ourselves, be aware of our social responsibility, ask if the content we create doesn't, perhaps unintentionally, help spread hate speech. We can use the tools in this chapter and the series of questions from Chapter 1 to consider how we can rise to the challenges of polarisation and bad actors attempting to use hate speech as a means to an end, while contributing to intolerance and discrimination.

Infobox 2.18: Additional sources on journalism ethics

- Accountable Journalism – the largest list of ethical codes around the planet – www.accountablejournalism.org

- BBC – The BBC's Editorial Values and Standards – bit.ly/bbc-kodex

- Reuters – Standards and Values – Reuters Handbook of Journalism – bit.ly/reuters-kodex

- BOND, 2019. Putting the People in the Pictures First – Ethical guidelines for the collection and use of content (images and stories) – bit.ly/bond-kodex

- Ethical Journalism Network, 2015. Moving Stories – International Review of How Media Cover Migration – bit.ly/moving-stories-ejn

- International Centre for Migration Policy Development, 2016 – Study: How does the media on both sides of the Mediterranean report on Migration? – bit.ly/analyza-pokryvani-migrace

- Media Diversity Institute, 2004 – Reporting Diversity Manual – bit.ly/pokryvani-rozmanitosti

- UNESCO Declaration on Fundamental Principles concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War, 1978 – bit.ly/unesco-media

- International Principles of Professional Ethics in Journalism, 1983 – bit.ly/pariz-media

3. Migration as our topic

We use this free writing exercise on the topic of *international migration* at the beginning of our course on migration in media. It's no surprise that most participants say that *"international migration is when someone moves from one country to another"* or that *"migration is as old as humanity itself"*. We all have a subconscious idea about who migrates and why, what benefits and risks it entails. When we start investigating the topic more thoroughly, however, we usually find out that nothing is as clear-cut as it might seem at first glance. We realize that our ideas are based on partial information which come from many different directions and that we often regard it with a certain detachment, from a distance.

It's like reading about car accidents with an internal feeling that it doesn't concern us. In this chapter, we will look at the human activity known as *international migration* in a broader global and personal context, we will focus on the trends in its development in modern history, we will get acquainted with the basic concepts related to migration, and we will think about its perceived *phenomenality*. It's not our ambition to replace scholarly papers from the field of migration studies so we encourage everyone who's interested in the topic (especially if you want to write about it) to take this chapter as a stepping-stone to more information.

3.2 Migration – the history of humankind

Professor Russell King from the University of Sussex pointedly summarized the life of mankind on Earth: *"human migration is the history of the world and the present is the reflection of that history"* King's statement *"in a sense people are born migrants, since the very beginning our evolution has been connected to migrating, moving from place to place and adapting to new environment"* (King 2007) has been proven true many times in the past. The chronicles of *Homo sapiens*, which we began writing some 300–400,000 years ago in East Africa, is from the beginning linked to searching for and occupying places that can sustain most of our immediate needs. Findings from palaeontology, anthropology, and genetics prove

that our ancestors tried, albeit mostly unsuccessfully, to leave Africa 125,000 years ago. They finally got beyond the Red Sea some 35,000 years later and, from there, set out to colonize the entire planet. Approximately 90,000 years ago they settled in China, 40,000 years ago they conquered Australia, 5,000 years later reached Europe and another 15,000 years later they managed to cross over to the Americas. And people have not stopped migrating even in the 21st century, some 9,500 years after colonizing the southern-most point of South America (King 2007).

For 400 generations, mankind has literally been a global species. Only since the 15th century have we gradually started to migrate in a truly globalized manner, speeding up from the 19th century onwards hand in hand with the technological advancement and the subsequent changes in society. It was Stephen Castles and Mark Miller, renowned experts on international migration, who introduced into scholarly discourse the idea of the late 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century as an *age of migration*. Their book *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, which first came out in 1993 with the 6th edition published in 2019, has become a modern classic. Castles and Miller mention primarily the fall of the Soviet Union and the bipolar view of the world as divided into allies and enemies, the end of apartheid in South Africa, the Gulf War, wars, famines and crises on the entire African continent, the rapid economic growth of Asia, the shift from dictatorships to unstable governments and debt-ridden democracies in Latin America, and the growing impact of the economic and political integration of Europe (Castles, De Haas, Miller 2014). They claim all of these events had one thing in common – massive movements of people. Nonetheless, migration in our age is not exceptional only because of its scale. As the authors point out, rather than the numbers of people on the move, it's the circumstances of today's migration and whom it affects that's unique and unprecedented.

Massive movements of people were happened in the past, too. Whole tribes and nations were moving and when we relate the number of people to the world's population, today's numbers seem rather insignificant in comparison with some other periods of human history. From history lessons, we are familiar with the Israelites' journey from Egypt to the Promised Land, the Migration Period of Late Antiquity, the military campaigns of Alexander the Great, the Golden Horde or the Moors, the European conquistadors' voyages to Africa, Asia and the Americas, and the infamous transatlantic slave trade, which forcibly moved millions of Africans from one continent to another. In modern history, we can mention the expulsion of Armenians from Turkey, and the exodus of Europeans to what they named the New World – for instance in Ireland, during the Great Famine between 1845-1849, massive departures of inhabitants caused a decrease of the population by 1 million people.

It's particularly the transatlantic migration of inhabitants of European countries (Ireland, the United Kingdom, Austria-Hungary, Nordic countries, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany, and Russia) to countries in the Americas (the US, Canada, Brazil, and Argentina) between 1870 and 1915 that reached levels of unfathomable magnitude in the context of today's migration trends. In that period, approximately 37 million people left Europe. Most of them settled in the USA (an estimate of 25 million) and the vast majority never returned to Europe. To put these numbers in perspective, according to available data, the population of the US has increased by 250% between 1860 and 1921, 125% of which was caused by migration. In the same period, the population of Canada has increased by 200%, of which migration is accountable for 150% (Nugent 1992). The migration boom of the end of the 19th century was a direct response to the social changes connected to the industrialization and intensification of agriculture and to general progress, most significantly the development of steam transport, which meant travelling overseas, became easier. It also reflected the minimal legal and administrative barriers limiting migration. Transatlantic migration, which allowed for the emigration of Europeans to countries in the Western hemisphere, has led to the creation of modern migration policies in the receiving countries – which started regulating migration by introducing travel documents, visas, and quotas – and to the forming of the first policies aiming to adapt migrants and the receiving society to the new situation. Today these are known as *integration policies*, and they focus on preparing the migrants and the host society for the new conditions.

3.3 Post-war Europe on the move

Up until the 1950s, international migration was more or less limited to movements within Europe and the exchange of people between Europe and the Americas where the Old Continent, as the Europeans called it, was the one people were moving from.

People of course migrated in other parts of the world as well during this period, but those movements were beyond the focus of most scholars and scientists studying migration; the discipline itself was only just emerging. The turning point came with the

end of World War II. Europe – and the entire world with it – was literally set in motion.

When the fighting stopped, millions of people started to move across Europe, either to get back home or because they were moved involuntarily. Among the most important movements at the time were: the expulsion of approximately 11.5 million German-speaking inhabitants from countries of Central and Eastern Europe (Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the USSR and others) to Germany and Austria; the forced resettlement of about 2 million Poles from the Eastern part of Poland annexed by the Soviet Union to the Eastern parts of Pomerania and Silesia (given to Poland); the return of about 2 million Soviet citizens from territories occupied by the Allies and the deportation of about half a million Ukrainians, Belarusians, and other nationalities from Poland to the Soviet Union; the homecoming of hundreds of thousands of workers forced to work in the German Reich; and the liberation of tens of thousands survivors of the holocaust and Nazi concentration camps who were looking for a safe place to live after they found out their homes were occupied (Wasserstein 2011). At the same time, tens of thousands of people from Eastern and Central Europe reacted to the new division of powers after the war and to the rise of Communism in the region by fleeing to the West, mostly to North America.

The post-war recovery of countries with decimated population and material resources and the consequent revival of industry, agriculture, and international trade started a new chapter in the history of human migration. The lack of work force in the quickly recovering countries of Western Europe and North America has led to active recruitment campaigns for foreign workers, known as the guest-worker system. First, from close-by low-income countries (in the border regions of Europe, like Spain, Italy, and Yugoslavia) and in the case of former colonial powers from their dependent territories. With the growing standard of living in Southern Europe, they started looking in countries with which they had no or minimal prior connections. These recruitment campaigns have laid the foundations of sort of "migration bridges" between sending and receiving countries and have established the main migration routes between economically strong regions and the sending countries (e.g. Germany–Turkey, USA–Mexico). These bridges, contrary to the original plan, remain strong to this day (Castles, De Haas, Miller 2014). The architects of this policy of temporary or circular labour migration, the guest-worker system, assumed that the workers would return to their home countries when they're no longer needed. Max Frisch, a Swiss author, pointed out that this assumption was not and probably never will be the case in his legendary quote: "We asked for workers, but we got people instead." The vast majority of original economic migrants have not only not returned but have invited their families and settled as inhabitants of migrant origin despite their foreign status and the difficult economic situation caused by the 1973 world oil crisis.

Infobox 3.4: Migrant, European citizen and third country national

Migrant is not a legal term in the European context and European legislatures do not recognize it. Rather, the term is used in anthropology, sociology, geography, psychology, politics, ethnology etc. It describes the migration experience of a person who can but doesn't have to be a foreigner. The term only means that the person was born or has lived for a long time in a different country than where they live now. Someone who lived abroad for several years and returned back to his or her country of birth is de facto a migrant. On the other hand, the children of migrants (second- or third-generation immigrants) are not migrants, not even when they have the legal status of foreigners. This creates a statistical distortion since most countries only monitor the number of foreigners (people who are citizens of a different country than the one they live in) and don't distinguish if the person came into the country or were born in it. For instance, the official statistics of Eurostat provide the numbers of foreigners living in member countries for more than a year, distinguish between European Union citizens and third country nationals, but don't distinguish between whether they are an immigrant, or the decedent of immigrants.

According to the UN, a *migrant* can be anyone regardless of their nationality who leaves the country where they usually live (most often the one where they were born) with the purpose of changing their life in some way, for a period longer than one year, more or less of their own free will. The freedom of choice aspect is questionable since the definition includes any kind of migration excluding the migration of refugees as defined by the 1951 *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* and amended in European law by the *Qualification Directive 2011/95/EU* (see infobox 3.9). That means that migration caused by a bad harvest, famine, or natural disaster is essentially seen as voluntary because if the person were to return to their home country, they would not be in immediate danger of persecution

by the state, its institutions or law enforcement. By this logic, a migrant, unlike a refugee, can freely return to their home country without the risk of persecution.

Unlike refugee law, the rules regarding the admission and residence of migrants (especially foreigners) are for the most part decided at the level of each member state. European law distinguishes between migration inside the EU – the migration of European Union citizens and citizens of the European Economic Area (EEA) – and the migration of third country nationals (TCNs). The first type follows the principles of free movement of persons, while European citizens within the EU face minimal obstacles when they migrate. The second type affects the citizens of countries outside the EU and the EEA and is subject to strict immigration rules. Apart from the exceptions in a few partial rules in certain countries (such as Ireland and Denmark), the EU has essentially unified the general principles for granting a long-term resident status, for a single application procedure for a single permit to reside and work in the territory of a member state and for a common set of rights for these workers, for family reunification for TCNs and for European Union citizens if their family members are not citizens of the EU, for integration of TCNs, and for minimum standards on sanctions and measures against employers of illegally staying TCNs, also called *irregular migrants* (see infobox 3.6).

For detailed migration glossary also visit the United Nations' publication *Media Friendly Glossary for Migration.*

3.5 Is migration a modern phenomenon?

How come, then, that we see the international migration that's been under way since the turn of the 1980s/90s as something abnormal and unprecedented when history tells us the world has seen far greater movements? How is modern migration different from those happening decades, centuries before? When we look at the estimated numbers of international migrants published every year by the UN and IOM (International Organization for Migration), it's clear that they're growing but in direct proportion to the growth of the world population. That means the percentage of international migrants in relation to the whole population keeps oscillating at around 3%. Nevertheless, it's important to take into account who is and isn't part of these estimates. The official definition of the UN only considers as migrants those people who live outside of their country of usual residence for more than a year and they left their country more or less voluntarily (see infobox 3.4). This perspective excludes a high number of seasonal migrants as well as people on internships (like the popular European student exchange programme Erasmus). At the same time, the definition only takes into account international migration and isn't concerned with migration within countries which naturally represents the most numerous migration on the planet. For instance in China, which, as a landmass, is size slightly smaller than Europe, the number of internal migrants is higher than the number of international migrants in the whole world (King 2007).

Estimated numbers of international migrants worldwide (1990-2019)

Total number of migrants (M.) — Migrants in world population (%)
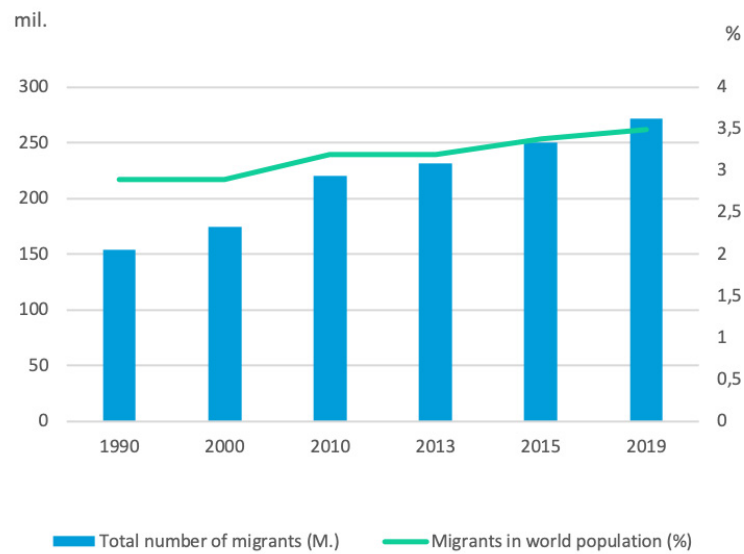
The attributes that make modern migration seem like a phenomenon are not the numbers of migrants but the circumstances that stimulate, facilitate, regulate, or suppress migration. What's happening today is largely affected by globalization, growing inequalities, and the structural changes of the postmodern era. Due to the globalization of markets and the development of transportation infrastructure, as well as the transfer of information, goods, services, and capital, the whole world has become interconnected and the wealth gap between rich and poor is increasing. It's paradoxical that economic growth is the main drive behind migration as it stimulates migration on several levels:

· It increases the labor efficiency and income of inhabitants of economically strong regions leading to *labour market* segmentation with jobs, which are not attractive for the domestic work force. For businesses to be able to compete and in the interest of further economic growth, the market demands cheap labour.

· It diminishes the economic and logistical barriers regulating migration. Primarily, migrants have options of getting the financial means to travel (e.g. by pawning their possessions) and they're assisted in moving by employment agencies, smugglers, and other kinds of contacts.

· It increases the *relative deprivation* and the feeling of relative poverty of people who might consider migration as an alternative personal or family economic strategy based on a mediated contact (from television, the internet etc.) or a personal experience (e.g. having successful neighbors who have an income from abroad).

In other words, economic growth creates reasons for migration and at the same time makes migration easier. Why modern migration seems massive is not caused by the number of moving people but by the fact that the possibility to migrate is now available in almost all parts of the world and to a larger spectrum of people. Modern migration is characterized by these principal trends (Castles, De Haas, Miller 2014; De Haas et al. 2019):

· Globalization, causing migration to affect an increasing number of countries.

· Accelerating migration and the *relativization* of geographic distances leading to people migrating short as well as increasingly long distances.

· The diverse reasons for migration, which are often interconnected. The main reasons (economic prospects and family reunification) have been the same for a long time but there's an assumption that other causes, especially environmental, will become more significant.

· The feminization of migration, which does not mean there are more women migrating (the numbers are stable around 47%) but that they are no longer passively following their partners and are actively migrating with their own goals (e.g. because developed countries have a higher demand for gendered labor such as housekeepers, nannies, nurses, etc.).

· The transnational aspect of migration. Migrants spend more time in between two countries, both physically and virtually. Online communications

allows migrants to stay in contact with people in both countries in real time.

- The political discourse surrounding migration where migration is portrayed as a struggle between the imagined conquered (Fortress Europe, the American Dream) and the imagined conquering (migrant caravans, waves of refugees); or where as part of economic competitiveness, the international labour market is the setting for an imagined fight for highly qualified workers, described as *brain drain* and *brain gain*.

According to Russell King (2007), modern migration bears a number of considerable paradoxes:

- Despite technological advancement, people are less free to migrate from one place to another than a hundred years ago.

- A free movement of people does not accompany the international free movement of goods, capital, and Western ideals in today's globalized world.

- Despite the ever-stricter measures trying to regulate migration, primarily from poor countries to economically developed areas, the number of people who find ways to overcome these barriers is growing (see the term *irregular migrant* in infobox 3.6). Long-term data shows that stricter rules don't stop migration but rather encourage the increase of irregular migration.

- The governments of receiving countries create stricter rules for the admission of foreigners but at the same time turn a blind eye to people entering the country illegally because the low wages paid to migrants help increase their competitive advantage of their employers (this practice is common in the US and Canada in harvest season, for example).

Infobox 3.6: Why we should not use the phrase 'illegal migrant'

In recent years, scholars have debated the problems of using the term *illegal (im)migrant*. This debate has slowly entered the media as well and is most intense in English-language media. The most often emphasized fact is that people in themselves cannot be illegal (i.e. against the law) and so the meaning of the phrase illegal *(im)migrant* is misleading. Only the activities a person can be called illegal or unlawful. This logic has led the American news agency Associated Press (AP) to announce they will no longer use the phrase *illegal immigrant*, saying: "Except in direct quotes essential to the story, use illegal only to refer to an action, not a person (...)."[17] They have stated that the main reason for this decision was that the phrase *illegal migrant* or the term *an illegal* leads to labelling and stigmatizing of people who don't have a residence permit. Kathleen Carroll, the executive editor at the time, admitted in the press release that this new approach may make it a bit harder for writers at first but added that while labels may be more facile, they are not accurate.

Since April 2013, AP's Stylebook contains the following instructions on using the word *illegal* when referring to migration: "illegal immigration: Entering or residing in a country in violation of civil or criminal law. Except in direct quotes essential to the story, use *illegal* only to refer to an action, not a person: *illegal immigration*, but not *illegal immigrant*. Acceptable variations include *living* in or *entering a country illegally* or *without legal permission*. Except in direct quotations, do not use the terms *illegal alien*, *an illegal*, *illegals* or *undocumented*. Do not describe people as violating immigration laws without attribution. Specify wherever possible how someone entered the country illegally and from where. Crossed the border? Overstayed a visa? What nationality? People who were brought into the country as children should not be described as having immigrated illegally. For people granted a temporary right to remain in the U.S. under the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program use *temporary resident status*, with details on the program lower in the story."[18]

After AP's decision, other American media followed. At the end of January 2013, there was a protest in front of *The New York Times* building against the use of the phrase *illegal migrant* in the newspaper. The protest organizers even gave the executives of *The Times* a petition signed by 70,000 people asking the editors to take similar steps as AP. Since then, *The New York Times* have changed their style policy but have not stopped using the phrase *illegal migrant* completely. Their style guide still allows using *illegal migrant* to describe "someone who enters, lives in or works in the United States without proper legal authorization."[19] On the other hand, they encourage their reporters and editors to "consider alternatives when appropriate to explain the specific circumstances of the person in question, or to focus on actions."[20]

Other American media have also stopped using the phrase *illegal migrant*, for instance *ABC*, *The Huffington Post*, *NY1* and others.

In the EU, the phrase *illegal migrant* has been of interest to the *Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants* (PICUM)[21], an NGO that works with over 160 organizations (NGOs, universities, unions, etc.) from more than 30 countries of the EU and surrounding regions, including Czechia, Estonia, and Slovakia. In 2014, as part of their #WordsMatter campaign[22], the organization published a document with suggestions on how to treat this phrase and what alternatives to use instead. Their main arguments against the use of the phrase in public, media and political debate are as follows: "Being undocumented does not constitute a crime in most countries. As it is not an offense against persons, property or national security, it belongs to the realm of administrative law. However, even in countries where violations of immigration law are considered criminal offenses, committing a criminal offense does not make you an 'illegal' person."[23] They further add: "The word 'illegal' depicts migrants as dishonest, undeserving, and criminals who are a threat to the public good. This normalizes the use of punitive measures, enforcement, and procedures to punish and deter irregular migrants. It promotes the policing of migrants, the systematic use of detention, and the normalization of handcuffs and other restraints in immigration processes."[24] An additional argument against describing people as *illegal* is the fact that according to article 13 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* everyone has the right to become a migrant, verbatim "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his

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17   The whole press release can be found on blog.ap.org/announcements/illegal-immigrant-no-more
18   ibid.
19   www.nytimes.com/2013/04/24/business/media/the-times-shifts-on-illegal-immigrant-but-doesnt-ban-the-use.html
20   ibid.
21   picum.org
22   picum.org/words-matter
23   picum.org/Documents/WordsMatter/Words_Matter_Terminology_FINAL_March2017.pdf
24   ibid.

own, and to return to his country."[25] Therefore, we cannot say who is authorised to be a migrant and who isn't.

In English, PICUM recommends replacing the phrase *illegal immigrant* with *irregular* or *undocumented migrant*. Replacing *illegal* with *irregular* is recommended also in the Glossary of the European Migration Network of the European Commission[26]. Similarly, it is better to use *irregular* or *undocumented migration* rather than *illegal migration*.

Exercise 3.7: T-chart of push-pull factors (20 minutes)

Part 1: Factors stimulating migration

Push factors − Why people leave the place where they live; what is *pushing* them out	*Pull* factors − Why people come to a different place; what is *pulling* them there
1. … 2. … 3. … …	1. … 2. … 3. … …

Instructions: On a piece of paper, draw a T-chart based on the template. On the left side, write all the factors you think push people out of their home country. On the right side, write all the factors you think draw people to new places.

Part 2: Factors preventing migration

Pull factors − What *pulls* people to stay in the country where they are	*Push* factors − What *puts* people *off* of migrating abroad
1. … 2. … 3. … …	1. … 2. … 3. … …

Instructions: Draw another T-chart but this time on the left side; write all the factors you think draw people to their home country. On the right side, write all the factors you think dissuade people from migrating to a different country. Try to imagine what it would be like for you if you were in the place of a potential migrant.

When you're done, compare the two T-charts and discuss the questions below. If you're doing this exercise together with other people, compare your T-charts and find the reasons you have in common and the ones that are specific for individual people. Think about how and why your push and pull factors differ.

· Is migration a rational, calculated decision, or rather an emotionally driven one?

· Are some factors more powerful than others are?

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25   www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights
26   ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/glossary_en

3.8 Push and pull factors: why people (don't) migrate

Although the reasons deciding whether someone becomes or doesn't become a migrant are the cornerstones of international migration, media often ignore them or simplifie them to brief adjectives such as *economic* migrant or *war* refugee. However, the reasons for migration tend to be more complex and the migrants themselves often have trouble to answer the seemingly trivial question *"why are you migrating?"* in a similarly simple fashion. Statistics can't capture the reasons for migration either. Registries of foreign nationals only monitor the reasons for issuing residence permits and in case of European Union citizens, the reasons are not recorded at all. Most countries recognize as reasons: family reunification, employment, business, education, scientific research, diplomatic mission, and international protection (see infobox 3.9). These are administrative categories, though, which cannot explain a migrant's personal motives for leaving their home and choosing a host country. The causes and reasons for migration can only be found through research focused on the process of deciding about migration which will take into account both macro- (objective causes, such as unemployment levels, income rates, etc.) and micro-level reasons (personal motives, such as desire to change a climate, boredom, wanderlust etc.).

When we look at the reasons for issuing residence permits, it's a long-term trend that the most people come to developed countries to be reunited with their relatives. In 2017, family reasons made up about 40% of the total migration into OECD countries. And 43% of them were heading to the US (OECD 2019), which has one of the highest rates of immigration for the purpose of family reunification – consistently around 65% of all immigration (Kandel 2018). In 2018, from the total number of first-time residence permits issued to TCNs coming to the EU, the reasons were in 28.4% of cases family reunification, in 27.5% of cases economic activity, and in 20% of cases education (Eurostat 2019). The reasons given for issuing residence permits don't have to correspond to actual reasons for migration, though. Someone coming to reunite with their family can also have an economic motivation and vice versa. For instance, imagine an adult who doesn't have any relatives in their country and the only living close person is a sibling who lives abroad. They would like to join this sibling but residence permits for the reason of family reunification are not issued to adult siblings. They have to find another reason to be admitted, such as getting a permit to start a business.

People migrate and stay home for a variety of different, often interconnected reasons. On the one hand, there are the *push factors* (*pushing* someone out of a country, like low salaries, bad environment, feelings of emptiness), on the other, the *pull factors* (*pulling* someone to another country, like good education, a community of people from the same country, work opportunities). In the middle are a number of obstacles and intermediary opportunities, which direct the decision-making process, the choice of destination and method of travel, the migration itself, and how the migrant will adapt in the new environment. Some of the possible obstacles are visas, cultural and language barriers, or fear.

Migration is often very complicated and difficult, both physically and mentally. It challenges the social relationships of migrants; not everyone is able to change their lives in such a radical way. To better understand the motivation to migrate, we must not forget the reasons to stay, to not migrate, especially the importance of relationships within a community, the fear of the unknown, the language and cultural barrier, the loss of social status etc. The need for social and emotional connections in one's home can often be much stronger than the desire to earn economic profit, which might be achieved by migrating. That's why the absolute majority of people around the world don't even think they could solve their dissatisfaction or unhappiness with some aspects of their lives by emigrating. During the decision-making process about migrating, one has to take into consideration a number of questions. *Should I stay, or should I leave? Where should I go, for how long, with whom, what will I do there, where will I live, how much will it cost, what papers do I need, who could help me…?* In general, we can divide the factors and reasons that impact these decisions into structural (macro-level, external) and personal (on the level of an individual or a family/household).

Structural (external) factors are on the level of the nature of each country. To name a few:

- The political regime and situation in the country (peace/war, democracy/dictatorship/authoritarian, access to power and the legislative process, the bureaucratic apparatus, international connections, etc.)

- The overall prosperity and wealth of the society (income rates, level of unemployment, gap between rich and poor, social security, access to basic needs or to luxurious goods, access to credit through loans, access to insurance, etc.)

- The enforceability of law, especially of human rights

- The status of different groups in society (based on gender, age, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, political opinions, etc.)

- The quality of and access to healthcare

- The quality of and access to education, possibilities of using one's qualification in the labour market

- The overall religious and cultural context of the society

- The quality of basic infrastructure in cities and in the country (access to potable water, electricity, sewage, waste management, transportation, etc.)

- The density of population, levels of fertility and mortality

- The quality of and access to food

- Climate and extreme weather

- The quality of soil, water, air, and the overall quality of the environment

- And many more

There are even more *personal reasons* to migrate, stay, or return; like the need to have a certain social status, have enough free time, a nice place to live, sources of entertainment; the desire to try new things, meet new people, have the freedom to want different things, have enough privacy, be yourself; wanting to be a part of a community, have the freedom to practice a religion, for your children to grow up with good influences, to live in a community with a moral climate you are comfortable with, in a safe environment, and so on. Both structural and personal factors can create the conditions for migration but don't necessarily have to lead to it. To think about migrating is not the same as deciding to migrate. Much like deciding to migrate is not migrating itself.

Infobox 3.9: Involuntary migration (refugees, IDPs, and international protection)

Involuntary or *forced migration* is a type of migration when someone is forced out of their home or displaced abroad against their will. Most often, people are forced out by military conflicts, oppression or persecution based on race, religion, ethnicity, political opinions, gender, sexual orientation, etc., or by humanitarian crises caused by natural or man-made disasters (such as a nuclear accident). People can also be forced to move to a foreign country as part of *human trafficking* and *modern slavery*, usually for the purposes of forced labor or sexual slavery. The number one region with this appalling type of migration is South and Southeast Asia.

People running from immediate danger usually look for refuge in the closest safe destination. That's why most of them stay within their home country – these are called *internally displaced persons* (or IDPs) – or in neighboring countries. Only a fraction travel to more distant countries, mostly those with enough money or those who have relatives there. Most involuntary migrants running from a sudden crisis hope for a quick return and try to stay as close to their home as possible (80% of refugees live in neighboring countries). International involuntary migrants are referred to as refugees. But not everyone who is forced out of their home country against their will is a refugee as defined by the *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* (AKA the *Geneva Convention*) from 1951 and the *Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees* from 1967 which were ratified by all members of the EU. The Convention states that "the term 'refugee' shall apply to any person who (…) owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (Convention, Article 1). Refugees are under the patronage of the *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees* (UNHCR) and are protected by the *principle of non-refoulement* which postulates that it's prohibited to "expel or return ('refouler') a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion" (Convention, Article 33). The contracting states have also pledged that they "shall not impose penalties [on refugees] on account of their illegal entry or presence" (Convention, Article 31).

A refugee or a person in a similar situation (persecuted for reasons not specified in the Convention, such as gender, sexual orientation, or even civil war) can ask the state where they're seeking refuge for *international protection*. In the EU, it's divided into several types of *asylum* (highest level of protection) and to *subsidiary protection* given in situations when the person is in danger but doesn't qualify as a refugee as defined by the Convention (e.g. civilians running from civil war). While someone's application for international protection is being processed, this person is referred to as an *asylum seeker*. If the protection has been granted, they become a *beneficiary of international protection* (or BIP) and

depending on the level of protection, they either *have refugee* status or are considered a *beneficiary of subsidiary protection* (or BSP).

In the EU, the Common European Asylum System (CEAS) defines the reasons for granting international protection and the minimum standards in the asylum process, and determines which member state is responsible for examining an application for international protection – this is treated in the so called *Dublin Regulation* which postulates that the application shall be processed by the first country of entry. Whether an asylum seeker is entitled to international protection is decided by the responsible state and the decision process, including possible appeals, is governed by its legislature. International protection cannot be denied on the grounds of irregular entry or presence (Article 31 of the Convention), nor because the applicant is being prosecuted. On the contrary, this can be ground for granting international protection (since for instance in certain Muslim countries a person can be convicted for homosexuality, in dictatorships for crimes against the state, etc.).

Today the international community is faced with a new threat: climate change and its consequences. Environmental causes drive more and more involuntary migrants away from their homes – they are now commonly called *environmental* or *climate refugees*. However, international refugee law doesn't recognize environmental causes. Nevertheless, the *UNHCR* systematically points out that manifestations of climate change and natural disasters can have the same implications for refugees as conflicts, which are often related to them. That's why the right to protection should apply to these cases as well.

In January 2020, the *United Nations Human Rights Committee* issued a statement in which they fully support this interpretation of the right to protection and appeal to countries to respect the right to life and to not return people who are fleeing over international borders from danger created by environmental causes, if it would mean a threat to their health or lives. However, this statement is, so far, more of a recommendation and it depends on individual countries how they approach this new situation. Especially since a legal definition of a climate/environmental refugee is still lacking.

According to the UNHCR, the number of people under their protection has steadily grown since 2003. While in 2014 it was 54.96 million, in 2018 it was 74.78 million people. Most of these are IDPs (32.3 million in 2014, 41.4 million in 2018), which are for the most part in Syria, Iraq, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Colombia. However, the patronage of the UNHCR only applies to those under the threat of persecution for reasons listed above as defining refugees. That means that for instance people internally displaced because of an earthquake or typhoon don't qualify as IDPs according to the UNHCR. The second largest group are refugees (14.4 million in 2014, 20.36 million in 2018), mostly from Syria, Afghanistan and South Sudan. The third largest category are asylum seekers waiting for their application to be processed (1.8 million in 2014, 3.5 million in 2018). The rest are stateless people and repatriates.

Forced migration is also connected with *smuggling* and *human trafficking*. For more details about these phenomena in relations to media, see the Ethical Journalism Network publication *Media and Trafficking in Human Beings Guidelines*.

3.10 Migration as an economic strategy

Even though the statistically most frequent reason why migrants come to high-income OECD countries is family reunification, the dominant driving force of migration is the need or desire to somehow change, improve one's present (and consequently future) situation. A Filipino *au pair* in Norway, a Slovak student in the UK, a Ukrainian construction worker in Spain, a French manager in Czechia – they're all motivated by the idea of immediate or future profits from the investment put into migrating. The difference is that while migrants coming from economically developed areas usually migrate on their own account, pursuing their own motivations, migrants from low-income countries are often delegated by their families, which give them the necessary support (the means to travel, taking care of their children, etc.) and also share in their earnings.

In this situation, *remittances* play a key role. Remittances are everything that a migrant sends back to their home country; most often money and material goods, but also services. Migrants send money through official channels (through bank transfers or other financial services providers, like Western Union, MoneyGram, WorldRemit, TransferWise, and others)[27] as well as unofficial ones (bringing cash themselves or through friends,

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27   Current costs of transferring money from countries with a large group of inhabitants of immigrant origin to their sending countries can be found on the website of the World Bank: remittanceprices.worldbank.org/en

using bus drivers to deliver money, etc.). With the growing numbers of international migrants, the total amount of financial remittances is rising too. According to estimates by the World Bank, the total remittances transferred through official and unofficial channels totaled 405.99 billion USD in 2008, but rose to 624.45 billion USD in 2018.[28] On a macro-level, remittances represent an important source of income for sending countries. Unlike foreign direct investments (FDI) and official development assistance (ODA), they are not burdened with administration, they are stable even during crises (when FDI and ODA drop), and are not concentrated in one place but are more or less distributed throughout the country in many households. How much remittances actually benefit the development of each country remains unclear. Experts agree that remittances can generally help the betterment of individual households, which can use the foreign income to compensate for a dysfunctional social security system in the sending country, or to diversify sources of income and create a safety net in case other members of the household lose their income. Remittances allow families to improve their living situation, nutrition, education, and healthcare and thus indirectly help local economic growth by passing a part of their foreign income to local businesses. Therefore, remittances can be used to invest, create market relations, innovation, and business. On the other hand, the reality is that most remittances are spent rather than invested – used for addressing basic needs, obtaining consumer goods or medication. And to a large extent also to pay debts, often connected to the migration itself. Sceptics claim that the consumption of families with remittances can lead to increasing inflation and growing prices of goods and services even for those who don't have foreign income. It can also happen that the receivers start counting on the foreign income, become passive, reduce their own activity and productivity of labor, and have a distorted perception of the value of money and the labor, which produces it.

Migration experts Peggy Levitt and Deepak Lamba-Nieves (2011) also mention so-called *social* or *cultural remittances*, meaning the skills, abilities, linguistic and cultural knowledge, and other immaterial "wealth" the migrant gains abroad and brings back to their home country. Another specific type of remittances are *reverse remittances*; everything the migrant receives from their home country. Mostly they are edible goods (such as spices and other local specialities) and religious or cultural objects, simply things that remind the migrant of home. During the global economic crisis that hit most countries in 2008/2009, there were also cases of reverse financial remittances sent to migrants from their home countries. That way, the families were trying to support their "delegates" to make it through the hard time, especially to keep their residence permit.

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28   The development of the amount of remittances in the world can be found on the website of the World Bank: data. worldbank.org/indicator/BX.TRF.PWKR.CD.DT

Exercise 3.11: My migration story (10 minutes)

	A Place where I live now	B Up to 50 km from my home	C 50 to 150 km from my home in the same country	D Over 150 km from my home in the same country	E Abroad in Europe	F Abroad outside of Europe
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						

Instructions for individuals: In each row of the above table write the following data:

- Row 1: Where your grandparents were born (e.g. where your grandmother on your mother's side was born into column C, where your grandfather on your father's side was born into column D, etc.)

- Row 2: Where your parents were born (e.g. your mother's place of birth into column C and your father's place of birth into column E)

- Row 3: Where you were born

- Row 4: Where you went to elementary school

- Row 5: Where you went to secondary school

- Row 6: Where you go to university

Then think about the questions found at the end of this exercise.

Instructions for groups: Take six sheets of paper and write on them the items from columns A–F. Then place the papers around the room so that one end represents your current homes and the other places outside of Europe. Then everyone will stand by the piece of paper that corresponds to the answers to these questions:

- Where does your grandparent, who was born the farthest from your current home, come from?

- Where was their partner born?

- Where was your mother born?

- Where was your father born?

- Where were you born?

- Where did you go to elementary school?

- Where did you go to secondary school?

- Where do you go to university?

When you map the family migration stories in your group, think about the questions found at the end of this exercise.

Questions:

- Was anyone of your parents/grandparents born abroad (or far away from where you were born)? If so, what led to them getting to your country? What led to them staying in the new country?

- Were you born somewhere else than where you're studying? If so, what reasons did you have to go study to this city and not a different one? Were you considering other places in your country or abroad? If so, why were you considering them and why did you choose your current place? If not, what were the reasons?

- Are the push and pull factors you identified in your family's migration story present in your T-chart? If not, think about why that happened and fill them in.

4. How migration is portrayed in European media

Exercise 4.1: One event, two perspectives (15 minutes)

Read the following texts reporting on the same event which came out in two different European countries two days apart:

A) Migrants on Lesbos set a camp on fire, a woman and her child died (30 Sept 2019)

A woman and a child died on Sunday during unrests in refugee camp Moria on the Greek island of Lesbos, reports the DPA agency. The reception centre remains closed. Stratos Kytelis, the mayor of Mytilene, the capital of the island, wants to get the refugees to camps on the mainland as soon as possible. The Moria camp is meant for 3,000 people but currently there are 12,000.

"Thousands of people need to get to the mainland as soon as possible. It can't go on like this," said the mayor. On Sunday, the camp was covered in heavy smoke. The spokesman of Greek police, Theodoros Chronopoulos, stated that the migrants first set fire to an olive grove by the camp and a few minutes later started a fire inside the camp where a residential container burned down.

"We were being attacked and couldn't put the fire in the camp out immediately. We were afraid," Georgios Dinos, the spokesperson of Lesbos firefighters, told a Greek TV channel. Kytelis confirmed that both fires were later extinguished but two people lost their lives. "We have information that a mother and her child died. We haven't managed to confirm it yet," said the mayor. The Greek branch of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) wrote on Twitter that they have learned with deep sadness that the lives of a woman and a child were lost in a fire on Lesbos.

Tense situation

The police used tear gas to get the situation under control and backup arrived on the island. Protesters are demanding to be transferred to Greek mainland. "The situation is tense," commented the mayor. In the past weeks, Greece has been facing a new wave of refugees and migrants coming from neighboring Turkey. Just in August, it was over 9,000 people, which is the most in the three years since the enforcement of an agreement between the EU and Ankara aiming to close the migration route over the Aegean.

B) Unrest after fire at Camp Moria (29 Sept 2019)

At least one person dies in a fire in the Moria camp in Lesbos. Greece tightens migration policy – more people want to go to Northern Europe.

At least one person died in a fire in the completely overcrowded refugee camp Moria on the Greek island of Lesbos. The Greek police and the aid organization Doctors Without Borders confirmed this. In addition, 16 people were injured. The [name of the outlet] learned from Doctors Without Borders in Moria that these are mostly wounds that resulted from tumult when people ran away. "Greece and the EU share responsibility for the ever-new disaster reports from the inhumane Moria camp," spokesperson Anna Pantelia told [name of the outlet] in Moria. "It is high time to end the inhumane policy of detention; people urgently need to be evacuated from the hell that Moria has become."

The tragedy triggered violent protests by the residents of the camp on Sunday. Police used tear gas to keep the situation under control, according to an AFP correspondent report. Additional security forces were also flown in from Athens using army helicopters.

State of emergency in the neglected warehouse

Refugees said that the fire department had taken far too long to arrive at the camp. "The fire broke out in the middle of the camp. Six or seven accommodations were on fire," the 15-year-old Fedus from Afghanistan told an AFP reporter. "We called the fire department, but it took 20 minutes to get here." Anger about it drove the residents to rioting. Many are also in a state of emergency because of the neglect, the lack of security and the chaotic conditions in the misery refugee camp Moria in the north of Lesbos. According to the Afghan refugee, a woman and two children died in the fire. However,

this has not been confirmed.

The Moria camp in Lesbos has been criticized for years because it is chronically crowded. After the arrival of 3,000 new refugees in August, the already difficult hygienic situation in the tent camp in the middle of olive groves had worsened. Around 13,000 people currently live in the camp, which is actually only designed for 3,000.

Tightened migration policy decided

In the meantime, the Greek government has now decided to significantly tighten migration policy. By 2020, around 10,000 refugees are to be sent back to Turkey who have no protection status. In return, according to the current EU-Turkey deal, the same number of vulnerable refugees from Turkey in Greece and the EU should be admitted. People who are aware that they are not granted asylum or subsidiary protection or any other protective title should go to new, closed camps in Greece.

Boats discovered from Greece to Italy at sea

Meanwhile, experts suspect that as a result of the tightening, migrants and refugees in Greece now want to use all means to make their way to Northern Europe and Germany in order to avoid repatriation, so that more people would be on the Balkan route again. Boats with migrants on their way from Greece to Italy are also seen.

Tug across the green line, on the plane

There should be more control at the border to Germany, but traffickers smuggle refugees and migrants into Europe hidden in trucks or with falsified passports, while at the airports where flights from Beirut, Greece, Italy, Eastern Europe arrive the passes are never or only rarely being checked.

Despair increases

Meanwhile, there are many desperate people stuck in the camps, who have done everything for their children, for their dream of a better life. Many mothers, girls and boys were raped on the long way from their country of origin to Europe and are traumatized by war and refugee experiences. Afghans persecuted by the Taliban, for example, can no longer return to their old homeland, where they could face persecution and death.

Questions to discuss:

- What are the main differences between the two texts?

- Do both articles give you enough relevant information about the incident, its causes and possible consequences?

- How do the headlines differ and how do they affect you as a reader?

- What do you think about the choice of people quoted in the article? Does either article lack the representatives of any relevant groups or institutions?

- Can you guess what kind of media published each story (print/online/TV/radio, public or commercial) and what state of the EU are they from? If yes, what are you basing your guesses on?

- What are the obstacles faced by journalists in an office outside of Greece when covering this event? If they want to do an in-depth report, how can they try to overcome these obstacles?

4.2 Migration in European media: same same, but different story?

Since 2015, the phrase *European migrant crisis* gets frequently tossed around but the opinions of political leaders and the public in individual member states of the EU can be very different. What is the role of the media in creation of these opinions? Different countries have different experiences with migration: there are destination countries, transit countries, and countries barely affected by migr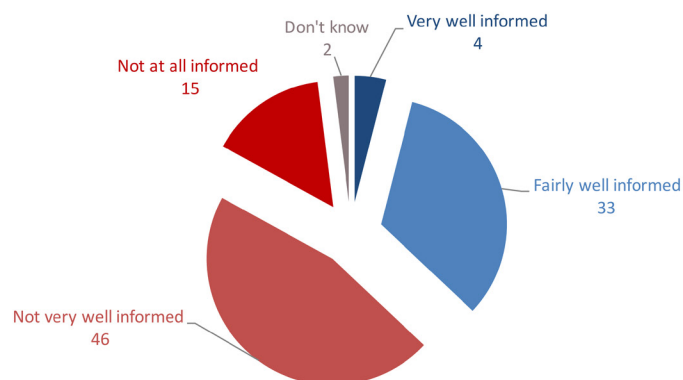ation. Some experienced a boom of migrant workers; others were sought by a large number of refugees, while others struggle with an outflow of their own citizens abroad. Do European media set up a common informational foundation for debates about migration, or do people in each European country learn something a little different about the topic? What's the difference in the media's perspective on

the topic, what themes do they focus on, and who talks about migration in each country?

Yet it is media which to a large extent affect the way we think about the world – whether we're aware of it or not. It's important to realize that especially in the cases of phenomena that we have up until recently seen as marginal or about which we don't have enough information. Until the beginning of the so-called *refugee crisis* this was true about migration for a majority of the European public including journalists. As shown in a research by Eurobarometer conducted across the whole of Europe, things haven't changed much in the three years since then.

Don't know 2
Very well informed 4
Not at all informed 15
Fairly well informed 33
Not very well informed 46

Only a minority of Europeans say they are well informed about immigration and integration, and this is the case in most countries.

Less than four in ten (37%) of those polled say that they are well informed about immigration and integration related matters, with a third (33%) saying they are fairly well informed, and only 4% saying they are very well informed.

Source: Special Eurobarometer 469, April 2018

ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/news/results-special-eurobarometer-integration-immigrants-european-union_en

Sociologist Robert Entman (2010) warns us that it's when the audience doesn't have a pre-defined view on something, that the potential power of media is revealed. In that moment, the media have a lot of room to influence the forming of public opinion. How can they do it? That's the focus of *framing*, a theory of mass communication. According to Entman, "*[t]o frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described*" (Entman, 1993: 52). It is therefore more than relevant to ask how media in European countries frame migration.

What do we know about the portrayal of migration in European media?

The past few years have yielded a number of analyses and studies investigating the coverage of migration in individual European countries. However, only a few of them have attempted a comparison on an international level. Lacking are especially researches that would compare media in older and newer members of the European Union. One of the few exceptions is a study by Eberl et al. (2019), which analyses the coverage by media in seven European countries between 2003 and 2017. The study found differences between reports on intra-European migration and on immigration from countries outside of Europe, which is portrayed in a more negative light, and predominantly from the point of view of security.

This confirms the findings of previous studies, such as Caviedes (2015) and Esses et al. (2013), which showed that a large proportion of reports on migration in destination countries emphasize security threats, criminality, and possible negative effects on

social systems, economy, and culture. A comparative study of news coverage in eight European countries published by Georgiou and Zaborowski (2017) concluded that European media rarely report on refugees and migrants in the context of the situation in their home countries and don't leave a lot of room for their input. In the context of migration, media of various countries use metaphors of natural disasters (flood, wave, tide, etc.).

So far the most extensive study of the coverage of migration in European media was published early in 2020 by the *European Journalism Observatory* (EJO), a network of twelve research institutes from all around Europe, together with the Otto-Brenner Stiftung (Fengler/Kreutler 2020). The researchers analyzed 2,617 articles published between August 2015 and March 2018, which reported on six select events. The research was conducted in 17 countries: Albania, Belarus, Czechia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia,

Spain, Switzerland, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, and the USA. In each country, the researchers chose two journals (print or electronic) based on their leanings – one more left-wing/liberal and one more right-wing/conservative. Owing to its broad reach, complexity, and contemporaneousness, we use this study in this chapter as a basis for describing the main tendencies of migration coverage in European media.

The publishers of this handbook, NGOs from Czechia, Slovakia, and Estonia, published their own analysis in 2019, in which they describe and compare the news coverage of migration in these three countries (Pospěch et al. 2019). It partly reaches similar conclusions as the above-mentioned studies but includes also an analysis of photos accompanying the articles, and research interviews with journalists that uncover the background of migration coverage. This study is also used in this chapter.

Migration – right around the corner, or far beyond the horizon?

The character of news coverage is among other factors affected by the section in which media discusses a given topic, in our case migration. Is it national/local or international news? According to Hafez (2002: 57ff.) and other sources, international news accentuates conflicts, focuses on politicians and other prominent people, and tends to leave out contextual information about the country in question which would allow readers to understand and evaluate the situation better.

The EJO analysis shows a big difference between Germany, Italy, and Greece on one hand, and all

other EU countries on the other. Only in these three countries out of the 17 are migrants and refugees presented as a local issue. It's these countries that are the primary target of migrants and refugees. In other EU countries in the sample, media treat migration and refugees mostly as part of international news, as something happening beyond their borders, far from home. Media in France, the UK, and Hungary emphasized the role of their own leaders in international politics. In other words, when talking about migration and refugees, European media present their own national stories.

Figure 8

Countries by dominant perspective on migration in the media coverage

USA

Europe & Russia

- foreign news
- foreign news with national involvement
- domestic news
- In Russia's outlets, foreign and domestic news have equal shares.

Based on 2 417 articles. Periods of study: 31.08.-06.09.15, 09.11-15.11.15, 04.01-10.01.16, 09.10.-15.10.17, 11.12.-17.12.17, 19.02.-25.02.18. Source: Own illustration.
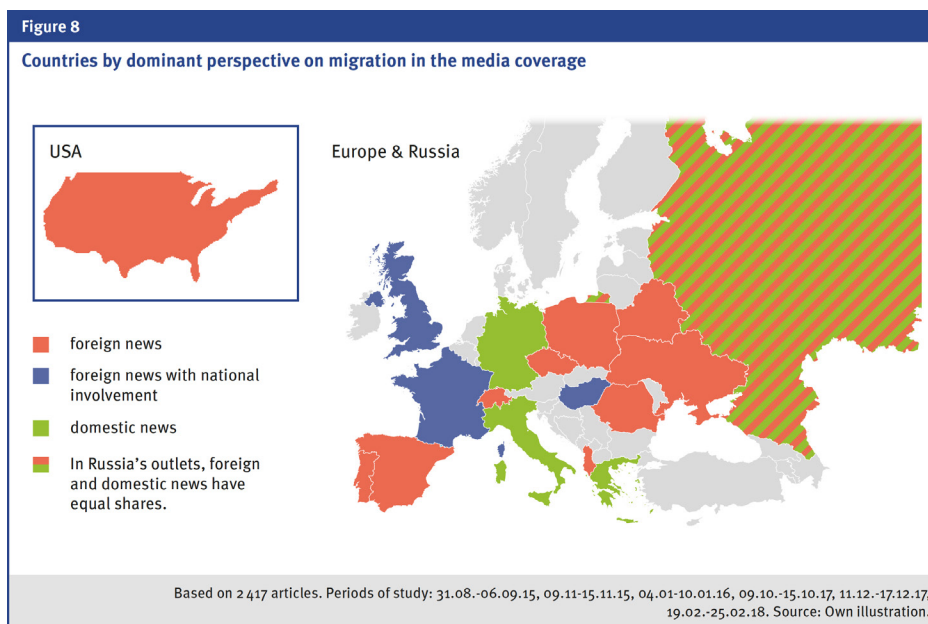
Source: Fengler/Kreutler (2020: 27)

The examined media were informing about immigration from different parts of the world. In Italy and partially also in France, the main reference point is Africa. All other European countries focus on immigration from the Middle East. For instance, Italian newspaper *La Stampa* did not mention a single migrant or refugee from the Middle East during the studied period. Only a fraction of media talks about migration within Europe. The exceptions are Polish media, which mention migrants from Ukraine to some extent, and Belarusian media, which are concerned with migration from Russia. Media in Western and Central Europe only devote 2.7% of articles to intra-European migration.

Themes – only politics and unrest?
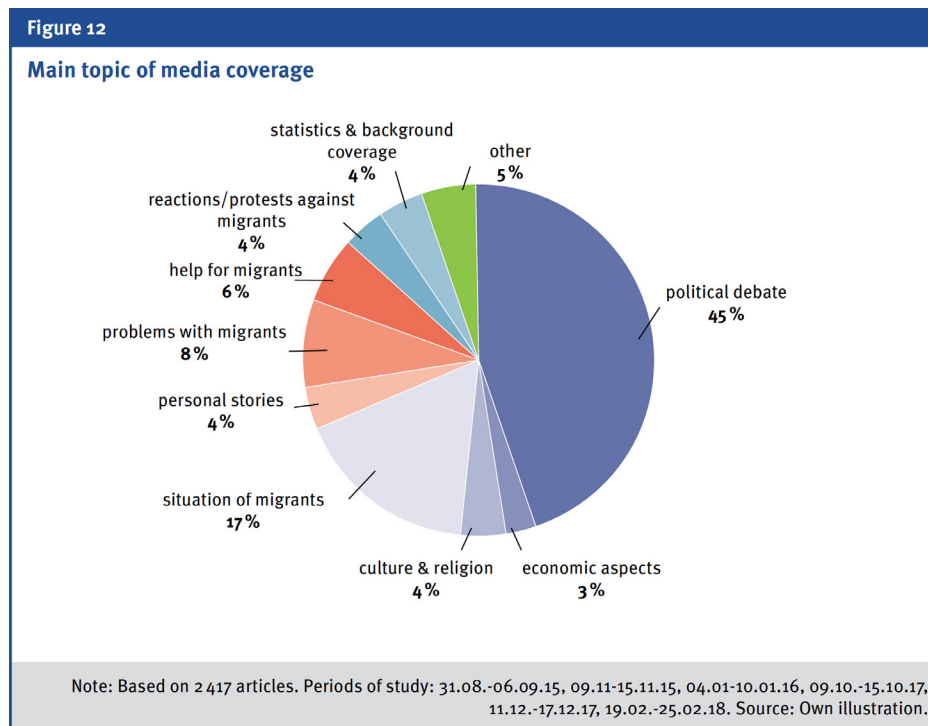
Media coverage on migration is strongly dominated by political topics. Almost half of all analyzed articles were concerned with political debates about migration and refugees and included both national debates and international conferences. Only 17% of articles reported on the situation of refugees and migrants, on what is happening on migration routes, on borders, in camps, or in destination countries. Only 4% describe personal stories of migrants.

Figure 12

Main topic of media coverage

- statistics & background coverage 4%
- other 5%
- reactions/protests against migrants 4%
- help for migrants 6%
- problems with migrants 8%
- personal stories 4%
- situation of migrants 17%
- culture & religion 4%
- economic aspects 3%
- political debate 45%

Note: Based on 2 417 articles. Periods of study: 31.08.-06.09.15, 09.11-15.11.15, 04.01-10.01.16, 09.10.-15.10.17, 11.12.-17.12.17, 19.02.-25.02.18. Source: Own illustration.

Source: Fengler/Kreutler (2020: 33)

It's also interesting to note the distribution of topics, which probably have a big impact on the perception of migration. The *'problems with migrants'* theme plays a noticeably bigger role in international news (10.8% of articles) than in national ones (6.5%); by contrast, *helping migrants* is more relevant in national news (11.5%) than in international ones (4.1%). This finding supports Hafez's theory on the negativism of international reporting which claims that *"the construction of the negative and chaotic world far away correlates with the construction of the positive and harmonious area around us"* (Hafez 2002: 61).

Other factors also have a large impact on the choice of themes in media. There are noticeable differences between media with opposing political affiliations (right-wing/conservative vs. left-wing/liberal) and between media in Western and Eastern Europe. Media in Central and Eastern Europe report about problems with migrants and refugees twice as much as Western ones (11.1% vs. 5%). If we also take into account the political inclination of the media, we find out that conservative media in Central and Eastern Europe mention problems up to four times as much as more liberal media in Western Europe. With the topic *helping migrants and refugees*, the situation is exactly opposite. Even though left-

wing media in the East report on *helping migrants and refugees* more often than the conservative ones, they don't even reach the levels of conservative media in Western Europe. We can conclude that while Western European and left-wing/liberal media report on *problems with migrants* and *helping migrants* more or less equally, in Eastern European and conservative media, the attitude markedly inclines towards problems.

Similar conclusions were reached in the analysis of Czech, Slovak, and Estonian news media by Pospěch et al. (2019): in all three countries, the coverage is stronger on an international level than national/local one, and the most frequent topics are political negotiations and debates. In Czechia (and partially also the two other countries) and especially in online media, the theme *protests, unrests, and problems with migrants* is as strong as political coverage.

Table 3						
Topics by region and political point of view of analyzed media outlets' articles (in per cent of total coverage)						
	Western Europe			**Eastern Europe**		
	left-wing/ liberal	right-wing/ conservative	all	left-wing/ liberal	right-wing/ conservative	all
political debate	42,7	49,0	**46,0**	40,9	41,3	**43,3**
economic aspects	3,2	4,1	**3,1**	4,5	4,2	**3,6**
culture & religion	4,7	5,8	**4,6**	5,3	2,9	**2,7**
situation of migrants	21,3	8,3	**16,1**	21,2	17,1	**18,4**
personal stories	4,5	3,0	**3,8**	1,5	2,9	**3,1**
problems with migrants	3,4	6,1	**5,0**	9,1	13,9	**11,1**
help for migrants	10,7	6,9	**8,5**	5,3	3,8	**4,1**
reactions/protests against migrants	2,8	3,3	**2,7**	5,3	4,6	**5,2**
statistics & background coverage	2,6	6,1	**4,1**	0,0	4,9	**3,8**
other	4,0	7,4	**6,1**	6,8	4,6	**4,6**
Total	100	100	**100**	100	100	**100**

Note: The column 'all' includes all outlets in a region, including those with no discernible political stance (see Table 2). Based on 2 417 articles. Periods of study: 31.08.-06.09.15, 09.11-15.11.15, 04.01-10.01.16, 09.10.-15.10.17, 11.12.-17.12.17, 19.02.-25.02.18. Source: Own illustration.

Source: Fengler/Kreutler (2020: 34)

Migrants or refugees?

According to the findings of the EJO study, European media don't sufficiently inform their readers about the background and legal status of people trying to get to Europe – both migrants and refugees. Only a third of articles (33%) explain the difference between refugees with legal protection and migrants who leave their home country for economic, social, educational, and other reasons. Most of the articles (60%) confuses or doesn't distinguish between migrants and refugees. The study offers no answers as to the reasons behind these trends, whether it's ignorance, indifference, or an intentional strategy of the journalists and publishers. Over 200 interviews with reporters of various media throughout Europe, conducted within the Reminder Project (www.reminder-project.eu),

showed that journalists both shape and are shaped by their national policy discourse on migration (theconversation.com/migrants-and-the-media-what-shapes-the-narratives-on-immigration-in-different-countries-116081). E.g. a Hungarian journalist said that the campaign by the Orbán government loaded the term *migrant* with a strongly negative meaning. When the journalist was trying not to evoke these sentiments in readers, he rather opted for the term *refugee*. The study focused on Czechia, Slovakia, and Estonia (Pospěch et al. 2019), has shown that in those countries journalists are often trying to not repeat words use *migrant* and *refugee* interchangeably, often are not clear on their legal definitions, and most editors' offices don't insist on distinguishing the terms. There are, however,

big differences among individual media and editors within the countries.

Media also often don't specify where migrants and refugees are from. According to the EJO study, only 778 out of the 2,417 articles obtained in the examined weeks state where the people are from.

The most often mentioned areas of origin are Syria, Africa, Myanmar, Albania, Ukraine, and Afghanistan. This also shows the emphasis news coverage gives to the topic of refugees rather than migration for employment or from personal and other reasons.

About migrants without migrants?

Analysis of the most frequently mentioned and quoted people in the articles examined by EJO (Fengler/Kreutler 2020) underlines the finding that coverage on migration is first and foremost political. In 51% of the analyzed texts, the main figures are politicians, usually members of governments and international organizations. Migrants and refugees were represented in some way in only 27% of articles, in two thirds of those cases only as mute anonymous groups. A mere 8% of all articles portrays migrants and refugees as individuals or families. In the European media landscape, Spanish media gave the biggest space to voices of migrants and refugees.

In some media, the lack of migrant representation is striking. For instance in Hungarian newspaper *Magyar Hírlap*, the entire news coverage on mi-

gration didn't have a migrant or refugee as a central figure in a single article. In accordance with older studies, underage male migrants and refugees are portrayed most often, at the expense of adult women. Very few migrants and refugees are directly quoted. Throughout European media, individual citizens and representatives of civil society appear in 18% of the articles. So while the help-givers are treated as individuals, the migrants and refugees receiving assistance mostly remain anonymous.

The study by Pospěch et al. (2019) also examined the representation of different types of participants. According to their findings, in Czechia, Slovakia, and Estonia, politicians and leaders have had even more space at the expense of experts, NGOs, and migrants than in Europe in general (EJO).
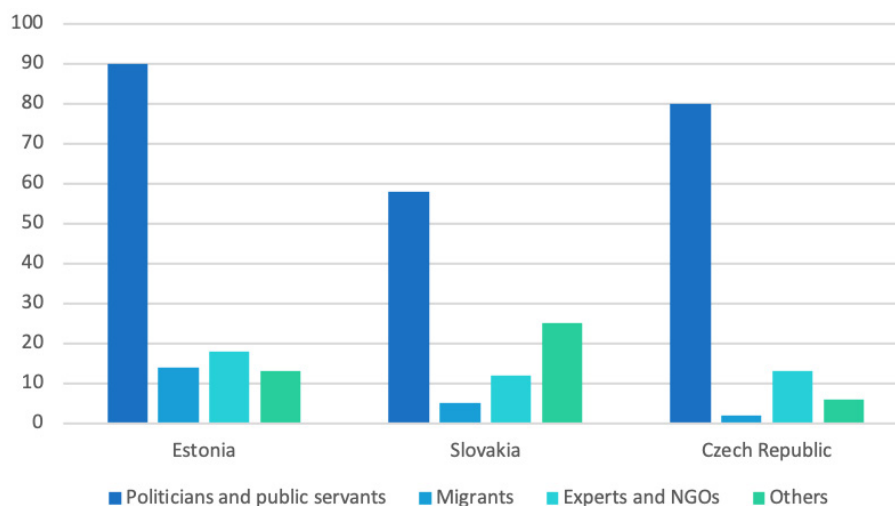
The EJO study also compared the numbers of represented people with a positive view on migration and those with a negative approach. In almost all countries, one of the analyzed media sources (either left-wing/liberal, or right-wing/conservative) had more positive comments, while the other more negative ones. That shows that the media in each coun-

try offer a more diverse (or less black-and-white) portrayal of migration and that the public debate is not as one-sided as it might seem. The difference is that Western Media have a 60 percent majority of positive comments, while those from Central and Eastern Europe of negative.

Figure 17

Non-migrant speakers and their position towards refugees and migration by region

Region	
Western Europe	negative ~38%, positive ~62%
Eastern Europe	negative ~58%, positive ~42%
USA	negative ~42%, positive ~58%

Scale: 0% 20% 40% 60% 80% 100%

■ negative ■ positive

Note: Based on 1913 non-migrant speakers with a decidedly negative or positive opinion. Periods of study: 31.08.-06.09.15, 09.11-15.11.15, 04.01-10.01.16, 09.10.-15.10.17, 11.12.-17.12.17, 19.02.-25.02.18. Source: Own illustration.

Source: Fengler/Kreutler (2020: 44)

What are the differences between European and American media?

Apart from Europe, the EJO study also analyzed media coverage on migration in the USA. While *The Washington Post* in the examined period mostly focused on immigration from Central America, *The New York Times* gave precedence to a global perspective and reflected the *European migrant crisis.* Unlike President Trump, the analyzed papers presented a noticeably positive tone. American articles devoted attention to a lot of individual migrants and refugees, often directly quoting them. This practice might stem from reporting traditions of the English-speaking world and professional ethics of "giving voice to the voiceless".

Exercise 4.3: Questions for reflection (15 minutes)

- Do you think the findings of the cited studies about media coverage on the topic of migration (especially the main themes, quoted people, POV of national vs. international news) correspond to the way media treats the topic in your country? What do you think is the same and what is different?

- The EJO analysis shows that in European media, politicians get the most space to express themselves, while the migrants get the least. What do you think about this portrayal of the topic and why? What are the consequences of this approach?

- How do you think public opinion is affected when some aspects of migration (whether it is political debates, problems and unrests, the situation and stories of the migrants, helping the migrants, or something else) are constantly stressed over others? How do you think media in your country frames the topic of migration?

- There are significant differences in how the public is informed about migration and integration in different European countries. What do you think this situation can lead to?

- As a journalist, how would you make sure your article about migration would satisfy the requirement of journalistic objectivity? What methods and strategies would you use?

5. In the field

Chapter 5 presents a collection of tips, recommendations and best practices from the authors of this publication and the guest lecturers participating in courses on migration and journalism which take place at the Faculty of Social Sciences of Charles University in Prague, the Faculty of Arts of Comenius University in Bratislava, and Baltic Film, Media, Arts and Communication School in Tallinn. Those are further supplemented by relating some of the experience gained on field trips to regions connected to the issue of migration in Czechia, Germany, Estonia, and Slovakia. Most participants on these field trips were undergraduate students of Journalism or Media Studies – junior journalists-to-be who are gradually learning the ropes and for whom the trips were often the first chance to experience reporting in an authentic setting. This showed us the importance of providing support early on to those who are choosing to become reporters; that we mustn't underestimate the sharing of seemingly trivial methods and approaches to reporting which may seem commonplace to experienced journalists. Thus, this chapter is meant primarily – albeit not exclusively – for students of journalism, with the aim to show them the kinds of possible scenarios they might encounter while gathering material for their articles in the field. The tips are meant mostly for written-text journalists, but broadcast journalists could find them useful too. This is not and is not intended to be an exhaustive list of methods, tips, and rules of journalism.

5.2 Before setting out into the field

Whether we're working at a desk (gathering information on the phone, researching on the internet, emailing) or in a remote location (meeting people and collecting data) it's a good idea to first carefully consider and find answers to the following questions.

What exactly are you interested in?

While collecting information, we often come across new points of view and parallel stories. All of it seems very interesting and the original topic quickly becomes too broad and loses focus. Not that we shouldn't collect these parallel stories and personal perspectives of our interviewees and take them into account – they are often an inevitable step to finding the substance of the matter. As a journalist, you should also be open to changing the scope of your story based on the evidence at hand. However, once you have chosen your focus, stick to it. A true professional must be able to focus on his topic and leave out a large amount of the gathered information, as difficult as it might have been to obtain it. The skill to stick to the topic can also save a lot of time when processing all the material.

What information on the topic is already available?

Thorough research pays off in any field. You wouldn't buy a cell phone without first looking at the available options on the market. Similarly, before conducting an interview with someone famous, we should find out what he or she said to other journalists or what information about their work is publicly available. Before setting off to a location for a report, we should learn about it first as well. If we don't know or even ask about basic information available on the website of the institution whose representative we're interviewing, we can be perceived as lacking interest or unprofessional.

Furthermore, it would be against our own interests since we would miss the opportunity to get more details, which might be truly interesting and are worth the time spent in the field.

Another level of research allows us to set a seemingly narrow topic into a larger context. No one lives in a vacuum or complete isolation; the context of one's surroundings cannot be omitted. Therefore, thorough research can also include similar stories from other locations, for example. That will broaden our horizons and allow us to see the topic from different points of view.

Where / from whom can you get information on the topic?

We cannot simply rely on what we might call "large sources", such as national statistics offices or mayors (when investigating the situation in their municipality). That would make our results half-baked and somewhat unprofessional. These sources have an aura of authority, which gives the impression of being relatively impartial; but on the other hand, their point of view is usually rather generalized and superficial. That's why, before we start working on a new article, it's important to compile a list of concerned parties (people, institutions, databases) that might make relevant comments on the topic. At the same time, we should already consider the benefits of combining different sources and types of data; for instance, combining quantitative data (such as statistics) with qualitative data (such as comments by experts in the field). Keep in mind that each source and each institution (even the leading ones) have their own point of view and their own agenda. Thus, we cannot rely on a single source and can't expect any source to be completely neutral.

Which sources are readily available, and which will require more effort?

There are sources – such as statistical databases and random people we can interview in the streets – which are always available. Many other sources, however, may require more energy, time, planning, money, or social capital (social connections and acquaintances). It's generally not a good idea to leave our work to chance and hope that our source will have time to talk when we get on location. Furthermore, when we deal with topics related to migration, we often need to talk to the migrants themselves, running into language and/or cultural barriers. It can save a lot of time to pay special attention to the list of potential sources and to sort our

sources by relevance. We need to start with those that will take more time to obtain (e.g. setting up meetings with influential local businesspeople or filing a request using on freedom of information laws to obtain detailed data). When trying to interview migrants, it can pay off to get someone who has authority in the community and can act as an interpreter or mediator. Such a person can be a *fixer* (more on fixers in infobox 5.3). In general, the more energy we devote to preparation before setting off into the field, the easier the actual gathering and processing of information will be.

Infobox 5.3: Fixer

A *fixer* is someone who acts as a sort of guide and helps journalists understand the local situation, sets up interviews, interprets, and can also arrange things on location. They are usually paid. They are quite often local journalists who know the location well and are also familiar with what the job entails. Fixers are commonly employed by reporters and correspondents sent abroad who have a limited time to learn their way around the new, unfamiliar place and don't know the local language. When covering migration and integration, journalists with migrant background or migrants who have been journalists in their country of origin might be especially helpful.

There are now several online groups for journalists around the world who help each other find contacts in foreign countries, such as *Hostwriter.org* and *WorldFixer.com*.

5.4 In the field

Leave enough time to be able to get some distance and gain perspective

Try to avoid rushing your articles, running from the field back to the office to make the evening deadline. If at all possible, leave enough time to get better acquainted with what is happening on location. If that can't be done or if the reported event itself doesn't allow it (like in the case of one-day events or breaking news), be aware of the risks it entails: a tendency to produce superficial descriptions, miss connections and/or highlight only seemingly important details.

Example: Articles covering intercultural festivals in Czechia usually feature detailed accounts of what food was served or how Vietnamese women in traditional hats performed a lotus dance. On the other hand, they often completely miss the declared purpose of such festivals: to encourage people of different nationalities to meet and interact. It's possible that this aspect is lacking

because the author would simply need more time to absorb it, while taking photos of appealing exotic food is quick and easy.

Take time to simply observe, as if slowly lifting the curtain. When we stop to just observe and describe what we see, it allows us to take in many details and connections, which can be easily missed in haste.

Don't be afraid to ask seemingly naïve questions. Ask local people about what you observe. You might be surprised that your own interpretations can be very different from their perception.

Example: As part of a field experience in a border region, students were expected to report on the causes of local grievances. They were stricken by omnipresent brothels and saw prostitution as a big problem of the border regions. However, when they started talking to

the locals, the students found out that the locals did not mention prostitution at all as it is beyond the scope of their everyday lives. Rather, they complained about the lack of cultural events.

Don't overestimate your memory or underestimate your pen and notepad

Take notes regularly and don't expect you'll remember everything to write it down in the evening. After a day in the field, especially when it's a place you're not familiar with, your head will be such a mess that you won't be able to separate individual pieces of information and impressions.

Take notes during interviews, even if you're recording. When you rely on finding a specific detail in a recording that can be several hours long, you can waste hours searching for it. As a plus, writing notes down usually makes interviewees feel like you're truly interested in what they have to say. A notepad feels much more personal than a recorder, builds trust and strengthens the interaction between your interviewee and you. Writing notes by hand makes you listen more carefully and allows you to revisit points you're particularly interested in.

Write down your own impressions and feelings. It's important to understand you can't achieve complete objectivity. That is not the aim of journalism in the first place. We can, however, aim for to be impartial in the journalism we produce. One of the first steps toward a balanced report is being aware of your own position on the topic and the location. By logging your impressions and feelings you can come to better appreciate the ways in which your personal mind-set and life experience impact your view and treatment of the topic. Our judgement and point of view is greatly influenced by where we're from, by our gender, social background and social capital, ethnicity, education, experience with various phenomena – such as migration – and so on. Whether we like it or not, these things change how we see the world and, consequently, what information and stories we find important.

Don't forget about the accompanying visual materials

A good media report needs to be accompanied by authentic visual material. Whenever you are writing an article, try to avoid situations when you don't have your own pictures and are forced to use photos from an archive or, worst of all, stock images. Ideally, you want to have a photographer (or a cameraperson, in case of a video reportage) with you in the field. If you do, don't forget to discuss with them what exactly you're interested in and want to document. Otherwise, you risk that the other person will unknowingly impart their own limits and stereotypes in their pictures. Most of the time, however, you will have to take pictures or even shoot video yourself. In this situation, try to avoid rushing to take photographs of people until you have acquired their consent and become relaxed in your presence. An extreme example of this is photojournalist Giles Duley, who didn't even take his camera the first time he met a Syrian family with a disabled child in order to form a relationship and gain their trust before photographing them.[29]

Make sure your photos don't hurt or jeopardize your subjects who put their trust in you. Don't forget that migration is a unique and sensitive topic and that not all interviewees will agree to have their picture taken. In that case, you can look for other ways to illustrate the topic (take photos of people without making their face recognizable, of their workspace, etc.). Try to take authentic pictures that don't reinforce stereotypes.

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29   You can watch Duley's documentary that features the family here: www.youtube.com/watch?v=sorR2Fri3ek

5.5 Dilemmas we face in the field

Exercise 5.6:
How to choose convenient photos? (10 minutes)

Zdroj: Tofo Kids, Bastian Sander

What do you think about this photo? As a journalist, what do you think about using it in an article? Can you imagine something like this would be published about young children from your country?

Read the following quote:

"Isioma Daniel, Nigerian journalist who is famous in Nigeria primarily because of the *fatwa* declared against her by local clergy, says *it's highly unethical to use photos like this. She claims she can't imagine that ad agencies would use half-naked American or European children. The authorities wouldn't allow it. Daniel would prefer photographers to actually help the children rather than just take pictures.*"

Source: hnonline.sk/svet/875112-rozvojova-pornografia-ako-media-a-mimovladky-hraju-na-nase-city

Do you agree with Isioma Daniel? Can you think of anything similar in the presentation of people in relation to migration?

TIP: Do you want to learn more about photojournalism and avoiding its pitfalls? Check this free course on photography and ethics: bit.do/Photo-Journalism-Ethics-Course

Anyone who has the slightest experience from the field knows that it's very different than working in the comfort of your office or even at a press conference. This otherwise trivial statement is especially true for situations when we're working with individuals or groups we may not understand. Not just their language, but also society and culture. To us as journalists, this presents challenges and dilemmas we don't usually face. For instance those related to the portrayal of people.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, we should be careful about the frames we unknowingly project on the world and be aware of the discourse, the tinted glasses through which we see and think about the

world. Who we are and how that affects us and the messages we produce. At the same time, we have to take into account that the people we meet in the field also have their own ideas about the world – and their own agendas.

Let's look at a specific case. Imagine you're reporting on a minority community of indigenous people in the Kenyan countryside. The members of this community are subject to long-term discrimination from majority communities, which take away their land and the forest in which they have lived since time immemorial and which is the foundation of their traditional way of life. This may lead the members of the community to leave their homeland and move to a city or to emigrate abroad. An important topic, but how can you approach it?

Before the trip you would of course conduct thorough research and contact the involved people you would like to meet. But who would you contact? Based on what logic? Which factors would you take into account to create a balanced report portraying reality as accurately as possible, stripped of your prejudices about the world as well as the agenda of the people you meet?

Many of us would contact NGOs working with the community. This gives us the convenience of easily contacting them without communication issues. And they will be happy to cooperate. We would also reach out to national or international institutions and local authorities. In the end, we would try to get into the community itself. We could use the help of a fixer (see infobox 5.3) or our contacts on social networks.

These methods have their advantages and their drawbacks and present many dilemmas we should be aware of and deal with. Here we will mainly discuss the dilemmas and the potential drawbacks.

Working with NGOs is an easy way to get into a community, regardless of whether the topic is our example community in Kenya or migrants in a camp on a Greek island. NGOs can open doors for us. And since they work with the communities in the field, they usually have better information and stories than other involved parties.

There are several dilemmas stemming from working with these organisations that we must take into consideration. First of all, NGOs have their own agendas. There is nothing wrong with that, it's quite natural since their mission is to fight for the rights of the people they're working with, even though activism. They also often rely on media to help them fundraise to support their work. In some cases the people you are working with might even lose their jobs if individuals or governments aren't persuaded to support them. This potentially leads to what we might, with a bit of simplification, call preferential treatment. That doesn't mean we shouldn't work with them, but we should be aware of their agenda, check their claims and don't let this agenda into our

story unless we scrutinize it and clearly identify it to the audience.

Another common bad habit is that journalists tend to only talk to organizations from their own country or other countries of the Global North – it's just easier. Which means that in reports from countries like Kenya it is often Europeans who are shown as those who change and improve the lives of locals. The locals are generally presented as voiceless objects, unable to take care of themselves. That way, media unknowingly frame the portrayed country and its people as incompetent, waiting for the help of the white man, which fits easily in the dominant discourse in the journalist's country. At the same time, they prevent the affected people's own empowerment and agency – seeing themselves as being able to improve their own situation.

Frequent sources when working in the field are also **various international institutions and organizations**. Especially in the countries of the Global South we can find their representatives in almost every big city, they are open to interviews, professional and speak "our" language. As with NGOs, working with these organizations is not outright inadvisable. It depends on the extent of our collaboration and it's important to realize they have a different point of view (often more "macro" and at the same time based on a limited mandate beyond which they won't comment, at least not officially). At the same time, we're creating an image of people that are attended to and professionally written about by someone else.

The important thing is that we can easily contact **local experts** – but in this we shouldn't be limited by our preconceived ideas about the world. Virtually everywhere there are universities and scientific societies or think tanks where we can find local experts. However, often we don't even think of that option because it doesn't comply with our idea about such countries and societies. When we include these experts, it gives our journalism higher credibility and it also changes the audience's view of the portrayed society. Of course, we always have to take into account that local experts (like political representatives, which will be discussed below) are also members of a certain social group. For example, they may be members of a majority, which has fixed opinions about the concerned minority. It is, therefore, necessary to use caution, but no more so than for any other source. Local experts are invariably more valuable than generalists or experts far removed from the story at hand.

Local representatives of political power are also welcome and important interviewees. In our example of a Kenyan discriminated minority, they can give us one point of view. As we learned in chapters 1 and 2, it's them who hold the power in this situation, who are higher up in the hierarchy than the members of the minority.

The same is true when migration is concerned: national ministries of interior and the European agency Frontex are in a position of power and dominance. We should be aware of this, reflect it, and, for the sake of balance, identify this power and do not allow theirs to be the only (or overly dominant) perspective

Finally, we get to the community itself. But which members of the community should we interview to get a balanced and accurate picture of the situation? Is it enough to meet the community leaders, usually men? Do they represent the opinions of all, even women and young people?

As much as power relations exist on the level of countries and among communities, they exist also within communities. We often don't realize that communities, especially those culturally and geographically distant from us, are not homogenous. On the contrary, like the community we live in, they are heterogeneous, full of individuals with diverse interests and worldviews.

To circle back to our example from Kenya: when we talk to the elders – leaders of the community who are often elderly – their perspective can be completely different from the perspective of young people who may have more limited options to express themselves in the community. This doesn't mean we shouldn't take the elders into account, it just means we should also listen to the younger people. After all, it's them who will shape the community in the future. Especially since young people form a significant part of communities in this geographical context.

Another example can be covering the topic of migration in West Africa. It can happen that we omit women when selecting people to interview because they are more difficult to reach. They can be the mothers or wives of men who left to earn money, or they can be migrants themselves. To achieve a plasticity, balance, and accuracy in our portrayal, we should definitely not pass them over, even if they are hard to reach.

Collaboration with fixers is also worth mentioning. Fixers often go unnoticed by audiences and unmentioned by the journalists that work with them despite being essential when gathering information and material in unfamiliar environments. However, they are also the source of several dilemmas related to power, as well as simple, personal ones. They are often (former) journalists which means they are familiar with our needs, at least in theory.

As we learned in Chapter 1, journalists are often part of a dominant social group. This is usually true for fixers as well. If they help us when reporting on a discriminated minority, the situation can be naturally affected by their own position, ideas about the world and the concerned minority.

The other, fundamentally human element is simple laziness. This refers to situations when a fixer doesn't do any extra work, only repeats the usual steps. They approach people they know or who are easy to contact, and in the worst case, they can mystify us about some things so they don't have to deal with them. Since we don't know the local situation, it's possible we don't find out at all.

Neither of these issues means that we shouldn't work with fixers. Not at all. It just means we have to approach them as people, with different backgrounds, qualities, and flaws.

Two general tips to take from what was said above:

Try to give a voice directly to those people you're writing about so they can interpret their situation themselves, especially if they're in a weaker position (like migrants, minorities, young people, women). Not only will you bring more valuable content to your audience, a more balanced and accurate portrayal of reality, but also you will show these people that their story is important to you.

Respect human rights, protect the weak and vulnerable, especially children, and defend human dignity. You should never publish anything that could get your interviewees in trouble. Sometimes you can't anticipate it but if you are aware of or suspect it, don't do it. Similarly, refrain from showing people in undignified situations. This is especially true for children, particularly in the context of the so-called "Third World", who we have no problem showing in ways that we would never even consider in the case of European children (possibly with the exception of the Roma) – naked, in a pitiful state, etc. **Don't do unto others what you don't want done unto you.**

5.7 Tips on leading an investigative interview

Whether you're about to lead a well-prepared, planned interview with someone specific or talk to random people on the street, there are a few communication techniques that can help you achieve a feeling of mutual trust and stimulate the interview process. The techniques come mainly from psychology and academic fields, which use qualitative research methods, such as interviews. They

were developed for use in long interviews where the interviewer has enough time but can be effectively used in journalism as well.

Whenever possible, try to avoid plain "Why?" questions

When it comes to questions aimed directly at the interviewee (less so those about other people), "Why?" questions are the most difficult. They are analytical, forcing the interviewee to think analytically, often about things they've never thought about before. They can lead to simplifying responses worded to please the interviewer, reluctance to answer, a snappy "I don't know", or simply silence. If you want to get a deeper, more personal answer that goes beyond the obvious, try to learn why without asking "Why?"

Compare:

- *Why have you decided to leave your country?*
  vs.
  I would like to know what it was like to make the decision to leave your country. What did you have to take into consideration?

- *Why do you live in this village?*
  vs.
  How come you have settled in this particular place?

Listen and show you're interested

Not all interviewees are show-offs and/or used to talking to journalists. For many people it can be difficult to express themselves and answer your questions naturally. Sometimes you have to invest more energy and be more involved to build trust. When trying to encourage the interviewee, it's always best to show you're interested in what they have to say. Don't ask a series of questions one immediately after the other but react to the answers and get involved. You can simply praise what the other person is saying or relate their story to your own.

Examples:

- *What you're saying is extremely interesting!*

- *I have to admit I never thought about it like that before.*

- *I can't imagine making a decision like that. That must have been very difficult.*

Silence isn't always bad

Inexperienced interviewers are often scared of losing their thread, going blank and panicking in the silence. But silence isn't bad, it can work in our favor. Silence can allow us to breathe, recap what was already said and set off for the next round. Five seconds of silence can seem endless but, in reality, the interviewee has barely enough time to have a sip of water. If you really lose your thread, a very effective technique of getting back on track is to start thinking aloud. You can try saying out loud what is happening in your head. When you start talking, you will find your words again.

Examples:

- *I'm thinking about what you just said and trying to wrap my head around it.*

- *What you just said sounds very interesting.*

- *I'm trying to figure out how all of this is connected.*

Mirror what you're interested in

It happens that the interviewee inadvertently tells you something you find particularly interesting but they continue talking about something else. The best way to get back to this detail and expand on it is to mirror it – repeat, rephrase or recap what they said – and ideally also show you're interested in it.

Repeating: Repeat what the interviewee said. It's often enough to just repeat one word and phrases it as a question. The interviewee usually elaborates on it.

Example:

- *Interviewee: I was afraid.*
  You: Afraid?

Rephrasing: Repeat what you've heard in your own words.

Example:

- *Do I understand it correctly that...*

- *Am I right in understanding that...*

Recapitulating: Summing up what was already said is especially useful when the interview is supposed to help you understand a more complex topic. If you're interviewing someone who speaks a different language, it's necessary to recap to make sure you both understood each other and that nothing got lost in translation.

Example:

- *Allow me to sum this up to make sure I understand you correctly.*

Learn from your mistakes

When you are transcribing interviews or editing video or audio, take note of how you pose your questions and how your interviewees respond. Spot the places where the discussed topic changed. Who initiated the change, you or the interviewee? If it was you, what was the interviewee's reaction? Was there something more they wanted to say when you interrupted them? Or have you noticed they wanted to say more on the original topic but you changed it on purpose? Did you miss something because you were trying to stick to your prepared set of questions?

Pay attention to the language you use and how you phrase sentences. Are you easy to understand? Are you asking leading questions? Is your language too emotional, sarcastic, arrogant, or complicated? Too artificial or too casual? In short, can you listen to yourself without finding your interrogating style unpleasant?

If you analyze your interviews in this way, you can learn from yourself what you need to pay attention to. Especially in their early career, interviewers prepare a very detailed set of questions in what they consider a logical sequence. But the interview can easily turn another way and the sequence stops making sense. You can no longer rely on it; it becomes a trap, which makes you follow the planned path instead of letting the interview flow naturally. Practice and learning from your mistakes can teach you to prepare more general areas and points rather than specific questions. That way you can follow the natural flow of the interview without forgetting anything you deem important.

Exercise 5.8: Mind map *Planning for the Field* (30 minutes)

Figure 5.8.1: Mind map for planning your work in the field
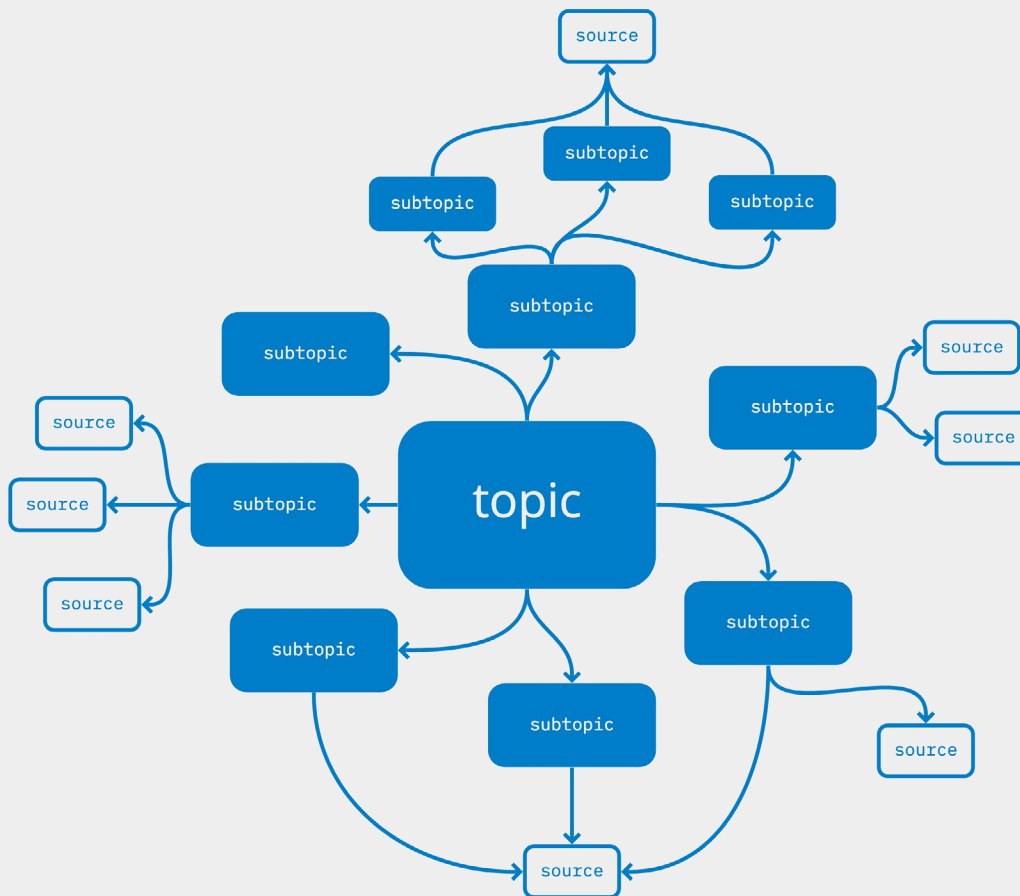
Instructions: When you're planning an article, the information you'll need and how you can get it, you can write your ideas down as they come to you and organize them linearly. However, our brain relies more on synergy, meaning one idea evokes another and so on and on. At some point, these ideas can interconnect or create a whole new thread. A very effective method for this kind of private brainstorming is a *mind map* (Buzan 2007), which can have many forms. Some people like to use colorful post-it notes on a wall; some prefer to draw classic mind maps. We will try that, too (see figure 5.8.1).

Step 1: What exactly are you interested in?

Take a large enough paper and draw a centre bubble with the name of your topic, e.g. *Economic Migration.*

From your *topic*, draw branches leading to *subtopics* and *their subtopics.* Take enough time for this part. The most interesting points of view can often come when we feel like we can't think of anything else. You can keep adding *subtopics* during all steps of creating your mind map. Try to think of *subtopics* of different scales, from macro structural (political, economic, etc.) to the level of individuals (people who are part of what you are investigating). See figure 5.8.2.

Decide what part of the mind map you want to focus on and leave the rest as it is. It's not possible for a scholarly paper, let alone a news article, to cover a topic in its entirety. Therefore, it's important to determine what exactly you're interested in and filter the rest out for the purposes of this particular article. Write down 2-3 questions that your text aims to answer. They will be your guide for the remainder of your work.

Example:

Who are the economic migrants employed in the Czechia? How do they live?

What do their Czech neighbors think about them?

How does the fact they live in Czechia impact their family life and family (which stayed in their country of birth)?

Revise your mind map to reflect how you want to treat your *topic* and *subtopics*.

Step 2: What information on the topic is already available?

"Google it!" is an increasingly piece of advice. But even *Googling* has its risks. The Internet became an amazing source of information but also a dump for a lot of dubious data. Before using anything to build on in your own text, always check who or what is the source. If you find statistical data in an article, don't rely on them before finding the primary source. It's possible the author wrote the data down wrong or misinterpreted them.

Don't be afraid to look for information in scholarly papers. You can find them for instance on Google Scholar. Even if the texts you find are too old to use in a contemporary context, they can help you find out who the experts on the given topic are. They could be a source of interesting quotes for your article or could at least lead you to other involved people.

If you know what location you're going to cover, don't forget to go through local media. It can be a community newspaper (which might be freely available on the website of the municipality), a local (online) magazine or TV or a website of the municipality. It can serve as a source of information about the location but also as a source of potential interviewees and important contacts.

After finding out what information is available on your *topic*, revise your mind map and specify your *subtopics*.

Step 3: Where / from whom can you get information on the topic?

While researching and clarifying your *subtopics*, you will already encounter possible *sources of information* (experts, active migrants, organizations, institutions, databases, surveys, etc.). Don't expect you'll remember them by the end of your research and write your potential sources down during the research phase.

Try to match at least one potential source with each subtopic, or primarily decide if it should be a source with a subjective point of view or with a more a representative one (see figure 5.8.3):

a. Subjective POV

   • People: Involved people (e.g. migrants, inhabitants of the investigated location); people who represent an institution or an attitude; experts on the topic

   • Organizations and institutions

b. Representative POV

   • Statistical databases; research surveys; polls of public opinion

Be creative when thinking about possible sources, don't simply follow familiar traces of those who wrote about the topic before you. For instance, when you're looking for contacts among migrants, don't rely only on non-profits or integration centres, which work with migrants. You would base your whole story only on people who have problems and need these institutions to help them or on people who are informed enough to know about their services. You also can't expect to meet interviewees randomly, in front of factories known for employing a large number of foreigners. Think about other places where migrants can spend time, like social networks, groups where expatriates of a given country meet, and religious organizations. Religious organizations are a particularly good place to meet many people who are otherwise difficult to encounter because they live in private apartments and work in small businesses.

Step 3: Which sources are readily available, and which will require more effort?

Sort your sources based on how important they are for your article. Leave the marginal out and focus on the important ones. Identify those which are important but at the same time difficult to obtain or will need time and energy to gather (data) or arrange a meeting with (people). Focus on those first.

When it comes to people, we recommend reaching out to them by phone rather than email, explaining briefly what you're after, and arranging with them to send an email with details. Save the sources and contacts that were useful in case you'll want to talk to them about something else in the future.

Building good social capital – a vast and well-maintained network of contacts – is the recipe for success in this line of work. Where you store your contacts is up to you; it can be a notepad, an Excel spreadsheet or an app. Do not forget, however, to comply with data protection and security standards, especially when it comes to protecting your sources. It pays off to write your hard-earned contact down together with notes about when and why you contacted the person and what it was like to work with them. This can be particularly useful when it comes to foreigners because their names can be so unfamiliar to us that in a year it might be hard to remember if Nguyen Anh was a man or a woman, let alone what age they were.

Example of a mind map on the topic *Economic Migration*

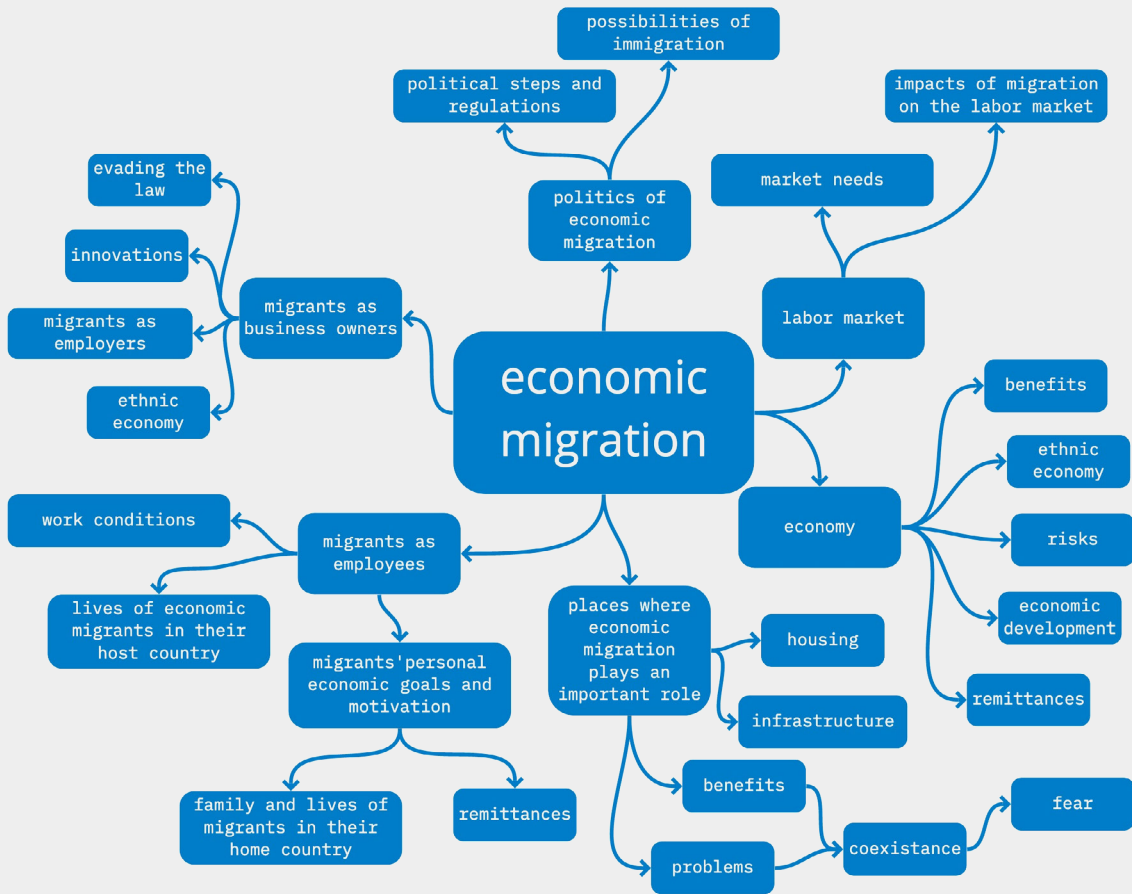Figure 5.8.2: Example of a mind map about Economic Migration – step 1: brainstorming the topic
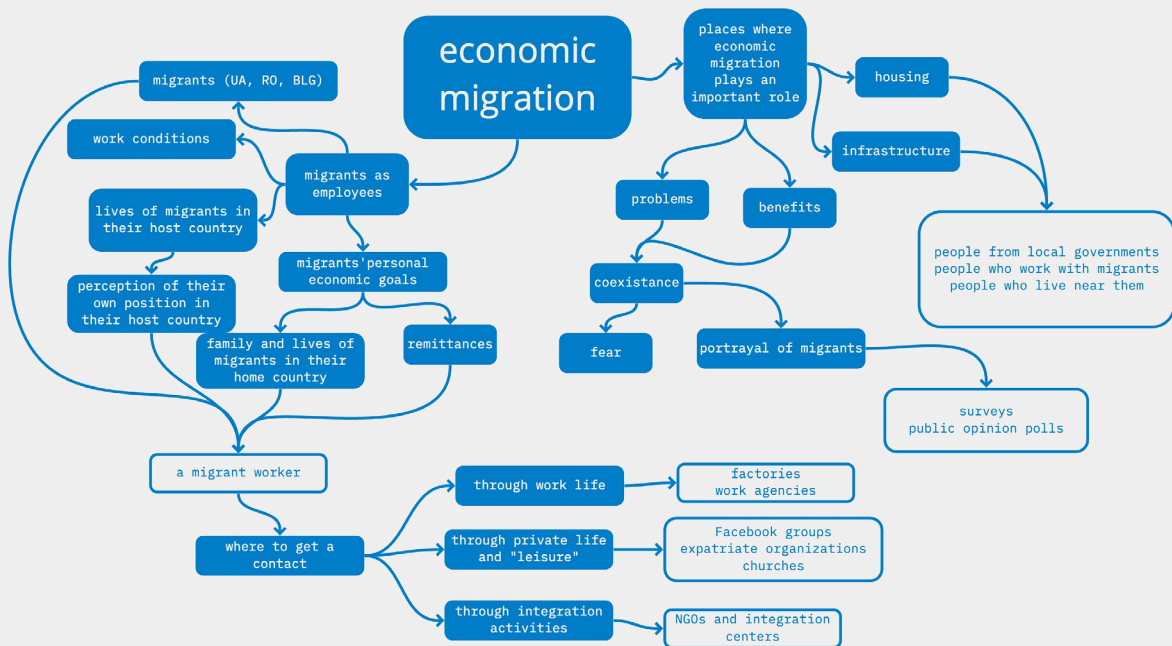
Figure 5.8.3: Example of a mind map – specifying a subtopic and potential sources

6. Working with data sources

Exercise 6.1:
The odd one out on the topic of sources (5 minutes)

Find the word that doesn't belong among the others and explain why.

statistics   interviewee   non-profit organization   ministry of the interior   social networks

An undoubted proof of a journalist's experience is their own database of potential information sources including their quality, and also the ability to work with different types of data. A particular type of information is statistical data, discussed in this chapter. At the end of this chapter, we present an introductory overview of sources you can use or contact when working on a topic related to international migration and the cohabitation of migrants with the majority population.

6.2 How to work with statistics as a source of information

Statistics are an important and valuable source of information you can use in articles to provide a broader view of the topic. However, working with them is a skill that needs practice like any other. Modern trends of displaying quantitative data in the form of statistical or interactive infographics bring new possibilities and allowed for the birth of a brand-new discipline: data journalism. At the same time, since readers are used to getting information served to them in the form of neatly processed hard data, a journalist is now required to be able to convey complex and complicated information in a straightforward way, preferably in a single picture. That means that journalists have to learn to not only tell a story in the form of an infographic but also to understand the numbers the infographic shows. Let us now look at the possibilities of processing data and how inappropriate handling of data can be manipulative.

Absolute vs. relative numbers

A common mistake is choosing a wrong perspective when conveying statistical data, that is, choosing between absolute and relative numbers (relative numbers are relative to a given value, the most commonly used form is percentage) or missing the comparison of the two.

Example: Compare the possibilities of informing about the growing migrant population around the world in absolute numbers and in percentages.

Only absolute values:

- *From 1999 to 2015, the total number of migrants in the world has increased by a 100 million people.*
- *From 1999 to 2015, the total number of migrants in the world has almost doubled from 154.2 million to 250 million people.*

Only relative values:

- *From 1999 to 2015, the total number of migrants in the world has increased from 2.9% to 3.38% of the world population.*Combination:

Only when combining absolute and relative numbers can the reader see the whole context; that the massive increase of the number of migrants is caused mainly by an overall growth in the human population. The relative growth of migrants within the population is actually very low.

Year	Total number of migrants (in millions)	Migrants in the world population (in %)
1990	154,2	2,90
2000	174,5	2,90
2010	220,7	3,20
2013	231,5	3,20
2015	250,0	3,38
2019	174,5	3,50

Table 6.2.1: An example of working with absolute and relative numbers – the development of the number of migrants in the world

Source: World Migration Report, IOM

Choosing the right categories – compare what can be compared

The first rule of good statistics is choosing the right categories to work with, categories that can be measured against each other and/or compared with each other. As the saying goes, don't mix apples and oranges. For instance, don't compare categories in single units with categories in millions.

Example: The chart published by the Czech Statistical Office (Chart 6.2.2) uses an unsuitable chart type and compares poorly chosen categories – migrant nationalities (China, Ukraine, Russian Federation, Albanie, other) with legal status (Refugees). The data is displayed in a pie chart, which is regularly used for comparing the ratio of categories in a sample (%), but the total sample size is too small (n=250) and therefore not suitable for a pie chart. Moreover, the chart does not state the *population* – the total number of items. The reader doesn't learn if there have been a million migrants, or a thousand.
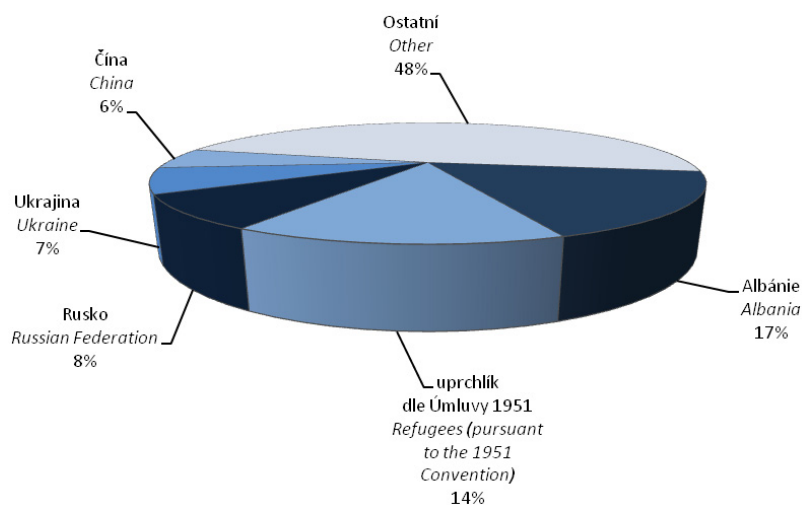
Example: Wrong categories and presentation of data in an official chart

Source: Yearbook of the Czech Statistical Office "Foreigners in Czech Republic - 2018"[30]

Inappropriate or misleading presentation of data

Manipulating the X or Y axis can make the displayed data look flattened or skewed. That way the phenomenon can be presented as completely insignificant or, conversely, more significant than it really is.

Example 1: Leaving out the baseline that goes through 0

Compare: In figure 6.2.2, the baseline is not at 0%, which makes the difference between groups A and B look very significant.
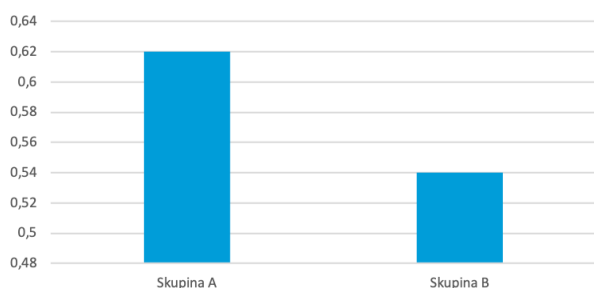
In figure 6.2.3, the baseline is at 0% which allows for a much more accurate presentation of data. The difference between the two groups doesn't look as exaggerated as in the first figure.
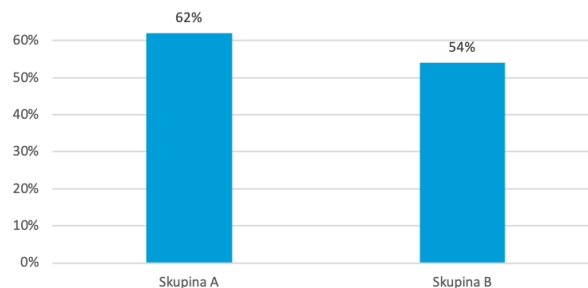

Figure 6.2.2: Baseline (X axis) isn't at 0%

Figure 6.2.3: Baseline (X axis) at 0%

Source: venngage.com/blog/misleading-graphs

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30   www.czso.cz/csu/czso/7-nelegalni-vstup-a-pobyt-osob-na-uzemi-cr-eqm8bw5ntg

Example 2: Choosing inappropriate units and maximum value on the Y axis

Compare: In figure 6.2.4, the maximum value on the Y axis is 40, which is more than twice as high as the maximum of the presented phenomenon, which is 14. That makes the development of the phenomenon over time seem rather insignificant.
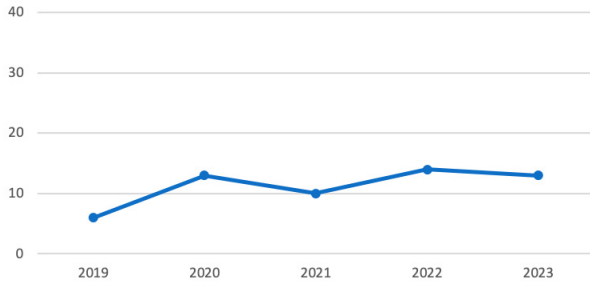
In figure 6.2.5, the maximum value on the Y axis is only a point higher than the maximum of the presented phenomenon. That way the chart portrays the development of the phenomenon over time much more accurately.
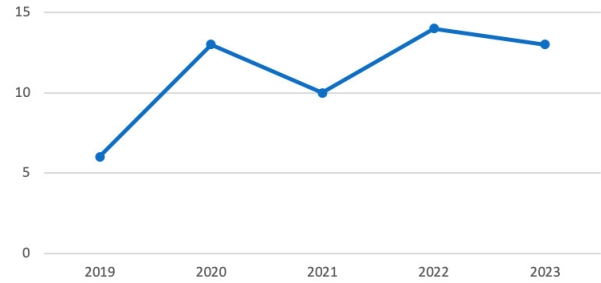
Figure 6.2.4: Inappropriate units and maximum value on the Y axis

Figure 6.2.5: Appropriate units and maximum value on the Y axis

Source: venngage.com/blog/misleading-graphs

6.3 Possible sources of information and data when working on topics related to migration

Databases and overviews

Standard Eurobarometr
ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm#p=1&instruments=STANDARD
Every May and November, the European Commission conducts regular opinion polls in the EU and other select countries. They are concerned with various topics from the lives of Europeans, including those related to migration (views on migration, migrants, migration politics, and the freedom of movement for persons).

Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX)
www.mipex.eu

Professional institutions and other organizations

NPOs and NGOs

Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants, Belgium (PICUM)
www.picum.org

Migration Policy Group, Belgium (MPG)
www.migpolgroup.com

European Council on Refugees and Exiles, Belgium (ECRE)
www.ecre.org

Research centres

Centre on Migration Policy, Policy & Society, the University of Oxford, UK (COMPAS)
www.compas.ox.ac.uk

European Journalism Observatory, UK and Switzerland (EJO)
en.ejo.ch

**International Centre for Migration Policy Development**, Austria (ICMPD)
www.icmpd.org

International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion, the Netherlands (IMISCOE)
www.imiscoe.org

Exercise 6.4: Reading charts (15 minutes)

In this exercise, we will practice our ability to look critically at graphical presentation of data and think about how we can work with it as journalists. Look at the Figure 6.4.1 below and try to read/interpret it step by step based on the instructions in this exercise. Complete the exercise one part after the other – only proceed to the next part when you've filled in the previous one. Only read the last part (part 4) after you've filled in parts 1–3. Use it to evaluate what you've answered in part 1.

Figure 6.4.1: Immigrants, 2017
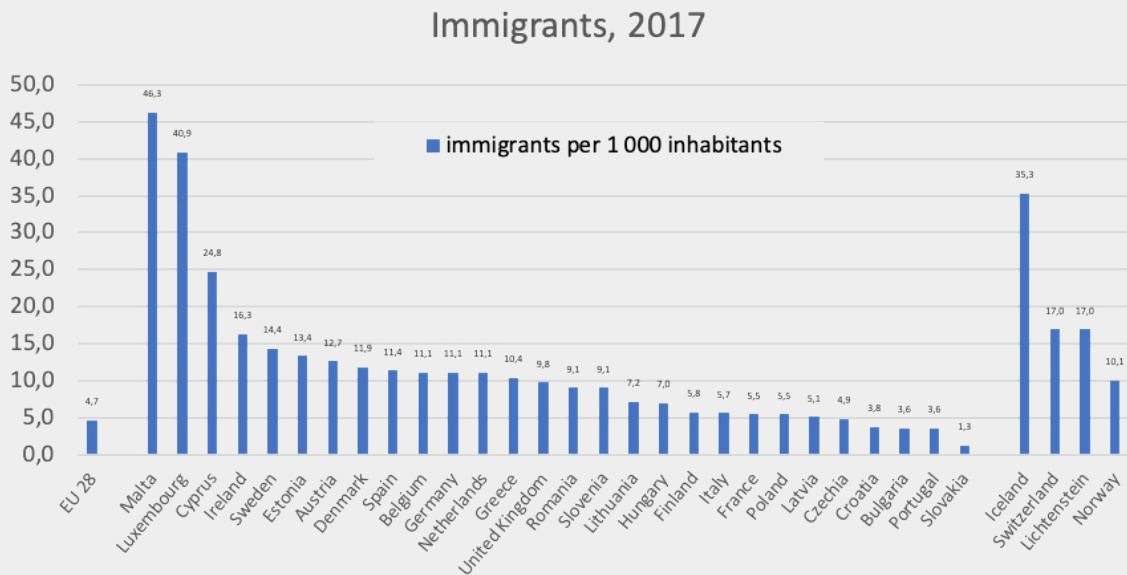
Source: Eurostat[31]

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31   ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migration__and__migrant__population__statistics#Migration__
flows:__Immigration__to__the__EU__from__non-member__countries__was__2.4__million__in__2017 (Accessed 12 February 2020)

PART 1	
What information can I find on the figure? What do I learn from it?	What questions and doubts does the figure raise? Is there something that's difficult to understand and needs clarification?
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.
4.	4.

PART 2	
Planned main topic / central theme of the article. Planned approach to the article: · main topic(s) / message · central figures · POVs (e.g. economic, social, humanitarian, safety-oriented, ecological, political, integrational, local, international, comparative)	
What other sources of data and information do I plan to use in the article and why? · institutions · people · databases	

PART 3	
HEADLINE	

PART 4: Evaluation	
Figure 6.4.1	• This is the title interactive graph of the Eurostat Statistics Explained information section, Chapter Migration and migrant population statistics • The graph shows the share of the total number of immigrants in the total population expressed in ‰ in all EU28, EEC and Switzerland for the whole year 2017, i.e. both immigrants of foreigners (both Europeans and TCNs) and immigrants of citizens of the country • The immigrant for the purposes of statistics is defined by Regulation (EC) No 862/2007 on Community statistics on migration and international protection and repealing Council Regulation (EEC) No 311/76 on the compilation of statistics on foreign workers as follows: "'immigrant' means a person undertaking an immigration" and "'immigration' means the action by which a person establishes his or her usual residence in the territory of a Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months, having previously been usually resident in another Member State or a third country;" This means that it is any person, irrespective of nationality (TNCs, citizens of the EU and nationals of a given country), who has come to that country for at least 12 months • The graph may be misinterpreted as an expression of the share of immigrants or even only foreigners in the total population of EU28, EEC and Switzerland; or it may also be misinterpreted as an expression of a positive migration balance (i.e. the difference between immigration and emigration) • The graph may confuse the reader also by the fact that the countries of Bulgaria, Croatia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Romania show high values of immigration, however, looking at the emigration data that the graph does not offer, the countries' migration balance for 2017 is negative, i.e. more people have left the country than has come • Without detailed knowledge of metadata and methodology of statistics processing, it is easy to misinterpret the displayed data

6.5 Resources on data journalism

Data journalism has established well in different media types and it seems that it´s a trend which is here to stay. It is a very dynamic field of journalism, as new possibilities of visualisation and more diverse, bigger or more easily available data are available. If you consider getting deeper into data journalism, or are just curious about it´s possibilities and trends, there are several sources you might be interested in. To name just a few:

Datajournalism.com
The platform created by the European Journalism Centre provides data journalists of all levels of experience with free resources, materials, online video courses and community forums. Once you sign in, you can enroll free into several online courses or discuss with the community in forums.
datajournalism.com

EuropeanDataJournalism.eu
The European Data Journalism Network (EDJNet) is a network of independent media organisations and data newsrooms producing and promoting data-driven coverage of European topics in several languages. The network brings together journalists, developers and policy experts. The content produced is available free in several languages. It can be syndicated or reused by anyone within and outside the network under a few conditions. Original tools and curation services are provided to journalists, enabling any newsroom to take advantage of the opportunities offered by data journalism. EDJNet helps its members reach out to new audiences by translating all the articles in several languages and disseminating them through its channels.
www.europeandatajournalism.eu

There is also a section focusing on migrations:
www.europeandatajournalism.eu/eng/tags/view/Website+Tags/Migrations

Online course "The ethical data journalist"
With this course, created by the Thomson Reuters Foundation and the Ethical Journalism Network, you will learn how the key ethical principles of journalism are as relevant as ever when working with data. The course will teach you how to overcome some of the new challenges that arise when producing a piece of work derived and based on data. It will provide you with the tools to begin to critically reflect on your work, in particular when thinking about data sources, collection, analysis and the visualization of the data. It will also encourage you to put your audience at the heart of your work.

The course consists of following parts:
· Acquisition and sources
· Cleaning, managing and analyzing data
· Presenting and visualizing data
· Publication and audiences
· Working collaboratively

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In conclusion

If you have expected precise instructions on how to write about migration, how to portray migrants, and what topics to focus on, you are probably disappointed. It is not and probably shouldn't be the intent of this handbook to create such a recipe. However, it's true for migration just like other topics that the basic rule of good journalism is to strive for balance and to work responsibly with sources. And above all to be aware of our own position *to* and *within* the topic and to realize how our own opinions, personal experience, expectations, and prerequisites are projected into our work with such an emotion-laden topic as migration. That's why it wasn't the aim of this handbook to offer a set of instructions but rather a few guidelines to encourage critical thinking and a critical approach to the job of a journalist in general and in the context of topics related to migration specifically.

In this handbook, we have discussed universal theoretical concepts of journalism and basic findings from the field of migration studies, as well as specific examples of how migration topics are portrayed in European media and of working with statistical data. We have shared our experience with working in the field and with conducting investigative interviews. We have also offered you the opportunity to examine yourself in relation to journalism and migration in a number of interactive exercises. However, as we emphasized in the preface, don't believe anything without a fair amount of healthy skepticism. Verify everything, search, and investigate. Look for other points of view and explanations, missing factors and facts.

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People between the lines

A handbook on migration for (future) journalists

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Prague, February 2020

People Between the Lines – A Handbook on Migration for (Future) Journalists focuses on developing a critical approach in handling topics connected to migration, migrants, and the coexistence of majorities and the so-called new minorities in media. It offers a fresh perspective on the traditional journalistic concepts of agenda setting, discourse, framing, gatekeeping, and ethics, putting them in the context of migration, with special focus on the specific situations in the EU and in Czechia, Estonia, and Slovakia. The handbook sets the basic terminology connected to migration and presents the major findings of migration studies, all in context of journalistic practice. Building on the E-R-R method (Evocation – Realization of Meaning – Reflection), it guides the readers to understand their own positions and limitations in their work as journalists. It also offers practical tips for conducting interviews and working with sources. The handbook is primarily aimed at students of journalism and junior journalists, but it could serve as valuable inspiration even for experienced journalists.