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# REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS IN PRESS COVERAGE

*A comparative content analysis of texts published in Helsingin Sanomat and Aamulehti (FI), The Guardian and The Times (UK) and Le Soir and De Morgen (BE) newspapers in the time period from 1 January to 31 January 2016*



## THE FINNISH INSTITUTE IN LONDON

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The Finnish Institute in London is a private, non-profit trust, founded in 1991 and based in London. The Institute has a Society Programme and an Arts & Culture Programme, through which it engages in a wide range of cross-disciplinary cooperation in the fields of science and the arts. The focal areas of the Society Programme for 2016 are equality, education and democracy of knowledge. The mission of the Finnish Institute in London is to promote international cooperation in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. To this end, it seeks out current ideas and momentum of change that enable positive development in society. The Finnish Institute in London is part of the Academic Forum of the Finnish Institute's abroad.

Through its publishing activities, the Finnish Institute in London takes part in social discussion with the aim of increasing knowledge and understanding. This report on press coverage on refugees and asylum seekers is part of the Institute's Society Programme for 2016. Active discussion has been taking place in the UK on the country's relationship to the European Union and freedom of movement. This research project launched by the Institute hopes to raise discussion on the role of media in dealing with the humanitarian crisis that concerns all of Europe.

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## THE FINNISH CULTURAL INSTITUTE FOR THE BENELUX

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The Finnish Cultural Institute for the Benelux builds bridges for actors in culture, art and science. The independent, non-profit organisation based in Brussels was founded in 1993 and its scope of operations covers Belgium, Finland, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. As part of Finland's international support structures for international cultural exchange and cultural export, the Institute builds up networks, maintains good collaborative relations and supports new possibilities for cooperation among actors in the field of culture in Finland and the Benelux countries.

Following the terror attacks in Paris in autumn 2015 and in Brussels in spring 2016, Brussels has been a centre stage of heated debates on terrorism, refugees and asylum seekers. The Finnish Cultural Institute for the Benelux has consequently focused in its agenda for 2016 on sore spots within culture and society, alongside exploring interactive encounters between culture and technology and piloting the TelePART programme, which supports performing artists in showcasing their work internationally.

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The Benelux Institute is directed by Aleksi Malmberg and the Finnish Institute in London by Pauliina Ståhlberg. The Institutes are part of a network of 17 Finnish Institutes worldwide. The Institutes receive most of their funding from Finland's Ministry of Education and Culture.

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## SUMMARY

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In spring 2016 the Finnish Institute in London and the Finnish Cultural Institute for the Benelux joined forces to prepare a report on texts on refugees and asylum seekers published in selected newspapers in Finland, the UK and Belgium. The newspapers for the sampling were *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Aamulehti* from Finland, *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* and *The Guardian* and *The Observer* from the UK, and the French-language *Le Soir* and the Dutch-language *De Morgen* from Belgium.

The sample for the report was limited to the time period from 1 January to 31 January 2016. Both quantitative and qualitative data were gathered from the material. In the quantitative analysis statistics were prepared on how many texts in each of the studied newspapers dealt with refugees and asylum seekers, what kind of terms were used in the context and which were the most prevalent themes. Calculations were also made on the basis of the data on which sections of the newspapers the terms appeared in and in which type of coverage the subject was featured most frequently. *De Morgen* was however left out of the comparison due to calculative incompatibility.

The qualitative content analysis focused, with all the newspapers, on the dominant terminology used and on whose voices were heard in the stories. The analysis also took into account the general journalistic tenor of the newspapers in discussing refugees and asylum seekers, as well their editorial line regarding the issue, if it was clearly definable.

According to the analysis, of the studied newspapers the most active to report on the situation with refugees and asylum seekers in January 2016 was *Helsingin Sanomat*. *Aamulehti* ranked second and *The Guardian* third. There were many similarities to be found in the data, but there were also country-specific differences in the covered themes. One theme, sexual

harassment, stands out in the overall data as the most dominant in all the newspapers. The second most prevalent theme was the impact of the situation with refugees and asylum seekers on the European Union and Europe. The situation is mostly described as 'crisis' with a focus on the effect it has on Europe. Alongside these themes, texts concerning the border between Finland and Russia, street patrols and security issues surfaced among the three most frequently covered themes in the Finnish newspapers. In the British newspapers, instead, the asylum seekers' journey to Europe was among the three most commonly covered themes.

*Asylum seeker* and *refugee* are the most frequently recurring terms in the data. In the Finnish newspapers also the terms *immigrant* and *foreigner* appear frequently. The somewhat ambiguous term *migrant* is used commonly in Belgium and the UK. It is in fact the most commonly used term in *The Times*. The most frequently referred to nationality is *Syrian*. The most common type of coverage is news.

All the newspapers report on questions relating to refugees and asylum seekers mostly in a neutral tone, striving for objectivity. The point of view of all of the newspapers is eurocentric. The voices of the refugees and asylum seekers are heard less often than that those of authorities, politicians and experts. The exception here are the British newspapers, with a particularly high amount of coverage on the asylum seekers' journey to Europe. Negative viewpoints towards immigration are heard as well, counter-balanced by the writers' own comments and commentaries by guest writers.

# I. NEWSPAPERS INTERPRETING THE CRISIS

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This report examines how selected newspapers in three countries have dealt with the current humanitarian crisis, which has turned millions of people into refugees, asylum seekers or migrants.

The number of refugees and asylum seekers has significantly grown during the past five years. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) 10.4 million people had fled from their homelands by the end of 2011. By the end of 2015, the number had already reached 15.1 million, the highest level in 20 years. These figures only include the refugees under the mandate of UNHCR and don't count in the people under the mandate of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). In other words, the number of refugees grew by approx. 45 % in three and a half years. The main cause of the drastic increase is the Syrian War.<sup>1</sup>

According to UNHCR statistics, in 2014 at least 1.66 million people had applied for asylum outside their homelands. By the second half of 2015, nearly a million applications for asylum had been lodged to 155 countries or regions. The highest number of applications for asylum worldwide in the first half of 2015 were lodged for Germany.<sup>2</sup> Of the countries studied in this report, Belgium received the highest number of applications during 2015. The number for Finland is however the highest in proportion to the population.<sup>3</sup>

Many of the refugees, asylum seekers or migrants who live in refuge want to expressly come to Europe. Some of them die during the journey. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in 2015 more than a million people set out for Europe to seek for asylum. More than 3 700 of them died during the crossing over the Mediterranean. 120 000 people arrived in Europe during the first two months of 2016 alone. The number of arrivals in 2016 is ten times

higher than it was during the same months of 2015. Most of the people come from Syria. Some come from Afghanistan, Iraq and other conflict areas.<sup>4</sup>

From the perspective of the refugees and asylum seekers, we are speaking about the greatest humanitarian crisis of our times, but in Europe the crisis is also seen as a European crisis. This is also quite evident in the data applied in this report. Media have the power to interpret the prevailing reality in society and choose perspectives. This is also the starting point of our report. Media play a key role in channeling discussion and presenting different points of view.

This report was prepared in spring 2016 as a collaboration between the Finnish Institute in London and the Finnish Cultural Institute for the Benelux. The contents will hopefully offer incentive to develop discussion that seeks answers to how newspapers shape the image of the 'refugee crisis' for their own part. Or to the question whose crisis is at the core of discussion – that of the refugees and asylum seekers or that of Europe?

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1 UNHCR, *Mid Year Trends 2015*, 4, <http://www.unhcr.org/56701b969.html>, viewed 11 April 2016.

2 Id. 10.

3 See p. 36–37.

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4 IOM, *Briefing to the Humanitarian Liaison Working Group on the Mediterranean/Migration Situation*, 29 February 2016, <http://www.iom.int/speeches-and-talks/briefing-humanitarian-liaison-working-group-hlwg-mediterranean-migration>, viewed 12 April 2016.

## I.I. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

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This report examines how the newspapers selected for study in three countries covered the situation with the refugees and asylum seekers in the time period from 1 January to 31 January 2016.

The analysis was restricted to six European newspapers (including the British Sunday papers): *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Aamulehti* from Finland, *The Times* & *The Sunday Times* and *The Guardian* & *The Observer* from the UK, and the French-language *Le Soir* and the Dutch-language *De Morgen* from Belgium. The selected six newspapers are generally regarded as quality media. The newspapers' audiovisual material and communication in social media were left out of the scope of the study.

The selected three countries are very interesting in the EU context: Finland as a northern border state within the EU, Belgium as a central stage of EU policies, and the UK with its ongoing Brexit discussion, through which the discourse on refugees and asylum seekers also links in with a broader debate on the EU and the requirements it poses on the UK.

Texts that contain the terms *refugee*, *asylum seeker* or *refugee crisis* were selected for analysis. Other expressions (such as *migrant*) which clearly refer to the current situation with refugees and asylum seekers in Europe have also been taken into account. The data did not cover the newspaper supplements or letters to the editor.

Both quantitative and qualitative data were gathered from the material. The *most prevalent themes* in each newspaper were calculated in the texts, besides combing out the *most frequently used terms* and who *the sources and interviewees* were in the different types of texts. In the newspaper-specific analysis we have also taken into account the *newspaper's own editorial line*, if it was clearly definable. The most prevalent themes within the given time period vary from country to country and newspaper to newspaper. There are however similarities, too.

In the qualitative analysis the texts under study were divided into categories based on the data, three of which were analysed more closely by theme. Through these texts attention is paid to the terms and sources used in the newspaper, in other words, to whose voices are heard and to the tenor of coverage on the subject. The categories partly overlap and partly reflect the country-specific differences in emphases:

**Helsingin Sanomat:** *legislation in the EU states and the Schengen Agreement, eastern border, sexual harassment*

**Aamulehti:** *eastern border, sexual harassment, street patrolling*

**The Guardian & The Observer:** *the EU's and Europe's crisis, sexual harassment, the journey to seek asylum*

**The Times & The Sunday Times:** *the EU's and Europe's crisis, sexual harassment, the journey to seek asylum*

**Le Soir:** *impact of the situation with refugees and asylum seekers within the EU, sexual harassment, the reception of asylum seekers*

**De Morgen:** *sexual harassment, impact of the situation with refugees and asylum seekers within the EU, the Schengen agreement and border control*

## I.2. TERMINOLOGY

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The terminology applied in the discussion on refugees, asylum seekers and migrants often causes confusion and misunderstandings among the readers. And no wonder, since expert organisations and the media flexibly use the terms in varying ways. According to UNHCR, it is common practice today to use the terms *refugee* and *migrant* alternatively or concurrently in media and public discourse. The terms do however make a difference.<sup>1</sup>

According to the 1951 Refugee Convention, the term refugee applies to a person who has to flee from her/his country due to war, human rights violations or unrest, owing to a well-grounded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion. “A refugee resides outside her/his country of nationality and is unable or unwilling to avail her/himself of the protection of that country, or who not having a nationality and being outside the country of her/his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.”<sup>2</sup>

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1 UNHCR, <http://www.unhcr.org/55df0e556.html>, viewed 11 April 2016.

2 Finlex, [http://www.finlex.fi/fi/sopimukset/sopsteksti/1968/19680077/19680077\\_2](http://www.finlex.fi/fi/sopimukset/sopsteksti/1968/19680077/19680077_2), viewed 12 April 2016.

In the Finnish Aliens Act refugee means only persons who meet the criteria laid down in the Refugee Convention. In informal language the term refugee is however used to describe all persons who have a protection-based residence permit.<sup>3</sup>

An asylum seeker is a person who seeks protection from a country other than her/his country of nationality. For instance, in Finland an asylum seeker can apply for asylum immediately at the border or from the police after entering the country. An asylum seeker can be granted refugee status based on personal persecution, or a residence permit based on subsidiary protection, when she/he has reason to fear being treated inhumanely in her/his country of nationality.<sup>4</sup>

Migration means movement of a person or a group of people either across international borders or within a state, permanently or temporarily. Migration can be forced or voluntary<sup>5</sup>. Immigrant means simply a person who moves into another country<sup>6</sup>.

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3 Pakolaisneuvonta ry, <http://www.pakolaisneuvonta.fi/index.html?lid=106&lang=suo>, viewed 11 April 2016.

4 Ibid.

5 IOM, [http://www.iom.fi/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=113&Itemid=101](http://www.iom.fi/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=113&Itemid=101), viewed 12 April 2016.

6 The Finnish Immigration Office, <http://www.migri.fi/medialle/sanasto>, viewed 12 April 2016.



### I.3. UNHCR PRESS COVERAGE REPORT

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In December 2015 UNHCR published its own report titled *Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU*. It focused on the years 2014–2015 and the studied countries were Spain, Italy, Germany, the United Kingdom, and Sweden. The analysed newspapers included both tabloids and quality newspapers. The Cardiff School of Journalism was commissioned to prepare the report.<sup>1</sup>

Distinct differences were found in the sources, terms, causes named for why a person becomes a refugee, and in the covered themes. The UNHCR report showed that in many of the studied countries asylum seekers and refugees had been presented in a negative light, primarily as a problem, and not as a resource that could benefit the receiving country. On the other hand, media can have a positive impact on policies and the public opinion.<sup>2</sup> The report also showed that there is

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<sup>1</sup> UNHCR, *Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries*, 2015, <http://www.unhcr.org/56bb369c9.html>, viewed 12 April 2016.

<sup>2</sup> UNHCR, *Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries*, 5, 2015, <http://www.unhcr.org/56bb369c9.html>, viewed 12 April 2016.

considerable variation between the different countries in the press coverage on asylum seekers and refugees. There were also notable differences between the media within the studied countries.

All in all, the number of stories highlighting the positive impacts of the arrival of asylum seekers and refugees was very low. Stories discussing the causes for migration or being a refugee, the so-called push factors, were rare – amounting to only 3.1 percent of the data.<sup>3</sup> The local contexts of the publications and the journalistic as well as the political cultures in the given countries had a considerable effect on the ways in which the issue was covered. This report reflects in many aspects the findings of the UNHCR report.

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<sup>3</sup> UNHCR, *Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries*, 10–12, 2015, <http://www.unhcr.org/56bb369c9.html>, viewed 12 April 2016.

## 2. DATA ON THE FINNISH NEWSPAPERS

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Around 200 newspapers are published in Finland, which is a high number considering the country's population. If the circulation is viewed against the size of the population Finland ranks third in statistics for the whole world.<sup>1</sup> A distinctive feature of Finnish press is a strong emphasis on local context: typically one local newspaper dominates in the media supply in a given region<sup>2</sup>. For example, Finland's second and third largest daily newspapers, *Aamulehti* and *Turun Sanomat*<sup>3</sup>, have a more local readership than *Helsingin Sanomat*, which is read throughout the country.

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1 Finnish Newspapers Association, <http://www.sanomalehdet.fi/sanomalehdet>, viewed 4 April 2016.

2 European Commission, Background information report. *Media policies and regulatory practices in a selected set of European Countries, the EU and the Council of Europe*, 2010, 165.

3 Media Audit Finland, <http://mediaauditfinland.fi/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/LTtilasto2015.pdf>, viewed 4 April 2016.

1000 = tuhat

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awilala = Genro = Sic

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Puoli

## 2.1. HELSINGIN SANOMAT

*Helsingin Sanomat*, founded in 1889<sup>1</sup>, is Finland's largest subscription newspaper. It is owned by Sanoma Media Finland<sup>2</sup>, which is part of the Sanoma media group. In 2015 its circulation was 324 451<sup>3</sup>. In that same year its weekly reach was 1 913 000 people<sup>5</sup>. *Helsingin Sanomat* is published daily both as a print version and as a digital newspaper. It includes, besides the actual print version, also supplements, such as *HS Ilta* (Evening), *HS Viikko* (Weekly) and the *Nyt* supplement. This analysis focuses on the *Helsingin Sanomat* print newspaper in the time period from 2 January to 31 January 2016 (the newspaper didn't come out on 1 January 2016 or on 7 January 2016).

*Helsingin Sanomat* emphasises in its principles of conduct that it is an independent daily newspaper with the primary goal of advancing democracy, social justice and freedom of opinion. The paper states that it wants to offer an overall picture that bases itself in citizens' individual solutions for gaining necessary information.<sup>7</sup> The current editor-in-chief is Kaius Niemi<sup>8</sup>.

### THE MOST PREVALENT THEMES

Altogether 193 texts dealing with refugees and asylum seekers appeared in *Helsingin Sanomat* during the period under study. The number was the highest among the newspapers selected for analysis. The most prevalent theme was *legislation in the EU states and the Schengen Agreement*<sup>9</sup>. This category represents legislative actions and amendments in different states regarding refugees and asylum seekers. They concern e.g. tightening of benefits and social security, border check practices and control in and between different states and discussion on the Dublin Regulation and the Schengen agreement. One should point out that more than a half of these texts deal with the policies of Finland and other Northern countries.

1 Until 1904 *Helsingin Sanomat* was known as *Päivälehti*.

2 Sanoma Media Finland, <https://www.sanoma.com/fi/media/finland/meista>, viewed 17 March 2016.

3 The total circulation consists of the combined amount of subscribers for only the printed paper, printed and the digital paper and only the digital paper for the time period of one year.

4 Media Audit Finland, <http://mediaauditfinland.fi/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/LTtilasto2015.pdf>, viewed 16 March 2016.

5 The total reach consists of the amount of people the printed paper and the digital paper reach together.

6 Media Audit Finland, [http://mediaauditfinland.fi/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/KMT\\_2015\\_tulokset.pdf](http://mediaauditfinland.fi/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/KMT_2015_tulokset.pdf), viewed 16 March 2016.

7 HS, <http://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/a1305633947683>, viewed 16 March 2016.

8 HS, <http://www.hs.fi/yhteystiedot/>, viewed 17 March 2016.

9 See p. 36–37.

The second most prevalent theme was the *eastern border*<sup>10</sup>. This category includes coverage relating to the border between Finland, Norway and Russia, people arriving in Finland through Russia, and Russian border control practices. The third most prevalent theme was *sexual harassment*<sup>11</sup>. This category holds within the reported events on New Year's Eve in Cologne, Kirkkonummi (Southern Finland) and the Helsinki Senate

10 See p. 36–37.

11 See p. 36–37.

### EASTERN BORDER

- AT THE END OF 2015 NORWAY STARTED TO TURN AWAY ASYLUM SEEKERS ARRIVING FROM RUSSIA, AS A RESULT OF WHICH THEIR EYES TURNED TOWARDS THE BORDER CROSSING POINTS IN EASTERN LAPLAND, FINLAND.<sup>1</sup>
- AROUND THE SAME TIME RUSSIA ALL OF A SUDDEN ENDED A LONGSTANDING PRACTICE OF CHECKING THE OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF PEOPLE ATTEMPTING TO ENTER FINLAND.<sup>2</sup>
- THE ASYLUM SEEKERS BY THE EASTERN BORDER REPRESENT 32 DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES, AND SOME OF THEM HAD BEEN LIVING IN RUSSIA FOR A LONG TIME BUT HAD ONLY RECENTLY RECEIVED AN OFFICIAL EXPULSION ORDER.<sup>3</sup>
- THE SITUATION GAVE RISE TO WIDESPREAD DISCUSSION ABOUT WHETHER RUSSIA IS INTENTIONALLY ATTEMPTING TO DIRECT ASYLUM SEEKERS TO FINLAND AND, IF SO, WHAT RUSSIA'S MOTIVES ARE.<sup>4</sup>
- ACCORDING TO BORDER CONTROL AUTHORITIES, ORGANISED CRIME LEAGUES WERE BEHIND THE MOVEMENT OF ASYLUM SEEKERS TO THE FINNISH BORDER.<sup>5</sup>
- FOLLOWING TALKS BETWEEN FINNISH AND RUSSIAN POLITICAL LEADERS, RUSSIA REINSTATED THE PRACTICE OF CHECKING ASYLUM SEEKERS' DOCUMENTS. ASYLUM SEEKERS STOPPED ARRIVING AT THE EASTERN BORDER AT THE BEGINNING OF MARCH 2016.<sup>6</sup>

1 HS, 16 January 2016, 8-9, *Ylihintaisella romuautolla rajan yli*, Heli Saavalainen, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/35a7727e-fe57-4b0a-909b-359bc8ae3619/8>.

2 HS, 27 January 2016, 10-11, *Toive Suomeen pääsystä elää Kantalahden pakkasissa*, Jussi Kontinen, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/d983620f-38da-4fd0-af64-682078ddea4/10>.

3 Ibid.

4 HS, 16 January 2016, 10, *Pakolaisvirta idästä olisi Venäjän päätös*, Kari Huhta, Editor of Foreign and Security Policy, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/35a7727e-fe57-4b0a-909b-359bc8ae3619/10>.

5 HS, 16 January 2016, 8-9, *Ylihintaisella romuautolla rajan yli*, Heli Saavalainen, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/35a7727e-fe57-4b0a-909b-359bc8ae3619/8>.

6 HS, 9 March 2016, 5, *Venäläinen oppitunti rajalla*, the editorial, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/263f459f-0bce-4756-afb4-b35d82795784/4n>.

Square, as well as discussion on group harassment and sexual harassment in general.

The theme *the EU's and Europe's crisis*<sup>12</sup> is nearly as prevalent as *sexual harassment*. This category covers texts on the crisis of European identity, the downfall of European integration and challenges for Europe in general, such as Brexit, the euro crisis, economic problems and other problem areas.

## TERMINOLOGY

The most common term used in *Helsingin Sanomat* in reference to people arriving in Finland is the neutral and exact *asylum seeker* (*turvapaikanhakija*). The second most frequently used terms are, in order of prevalence, *refugee* (*pakolainen*), *immigrant* (*maahanmuuttaja*), *person* (*ihminen*) and *foreigner* (*ulkomaalainen*). The terms *arrival* (*tulija*) and *migrant* (*siirtolainen*) were also used to describe refugees and asylum seekers. In other words, the terms used in the paper are relatively neutral in the overall. The writers use words with positive or negative connotations only rarely and mainly for dramatic effect.

Terminological ambiguity relating to the use of the words refugee, immigrant, foreigner and migrant may lead to a situation where the readers start to associate refugees and asylum seekers with all immigrants or people of foreign origin. For example, a news story published on 30 January 2016 was headlined: *Crimes committed by foreigners on the rise*<sup>13</sup>. Even the editorial doesn't reveal the true informative content of the story: "According to National Police Commissioner Seppo Kolehmainen, Finland now has to choose its values concerning internal security."<sup>14</sup> Not until in the second paragraph is the reader enlightened by the following remark: "According to the police, the number of asylum seekers is not significantly reflected in statistics on crime."<sup>15</sup> Frequent use of the word arrival also underscores how the focus group is often dealt with from a predominantly Finnish and European perspective, as refugees and asylum seekers are also and foremost leavers – from their own country of nationality either voluntarily or under duress.

12 See p. 36–37.

13 HS, 30 January 2016, 23, *Ulkomaalaisten tekemät rikokset ovat kasvussa*, Jarmo Huhtanen, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/8bd807e6-1471-4849-a2a4-d52c5a75c749/22>. Original expression "Ulkomaalaisten tekemät rikokset ovat kasvussa."

14 Ibid. Original expression "Poliisiylivohtaja Seppo Kolehmainen mukaan Suomen edessä on sisäistä turvallisuutta koskeva arvovalinta."

15 Ibid. Original expression "Poliisin mukaan turvapaikanhakijoiden määrä ei näy merkittävästi rikostilastoissa."

The terms used to describe the broader phenomenon in turn place emphasis on Eurocentric and specifically Finnish viewpoints. Throughout the data the most prevalent expressions used in the context of the general phenomenon are *asylum crisis* (*turvapaikanhakijakriisi*), *refugee crisis* (*pakolaiskriisi*) or *migrant crisis* (*siirtolaiskriisi*). The movement of refugees and asylum seekers is also recurrently described as a *flood*, *stream* or *surge of refugees* (*pakolaistulva*, *pakolaisvirta*, *pakolaisvyöry*) directed at Europe. Expression such as 'uncontrollable migration of people'<sup>16</sup> or 'surge of arrivals'<sup>17</sup> create an impression of an unfathomable and hard-to-understand phenomenon; something unknown and thereby potentially scary. When the movement of refugees and asylum seekers is spoken of as a problem or challenge, or even as a 'threat'<sup>18</sup> or 'game of nerves'<sup>19</sup> explicitly pertaining to Europe, the mere wording overlooks the fact that what we are

16 HS, 3 January 2016, 12–13, *Perussuomalaisten porilainen suorassu*, Jaana Savolainen, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/2c58826d-ab97-4602-b5e4-ecf91e4a1e40/12>. Original expression "kansainvaellus".

17 HS, 24 January 2016, 16–17, *Kriisin haltuunotto saa tylyt arviot parlamentaarikoilta*, Pekka Mykkänen, Correspondent in Brussels, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/f6b57324-bd88-48a9-9dac-ba68fd2112c4/16>. Original expression "tulijavyöry".

18 HS, 14 January 2016, 5, *Pohjoismaiden yhteistyö on suuressa vaarassa*, Kari Huhta, Editor of Foreign and Security Policy, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/e837649d-c959-4a1d-adb2-785ed1693d87/4>. Original expression "uhkakuva".

19 HS, 26 January 2016, 10, *Pakolaiskriisistä tuli hermopeli*, Kari Huhta, Editor of Foreign and Security Policy, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/2c7c81ac-c9e8-43ac-b85c-200c8bca2468/10>. Original expression "hermopeli".

## KIRKKONUMMI

- ON THE NIGHT OF NEW YEAR'S EVE, THE HELSINKI POLICE ARRESTED SIX IRAQI ASYLUM SEEKERS IN THE KIRKKONUMMI RECEPTION CENTRE IN SOUTHERN FINLAND DUE TO SUSPICION OF PUBLIC INCITEMENT TO CRIME.<sup>1</sup>
- THE DETAINED MEN WERE SUSPECTED OF PLANNING HARASSMENT, ALONG THE LINES OF THE COLOGNE ATTACKS.<sup>2</sup>
- ACCORDING TO THE LATEST UPDATE IN HELSINGIN SANOMAT, NO CONNECTION WAS FOUND IN THE POLICE INVESTIGATION TO THE EVENTS IN COLOGNE, AND THE SUSPECTS WERE RELEASED.<sup>3</sup>

1 HS, 8 January 2016, *Uudenvuoden ahdistelukohu hetki hetkeltä – Helsingin apulaispoliisipäällikkö: Kirkkonummen ja Helsingin tapahtumat liittyvät yhteen*, Lari Malmberg, <http://www.hs.fi/kaupunki/a1452229199502>, viewed 12 April 2016.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

dealing with is foremost a humanitarian and human disaster. This side of the phenomenon is occasionally addressed as well<sup>20</sup>, but quantitatively coverage from this point of view is overridden by Europe and Finland centred news in the coverage during January 2016.

The headlines of the coverage offer an illustrative example. There are headlines among the data that underscore the nature of the phenomenon as a humanitarian crisis, such as the one for an editorial, *Diplomatic efforts haven't improved the horrendous everyday life of the Syrians yet*<sup>21</sup>, published on 18 January 2016. Per each headline in this tenor there are however many more headlines focused on European policies and "Europe's crisis", as in these examples: *The Netherlands Presidency has a tough job ahead* (11 January), *Italy: The EU has to choose between refugee regulations and the Schengen Agreement* (13 January), *Nordic cooperation in great danger* (14 January), *Border blockades soak up money* (26 January) or *Europe on the verge of a chasm* (26 January)<sup>22</sup>. In this kind of coverage the term 'refugee crisis' often refers to the European crisis expressly. The following remark is from an analysis headlined *The refugees unsettle the EU*, published on 21 January 2016:

*The EU is in the eye of an exceptional storm. Even the most devoted federalists are asking themselves has the construction of a common project come to a standstill – and is it possible that the whole creation will fall apart. The pillars of the EU are shaking. The refugee and migrant crisis questions free movement in the Schengen area even at the border of Sweden and Denmark.*<sup>23</sup>

Reporting on the *eastern border* in turn covers the situation explicitly from the perspective of Finland. Beginning from halfway through the month the coverage starts off as politically neutral and in many cases gives a voice also to the asylum seekers themselves.

20 e.g. HS, 3 January 2016, 4, *Syyrialaiset olivat vuoden kansakunta*, the editorial, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/2c58826d-ab97-4602-b5e4-ecf91e4a1e40/4>, HS, 3 January 2016, 42, *Viraton kenraali, Anna-Sofia Berner*, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/2c58826d-ab97-4602-b5e4-ecf91e4a1e40/42>.

21 HS, 18 January 2016, 5, *Diplomatia ei vielä kohenna syyrialaisen kauheaa arkea*, the editorial, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/dd758a02-f970-426c-89b3-3d08e29479cc/4>. Original expression "Diplomatia ei vielä kohenna syyrialaisen kauheaa arkea."

22 Original expression "Hollannille kova urakka EU:n puheenjohtajamaana (11.1.), Italia: EU:n valittava pakolaissääntöjen ja Schengen-sopimuksen välillä (13.1.), Pohjoismaiden yhteistyö suuressa vaarassa (14.1.), Rajaesteet maksavat paljon (26.1.) tai Eurooppa kuilun partaalla (26.1.)."

23 HS, 21 January 2016, 8, *Pakolaiset horjuttavat EU:ta*, Pekka Mykkänen, Correspondent in Brussels, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/2c7c81ac-c9e8-43ac-b85c-200c8bca2468/26>. Original expression "—EU on poikkeuksellisen myrskyn silmässä. Vannoutuneimmatkin federalistit ihmettelevät, onko yhteisen projektin rakentaminen pysähtynyt – ja voiko koko luomus mennä rikki. EU:n pilarit tutisevat. Pakolais- ja siirtolaiskriisi kyseenalaistaa vapaan liikkuvuuden Schengen-alueen jopa Ruotsin ja Tanskan rajalla."

Towards the end of the month it moves towards speculation on Russian policies and possible ulterior motives therein. Such terms as 'border dispute'<sup>24</sup>

24 HS, 28 January 2016, 12, *Orpo: Rajakiistaan etsitään yhä ratkaisua*, Jukka Hiiri, Eeva Palojärvi, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/e7c8404d-13fc-4c30-8686-22046d6fc008/12>. Original expression "rajakiista".

## HELSINKI SENATE SQUARE

- ON NEW YEAR'S DAY, THE HELSINKI POLICE PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED THAT THE TRADITIONAL NEW YEAR'S EVE CELEBRATIONS IN THE HELSINKI SENATE SQUARE HAD TAKEN PLACE WITHOUT UNUSUAL DISTURBANCES.<sup>1</sup>
- A WEEK LATER THE POLICE HOWEVER ANNOUNCED THAT ASYLUM SEEKERS IN THE HELSINKI METROPOLITAN AREA MAY HAVE HAD SIMILAR PLANS IN THE WORKS AS THE ASSAILANTS IN COLOGNE. ACCORDING TO THE POLICE, THEY HAD BEEN "TIPPED OFF" THAT "IMMIGRANTS" MIGHT CAUSE TROUBLE ON THE NIGHT OF NEW YEAR'S EVE. THE POLICE STILL HAVEN'T COMMENTED ON THEIR SOURCE OF INFORMATION.<sup>2</sup>
- INTERPRETATIONS ON THE EXTENT AND DETAILS OF THE EVENTS VARIED: PUBLIC STATEMENTS FROM BOTH THE HELSINKI POLICE DEPARTMENT, THE NATIONAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION AND THE SECURITY COMPANY KEEPING WATCH ON THE SCENE HAVE BEEN CONFLICTED.<sup>3 4</sup>
- IN THE LATEST UPDATE OF YLE (FINLAND'S PUBLIC BROADCASTING COMPANY), OF THE 16 REPORTS FILED WITH THE POLICE ONLY ONE IS STILL UNDER INVESTIGATION.<sup>5</sup>
- THE EVENTS AND REPORTING HAVE BEEN FOLLOADED BY CONFUSION: THERE HAVE BEEN SPECULATIONS ON WHY THE EVENTS IN HELSINKI WERE COVERED SO ACTIVELY IN THE MEDIA, CONSIDERING THEIR SCALE, AND IN SOME DISCUSSIONS IT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED THAT THE EVENTS MAY HAVE BEEN PURPOSEFULLY EXAGGERATED.<sup>6</sup>

1 HS, 9 January 2016, 45, *Helsingin tapahtumilla ei tiettävästi yhteyttä*, Lari Malmberg, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/cd6c5a0d-be26-43b4-80dc-e4fdba6b184c/44>, viewed 19 April 2016.

2 HS, 8 January 2016, *Uudenvuoden ahdistelukohta hetki hetkeltä – Helsingin apulaispoliisipäällikkö: Kirkkonummen ja Helsingin tapahtumat liittyvät yhteen*, Lari Malmberg, <http://www.hs.fi/kaupunki/a1452229199502>, viewed 12 April 2016.

3 HS, 10 January 2016, 29, *Turvapäällikkö: Senaatintorilla ei laajaa häirintää*, Satu Vasantola, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/1fa56091-ce78-4761-b3eb-9b9d9d1038cd/28>.

4 YLE, 24 February 2016, *Helsingin uudenvuoden ahdisteluista yksikään tutkinta ei ole edennyt*, Sara Rigmatelli, [http://yle.fi/uutiset/helsingin\\_uudenvuoden\\_ahdisteluista\\_yksikaan\\_tutkinta\\_ei\\_ole\\_edennyt/8696033](http://yle.fi/uutiset/helsingin_uudenvuoden_ahdisteluista_yksikaan_tutkinta_ei_ole_edennyt/8696033), viewed 12 April 2016.

5 Ibid.

6 HS, 8 January 2016, *Miksi Kölnin tapahtumat ovat iso uutinen – ja mitä ne Suomessa merkitsevät?*, Jussi Pullinen, Head of News Department, <http://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/a1452224820722>, viewed 12 April 2016.



HS/Kaisa Rautaheimo

and 'border problem'<sup>25</sup> rise to the fore. The attention hence shifts from the asylum seekers to legal and political measures and the voice is given to political actors. The headlines speak for themselves: *The Nordic demolition derby tests decision makers* (23 January), *New arrivals by the eastern border are a test for Finland* (25 January) and *Putin is edging Finland towards Russia's sphere of interest* (31 January)<sup>26</sup>. The Finland-centred perspective is occasionally broken by coverage on asylum seekers from a more humane viewpoint, such as *Hope of getting to Finland lives on in the freezing cold town of Kandalaksha*, published on 27 January<sup>27</sup>. The general rhetoric of steering 'refugee flows'<sup>28</sup> and 'opening the refugee faucet'<sup>29</sup> presents the asylum

seekers in an inhumane light, lumping them together as a faceless mass. It is also noteworthy that asylum seekers were the second most frequently covered theme in *Helsingin Sanomat*, even though the coverage doesn't begin until halfway through the month. All in all the newspaper appears to recognise the side of the phenomenon as a humanitarian crisis, but nevertheless strongly focuses on reporting on it from an explicitly European and Finnish point of view.

## WHOSE VOICES ARE HEARD?

The range of sources for *Helsingin Sanomat* is diverse: the persons heard include politicians, experts and professionals in different fields, police and other authorities as well as refugees and asylum seekers themselves. Politicians, experts and authorities are heard especially in news, columns and interviews. Refugees and asylum seekers in turn are usually heard in more extensive articles or reportage-type texts.

Again, the quantitative difference is interesting: Refugees and asylum seekers are heard proportionally less frequently than politicians, experts or authorities. The difference in the type of coverage also calls for attention: the viewpoints of refugees and asylum seekers are presented in broader text entities, but on the other hand, these types of stories are often part of more

25 HS, 29 January 2016, 4, *Rajaongelma ei ole kahdenkeskinen*, the editorial, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/2dbf9dff-e71f-4cc2-ab4c-ff1566928969/4>. Original expression "rajaongelma".

26 Original expression "Pohjoinen romuautoralli testaa päättäjiä (23.1.), Tulijat itärajalalla ovat testi Suomelle (25.1.) ja Putin hivuttaa Suomea Venäjän etupiiriin (31.1.)."

27 HS, 27 January 2016, 10-11, *Toive Suomeen pääsystä elää Kantalahden pakkasissa*, Jussi Kontinen, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/d983620f-38da-4fd0-af64-682078ddeae4/10>.

28 HS, 16 January 2016, 10, *Pakolaisvirta idästä olisi Venäjän päätös*, Kari Huhta, Editor of Foreign and Security Policy, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/35a7727e-fe57-4b0a-909b-359bc8ae3619/10>. Original expression "pakolaisvirtojen ohjailu".

29 HS, 27 January 2016, 4, *Venäjää varotaan kuin uhmaikäistä*, Kari Huhta, Editor of Foreign and Security Policy, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/35a7727e-fe57-4b0a-909b-359bc8ae3619/10>. Original expression "pakolaishanan avaaminen".

comprehensive coverage and there to offer deeper insight into the topic, or they are placed, for example, in the *Helsingin Sanomat* Sunday section.

The tone of the texts where the refugees and asylum seekers are heard is however without exception positive. It is in these texts that the group is given a human face. Instead of 'streams and surges of arrivals' they speak of ordinary people, who feel despair, joy and sorrow. A reportage is concluded as follows:

*Last autumn a large number -- of temporary centres -- were established in Finland. All of a sudden the media were brimming with news referring to the asylum seekers with terms normally used to describe forces of nature. In reality the arrivals are ordinary people. People like Mohammed Al-Jorani.<sup>30</sup>*

## TENOR

The tenor of *Helsingin Sanomat* in the context of refugees and asylum seekers is in the overall neutral. The coverage aims to produce objective information and keep the readers abreast of latest developments. *Helsingin Sanomat* clearly endeavours to present different viewpoints, while the newspaper itself maintains the role of external observer, offering a voice to different viewpoints and serving as a platform for dialogue. One example is that members of street patrols are interviewed for the paper. The street patrols, a new phenomenon in Finland, often justify their views with the notion that the growing number of asylum seekers has awakened feelings of insecurity among citizens. Even in these cases the paper clearly distinguishes its own standpoint from the views of the street patrollers: "In their own words, the patrols want to ensure that the streets remain peaceful. – the group is fighting for 'white power'."<sup>31</sup>

In some cases the standpoint of the newspaper comes across more clearly. Similarly to other media, *Helsingin Sanomat* featured a large amount of coverage on sexual harassment in January 2016. The paper addressed, for example, the question of who were behind the gang assaults in Cologne. At first the coverage mainly refers to persons of foreign background and 'men who

looked like North Africans or Arabs"<sup>32</sup> as suspects, but later the suspects were said to also possibly include asylum seekers<sup>33</sup>. *Helsingin Sanomat* condemns in strong words sexual harassment in general. But at the same time a commentary goes on to say that harassment practiced by men presumably of foreign background must not turn into something that stigmatises all foreigners:

*The events in Cologne coincide so well with the prevailing prejudices towards male asylum seekers that many regard them as proof of what we are up against – we need to find out what exactly happened and why: our understanding must not be based on impressions alone.<sup>34</sup>*

*Helsingin Sanomat* reports on the issue of sexual harassment chiefly through its own editorial staff and not through, for example, guest writers. The paper thus has a clear editorial line regarding the subject: it condemns both sexual harassment and prejudices<sup>35</sup>.

30 HS, 30 January 2016, 26–27, *15 tuntia ajantappokeskuksessa*, Lari Malmberg, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/8bd807e6-1471-4849-a2a4-d52c5a75c749/260>. Original expression "Suomeen perustettiin syksyllä suuri määrä – tilapäiskeskkuksia. Yhtäkkiä media oli täynnä uutisia, jossa hakijoista puhuttiin luonnonvoimia kuvaavain termein. Oikeasti tulijat ovat tavallisia ihmisiä. Sellaisia, kuin Mohammed Al-Jorani."

31 HS, 6 January 2016, 11, *Johtajina rikoksista tuomittuja*, Satu Vasantola, Lasse Kerkelä, Marjukka Liiten, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/5fbfb7e6-982d-4a65-b648-4b187d3010da/10>. Original expression "Omien sanojensa mukaan partiot haluavat turvata rauhaa kaduilla. – ryhmä taistelee "valkoisen vallan puolesta."

32 HS, 6 January 2016, 30, *Kölnin hyökkäykset tyrmistyttävät*, Tiina Rajamäki, Correspondent in Berlin, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/5fbfb7e6-982d-4a65-b648-4b187d3010da/30>. Original expression "pohjois-afrikkalaisen tai arabin näköiset miehet".

33 HS, 9 January 2016, 4, *Saksan katse pysyy Kölnissä*, Tiina Rajamäki, Correspondent in Berlin, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/cd6c5a0d-be26-43b4-80dc-e4fdbab6b184c/44>.

34 HS, 9 January 2016, 45, *Mitä Köln merkitsee?* Jussi Pullinen, Head of News Department, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/cd6c5a0d-be26-43b4-80dc-e4fdbab6b184c/44>. Original expression "Kölnin tapahtumat sopivat niin hyvin turvapaikanhakijamielisiin kohdistuviin ennakkoluuloihin, että moni esittää ne todisteena siitä, mitä tuleman pitää. – on selvitetävä, mitä tarkalleen tapahtui ja miksi: ymmärrys ei saa jäädä mielikuvien varaan."

35 e.g. HS, 11 January 2016, 18, *Kyllä, olen syllinen*, Satu Vasantola, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/e8e64e33-d861-4a3a-a64b-94e6f3512048/18>.; HS, 17.1.2016, 49, *Kunhan ei luulla rasistiksi*, Annamari Sipilä, Correspondent in London, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/4c73bfe4-096f-4b4a-ae28-26c319d419c0/48>.



## 2.2. AAMULEHTI

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*Aamulehti*, published in the Pirkanmaa region, is Finland's third largest newspaper<sup>1</sup>. It is part of the Lännen Media national newsroom<sup>2</sup>, which produces content for twelve leading regional newspapers<sup>3</sup>. *Aamulehti* was founded in 1881. The newspaper served long as a tribune for the Finnish National Coalition Party, but in 1992 it announced that it was independent<sup>4</sup>. The owner of *Aamulehti* is the Alma Media media group<sup>5</sup>. Alma Media defines its values as follows: "We promote free speech and pluralistic public discussion with the goal of treating all parties equally"<sup>6</sup>. The editor-in-chief is Jouko Jokinen<sup>7</sup>.

*Aamulehti* is published daily both as a print version in tabloid size and as an online version. *Aamulehti* consists of two sections: A and B, the first of which covers news, the economy, sports, and weather and the latter people, culture, events, and TV programmes<sup>8</sup>. The paper also includes different supplements, such as the city supplement *Moro*, which is published every Thursday as a C-section of the paper. The content analysis for this report was limited to the A and B sections of *Aamulehti* in the time period from 2 January to 31 January 2016<sup>9</sup>. The *Moro* supplement was thus excluded from the data under study. In 2015 *Aamulehti*'s circulation was 103 180<sup>10</sup> and the *Aamulehti* website was visited weekly by 424 000 different readers.<sup>11</sup>

### THE MOST PREVALENT THEMES

156 texts dealing with refugees and asylum seekers appeared in *Aamulehti* in January 2016. The most prevalent theme was the *eastern border*<sup>12</sup>, including

coverage on asylum seekers who have arrived in Finland and Norway through Russia. As the texts suggest that the Russian security service may have organised the movement of asylum seekers to the Finnish border<sup>13</sup>, the issue also involves discussion on Russia's policy in relation to Finland and Europe at large.

The second most prevalent theme connected to refugees and asylum seekers in the January editions of *Aamulehti* was *sexual harassment*<sup>14</sup>. Among the covered topics is the reported New Year assaults on women in Cologne<sup>15</sup>. In the context of Finland, *Aamulehti* reported that the police had arrested six asylum seekers in the Kirkkonummi reception centre in Southern Finland on New Year's Eve and that the police have taken precautions concerning a potential gathering of immigrants in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area. An article also reflects on the possible connections of the incidents in Finland to the incidents in Cologne<sup>16</sup>. The texts on the theme of sexual harassment mainly deal with the situations in Finland and Germany, the way in which authorities have reacted to the events, statistics on crime and with the more general discussion on 'groping' that took place in Finland towards the end of the month<sup>17</sup>. The theme also appears in a story about the attempts of Finnish women to buy sex from underage asylum seekers<sup>18</sup>.

The third most prevalent theme in *Aamulehti* was *street patrolling*<sup>19</sup> and the related domestic discussion on questions of security. "Along with the arrival of asylum seekers"<sup>20</sup>, civilians have set up street patrols in different parts of Finland, which justify their existence by claiming that they are protecting citizens' safety in the streets. The reporting especially brings into attention the *Soldiers of Odin* group, which operates in various localities<sup>21</sup>. All the texts dealing with street patrolling do not contain references to refugees

1 Tilastokeskus, [http://www.stat.fi/tup/suoluk/suoluk\\_kulttuuri.html#sanomalehdet](http://www.stat.fi/tup/suoluk/suoluk_kulttuuri.html#sanomalehdet), viewed 5 April 2016.

2 Lännen Media, [http://www.lannenmedia.fi/?page\\_id=2](http://www.lannenmedia.fi/?page_id=2), viewed 5 April 2016.

3 Helsingin Sanomat, <http://www.hs.fi/talous/a1403489493016>, viewed 5 April 2016.

4 Suomen Kulttuurirahasto, <https://apurahat.skr.fi/nimikkorahastot/nimikkorahastoeste?numero=295001>, viewed 5 April 2016.

5 Alma Media, <http://www.almamedia.fi/tietoa-meist%C3%A4/alma-lyhyesti>, viewed 5 April 2016.

6 Alma Media, <http://www.almamedia.fi/tietoa-meist%C3%A4/missio-visio-ja-arvot>, viewed 5 April 2016. Original expression "Puolustamme sananvapautta ja moniarvoista julkista keskustelua tavoitteenamme eri osapuolten tasapuolinen kohtelu".

7 Aamulehti, [http://asiakaspalvelu.aamulehti.fi/asiakaspalvelu/Toimituksen\\_Yhteystiedot](http://asiakaspalvelu.aamulehti.fi/asiakaspalvelu/Toimituksen_Yhteystiedot), viewed 5 April 2016.

8 Aamulehti, <http://mediamyyni.aamulehti.fi/tuotteet/aamulehti/toimituksellinen-ymparisto/>, viewed 6 April 2016.

9 Aamulehti was not published on 1 January 2016.

10 Media Audit Finland, <http://mediaauditfinland.fi/levikit/levikkihakua/>, viewed 14 April 2016.

11 Mediamyyni, <http://mediamyyni.aamulehti.fi/tuotteet/>, viewed 14 April 2016.

12 See p. 36–37.

13 e.g. AL, 24 January 2016, A23, *FSB järjestelee turvapaikanhakijoita rajalle*, STT; AL, January 2016, A9, *Tutkija uskoo FSB:n järjestelevän tulijoita Suomen rajalle*, Hannu Aaltonen & Anniina Luotonen/STT.

14 See p. 36–37.

15 AL, 8 January 2016, A9, *Kölnin ahdistelukohta karkottaa jo turisteja*, Lea Peuhkuri.

16 AL, 8 January 2016, A9, *Polisiylijohdaja ei vahvista yhteyksiä*, Maria Kalliokoski.

17 AL, 17 January 2016, B1-3, *NYT RIITTI!*, Tiina Leinonen.

18 AL, 16 January 2016, A14, *Naiset yrittivät ostaa seksiä alakäisiltä turvapaikanhakijoilta*, Tiina Vuorimäki, STT.

19 See p. 36–37.

20 AL, 7 January 2016, A6, *Porissa asukkaiden katupartioinnista saatu hyviä tuloksia*, Harri Aalto. Original expression "Turvapaikanhakijoiden tulon myötä".

21 AL, 6 January 2016, A5, *Katupartioiden johtajilla rikostaustaa*, Nina Törnud & Päivi Paju.

or asylum seekers and in this analysis attention is paid only to texts that refer to the focus group. In a broader sense, the category involves various street patrols which have started to operate in Finland recently, viewpoints presented by different sources on the question of street patrols, discussion on fears of unsafety and information on movements born as counter-reactions to street patrols, such as *Loldiers of Odin*<sup>22</sup>.

## TERMINOLOGY

The term that *Aamulehti* uses most frequently in coverage on refugees and asylum seekers is *asylum seeker* (*turvapaikanhakija*). There was more coverage on refugees and asylum seekers in the newspaper's domestic news stories than in the foreign affairs stories. Against this backdrop, the term asylum seeker is justified, as the texts are mostly centred on asylum seekers who arrived in Finland in 2015 and haven't received a decision on asylum yet. The second and third most prevalent terms, *refugee* (*pakolainen*) and *foreigner* (*ulkomaalainen*) are used considerably less frequently. Some of the texts on asylum seekers published in *Aamulehti* also use less explicit terms; in reporting on, for example, the eastern border, asylum seekers are often referred to as *new arrivals in the country* (*maahan tulija*) or people attempting to *enter the country* (*maahan pyrkijä*).

The texts dealing with sexual harassment often speak about male foreigners or men of foreign background<sup>23</sup>. In coverage on the New Year events *Aamulehti* starts off by using the term foreigner, but soon begins to refer to refugees and asylum seekers in expressions like "the authorities warn people not to turn immigrants and refugees into scapegoats"<sup>24</sup>. The term foreigner, used when the coverage began, is joined with the term asylum seeker, when *Aamulehti* reports that "31 suspects of the crimes committed in Cologne on New Year's Eve have been identified so far. 18 of them are asylum seekers."<sup>25</sup> The type of crime that the people are suspected of is not mentioned in *Aamulehti*.

In coverage on street patrols, asylum seekers are not essentially at the core. Instead, the texts pay atten-

tion to e.g. the criminal background of the leaders of street patrols<sup>26</sup>, the conflicted statements made by the police<sup>27</sup> and the potential 'soiling' of the reputation of the city of Tampere<sup>28</sup>. Asylum seekers are referred to as *passersby*<sup>29</sup> and *arrivals in the country*<sup>30</sup>, in addition to which two stories<sup>31</sup> quote the expression 'Islamic invaders' used on the website of the *Soldiers of Odin* group. The comments about 'filthy smilers' and 'five of those pigs' by a female demonstrator interviewed in *Aamulehti* also refer to asylum seekers<sup>32</sup>.

In the context of the broader phenomenon, *Aamulehti* often uses the terms *refugee crisis* (*pakolaiskriisi*)<sup>33</sup> or *immigration* (*maahanmuutto*)<sup>34</sup> rooted in media vocabulary. A reportage does however mention the emerging criticism in expert discourse towards the use of the word 'crisis'. The rector of the Police University College in Finland remarks that "we don't have any crisis in Finland whatsoever" and the Secretary General of the Finnish Red Cross points out that "it is the 60 million people who have been forced to leave their homelands that are experiencing the crisis"<sup>35</sup>.

*Aamulehti* uses the term 'refugee crisis' sort of as an established synonym for the movement of refugees and asylum seekers, but only rarely does it specify whose crisis it is. The phenomenon is also referred to with terms such as 'stream of refugees'<sup>36</sup>, 'tide of refugees'<sup>37</sup>, 'surge of refugees'<sup>38</sup> and 'flood of asylum seekers'<sup>39</sup>. The descriptions, usually associated with natural forces, create an impression of a situation out of human control.

22 AL, 6 January 2016, A5, *Katupartioiden johtajilla rikostaustaa*, Nina Törnud & Päivi Paju.

27 AL, 9 January 2016, A17, *Viranomaiset ottivat katupartiot seurantaan*, Henripekka Kallio.

28 AL, 26 January 2016, A4, *Ei tahrata Tamperetta*, the editorial.

29 AL, 7 January 2016, A2, *Järjestyksestä Suomessa vastaa poliisi*, the editorial.

30 e.g. AL, 6 January 2016, A5, *Katupartioiden johtajilla rikostaustaa*, Nina Törnud & Päivi Paju.; AL, 10 January 2016, B6, *Viikon puheenaihe: "Turvasoturit" kadulle*, Matti Mörttönen. Original expression "islamin uskoiset maahantunkeutajat".

31 Mm. AL, 6.1.2016, A5, *Katupartioiden johtajilla rikostaustaa*, Nina Törnud & Päivi Paju.; AL, 10.1.2016, B6, *Viikon puheenaihe: "Turvasoturit" kadulle*, Matti Mörttönen.

32 AL, 24 January 2016, A23, *Kaksi klovnia niskoitteli poliisille*, Tuomas Rimpiläinen. Original expressions "saastaiset hymylijät" & "viisi tällaista sikaa".

33 AL, 26 January 2016, A20, *EU-maat pohtivat keinoja eristää pakolaiset* Kreikkaan, Annu Marjanen.

34 AL, 31 January 2016, B6, *Taiteilua kulttuurien keskellä*, Kari Salminen, freelancer.

35 AL, 15 January 2016, A16-17, *Asenneilmapiirin koventuminen huolestuttavaa*, Aki Laurokari. Original expressions "eihän meillä mitään kriisiä ole Suomessa" & "kriisi on 60 miljoonalla ihmisellä, jotka ovat joutuneet jättämään kotimaansa".

36 AL, 9 January 2016, A14, *Pakolaisiin varauduttiin sattumalta*, Rami Nieminen.

37 Ibid.

38 AL, 27 January 2016, A19, *Pakolaisten käteiset lasketaan Tanskassa*, Seppo Ylönen.

39 AL, 24 January 2016, B1-3, *Rasismien nousu*, Matti Kuusela.

22 AL, 24 January 2016, A23, *Kaksi klovnia niskoitteli poliisille*, Tuomas Rimpiläinen.

23 e.g. AL, 6 January 2016, A20, *Ulkomaalaisten epäillään ahdisteluen*, Ilkka Timonen.; AL, 7 January 2016, A15, *Ahdisteluryöstöstä nousi kova kohu*, STT & AFP.; AL, 8 January 2016, A9, *Poliisiylijohtaja ei vahvista yhteyksiä*, Maria Kalliokoski.

24 AL, 7 January 2016, A15, *Ahdisteluryöstöstä nousi kova kohu*, STT & AFP. Original expression "viranomaiset varoittavat ihmisiä tekemästä siirtolaisista ja pakolaisista syntipukkeja".

25 AL, 9 January 2016, A26-27, *Naiset eivät pelkää Berliinin katuja*, Visa Noronen. Original expression "Kölnin uudenvuodenyön rikoksista on tähän mennessä tunnistettu 31 epäiltyä, joiden joukossa on 18 turvapaikanhakijaa." Visa Noronen.

## WHOSE VOICES ARE HEARD?

In the texts published in *Aamulehti* the asylum seekers' viewpoints are heard only rarely. Most of the interviewees or quoted sources are experts on the subject. In e.g. texts on *the eastern border* comments are heard from employees at the Finnish and Russian border checkpoints, researchers, the Finnish Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Finnish Minister of Interior, the Finnish Minister of Defense and the Finnish Prime Minister, employees of the Finnish Immigration Service, the Norwegian and Russian Ministers of Defense, and journalists. Of the 25 texts, one includes comments from Finns crossing the border<sup>40</sup> and one gives a voice to asylum seekers arriving from Russia to Finland<sup>41</sup>.

In coverage on *sexual harassment* the most prominent sources are police authorities and politicians from different European countries and their publicists. The texts on *street patrolling* feature comments from a variety of sources, such as police officers, ministers, the President of Finland and members of Finns Party Youth. The paper also quotes commentaries published in other papers, alongside featuring commentaries by individual journalists.

## TENOR

*Aamulehti* takes a stance on questions concerning refugees and asylum seekers especially in the “postscripts” following the editorials, which are shorter pieces on the topic of the editorial. The postscripts deal with, for example, the tightening of Danish legislation concerning asylum seekers, the border checks that have started at the border of Denmark and Sweden for the first time since the 1950s<sup>42</sup> and the Dublin Regulation<sup>43</sup>. One should note however that the *Aamulehti* postscripts do not take a stance on the situation with refugees and asylum seekers itself but comment on other issues connected to the subject.

*Aamulehti* is focused on writing about refugees and asylum seekers in a domestic context.

According to many of the articles, refugees and asylum seekers have brought along new and unpleasant phenomena to Finland, such as politically extremist movements and incidents of sexual harassment. An editorial, for example, remarks that “leftist anarchists

and right-wing extremists” endanger the reputation of the city of Tampere<sup>44</sup> and one of the stories quotes a police officer, according to whom “gangs of men are walking around out there and feeling up women”<sup>45</sup>. On the other hand, *Aamulehti* does however to some extent address the underlying reasons why asylum seekers are arriving in Finland. An *Aamulehti* columnist asks: “Even if some of the asylum seekers are not capable of behaving in accordance with the laws of our country, are Nazi patrols the solution?”<sup>46</sup>. Another columnist expresses concern over the fact that some asylum seekers have withdrawn their application for asylum due to unfounded accusations of rape<sup>47</sup>.

44 AL, 26 January 2016, A4, *Ei tahrata Tamperetta*, the editorial. Original expression “vasemmistoanarkistit ja äärioikeistolaiset”.

45 AL, 11 January 2016, A5, *Helsingin poliisi: Iso joukko koskettelee naisia*, Sanna Nikula. Original expression “iso porukka miehiä kulkee tuolla ryhmässä ja koskettelee naisia”.

46 AL, 17 January 2016, B9, *Raiskaaja, pedofiili ja survakki*, Pekka Juntti. Original expression “jos osa turvapaikanhakijoista ei osaa käyttäytyä lakiemme mukaan, natsipartioillako se paranee?”.

47 AL, 24 January 2016, A13, *Perättömistä raiskausväitteistä ei aina rangaista*, Tuomas Rimpiläinen.

## STREET PATROLLING

- A RECORD NUMBER OF REFUGEES THAT ARRIVED IN FINLAND IN 2015 GAVE RISE TO DISCUSSION ON SAFETY IN THE STREETS LEADING TO THE EMERGENCE OF VARIOUS STREET PATROLLING GROUPS.
- A GROUP CALLED SOLDIERS OF ODIN ESTABLISHED IN THE CITY OF KEMI IN 2015 HAS GAINED THE MOST PUBLICITY IN FINLAND.<sup>1</sup> THE GROUP SAYS THAT THEY ARE PATROLLING THE STREETS IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE SAFETY OF CITIZENS.<sup>2</sup>
- THE LEADERS OF THE GROUP HAVE CRIMINAL BACKGROUNDS AND CONNECTIONS TO SUOMEN VASTARINTALIIKE, THE FINNISH ARM OF THE NORDIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT, AND THE MV-LEHTI NEWSPAPER.<sup>3</sup>
- SOLDIERS OF ODIN OPERATES IN 27 DIFFERENT LOCALITIES IN FINLAND AND THE MOVEMENT HAS ALSO SPREAD ABROAD.<sup>4</sup>
- SOLDIERS OF ODIN BECAME A REGISTERED ASSOCIATION IN FEBRUARY 2016.<sup>5</sup>
- IN THE CITY OF TAMPERE MEMBERS OF A GROUP BY THE NAME OF SOLDIERS OF ODIN DRESSED IN CLOWN COSTUMES PROTESTED AGAINST SOLDIERS OF ODIN BY MEANS OF PARODY.<sup>6</sup>

1 YLE, [http://yle.fi/utiset/soldiers\\_of\\_odinin\\_johdon\\_salaiset\\_facebook-viestit\\_aseita\\_natsitunnuksia\\_kytkos\\_mv-lehteen/8747297](http://yle.fi/utiset/soldiers_of_odinin_johdon_salaiset_facebook-viestit_aseita_natsitunnuksia_kytkos_mv-lehteen/8747297), viewed 8 April 2016.

2 AL, 6 January 2016, A5, *Katupartioiden johtajilla rikostausta*, Nina Törnudd & Päivi Paju.

3 e.g. YLE, [http://yle.fi/utiset/soldiers\\_of\\_odinin\\_johdon\\_salaiset\\_facebook-viestit\\_aseita\\_natsitunnuksia\\_kytkos\\_mv-lehteen/8747297](http://yle.fi/utiset/soldiers_of_odinin_johdon_salaiset_facebook-viestit_aseita_natsitunnuksia_kytkos_mv-lehteen/8747297), viewed 8 April 2016.; AL, 6 January 2016, A5, *Katupartioiden johtajilla rikostausta*, Nina Törnudd & Päivi Paju.

4 YLE, [http://yle.fi/utiset/soldiers\\_of\\_odinin\\_johdon\\_salaiset\\_facebook-viestit\\_aseita\\_natsitunnuksia\\_kytkos\\_mv-lehteen/8747297](http://yle.fi/utiset/soldiers_of_odinin_johdon_salaiset_facebook-viestit_aseita_natsitunnuksia_kytkos_mv-lehteen/8747297), viewed 8 April 2016.

5 Ibid

6 AL, 24 January 2016, A23, *Kaksi klovnia niskoitteli poliisille*, Tuomas Rimpiläinen.

40 AL, 12 January 2016, A7, *Raja-asemalla seisoo jo noin 30 hylättyä autoa*, Terttu Pohtila.

41 AL, 12 January 2016, A7, *Kallis, mutta turvallisempi reitti*, Terttu Pohtila.

42 AL, 6 January 2016, A2, *Jälkikirjoitus: Sinne meni taas yksi ylpeilyn aihe*, the editorial.

43 AL, 21 January 2016, A2, *Jälkikirjoitus: EU:n on pakko uida vastavirtaan*, the editorial.

### **3. DATA ON THE BRITISH NEWSPAPERS**

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The press landscape in the UK can be divided into quality newspapers and tabloids, but also based on how the newspapers are placed in the political spectrum<sup>1</sup>. In the UK it is common practice for newspapers to openly endorse a political party. It has been estimated that in the UK there are 14 national newspapers, 1 200 local or regional newspapers, and 600 specialised or very local newspapers (2010)<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> UNHCR, *Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries*, 2015, 29, <http://www.unhcr.org/56bb369c9.html>, viewed 12 April 2016.

<sup>2</sup> European Commission, *Background information report. Media policies and regulatory practices in a selected set of European Countries, the EU and the Council of Europe*, 2010, 450.

## International

# plan for 160,000 refugees helps ju

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on member states have so  
16 refugees of the 160,000  
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d in September to relocate  
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homes for Syrian, Eritrean,  
es from the EU states most  
crisis - such as Italy and  
r member nations.

But data released this week by the European commission shows that so far only 116 people have been relocated, and only 1,418 places have been made available by 14 member states.

A total of 86 refugees have been relocated from Italy, while 30 left Greece for Luxembourg yesterday. The six families from Syria and Iraq took part in a departure ceremony at Athens airport. Smiling parents holding children posed for "selfies" with the Greek prime minister, Alexis Tsipras, the European parliament's president, Martin Schulz, and Luxembourg's foreign minister, Jean Asselborn, on the runway, before boarding their flight.

Speaking in Brussels, where the plane arrived, Angela Corniachtou of the International Organisation for Migration said the refugees "were all very happy".

"They are going to a very nice country where they are going to have good education for their children," she said.

Denmark, Ireland and the UK have an opt-out from the scheme, but Britain is the only member state that has said it will not participate in the relocation programme.

The number of people risking the deadly boat crossing every day from Turkey to Europe has not diminished even as winter approaches, and tensions in some countries have been growing.

Austria was criticised yesterday for putting up barbed wire fences at a border crossing with Slovenia used by hundreds of refugees and migrants, days after the Austrian chancellor promised that new border fences would not employ barbed wire.

Plans for a series of barriers at the Spielfeld border crossing with Slovenia were announced last week and the chancellor, Werner Faymann, said they were intended to control the flow of hundreds of people crossing into the country there each day, not to stop them from arriving.

Police at the border, who have struggled to control thousands of frustrated refugees desperate to continue onwards at a time of deepening cold, apparently overturned that decision.

"The embankment was secured with help from rolls of barbed wire," the *Kleine Zeitung* regional newspaper quoted an unnamed police spokesperson as saying. The Vienna-based newspaper *Die Press* also reported on the wire barriers.

Faymann had said technical experts would determine the shape and size of the barriers. He criticised neighbouring Hungary for blocking refugees with barbed wire fences and insisted that Austria's project was different and would not include the material. "This is not about a border barrier of several kilometres," he said at a news conference on 28 October. "We are not fencing Austria in."

The fences continue to split Europe. As photos of the barbed wire barriers in

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om the Guardian, children trav-  
e from Syria and Eritrea spoke  
d incidents of harsh treatment  
by French police.  
described homesickness and a  
return to the wartorn countries  
h they had fled this year. Others  
had been hit by the police,  
ed by dogs



### 3.1. THE GUARDIAN AND THE OBSERVER

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*The Guardian*, which is published daily from Monday to Saturday, was founded in 1821, under the name *The Manchester Guardian*<sup>1</sup>. *The Observer*, founded in 1791, in turn is the world's oldest Sunday newspaper<sup>2</sup>. The sister newspapers are both part of the The Guardian Media Group<sup>3</sup>. The papers have different editorial staffs, but they, for example, share a common website, where the contents of the papers can be read without a paywall<sup>4</sup>. The editor-in-chief of *The Guardian* is Katharine Viner<sup>5</sup> and the editor in-chief of *The Observer* is John Mulholland<sup>6</sup>. The circulation of *The Guardian* print newspaper is 161 152<sup>7</sup> and the circulation of *The Observer* is 183 595<sup>8</sup> (February 2016). The newspapers' website is visited by nearly nine million readers daily<sup>9</sup>.

The Guardian Media Group is owned by The Scott Trust, which defines its values as honesty, integrity, courage, fairness and a duty to the readers and the community<sup>10</sup>. According to the Trust, "the voice of opponents no less than that of friends has a right to be heard", but ultimately the newspaper is committed to the truthfulness above all<sup>11</sup>. In the 2015 general election *The Guardian* publicly endorsed Labour. In the previous election in 2010 *The Guardian* backed the Liberal Democrats.<sup>12</sup>

Since *The Guardian* and *The Observer* share the same website and belong in the same media group, they are interpreted in this analysis as complementary sister newspapers, and thus studied as an entity. For simplicity's sake, the report speaks about *The Guardian*, but the title is used with reference to both the editions

1 The Guardian, <http://www.theguardian.com/gnm-archive/2002/jun/06/1>, viewed 5 April 2016.

2 The Guardian, <http://www.theguardian.com/gnm-archive/2002/jun/06/2>, viewed 5 April 2016.

3 The Guardian, <http://www.theguardian.com/gnm-press-office>, viewed 5 April 2016.

4 The Guardian, <http://www.theguardian.com/the-scott-trust/2015/jul/26/the-scott-trust>, viewed 5.4.2016.

5 The Guardian, <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2015/mar/20/guardian-appoints-katharine-viner-new-editor-in-chief>, viewed 5 April 2016.

6 The Guardian, <http://www.theguardian.com/gnm-archive/2002/jun/06/2>, viewed 5 April 2016.

7 ABC, <http://www.abc.org.uk/Certificates/47857726.pdf>, viewed 14 April 2016.

8 ABC, <http://www.abc.org.uk/Certificates/47857249.pdf>, viewed 14 April 2016.

9 Ibid.

10 The Guardian, <http://www.theguardian.com/the-scott-trust/2015/jul/26/the-scott-trust>, viewed 5.4.2016.

11 Ibid.

12 The Guardian, <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2015/may/01/guardian-gives-its-support-to-labour-in-general-election>, viewed 7 April 2016.

of *The Guardian* (26 editions) and of *The Observer* (5 editions) published during the period under study. The analysis does not however include the third sister newspaper in the group, *The Guardian Weekly*, or the supplements of *The Guardian* or *The Observer*.

#### THE MOST PREVALENT THEMES

150 texts with reference to refugees, asylum seekers, or the current situation with refugees and asylum seekers in Europe were published in *The Guardian* during January 2016. The most prevalent theme was *the EU's and Europe's crisis*<sup>13</sup>. In the 'endless run of crises'<sup>14</sup>, the possible 'demise' of the Schengen area<sup>15</sup> and a general atmosphere, which according to a *The Guardian* columnist reminds of the times preceding World War 2<sup>16</sup>, form a 'threat' to the existence of the EU and Europe at large. Even though some of the texts clearly focus on the Schengen region or the Dublin Regulation solely, they too essentially link in with the 'crisis' in Europe. *The Guardian* offers various solutions for how the 'crisis' could be overcome<sup>17</sup>.

The second most prevalent theme in *The Guardian* is *sexual harassment*<sup>18</sup>. The category largely centres on the crimes reported on New Year's Eve in Cologne, e.g. the sexual attacks and thefts<sup>19</sup>. It also includes reporting on the silence maintained by the police and the media in connection with the events in Cologne. For example, it took until Tuesday, 5 January 2016 for the German public-service broadcaster ZDF to report on the incidents<sup>20</sup>. *The Guardian* also commented on cases of sexual harassment that had occurred elsewhere, where the suspects were persons of foreign background, and reported on public reactions to the suspicions of crime.

The third most prevalent theme in *The Guardian* is

13 See p. 36–37.

14 TG, 20 January 2016, 25, *Unilever chief warns over endless run of crises in EU*, Graham Ruddick & Sean Farrel.

15 TG, 6 January 2016, 16, *'It's all gone wrong' dream of borderless Europe crumbling amid mass migration*, Ian Traynor.

16 TG, 26 January 2016, 28, *This is not a repeat of the 1930s, but history is certainly rhyming*, Giles Fraser.

17 e.g. TG, 23 January 2016, 33, *Europe is in crisis, America, once more, will have to step in to save us*, Natalie Nougayrède.; TG, 29 January 2016, 24, *Resettlement idea*, Patrick Kingsley.

18 See p. 36–37.

19 TG, 8 January 2016, 23, *Cologne's police overwhelmed by scale of attacks, says leaked report*, Kate Connolly & Mark Tran and agencies.

20 TG, 8 January 2016, 1–2, *Tension as Cologne attacks stoke anti-refugee sentiment – Cologne silence is linked to refugee debate*, Kate Connolly.

journey to seek asylum<sup>21</sup>. The category contains texts on people who have either drowned or been rescued in the Aegean<sup>22</sup>, follow-ups on individuals who have risen to global publicity<sup>23</sup>, reporting on people queuing at the borders<sup>24</sup> and news on crime connected to

the smuggling of people<sup>25</sup> or on children who have disappeared in Europe<sup>26</sup>.

## TERMINOLOGY

The most frequently used term in *The Guardian* is *refugee*. The term assumedly refers to both asylum seekers and people who have been granted refugee status. The second most prevalent term, *asylum seeker*, is used considerably less often and usually clearly in reference to people who haven't received a decision on asylum yet. The terms *people*, *child/children* and *migrant* appear in the paper rather frequently.

*The Guardian* features during January 2016 a large amount of content on reported cases of sexual harassment that have been connected to refugees and asylum seekers. The newspaper is however careful about the expressions used. In coverage on the New Year events in Cologne, the reporter quotes the Mayor of the city, according to whom "there is no evidence that we're dealing here with people who are refugees"<sup>27</sup> and says that the authorities have announced that there is no "concrete proof that the perpetrators were asylum seekers"<sup>28</sup>. When the German police announces that they have identified 18 asylum seekers who are suspected of being connected to the Cologne attacks, it is pointed out in the coverage that the asylum seekers in question are not suspected of sexual harassment<sup>29</sup>. The paper consciously aims to ensure that the refugees and asylum seekers are not defined as harassers.

The most common expression used in reference to the situation with refugees and asylum seekers is *refugee crisis*. The paper seems to however report on at least two different crises, which link in together. The editorial on 29 January 2016 refers to both a humanitarian crisis and a European refugee crisis<sup>30</sup>. A similar division is also apparent in other expressions, such as "the greatest humanitarian crisis since the Second

21 See p. 36–37.

22 TG, 13 January 2016, 16–17, 'Help, we are sinking' For those in peril in the Aegean, a new lifeline, Patrick Kingsley.

23 TG, 4 January 2016, 7, TV trip let refugee land on his feet – and make sons dream come true, Ashifa Kassam.

24 TG, 24 January 2016, 8–9, Snow is forecast to hit Lebanon's grim camps. Temperatures drop in Balkans. Still the desperate masses trudge towards Europe, Tracy McVeigh.

## COLOGNE

- ON NEW YEAR'S EVE 2016, REPORTS WERE MADE IN THE VICINITY OF THE COLOGNE CENTRAL TRAIN STATION OF AROUND ONE THOUSAND MEN "WHO LOOKED NORTH AFRICAN OR ARABIC" HARASSING AND ROBBING WOMEN IN SMALLER GANGS.<sup>1</sup>
- IT TOOK FOUR DAYS BEFORE THE GERMAN POLICE MADE A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT ON THE EVENTS.<sup>2</sup>
- DUE TO THE CHAOTIC SITUATION, IT HAS BEEN DIFFICULT TO IDENTIFY THE PERPETRATORS AFTERWARDS AND TO BRING THEM TO JUSTICE. IT IS UNCLEAR WHETHER THE ASSAILANTS WERE PEOPLE OF FOREIGN BACKGROUND WHO HAD BEEN LIVING IN GERMANY FOR A LONG TIME OR ASYLUM SEEKERS WHO HAD RECENTLY ARRIVED IN THE COUNTRY.<sup>3</sup>
- MEDIA COVERAGE ON THE EVENTS STARTED RELATIVELY LATE AND THE REPORTING WAS INEXACT DUE TO LACK OF INFORMATION.<sup>4</sup>
- ACCORDING TO THE LATEST UPDATE IN HELSINGIN SANOMAT MORE THAN A THOUSAND REPORTS HAVE BEEN FILED WITH THE POLICE IN CONNECTION TO THE NEW YEAR EVENTS IN COLOGNE.<sup>5</sup>
- THE EVENTS IN COLOGNE HAVE RAISED ABUNDANT CRITICAL DISCUSSION ON E.G. GERMAN IMMIGRATION POLICIES, RACISM AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT AS A BROADER PHENOMENON IN SOCIETY.<sup>6</sup>

1 HS, 6 January 2016, 30, *Kölnin hyökkäykset tyrmistytävät*, Tiina Rajamäki, Correspondent in Berlin, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/5fbfb7e6-982d-4a65-b648-4b187d3010da/30>.

2 HS, 13 January 2016, 21, *Mitä Kölnin tapahtumista tiedetään tähän mennessä?*, Tiina Rajamäki, Correspondent in Berlin, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/3ad5b707-7498-4ef1-a536-5cc954ae9cd8/20>.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 HS, 22 February 2016, 23, *Kölnin uusivuosi ei unohdu*, Tiina Rajamäki, Correspondent in Berlin, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/359f934f-976e-4929-80c8-1b323ff32ab1/22>.

6 HS, 22 February 2016, 23, *Kölnin uusivuosi ei unohdu*, Tiina Rajamäki, Correspondent in Berlin, <http://lehdet.hs.fi/359f934f-976e-4929-80c8-1b323ff32ab1/22>.

25 TG, 12 January 2016, 16, *Man on trial accused of causing 800 deaths in migrant ship disaster*, Stephanie Kirchgaessner.

26 TG, 31 January 2016, 6, *Europol warns on 10,000 missing refugee children*, Mark Townsend, Home Affairs Editor.

27 TG, 7 January 2016, 1–2, *Tension as Cologne attacks stoke anti-refugee sentiment – Cologne silence is linked to refugee debate*, Kate Connolly.

28 TG, 8 January 2016, 23, *Cologne's police overwhelmed by scale of attacks, says leaked report*, Kate Connolly & Mark Tran and agencies.

29 TG, 9 January 2016, 1&7, *Sex attacks in Cologne cost police chief job*, Kate Connolly and agencies.

30 TG, 29 January 2016, 36, *Syria: The Geneva talks offer hope. But fake diplomacy is no diplomacy*, the editorial.

World War”<sup>31</sup>, ”terrible human tragedy”<sup>32</sup> and ”plight of people”<sup>33</sup>, alongside the expressions “Europe-wide crisis”<sup>34</sup>, “surges in migration”<sup>35</sup> and “Europe’s refugee problem”<sup>36</sup>.

## WHOSE VOICES ARE HEARD?

In coverage on the European ‘crisis’ the most prominent sources are political leaders of European states. The subject is also commented on by representatives of different official institutions, such as the EU and the UN, as well as the newspaper’s staff journalists. In articles on the subject the reporters normally quote several sources. In speculations on the future of Europe so-called ordinary people or the asylum seekers themselves are not among the sources heard.

Many different sources are heard in coverage on the conflicted New Year events in Cologne. For example, nine different people are heard in the first news report on the events, the Mayor of Cologne, the German Chancellor, two representatives of the police, two cabinet ministers, two supporters of the anti-Islam, anti-immigrant protest group *Pediga*, and one victim of the attacks<sup>37</sup>. *The Guardian* reports on the feelings aroused by the events among eyewitnesses, German immigrants, members of the original population, and asylum seekers<sup>38</sup>. Several columns and commentaries regarding sexual harassment were also published in *The Guardian*, in which the writers present their own views on the issue. A columnist speaks about “a hysterical mood that is making a monster out of what was already a nightmare” and remarks that every refugee is an individual<sup>39</sup>. Many of the stories written by the journalists stress that it is important that there is discussion on the issue.

In the texts centered on *the journey to seek asylum*, the most prominent sources are the people who had undertaken the journey themselves. The stories describe the situation in the conflict zones and the hardships

and losses the people have experienced. In many of the texts the name and profession of the person in question is mentioned, as well as the reason why she/he had set out to seek asylum from Europe. The texts contain direct quotes of the asylum seekers’ comments.<sup>40</sup> The news stories and reportages include interviews with people who have given assistance to refugees and asylum seekers, such as volunteers, solicitors and representatives of aid agencies. The viewpoints of authorities and politicians are also heard.

## TENOR

The outlook of *The Guardian* in coverage on the situation with refugees and asylum seekers is pluralistic. The newspaper reports extensively on the implications of the situation in different countries, but also brings into attention individual rights. The editorial on 21 January 2016 stresses the need for new practices for granting asylum in Europe and asserts that “the new system must be fair to the refugees, and fair between EU nations<sup>41</sup>”. Even though refugees and asylum seekers are at times presented in *The Guardian* as statistics endangering the stability of Europe, the paper also repeatedly approaches the issue from a human perspective, portraying the experiences of both the arrivals and the people who are receiving and helping them<sup>42</sup>. In coverage on the category of *sexual harassment*, *The Guardian* tries to avoid directly associating suspicions of crime with refugees and asylum seekers.

31 TG, 7 January 2016, 31, *The most shocking thing about Calais is that it’s not even too big to solve*, Yvette Cooper.

32 TG, 29 January 2016, 36, *Syria: The Geneva talks offer hope. But fake diplomacy is no diplomacy*, the editorial.

33 Ibid.

34 TG, 7 January 2016, 31, *The most shocking thing about Calais is that it’s not even too big to solve*, Yvette Cooper.

35 TG, 5.1.2016, 29, *Diversity could be the making of Europe*, Natalie Nougayrède.

36 TG, 21 January 2016, 30, *Refugees: EU border controls cannot cope. Only a shared approach will work*, the editorial.

37 TG, 6 January 2016, 3, *New Year mass attacks shock Germany*, Kate Connolly.

38 TG, 9 January 2016, 6-7, *I hate that my fear is aimed at people of another colour*, Kate Connolly.

39 TG, 11 January 2016, 27, *Germany’s welcome for refugees has to survive Cologne*, Doris Akrap.

40 TG, 13 January 2016, 16-17, *‘Help, we are sinking’ For those in peril in the Aegean, a new lifeline*, Patrick Kingsley.

41 TG, 21 January 2016, 30, *Refugees: EU borders cannot cope. Only a shared approach will work*, the editorial.

42 TG, 24 January 2016, 10, *Greek islanders to be nominated for Nobel prize*, Daniel Poffey, Policy Editor.



# PTBAHNHOF



## 3.2. THE TIMES AND THE SUNDAY TIMES

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*The Times*, published daily from Monday to Saturday, was founded in 1785 and for the first three years of its existence it went by the name *Daily Universal Register*<sup>1</sup>. *The Sunday Times*, which is a Sunday newspaper, was founded in 1882<sup>2</sup>. The sister newspapers have different editorial boards, but share a same website which has a paywall. The editor-in-chief of *The Times* is John Witherow<sup>3</sup> and the editor-in-chief of *The Sunday Times* is Martin Ivens<sup>4</sup>. The circulation of the *The Times* print newspaper is 402 752<sup>5</sup> and the circulation of *The Sunday Times* is 766 001 (February 2016)<sup>6</sup>. Their website is visited by 34 000 readers daily.

*The Times* and *The Sunday Times* are both part of News UK Group, which is owned by News Corp<sup>7</sup>. News UK defines *The Times* as an authoritative, credible and responsible newspaper and “a premium British brand recognised the world over”<sup>8</sup>. In the 2005 general elections *The Times* endorsed Labour, and in the 2010 elections the Conservatives<sup>9</sup>.

The following content analysis focuses on *The Times* and the *The Sunday Times*. Belonging in the same media group, they complement one another, and thus they are treated as an entity in the analysis. For simplicity’s sake, they are jointly referred to as *The Times*, but the title covers the editions of *The Times* (26 editions) and of *The Sunday Times* (5 editions) published in January 2016. The supplements of the two newspapers, and *The Sun*, which is part of the same media group, are excluded from the analysis.

### THE MOST PREVALENT THEMES

144 texts dealing with refugees and asylum seekers were published in *The Times* during January 2016. The most prevalent theme was *the EU’s and Europe’s*

*crisis*<sup>10</sup>. The texts on this theme primarily revolve around statements made by EU leaders, concluding, for example, that the “migrant crisis” is “testing Europe to the limits”<sup>11</sup>. The ‘crisis’ in Europe is approached through different text types; e.g. news stories, analyses and editorials. The theme is also frequently linked to texts on the Schengen region, whose potential demise is described in an analysis as “a heavy blow to the European Union itself”<sup>12</sup> and in the sidebar as a serious threat to the Eurozone<sup>13</sup>. The Dublin Regulation is also among the topics connected to this theme<sup>14</sup>.

The second most prevalent theme in *The Times* is *sexual harassment*<sup>15</sup>, mainly concentrating on suspicions of sexual crimes and theft in Cologne and in other cities on the night of New Year’s Eve. The articles in the *sexual harassment* category deal with public reactions to the events and accusations made in social media of a conscious decision among the police and media to keep silent about the issue<sup>16</sup>.

The third most prevalent theme in *The Times* is *the journey to seek asylum*<sup>17</sup>. The category includes news reporting on people who have drowned in the Aegean<sup>18</sup>, arrested people-smugglers<sup>19</sup> and a police raid at a factory that manufactures lifesavers<sup>20</sup>. The lives of individual people are also followed up on. For example, in autumn 2015 a picture of a drowned Syrian boy, Aylan Kurdi, was widely circulated in global media, giving the tragedy a human face. *The Times* set out to find out what happened to the boy’s father after the accident.<sup>21</sup> There are also reportages linked to theme, which cover the journey from the perspective of the asylum seekers.

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10 See p. 36–37.

11 TT, 14 January 2016, 28, *Terror and migrant crisis testing Europe to limits, warn EU chiefs*, David Charter & Bruno Waterfield.

12 TT, 22 January 2016, 34–35, *Migrant crisis forces Europe to give up on open border dream*, David Charter & Bruno Waterfield.

13 TT, 30 January 2016, 19, *Schengen’s demise starves Eurozone of its lifeblood*, Bruno Waterfield.

14 TT, 21 January 2016, 12–13, *EU facing catastrophe as states go it alone over migrant crisis*, Bruno Waterfield, David Charter & Francis Elliott.

15 See p. 36–37.

16 TT, 6 January 2016, 39, *Fury as migrant mob blamed for scores of new year sex assaults*, Allan Hall.

17 See p. 36–37.

18 TT, 4 January 2016, 34, *Boy, 2, from Syria is year’s first victim of Aegen crossing*, Hannah Lucinda Smith.

19 TT, 13 January 2016, 28, *Pair in court for deaths of 800 migrants in shipwreck*, Tom Kington.

20 TT, 8 January 2016, 35, *Police seize 1,250 lifejackets on refugee route*, Hannah Lucinda Smith.

21 TT, 2 January 2016, 18–19, *They made the headlines, but what happened next?*, Hannah Lucinda Smith.

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1 News Media Association, <http://www.newsmediauk.org/History-of-British-Newspapers>, viewed 5 April 2016.

2 News UK, <http://www.news.co.uk/what-we-do/the-sunday-times/>, viewed 5 April 2016.

3 News UK, <http://www.news.co.uk/what-we-do/the-times/>, viewed 5 April 2016.

4 News UK, <http://www.news.co.uk/what-we-do/the-sunday-times/>, viewed 5 April 2016.

5 ABC, <http://www.abc.org.uk/Certificates/47857322.pdf>, viewed 14 April 2016.

6 ABC, <http://www.abc.org.uk/Certificates/47857029.pdf>, viewed 14 April 2016.

7 News Corp, <http://newscorp.com/business/news-corp-uk/>, viewed 5 April 2016.

8 News UK, <http://www.news.co.uk/>, viewed 6 April 2016.

9 The Guardian, <http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2010/may/04/general-election-newspaper-support>, viewed 8 April 2016.

## TERMINOLOGY

The most frequently used terms in *The Times* are in order of prevalence are *migrant*, *refugee* and *asylum seeker*. It remains unclear to the reader whether the term *migrant* refers to people seeking asylum or to all emigrants and immigrants in general. One example of this ambiguity is a text referring to 1.1 million migrants, who have arrived in Germany as a consequence of "Angela Merkel's open-door refugee policy"<sup>22</sup>. Another editorial contains a remark that of the people arriving in Germany "not all are Syrian and many are economic migrants"<sup>23</sup>.

In the articles on 'the crisis facing Europe', refugees and asylum seekers are mostly featured in the form of statistics, illustrating, for example, that "a million is just a start"<sup>24</sup>. The migrants are also regarded as part of the group of 60 million displaced people who have, from the viewpoint of economy, made the world "more uncertain than ever"<sup>25</sup>. Even though the 'tide of refugees' is seen to endanger the global economy, the refugees and asylum seekers aren't blamed for the situation<sup>26</sup>. Some commentaries also bring into attention the wars forcing the asylum seekers to flee to Europe<sup>27</sup>.

In the texts dealing with *sexual harassment* an association is often drawn, either directly or indirectly, between refugees and asylum seekers and the events. In one news story, for example, the possible involvement of asylum seekers is discussed, based on a leaked police report and statements made by German cabinet ministers, even before any official announcements had been made by the police<sup>28</sup>. When 9 January 2016 it is confirmed that 22 asylum seekers are suspected of group attacks in Cologne, the same article also mentions suspicions of crime, including rapes that have surfaced elsewhere<sup>29</sup>. A columnist also brings into attention a "cultural factor fueling such sexual

pathologies"<sup>30</sup>, while the writer of the sidebar pins down poor policing as the cause behind the events<sup>31</sup>. An editorial in turn refers to a researcher's warning of how an unbalanced ratio of men and women in a community can cause problems<sup>32</sup>. Whatever causes are suggested for the events, the reporting in *The Times* creates an image that there is reason to exercise caution in the case of male asylum seekers.

In the texts centered on *the journey to seek asylum*, the asylum seekers are depicted as people fleeing under duress and "risking everything to reach the promised lands of Europe"<sup>33</sup>. The pain and injuries suffered by the asylum seekers, the mortal danger they have faced, and the casualties are prominent topics in many of the texts. The words *toddler*, *child*, *young boy*, *people*, and *friend* are also frequently used as descriptions<sup>34</sup>.

In coverage on the situation with the refugees and asylum seekers the most commonly used term is *refugee crisis*. Expressions formed around the term *migrant* are however quantitatively more prevalent. Expressions such as e.g. *migrant surge*<sup>35</sup>, *migrant crisis*<sup>36</sup> and *influx of migrants*<sup>37</sup>, when calculated together, were used more frequently than the term *refugee crisis*. *The Times* brings up the human aspect of the situation in expressions like 'one of the greatest tragedies for generations'<sup>38</sup>, 'exodus of refugees'<sup>39</sup>, and 'plight of refugees'<sup>40</sup>. *The Times* also addresses the negative implications of the asylum seeker situation with expressions like 'refugee burden'<sup>41</sup>, 'Europe's great migration crisis'<sup>42</sup> and 'Europe's migrant problem'<sup>43</sup>.

22 TT, 10 January 2016, 21-22, *Sex mob sparks revolt against mama Merkel*, Tony Allen-Mills.

23 TT, 10 January 2016, 24, *Perils of Merkel's open door for migrants*, the editorial.

24 TT, 2 January 2016, 25, *Exodus*, the editorial.

25 TT, 15 January 2016, 44, *Migration crisis 'poses threat to world economy'*, Philip Aldrick.

26 TT, 20.1.2016, 38, *Refugee 'tide' threatens EU labour market, warns IMF*, Kahtryn Hopkins.

27 TT, 30 January 2016, 45, *Italy fears it will become huge migrant hub as sea route opens*, Tom Kington, David Charter & Anthee Carassave.

28 TT, 8 January 2016, 35, *Merkel invited me, sex attacker told police*, David Charter.

29 TT, 9 January 2016, 34, *Migrant rape arrests bring calls to shut European frontiers*, David Charter.

30 TT, 8 January 2016, 28, *Let's be honest about these immigrant attacks*, Melania Phillips.

31 TT, 12 January 2016, 28, *In Egypt, the sex mobs get away with it*, Bel Trew.

32 TT, 7 January 2016, 25, *Demographic Timebomb*, the editorial.

33 TT, 1 January 2016, 34-35, *High drama played out on world stage*, Catherine Philip.

34 TT, 31 January 2016, 32-33, *Ten young children drown a few yards into journey*, Nicola Smith.

35 TT, 22 January 2016, 34-35, *Migrant crisis forces Europe to give up on open border dream*, David Charter & Bruno Waterfield.

36 Ibid.

37 TT, 23 January 2016, 39, *Greece may be sealed off under EU plan to avert migrant surge*, Bruno Waterfield & David Charter.

38 TT, 2 January 2016, 25, *Exodus*, the editorial.

39 TT, 27 January 2016, 27, *Schengen's Slow Death*, the editorial.

40 TT, 6 January 2016, 33, *More children die in doomed Aegean crossing*, Hannah Lucinda Smith.

41 TT, 15 January 2016, 49, *Refugee burden may prevent balanced budget in Germany*, Philip Aldrick.

42 TT, 2 January 2016, 25, *Exodus*, the editorial.

43 TT, 10 January 2016, 24, *Perils of Merkel's open door for migrants*, the editorial.



HS/Kaisa Rautahaimo

## WHOSE VOICES ARE HEARD?

Political officials are the most prominent sources in *The Times*. When speaking about Europe's 'crisis' it is mostly the political leaders of EU states who are heard as sources. Among the commentators are also influential people in the sphere of economy, representatives of official institutions, as well as unnamed diplomat sources; whereas refugees and asylum seekers do not play any essential role as commentators when speaking of the 'crisis'.

In texts dealing with *sexual harassment*, political leaders still make up the most prominent group of commentators, while comments made by police authorities and the reactions of individual people also earn attention. *The Times* gives a lot of space to victims of the events in Cologne, who in many cases describe their experiences in very strong terms: "Their hands were everywhere. Their fingers were in all my orifices. When I screamed they laughed."<sup>44</sup> Eyewitnesses, people who are against immigration and Syrians residing in Germany, also voice their thoughts and feelings. A Syrian asylum seeker who had fled from the war in turn condemns the events that took place

in Cologne.<sup>45</sup>

Statistics on the movement of people in Europe are often presented in coverage on the refugees' and asylum seekers' journey to Europe. On the other hand, in contrast to the previously discussed themes, in this context it is mostly the refugees and asylum seekers, as well as the organisations that defend their rights, whose comments and viewpoints are heard. People who have undertaken the journey speak about their experiences: "Sometimes I fear for my children. The conditions on the journey have been very difficult. But you can't remain in Syria if you have children."<sup>46</sup> When refugees and asylum seekers are not discussed as a statistical phenomenon *The Times* usually offers insight to the people's backgrounds and reasons for fleeing their homelands.

## TENOR

Refugees and asylum seekers are presented in *The Times* through a wide range of perspectives. The reasons for leaving home and the suffering of the people are described. It was *The Times* that brought into media attention the properties with red doors

<sup>44</sup> TT, 6 January 2016, 29, *Fury as migrant mob blamed for scores of new year sex assaults*, Allan Hall.

<sup>45</sup> TT, 16 January 2016, 36, *Sex attacks turn most of Germans against Merkel's migrant policy*, David Charter.

<sup>46</sup> TT, 20 January 2016, 30, *Refugees face death from cold on long walk to freedom*, Joshua Baker.



in Middlesborough, UK, where a large number of people waiting for a decision on asylum had been housed<sup>47</sup>. Because of the distinctive red color of the doors, the asylum seekers became targets of racist abuse, and following the public outrage caused by the issue, the private company in charge of the housing for asylum seekers announced that they were going to repaint the doors<sup>48</sup>.

But alongside the humane perspective, *The Times* also writes about asylum seekers as a phenomenon that “has forced the European Commission to contemplate the formal suspension of free movement within the 26-nation Schengen zone”<sup>49</sup>. Asylum seekers are depicted in another editorial as migrants for whom the British can’t promise open doors, because, as things stand, the UK is already drawing such large numbers of migrants from within the EU<sup>50</sup>. The thought is crystallised in a remark in the editorial: “Compassion is the right response but unconditional welcome is the wrong way to express it.”<sup>51</sup>

47 TT, 20 January 2016, 1&8, *Apartheid on streets of Britain – It’s like Nazi Germany, says former MP*, Andrew Norfolk.

48 TT, 27 January 2016, 6, *Ministers ‘knew asylum seekers were put in houses with red doors’*, Andrew Norfolk.

49 TT, 27 January 2016, 27, *Schengen’s Slow Death*, the editorial.

50 TT, 21 January 2016, 27, *Reality Check*, the editorial.

51 Ibid.

## THE RED DOORS IN MIDDLESBOROUGH

- THE G4S SECURITY COMPANY WON THE BID FOR A GOVERNMENT CONTRACT ON HOUSING ASYLUM SEEKERS IN MIDDLESBOROUGH AND THE SECURITY COMPANY SUBCONTRACTED ANOTHER COMPANY CALLED JOMAST FOR THE PROJECT.<sup>1</sup>
- THE TIMES REPORTED ON 20 JANUARY 2016 THAT HUNDREDS OF ASYLUM SEEKERS WERE LIVING IN HOUSES THAT HAD THEIR DOORS PAINTED RED.<sup>2</sup>
- DUE TO THE DISTINCTIVE COLOUR OF THE DOORS, THE ASYLUM SEEKERS HAVE BECOME TARGETS OF SEVERAL RACIST ASSAULTS.<sup>3</sup>
- AFTER TWO ASYLUM SEEKERS ANNOUNCED THAT THEY HAD PAINTED THEIR DOORS WHITE, JOMAST EMPLOYEES CAME AND REPAINTED THE DOORS RED.<sup>4</sup>
- G4S DENIES THE ALLEGATIONS THAT THE COMPANY HAD DELIBERATELY PUT ASYLUM SEEKERS IN HOUSES WITH RED-PAINTED DOORS.<sup>5</sup>
- FOLLOWING PUBLIC OUTRAGE, THE COMPANY HAS ANNOUNCED THAT IT WILL REPAINT ALL THE DOORS A DIFFERENT COLOR.<sup>6</sup>

1 TT, 20 January 2016, 8-9, *Red mark of shame opens door to attacks on asylum seekers*, Andrew Norfolk, Chief Investigative Reporter

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 TT, 27 January 2016, 6, *Ministers ‘knew asylum seekers were put in houses with red doors’*, Andrew Norfolk.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

## 4. DATA ON THE BELGIAN NEWSPAPERS

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In Belgium the political and cultural field is divided along language barriers: there is a clear separation between the French-language and the Dutch-language media, both in terms of the covered themes and of the political framework in the two language areas<sup>1</sup>. One can thus say that in Belgium there are two different media landscapes<sup>2</sup>. The Belgian press strongly draws influences from international media, especially when it comes to its neighboring countries, e.g. France and Germany<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> European Commission, *Background information report. Media policies and regulatory practices in a selected set of European countries, the EU and the Council of Europe. The case of Belgium*, 2010, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Id. 17.

# Binnenlandse adoptie is weer mogelijk

Waaron dat gebeurt, is niet duidelijk, want wettelijk is nog steeds even lang

Adoptiestop van Asgini dit jaar opgeheven na Nieuwjaar



# M.foc

7 AANBEVELINGEN VOOR LEIEN BETTER LIVES

Want er bestaat nog geen pulcette voor de realiteit

WIM DELVOYE De man die tegen schuldloos vech

DE SLIMSTEMENS Tom Waes en zijn overwinning in 5 prebevoorden

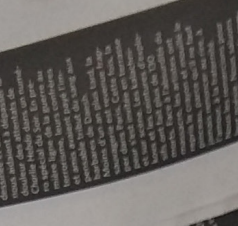
# bet spoor verzoenen

Leeg start kost Vlaanderen 5 miljoen

Leeg start kost Vlaanderen 5 miljoen

# LA CAMPAGNE ELECTORALE A LEEZ, DEJA COMMENCEE

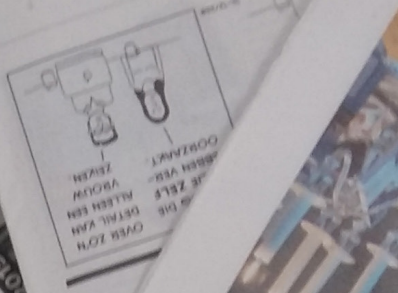
Le 10 janvier dans ce pays flamand, des élections municipales ont lieu. C'est le début d'une campagne électorale qui se prolongera jusqu'au 14 mai. Les candidats se présentent dans les bureaux de vote. Les électeurs vont voter pour élire leurs représentants locaux. C'est une étape importante de la vie démocratique. Les candidats sont encouragés à se présenter. Les électeurs sont encouragés à voter. C'est une obligation civique. Les candidats sont encouragés à se présenter. Les électeurs sont encouragés à voter. C'est une obligation civique.



# Eric de Beukelaer « Face à Hitler, il faut un Churchill qu'un Gandhi »



Eric de Beukelaer is a Belgian politician and journalist. He is known for his work in the media and his involvement in politics. He has been a member of the Flemish Parliament and has held various positions in the government. He is also a member of the European Parliament. He is known for his work in the media and his involvement in politics.



# ken FEST

ken FEST is a festival or event. It is held in a large hall or arena. The event features various performances, including music, dance, and theater. It is a popular event for people of all ages. The festival is held in a large hall or arena. The event features various performances, including music, dance, and theater. It is a popular event for people of all ages.

# MEDECIN

MEDECIN is a medical or healthcare-related article. It discusses various medical issues, treatments, and health tips. The article is written in a clear and concise style, making it easy to read and understand. It is a valuable resource for anyone interested in health and medicine.

## 4.1. LE SOIR

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Six French language newspapers are published in Belgium and *Le Soir* is the other one of the two quality newspapers<sup>1</sup>. *Le Soir*, founded in 1887, is regarded as a politically independent and traditionally liberal reporter of news. According to the newspaper, independence is one of its cornerstones and it supports social, political and economic development<sup>2</sup>. In its own words, *Le Soir* is progressive in its outlook and it wants to influence society through its values, which are “human rights, respect for integrity, freedom of speech and cultural diversity”<sup>3</sup>.

In 2015 the circulation of the print newspaper was 59 909. The combined circulation of the print version and the online version was 66 267.<sup>4</sup> The managing director of the newspaper and the editorial staff is Jean-Pierre Miranda and the editor-in-chief is Christophe Berti. Structurally the news content has been divided into the following sections: current affairs, domestic news, society, foreign affairs, economy, culture, and sports. The newspaper also often includes separate sections on current themes, such as e.g. the one titled “Charlie Hebdo: a year later”. Most of the texts on asylum seekers or refugees appeared in the foreign affairs section, the second most in the society section and the third most in the domestic news section. *Le Soir* does not come out on Sundays but, instead, the Saturday and Sunday news are published in one edition.

### THE MOST PREVALENT THEMES

84 texts dealing with asylum seekers and refugees appeared in *Le Soir* during the time period from 1 January to 31 January 2016. The most prevalent theme was the *impact of the situation with refugees and asylum seekers within the EU*<sup>5</sup>. Included in this category are texts that report on the impact of the growing number of refugees in the EU in, for example, the contexts of integration and economy. The texts in this category are concerned with the internal affairs of individual European states. Of the countries Germany – and the refugee policies implemented by the German Chancellor Angela Merkel – received the most coverage. The second most prevalent theme was

*sexual harassment*<sup>6</sup>. Most of the texts in this category deal with the incidents in Cologne on New Year’s Eve, and the rest are centered on the so-called swimming hall incident in the town of Coxyde (Koksijde in Dutch) or on separate cases of harassment. The third most prevalent theme is *the reception of asylum seekers*<sup>7</sup>. The texts deal with reception centres and the asylum seekers’ own experiences or are based, for example, on interviews with people who live in Coxyde<sup>8</sup>.

### TERMINOLOGY

The most frequently used term in *Le Soir*’s coverage on refugees and asylum seekers is *refugee (réfugié)*. The second most frequently used term is *migrant (migrant)*, which is also used in reference to other groups, including asylum seekers and refugees. The third most prevalent term is *asylum seeker (demandeur d’asile)*.

A terminological trajectory can be discerned in the coverage on asylum seekers and refugees in the context of the New Year events in Cologne, which proceeds from uncertain and more loosely definable terms towards more precise and restricted terms. For example, in the first news report on the events (6 January) quotation marks are used when the suspects are described as coming from ‘the Arabic world and North Africa’<sup>9</sup>. The second news story on Cologne (7 January) remarks that even though there is no confirmed information regarding the suspects, the right-wing populists have already uncovered the assailants’ identity: asylum seekers<sup>10</sup>. It is however pointed out that there is no evidence that the people in question are asylum seekers<sup>11</sup>.

One of the articles (8 January) features interviews with five different people concerning the events in Cologne. One of the interviewees, for example, is convinced that the “perpetrators were asylum seekers”<sup>12</sup>. A shorter story in the same edition mentions that asylum seekers are suspected in connection to the

1 European Commission, *Background information report. Media policies and regulatory practices in a selected set of European countries, the EU and the Council of Europe*, 2010, 17.

2 LS, <http://clients.whatdoweb.com/soir/campagnepub.php>, viewed 16 March 2016.

3 Ibid.

4 CiM, <http://www.cim.be/fr/presse/presse-authentication-reports>, viewed 20 April 2016.

5 See p. 36–37.

6 See p. 36–37.

7 See p. 36–37.

8 LS, 25 January 2016, 6, *Grande-Synthe*. « Une honte », dit Corbyn, Catherine Joie.

9 LS, 6 January 2016, 12, *Cologne. Une violence « de nouvelle dimension »*, Christophe Bourdoiseau, correspondent in Berlin.

10 LS, 7 January 2016, 12, *Agressions de Cologne : les réfugiés trinquant*, Christophe Bourdoiseau, correspondent in Berlin.

11 Ibid.

12 LS, 8 January 2016, 10, « Que les demandeurs d’asile s’en aillent », Frédéric Delepierre and Clément Grégoire, special correspondent in Cologne.



incidents<sup>13</sup>. *Le Soir* does not, in other words, use the term asylum seeker or refugee in its first reports on the incidents; not until it has been officially announced that the suspects in the sexual attacks in Cologne are asylum seekers. On the other hand, in the first news report on the swimming hall incident, *Le Soir* uses the word asylum seeker. Later, after the man has been declared innocent, the newspaper refers to him with the words ‘Iraqi’ and ‘young man’.

When referring to the group of people who want to come to Europe and seek protection from Europe *Le Soir* uses the word *crisis* (*crise*), consistent with the terminology rooted in western reporting. The words *flood* or *surge* (*flux*) also appear in reference to the numbers of asylum seekers. The word ‘crisis’ seems however to gain different connotations depending on the viewpoint applied. *Refugee crisis* (*crise des réfugiés*) and *migrant crisis* (*crise des migrants/crise migratoire*) are the most frequently used expressions. The expressions *Syrian crisis* (*crise syrienne*)<sup>14</sup> and *European refugee crisis* (*crise Européenne des réfugiés*)<sup>15</sup> also appear in the same context. Most of these expressions are used in texts relating to the effects of the situation with refugees and asylum seekers on the EU. The ‘crisis’ is predominantly covered from a Eurocentric perspective.

## WHOSE VOICES ARE HEARD?

Based on the data, *Le Soir*’s range of sources is diverse. The interviewees and writers vary from political experts to so-called ordinary citizens. The data do not include letters to the editor. The interviews in *Le Soir* include both political actors and experts on the question of asylum seekers. The choice of interviewees reflects the editorial line of *Le Soir*. *Le Soir* interviews, for example, the director of the European Bureau of UNHCR and the director of Fedasil, the Belgian Federal Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers. “There is no reception crisis in Belgium. Every person seeking asylum will find a place of reception”, the latter remarks<sup>16</sup>. *Le Soir* chooses as

interviewees people who directly interact with the asylum seekers and who are able to offer background information based on their own perspectives.

Even though refugees and asylum seekers are heard less frequently than political actors or experts on the subject of refugees and asylum seekers, they, too, are given the opportunity to be heard. Their commentaries are however more often than not part of a more extensive article or reportage, and not usually featured in actual hard news stories. For example, in a reportage published on 6 January an asylum seeker speaks about the intentions of the authorities to relocate the refugees in Calais to another camp. “That camp, it’s a prison. A subtle way of imprisoning us”, he remarks<sup>17</sup>. What is characteristic of these texts is that they are more descriptive by nature, including such details as, for example, that there are no showers or sanitary facilities in the Calais encampment, and there are no sewers in the vicinity<sup>18</sup>.

Immediately after the incidents in Cologne *Le Soir* sends two special correspondents to the city, where they interview people regarding the New Year events<sup>19</sup>. The reportage includes an interview with a salesperson who was on the scene and says that he is “certain that the perpetrators were asylum seekers”<sup>20</sup>. The opinions of the interviewees range from neutral to critical. Following the swimming hall incident in Coxyde, *Le Soir* also produces a reportage on the city and its residents<sup>21</sup>, inquiring into their opinions of asylum seekers and their role in everyday life in the city.

## TENOR

All in all *Le Soir* endeavours to report and cover news objectively, in a neutral tone. The newspaper uses quotation marks to soften certain expressions and to distinguish expressions used by persons other than the writer in the text. *Le Soir* manifests a positive attitude towards immigration through, for example, its choice of interviewees. One of the interviews (2-3

13 LS, 8 January 2016, 11, *Enquêtes multiples, Des demandeurs d’asile parmi les suspects*, Christophe Bourdoiseau, correspondent in Berlin.

14 LS, 2-3 January 2016, 24, Jean De Ruyt. « *L’Europe sortira plus intégrée de ces crises* », Jurek Kuczkiewicz.

15 LS, 16-17 January 2016, 1, *LE CORTÈGE EUROPÉEN QUI MARCHÉ VERS L’ÂBÎME*, Jurek Kuczkiewicz.

16 LS, 20 January 2016, 3, « *En matière d’intégration, la Flandre a pris de l’avance* », interview of Jean-Pierre Luxe, written by Catherine Joie. Original expression “Il n’y a pas de crise d’accueil en Belgique. Chaque demandeur d’asile a une place d’accueil.”

17 LS, 6 January 2016, 12, « *Je préfère la Jungle, je n’y suis pas enfermé* », Catherine Joie, special correspondent in Cologne. Original expression “Ce camp, c’est une prison. Une façon subtile de nous emprisonner.”

18 Ibid.

19 LS, 8 January 2016, 10, « *Que les demandeurs d’asile s’en aillent* ». Frédéric Delepierre ja Clément Grégoire, special correspondents in Cologne.

20 Ibid.

21 LS, 27 January 2016, 10, *Coxyde. Les 300 demandeurs d’asile restent invisibles dans les rues*. Frédéric Delepierre.

January 2016) contains a comment that the integration of Europe will strengthen through the crisis, and that the EU has gone through other crises, too, during the past 30 years, and managed to overcome them<sup>22</sup>. A news story published on the same day points out that the asylum seekers can have a positive impact on Europe's economy<sup>23</sup>.

In connection with the New Year events in Cologne, there is a text in *Le Soir* pointing out that Western culture is also patriarchal, and sexual harassment occurs within it, too, often committed inside a marriage or relationship<sup>24</sup>. This text argues that sexual harassment is not a phenomenon bound to a given culture or religion, it happens everywhere<sup>25</sup>. *Le Soir* also features commentaries that serve to close the gap between Europeans on the one hand and refugees and asylum seekers on the other. The director of the European Bureau of UNHCR remarks in an interview: "They are people who live just like us, they have bonds, same as us. They want to carry on with their lives."<sup>26</sup> He believes that asylum seekers want to reunite their families, like Europeans would, too, if they were in that situation: "People don't leave their families behind."<sup>27</sup>

On the other hand, refugees and asylum seekers are also featured in the coverage in the form of distanced numbers and statistics. A news story written by a *Le Soir* staff reporter remarks: "Budgeting expenses is not an easy thing to do. First the dishwasher breaks down, then the washing machine, and oops! The trip you've been saving up for months is put off to next year."<sup>28</sup> The analogy implies that refugees and asylum seekers have caused big and unexpected expenses, similarly to a broken home appliance, and Belgium hasn't been able to keep her budgetary promises to the EU<sup>29</sup>. The story clearly brings up the political aspect of the asylum seeker crisis.

22 LS, 2-3 January 2016, 24, *Jean De Ruyt*. « *L'Europe sortira plus intégrée de ces crises* ». Interview of Jean de Ruyt, written by Jurek Kuczkiewicz.

23 LS, 2-3 January 2016, 28, *Europe. L'activité économique pourrait progresser de 2%*, Frédéric Dineur.

24 LS, 8 January 2016, 10-11, *Analyse. L'égalité ? « Pas de leçons à donner »*, Elodie Blogie.

25 LS, 8 January 2016, 10-11, *Analyse. L'égalité ? « Pas de leçons à donner »*, Elodie Blogie.

26 LS, 2 & 3 January 2016, 25, Vincent Cochetel « *Le moment de vérité sera le début du printemps* », Catherine Joie. Original expression "Ce sont des personnes qui vivent comme nous, qui sont connectées comme nous. Elles ont une soif de poursuivre leur vie."

27 Ibid. Original expression "Les gens ne laissent pas leurs familles derrière eux...".

28 LS, 25 January 2016, 4, *Asile et sécurité : la Belgique demande à l'Europe de fermer les yeux*. Xavier Counasse. Original expression "Prévoir ses dépenses, ce n'est jamais simple. Le lave-vaisselle qui rend l'âme, puis la machine à lessiver, et hop! Le voyage budgété des mois est remporté à l'année suivante."

29 Ibid.

## CALAIS

- CALAIS IS A REFUGEE ENCAMPMENT ON THE NORTHERN COAST OF FRANCE WHERE THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES LIVE WHILE THEY ATTEMPT TO ENTER THE UK.
- THE ENCAMPMENT IS GENERALLY KNOWN AS 'THE JUNGLE' OR 'THE CALAIS JUNGLE'.<sup>1</sup>
- THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES DON'T USE THE TERM 'ASYLUM SEEKER', SINCE MOST OF THE DISPLACED PERSONS DON'T WANT TO SEEK ASYLUM IN FRANCE.<sup>2</sup>
- A GROWING NUMBER OF SIMILAR ENCAMPMENTS HAVE APPEARED ELSEWHERE IN FRANCE AND IN BELGIUM, AS THE FRENCH AND BELGIAN AUTHORITIES HAVE MADE PASSAGE THROUGH THE EURO-TUNNEL PRACTICALLY IMPOSSIBLE AND TRIED TO CUT DOWN THE SIZE OF THE CALAIS ENCAMPMENT.<sup>3</sup>
- THERE IS NO EXACT INFORMATION ON THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE STAYING IN THE CALAIS ENCAMPMENT. ACCORDING TO FRENCH AUTHORITIES, IT IS SOMEWHERE BETWEEN 3 800 AND 4 200, WHEREAS ACCORDING TO THE NGOS OPERATING IN THE AREA THERE ARE AS MANY AS 6000 PEOPLE STAYING IN THE ENCAMPMENT.<sup>4</sup>

1 LS 25 January 2016, 6, *Grande-Synthe. "Une honte", dit Corbyn*, Catherine Joie.

2 LS. 6 January 2016, 13, "Je préfère la Jungle, je n'y suis pas enfermé", Catherine Joie.

3 LS 25 January 2016, 6, *Grande-Synthe. "Une honte", dit Corbyn*, Catherine Joie.; LS. 27.1.2016, 10, Charles Michel craint que Calais déborde en Belgique, Catherine Joie.

4 LS 25 January 2016, 6, *Grande-Synthe. "Une honte", dit Corbyn*, Catherine Joie.

## 4.2. DE MORGEN

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The Dutch-language *De Morgen*, founded in 1978<sup>1</sup> is a politically independent Belgian newspaper known as a strongly plural and critical publication<sup>2</sup>. The newspaper actively follows up on EU policies and international news and current affairs within the EU. The headquarters are based in Brussels, Belgium. *De Morgen* is published both as a print and an online version. The circulation of both print and digital version of the newspaper was approximately 54 882 in 2015. The printed newspaper had 42 048 subscribers whereas the digital version had 14 182.<sup>3</sup> The editor-in-chiefs in January 2016 were Lisbeth Imbo and An Goovaerts.

Structurally *De Morgen* is divided into three regular, daily sections, which are DM Focus, mostly dealing with economic, domestic and foreign policies, the culture section, DM Cult, and the sports section, DM Sport. *De Morgen* stands out with its high number of commentaries and op-eds.

The first page of *De Morgen* regularly features a commentary section Standpunt, in which a *De Morgen* reporter, usually a staff writer from the foreign news desk, analyses current news topics, often in a strong tone. In addition, *De Morgen* gives 2-3 pages daily to commentaries by guest writers and its own staff journalists. The section is called Opinion, and it serves as a platform for changing writers to deal with societal issues from a critical point of view. The section also gives space for humour and irony. The question of asylum seekers is frequently addressed in a biting tone in, for example, the cartoons published in the section<sup>4</sup>.

In addition to the regular elements, *De Morgen* also highlights different acute issues through separate subheads for content amounting to the size of a spread, on the average. As a response to the rapid increase in the number of refugees and asylum seekers, *De Morgen* featured two temporary, recurrent subheads during the period under study. "Terrorism" and "Refugees", where the themes were examined broadly, mainly in the category of news. Altogether 129 texts dealing with these themes were published in *De Morgen* during the period under study.

1 NUY Libraries, <http://guides.nyu.edu/c.php?g=276707&p=1848124>, viewed 20 April 2016.

2 De Persgroep, <http://www.persgroep.be/nl/onze-media/demorgen>, viewed 20 April 2016.

3 CIM, <http://www.cim.be/nl/pers/echtverklaring-resultaten>, viewed 20 April 2016.

4 DM, 29 January 2016, 2, ZAK.

## THE MOST PREVALENT THEMES

During January 2016 *De Morgen* published a large amount of content directly or indirectly connected with refugees and asylum seekers. Coverage dealing with *sexual harassment*<sup>5</sup> was given the most space. *De Morgen* reported especially visibly on two cases of harassment where the suspects were asylum seekers or immigrants who had already gained refugee status. One was the Cologne case and the other was an incident of sexual harassment that occurred in the town of Koksijde (Coxsyde in French) in Belgium, where an Iraqi man, an asylum seeker, was suspected of molesting a young girl in a swimming pool<sup>6</sup>.

The second most prevalent theme is *impact of the situation with refugees and asylum seekers within the EU*<sup>7</sup>. In texts on this theme emphasis is placed on questions of what kind of concrete actions and measures need to be taken to cope with the challenge presented by the arrival of asylum seekers. Among the proposed solutions are, for example, closed refugee centres<sup>8</sup>, tighter border controls<sup>9</sup> and new laws which enable a more efficient punishment for criminals<sup>10</sup>.

The third most prevalent theme is *The Schengen agreement and border control*<sup>11</sup>. The basic message in discussion on the theme is that most European nations want to restrict the free movement of people in Europe<sup>12</sup>. The reporting in *De Morgen* does not centre as much on the specific case of Belgium as on actions and stances taken in Europe at large. Attention is especially paid to Greece and other southern European countries as a gateway to Europe<sup>13</sup>, and to the liberal and pro-asylum seeker policies advocated by the German Chancellor Angela Merkel<sup>14</sup>.

5 See p. 36–37.

6 DM, 6 January 2016, 1, *Duitsland in shock door 'massa-anraadning'*, Sterre Lindhout.

7 See p. 36–37.

8 DM, 16 January 2016, 6, *Drijvend dorp is beruchte "bajesboot"*, Sara Vanderekerckhove.

9 DM, 25 January 2016, 8, *EU praat over invoering grenscontroles*, Koen Vidal.

10 DM, 25 January 2016, 8, *N-VA wil snelrecht voor criminele azelzoekers. Kritische CD&V-minister Koen Geerts waarschuwt voor discriminatie*, (DDW/IVDE).

11 See p. 36–37.

12 DM, 21 January 2016, 2, *Als Duitsland begeeft*, Bart Eeckhout.

13 DM, 25 January 2016, 8, *EU praat over invoering grenscontroles*, Koen Vidal.

14 DM, 2.1.2016, 5, *Merkel valt vluchtelingen niet af in toespraak*

## TERMINOLOGY

*De Morgen* uses in its coverage mostly the exact terms *refugee* (*vluchteling*) and *asylum seeker* (*asielzoeker*), but at times also the looser definition *migrant* (*migrant*). The most frequently used term is *refugee*. The most frequently referred to nationality is *Syrian* (*Syriër*), followed by *Iraqi* (*Irakees*), *North African* (*Noord-Afrikanen*), *Afghan* (*Afghaan*) and *Turkish* (*Turk*). In coverage on the events in Cologne, the appearance and nationality of the suspects are repeatedly referred to, based on statements made by the police and eyewitness reports, as ‘persons of Arabic or North African origin’<sup>15</sup>.

The arrival of refugees and asylum seekers to Europe is referred to as *a refugee problem, a crisis, tide and flood surging over Europe*<sup>16</sup>. *De Morgen* describes the ‘crisis’ from multiple perspectives, including those of Europe, the refugees and asylum seekers, politicians and experts. In general, the way in which *De Morgen* depicts the phenomenon as a ‘crisis’ is consistent with international media practice.

*De Morgen* is aware of the definitional and value-based nature of the choice of terminology and wording. This is especially apparent in an article where the writer has compiled different expressions publicly used by prominent people, European politicians for

15 DM, 6 January 2016, 8, “*Ongehooflijk en niet te tolereren*”, Peter De Graaf.

16 DM, 30 January 2016, 8-9, *Dumpen, die woorden!*, Joël De Ceulaer.

### SWIMMING HALL INCIDENT

- ON 23 JANUARY 2016 IN THE TOWN OF COXYDE/KOKSIJDE IN BELGIUM A 22-YEAR-OLD IRAQI MAN TOOK A DISABLED 10-YEAR-OLD GIRL INTO HIS ARMS IN A MUNICIPAL SWIMMING POOL.<sup>1</sup>
- BASED ON EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS, THE INCIDENT WAS REPORTED TO THE POLICE. THE POLICE DETAINED THE IRAQI MAN, WHO WAS STAYING IN THE TOWN’S RECEPTION CENTRE.<sup>2</sup>
- EVEN THOUGH THE DISTRICT COURT FOUND THE MAN NOT GUILTY, BY THE DECISION OF BELGIAN SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ASYLUM AND MIGRATION THEO FRANCKEN, THE MAN WAS PLACED IN A CLOSED RECEPTION CENTRE.<sup>3</sup>

1 LS, 25 January 2016, 6, *Coxyde veut serrer la vis aux migrants*, Catherine Joie.

2 Ibid.

3 LS, 26 January 2016, 13, *Selon le parquet, le jeune Irakien n’est pas coupable d’agression*, Catherine Joie.

the most part, in reference to refugees and asylum seekers. They include, for example, *asylum seeker molester* (*Asielaanrander*, Theo Francken), *penalty payment Afghan* (*Dwangsom-Afghan*, Theo Francken), *seagulls* (*Meeuwen*, Louis Tobback), *testosterone bombs* (*Testosteronbommen*, Geert Wilders), *trash* (*Tuig*, Nicolas Sarkozy), *flock* (*Zwerm*, David Cameron), and  *fucking Moroccan* (*Kut-marokkaan*, Rob Oudkerk). The article is headlined: *Ditch those words!*<sup>17</sup>

## WHOSE VOICES ARE HEARD?

In generalisation, in the reporting of *De Morgen* the largest group to comment and express their views on the theme of refugees and asylum seekers are politicians from different EU states. *De Morgen* presents the stances of the different political parties in Belgium on the issue diversely. Special attention is given to the conservative N-VA (Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie), represented by Theo Francken, the Belgian Secretary of State for Asylum and Migration. One example is the coverage on the Koksijde swimming pool incident, to which the Secretary of State responds fiercely: “If the prosecuting authorities aren’t willing to arrest these asylum seeker molesters I will do it myself.”<sup>18</sup> *De Morgen* also gives space to counterarguments, such as the one headlined: *N-VA wants to try criminal asylum seekers in a kangaroo court. Critically minded Minister of Justice Koen Geens of CD&V warns against discrimination.*<sup>19</sup>

The question of refugees and asylum seekers is frequently addressed in the Opinion section, where the commentators include various expert guest writers, as well as journalists on the *De Morgen* staff. Moreover, *De Morgen* also provides its readers with statistical data, background analyses and interviews on the theme. The themes relating to the situation with refugees and asylum seekers are broad and multifaceted. For example, the question of the integration on immigrants comes to the fore when it turns out that most of the suspects in the Cologne case were people who had been living for a long time in Germany, and only a very small number of them were recently arrived asylum seekers. *De Morgen* offers background to the phenomenon by interviewing Hamadi Redissi, a Tunisian political scientist who has studied the

17 Ibid. Original expression “*Dumpen, die woorden!*”.

18 DM, 26 January 2016, 3, *De aanranding die er geen was*, Jeroen van Horenbeek & Roel Wauters. Original expression “*Asielaanrander moest justice vasthouden zo niet doe ik het.*”

19 DM, 25 January 2016, 8, *N-VA wil snelrecht voor criminele azelzoekers. Kritische CD&V-minister Koen Geens waarschuwt voor discriminatie*, (DDW/IVDE). Original expression “*N-VA wil snelrecht voor criminele azelzoekers. Kritische CD&V-minister Koen Geens waarschuwt voor discriminatie.*”

radicalisation of young Islamic people as part of the question of European integration. In an interview Redissi analyzes the relationship of Islam to the western world and criticises Europe's integration policies.<sup>20</sup> The refugees and asylum seekers themselves are heard in the coverage less frequently than politicians and experts, but during the sampling period of this analysis, a few articles appear in the research data that approach the issue from their perspective, in, for example, the context of the journey to refuge from their homelands. One of them is an interview with the father of 3-year-old Aylan Kurdi, who drowned in September 2015, headlined: "I want to do something big to help all the children."<sup>21</sup> The views of refugees and asylum seekers are however seldom heard on such issues as, for example, the conditions in the refugee camps or integration problems.

## TENOR

The editorial line and overall tenor of *De Morgen* in texts that deal with refugees and asylum seekers is rather neutral and aims at objectivity. The journalistic approach to the subject is pluralistic and the liberal editorial line is especially apparent in the Opinions section where space is given to expert commentaries and analytical discussion by *De Morgen* foreign affairs reporters. These commentaries almost unequivocally represent a positive stance towards immigration.

In the commentaries in the Standpunt section the moral viewpoint plays a key role. One of the foreign affairs reporters tackles the subject of the refugee bill in Denmark for allowing authorities to seize assets from asylum seekers. The writer draws a comparison to the persecution of Jews and argues that "This is a repulsive proposal that inevitably brings into mind associations with the persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany."<sup>22</sup>

On the same spread, the subject is also addressed by another foreign affairs reporter on the editorial staff, under the heading "Commentator". He brings in the counter-argument presented by Prime Minister of Denmark Lars Løkke Rasmussen: the Conservative prime minister underscores that he treats asylum seekers in exactly the same way as unemployed Dan-

ish people. "They aren't entitled to apply for social benefits either until they have sold their valuables. The proceeds are used to pay for the costs of accommodation, health care and education."<sup>23</sup> Even though *De Morgen* gives a considerable amount of space to analyses, commentaries and opinions, it doesn't have a section for letters to the editor.

*De Morgen's* tone of news coverage on the theme of asylum seekers and refugees may appear to be largely negative, but this impression is born from the comments made by the interviewed sources, such as, for example, politicians. To differentiate this content from the newspaper's own neutral editorial line, which can even be interpreted as positive towards immigration, the expressions used by commentators other than *De Morgen* staff journalists are distinguished with quotation marks. Occasionally the editorial views of *De Morgen* become apparent also in actual hard news stories. When the person accused of sexual harassment in the Koksijde swimming hall case is found not guilty, *De Morgen* reports on the theme in strong words in the editorial: "Painful misunderstanding in Koksijde swimming hall. Was the asylum seeker trying to help the girl?"<sup>24</sup> Therefore, the newspaper's own editorial choices balance out the tenor of the news.

20 DM, 20 January 2016, 8-9, *De staat moet de islam organiseren*, Koen Vidal.

21 DM, 2 January 2016, 12-13, "Ik wil iets groots voor alle kinderen", Noël van Bommel. Original expression "Ik wil iets groots doen voor alle kinderen."

22 DM, 14 January 2016, 2, *Oprotheleid*, Bart Eeckhout. Original expression "Dit is een weezinwekkend voorstel, dat vanzelfsprekende associaties oproept met de jodenwevolging in nazi-Duitsland."

23 DM, 14 January 2016, 3, *Stevige deuk voor imago van progressief gidsland*, Koen Vidal. Original expression "De conservatieve premier benadrukt dat hij asielzoekers op exact dezelfde wijze behandelt als werklode Denen. Ook die kunnen pas een beroep doen op staatssteun als ze hun waardevolle bezittingen verkopen. De opgrensten worden gebruikt om huisvesting, gezondheidszorg en onderwijs te betalen."

24 DM, 26 January 2016, 3, *De aanraanding die er geen was*, Jeroen van Horenbeek & Roel Wauters. Original expression "Pijnlijk misverstand in zwembad Koksijde: probeerde asielzoeker meisje in nood te helpen?"

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

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### 5.1. THE MOST PREVALENT THEMES IN JANUARY 2016 BY COUNTRY

The political, economic, cultural and societal frame of reference of each of the studied countries is clearly reflected in the selection of themes by the press. The same observation was made in the UNHCR press coverage report, which offered a content analysis of reporting in five European states<sup>1</sup>.

During the period under study there is a significant amount of coverage on the theme of refugees and asylum seekers in all the selected newspapers. Of the newspapers the Finnish national newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat*, was the most active to report on the subject. The Finnish regional newspaper, *Aamulehti*, ranked second and the British national newspaper, *The Guardian*, ranked third. *Le Soir* covered the subject the least, there is only approximately half the amount of coverage compared to the contents of *Helsingin Sanomat*.

The data show many similarities, but there are also differences between the countries as for the covered themes. One theme, *sexual harassment*, stands out in the newspapers as one of the three most dominant themes. The second most attention is given to *the impact of the situation with refugees and asylum seekers on the EU and Europe*. The impact is mainly seen as a 'threat' and a 'crisis'. According to the UNHCR press coverage report published in December 2015, the press tend to expect of the EU, instead of individual European states, to find a solution to the 'crisis', while, on the other hand, the EU's efforts to deal with the situation with refugees and asylum seekers are heavily criticised<sup>2</sup>. This observation is consistent with the data analysed in this report, especially as regards the newspapers in Belgium, the homeland of EU institutions.

What is distinctive of Finnish press is a Finland-centred viewpoint in coverage on the subject of refugees and asylum seekers. Both *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Aamulehti* contain a lot of coverage on *the eastern border* between Finland and Russia, which is seen as a gateway through which immigrants are entering Finland. Among the three most dominant themes in the regional *Aamulehti* newspaper, based in the city of Tampere, there is another phenomenon with local/regional context, *street patrolling*, and the

security issues linked to it in Finland. The arrival of refugees and asylum seekers in its current scale is a rather new phenomenon in Finland compared to the other studied countries, which may for its own part explain the prevalence of locally focused content alongside and instead of international discussion.

In the British sample the coverage on refugees and asylum seekers is more pluralistic compared to the other newspapers selected for analysis. This is apparent in the large amount of coverage where the views of the refugees and asylum seekers themselves are heard. In the data in the analysis for this report, the British press stands out as an exception by featuring *the journey to seek asylum* among the three most frequently reported themes. The British press also reports on the issue in a more dramatic tenor and uses stronger expressions compared to the other newspapers. *The Times*, for example, contains detailed and unembellished descriptions of the terrors experienced by the refugees and asylum seekers on their journey to seek asylum<sup>3</sup>, but, on the other hand, violent crimes with refugees and asylum seekers as suspects are also depicted in detail<sup>4</sup>.

According to the UNHCR report, general coverage on the subject of refugees and asylum seekers is strongly polarised in British media. This is largely due to the openly hostile way in which the issue is covered in British right-wing press.<sup>5</sup> The polarisation is not however reflected in the findings of this report, because the British newspapers selected for analysis, *The Times* and the *The Guardian*, represent in the British media landscape a neutral or even positive journalistic attitude towards refugees and asylum seekers. The dominant themes in Belgian media are issues concerning border control as well as the Schengen agreement and the southern European countries as a gateway to Europe, The French-language *Le Soir* follows up closely on French policies and security decisions, while the Dutch-language *De Morgen* is dominantly interested in policy and security developments in the Netherlands. Moreover, both newspapers actively report on the refugee and asylum policies advocated by German Chancellor Angela Merkel. In bilingual Belgium the same news themes feature high in

1 UNHCR, *Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries*, 12, 2015, <http://www.unhcr.org/56bb369c9.html>, viewed 12 April 2016.

2 Id. 11.

3 TT, 23 January 2016, 39, *Afghan face of Nato seeking asylum in Germany*, Tom Coghlan.

4 TT, 6 January 2016, 29, *Fury as migrant mob blamed for scores of new year sex assaults*, Allan Hall.

5 UNHCR, *Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries*, 2015, 10, <http://www.unhcr.org/56bb369c9.html>, viewed 12 April 2016.

the sample data, despite the language division. There is much coverage on the swimming pool incident that occurred in Coxyde/Koksijde in Belgium, apart from reporting on the sexual harassment incidents that occurred in Cologne on the night of New Year's Eve. During the period under study, the adoption of new laws in Denmark concerning the seizure of assets from asylum seekers also gain a lot of attention.

## 5.2. COMPARATIVE SUMMARY OF TERMINOLOGY, TENOR AND SOURCES

As regards terminology, the definitions *asylum seeker* and *refugee* are the two most frequently used words to describe the group in question. In Finnish media, the terms *immigrant* and *foreigner* are also common. The inexact term *migrant* is also used frequently in Belgium and the UK, it is in fact the most dominant term used in *The Times*. *The Guardian* stands out as an exception by featuring the word *people* among the three most commonly appearing terms. The sample contains hardly any politically unclear or labelling expressions, such as *illegal immigrant* or *economic refugee*. Instead, the data reveal that the newspapers at times use the terms *asylum seeker*, *refugee*, *migrant* and *immigrant* intermittingly in a same text in a manner that leaves the political and legal differences of significance unclear.

All the newspapers report on the subject of refugees and asylum seekers in a neutral and objective tenor. The negative connotations to the subject arise through statements made by politicians and authorities. In most of the newspapers the editorial choices concerning, for example, expert interviews and commentaries by staff journalists, shift the balance of the tenor in a more positive direction. Despite the neutral or even positive tone in regard of immigration in all the studied newspapers, the approach is Eurocentric. The situation is mostly addressed from the perspective of the impacts of asylum seekers and refugees on European security, EU legislation and European culture and economy.

The newspapers comment on the subject also from the perspective of the refugees and asylum seekers, but much less frequently. This finding is in line with the UNHCR press coverage report, according to which the economic and cultural additional value brought by refugees and asylum seekers is discussed in the sample material only very rarely (3,1 % of all the stories), and even then mostly in the context of isolated success

stories<sup>6</sup>. An explanation may be found in journalistic source criticism, as the truthfulness of all the comments or stories is hard to prove.

## 5.3. IN SUM

In sum, all the newspapers analysed in this report aim for a neutral and objective approach in coverage dealing with the subject of refugees and asylum seekers. The most commonly used sources are persons of political influence and experts in different fields. Viewpoints that represent a negative attitude towards immigration are also included, but they are counter-balanced with the writer's own comments and commentaries by guest writers. The voices of the refugees and asylum seekers are heard less often than that those of authorities, politicians and experts. All the newspapers reported in January 2016 on the following same themes: sexual harassment, border issues and the pressure created by 'the refugee and asylum seeker crisis' within the EU and in different European states. The British newspapers were the most prone to report on the experiences of the refugees and asylum seekers, especially in the context of their journey to Europe.

<sup>6</sup> UNHCR, *Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries*, 2015, 12, <http://www.unhcr.org/56bb369c9.html>, viewed 12.4.2016.

## 6. TABLES AND FIGURES

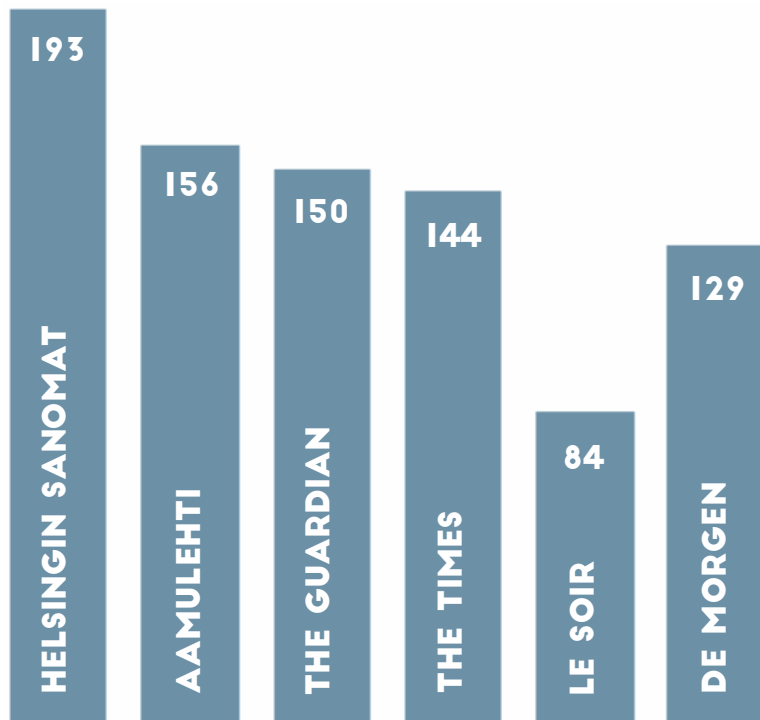


Table: Number of articles in 1.-31 January 2016

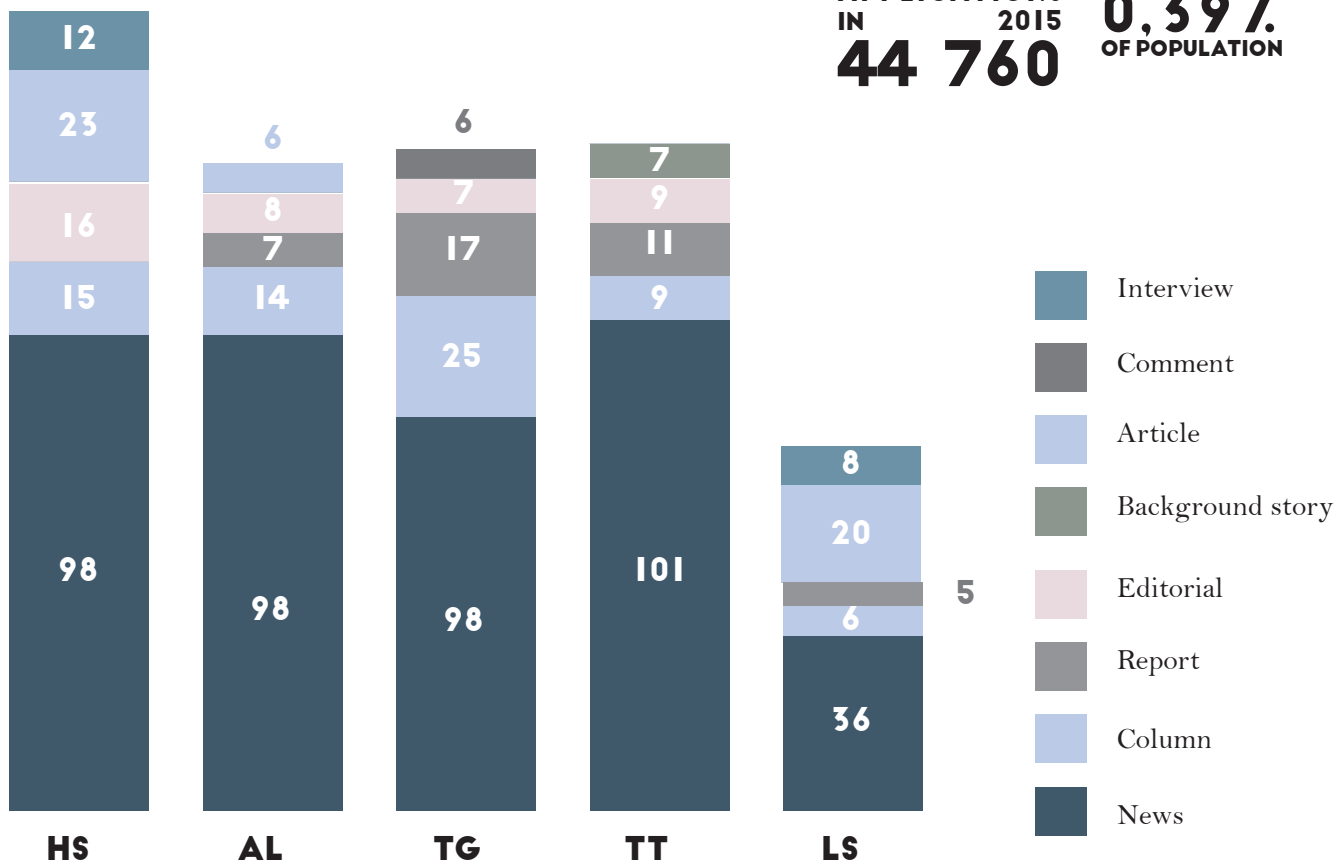
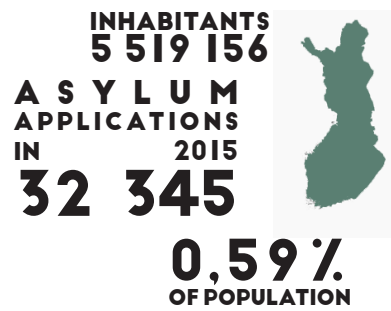
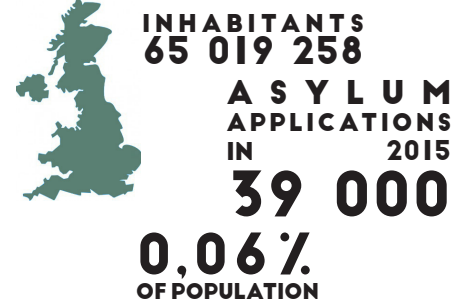


Table: Most frequent text type

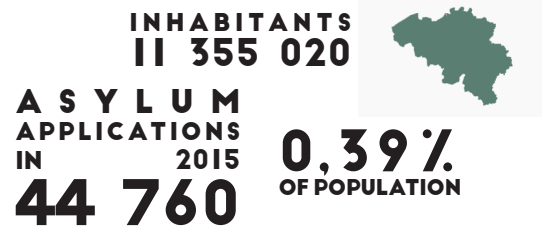
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### GREAT BRITAIN



### BELGIUM





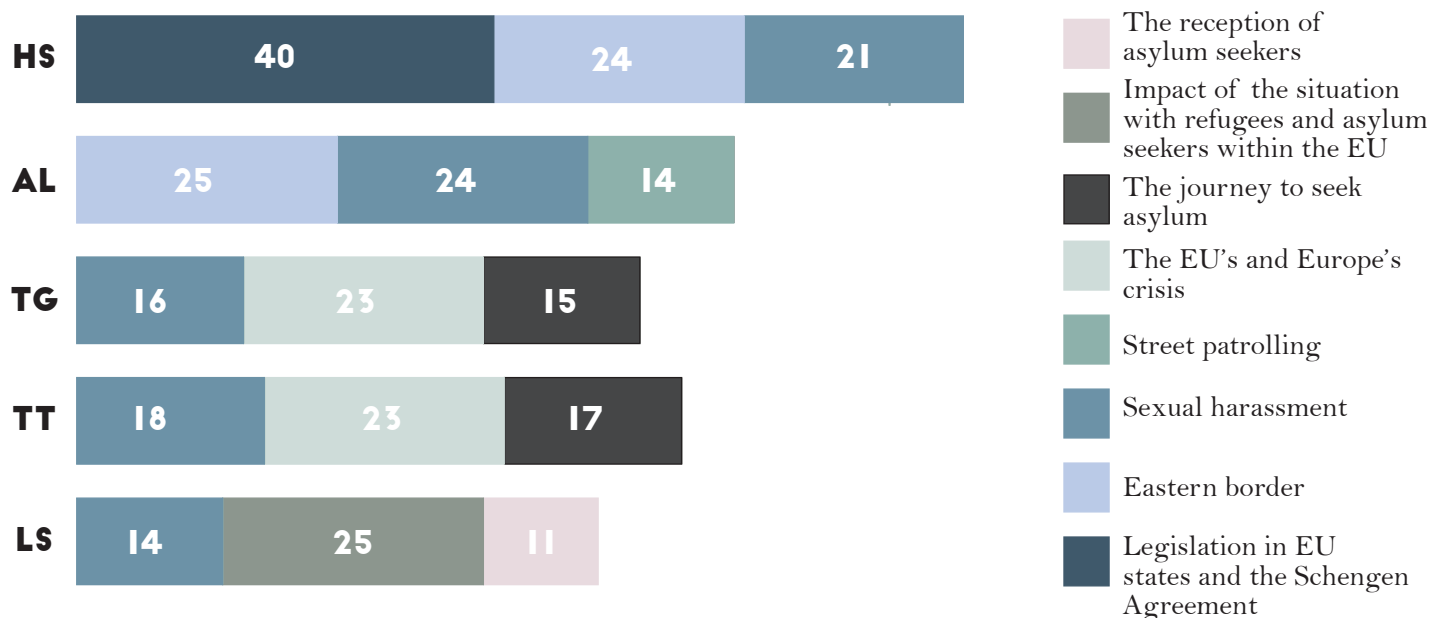


Table: The most prevalent themes

NEWSPAPER	TERMS	NATIONALITY OR DESCRIPTION
HELSINGIN SANOMAT	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. ASYLUM SEEKER (TURVAPAIKANHAKIJA)</li> <li>2. REFUGEE (PAKOLAINEN)</li> <li>3. IMMIGRANT (MAAHANMUUTTAJA)</li> <li>4. PERSON (IHMINEN)</li> <li>5. FOREIGNER (ULKOMAALAINEN)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. IRAQI (IRAKILAINEN)</li> <li>2. SYRIAN (SYRIALAINEN)</li> <li>3. AFGHAN (AFGANISTANILAINEN)</li> <li>4. SOMALI (SOMALIALAINEN)</li> <li>5. AFRICAN (AFRIKKALAINEN)</li> </ol>
AAMULEHTI	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. ASYLUM SEEKER (TURVAPAIKANHAKIJA)</li> <li>2. REFUGEE (PAKOLAINEN)</li> <li>3. FOREIGNER (ULKOMAALAINEN)</li> <li>4. PERSON (IHMINEN)</li> <li>5. ARRIVAL (TULIJA)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. SYRIAN (SYRIALAINEN)</li> <li>2. IRAQI (IRAKILAINEN)</li> <li>3. AFGHAN (AFGANISTANILAINEN)</li> <li>4. IRANIAN (IRANILAINEN)</li> <li>5. NORTH AFRICAN (POHJOIS-AFRIKKALAINEN)</li> </ol>
THE GUARDIAN	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. REFUGEE</li> <li>2. ASYLUM SEEKER</li> <li>3. PEOPLE</li> <li>4. CHILDREN</li> <li>5. MIGRANT</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. SYRIAN</li> <li>2. AFGHAN</li> <li>3. IRAQI</li> <li>4. NORTH AFRICAN</li> <li>5. ARAB</li> </ol>
THE TIMES	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. MIGRANT</li> <li>2. REFUGEE</li> <li>3. ASYLUM SEEKER</li> <li>4. PEOPLE</li> <li>5. CHILDREN</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. SYRIAN</li> <li>2. AFGHAN</li> <li>3. NORTH AFRICAN</li> <li>4. IRAQI</li> <li>5. ARAB</li> </ol>
LE SOIR	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. REFUGEE (RÉFUGIÉ)</li> <li>2. MIGRANT (MIGRANT)</li> <li>3. ASYLUM SEEKER (DEMANDEUR D'ASILE)</li> <li>4. ARAB/NORTH AFRICAN (ARABE / NORD AFRICAÏN)</li> <li>5. FOREIGNER (ÉTRANGER)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. SYRIAN (SYRIEN)</li> <li>2. IRAQI (IRAKIEN)</li> <li>3. IRANIAN (IRANIEN)</li> <li>4. ALGERIAN (ALGÉRIEN)</li> <li>5. AFGHAN (AFGHAN)</li> </ol>
DE MORGEN	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. REFUGEE (VLUCHTELING)</li> <li>2. ASYLUM SEEKER (ASIELZOEKER)</li> <li>3. MIGRANT (MIGRANT)</li> <li>4. SUSPECT (VERDACHTE)</li> <li>5. RADICALIZED YOUTH (RADICALISEREND JONGERE)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. SYRIAN (SYRIËR)</li> <li>2. IRAQI (IRAKEES)</li> <li>3. NORTH AFRICAN (NOORD-AFRIKANEN)</li> <li>4. AFGHAN (AFGHAAN)</li> <li>5. TURKISH (TURK)</li> </ol>

Table: Most frequent terms as well as nationalities and descriptions

