# Media and migration: Comparative analysis of print and online media reporting on migrants and migration in selected origin and destination countries

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people our business

This paper is one of a series of occasional papers produced as part of the Department of Immigration and Border Protection's Irregular Migration Research Programme (Research Programme).

The Research Programme is intended to strengthen the evidence base on irregular migration, and is built on research framed in an open, inquiring manner that is objective and non-partisan. More information about the Research Programme can be found at:
http://www.immi.gov.au/pub-res/Pages/research/irregular-migration-research.aspx

The Occasional Paper Series aims to provide information on, and analysis of, specific irregular migration issues of relevance to Australia, within a broader migration and/or global context.

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. This occasional paper is the result of a research partnership between the department and Cubit Media Research based on work commissioned under the Irregular Migration Research Programme.

2. The purpose of the research was to compare media discourses on migrants and migration in selected countries by examining thematic content, contextual framing and the extent of polarisation of messages communicated via print and online media over a six-month period. Broadcast and social media were outside the project scope.

3. The research was intended to inform policymakers and migration practitioners in particular. Comparative analysis of media discourses on migration in both destination and origin countries can help inform more effective information campaigns targeting potential migrants in origin countries. It is also able to clearly demonstrate that there is room for a more balanced and considered approach to information on migration in destination and origin countries.

4. The research has helped fill several gaps. It is comparative analysis relying on large-scale quantitative modelling that employed multi-lingual data analysts. The research covers both destination countries and origin countries, the latter having been under-researched significantly in this area.

5. The study found that each country had its own particular set of migration issues being discussed in print and online media during the six-month study period. Notwithstanding the differences, the key themes in destination countries differed substantially to those in origin countries. There was a higher degree of consistency and uniformity of migration themes in destination countries compared with those in origin countries.

6. There was a significant diversity of coverage by theme as well as tone and context across the five origin countries, which appeared to reflect the diversity of their migration circumstances and issues. Perhaps the common practice of characterising these countries as 'origin' countries is simplistic given the array of issues many of them face as so-called origin, transit, host and destination countries.

7. In relation to the tone of the migration discussions in print and online media across the entire study group of countries, and despite their very different circumstances and issues, reporting was largely assessed as being neutral. However, where it was not neutral, reporting was more likely to be unfavourable than favourable. As migration policymakers and practitioners are aware there is a strong case in favour of migration. These research findings show that, despite this, most non-neutral coverage of migration themes was unfavourable rather than favourable. There appears to be a pressing need to provide accurate and useful information on the full range of the benefits of migration in its various forms.

8. Some themes were more likely to be reported unfavourably (e.g. 'irregular migration' in origin countries and 'immigration and immigrants' in destination countries).

9. In most of the countries studied the print and online media discourse on migration was predominantly framed in a 'humanitarian' context, although this framing was less pronounced in destination countries compared with origin countries.

10. Media reporting tended to be framed in a border/national security context where it related to irregular migration or people smuggling and trafficking.

11. Pakistan—above all other countries—experienced a complicated, multi-faceted migration discourse covering a multitude of issues including refugees and irregular migrants in or entering Pakistan, the treatment of Pakistani asylum seekers and irregular migrants, opportunities and exploitation of Pakistani labour migrants, and the reliance on remittances.

12. The evidence provided by this research contributes to filling a research gap on migration and the media. A longer-term benefit will be realised through trend analysis stemming from future research phases of this project. Discerning changes over time, both in destination and origin countries, has the potential to highlight trends and insights that are likely to have implications for policy makers and migration practitioners internationally. With this in mind, a second phase of the research is expected to be completed in mid-2015.

## 1. BACKGROUND

In August 2012 the Australian Department of Immigration and Border Protection (the department) established an Irregular Migration Research Programme (Research Programme) to identify and address the knowledge gaps in irregular migration research, with a particular focus on placing Australia's experience in a broader global and migration context. An underlying principle of the Research Programme is that the research is framed in an open, inquiring manner that is objective and non-partisan.

The multi-layered and integrated Research Programme includes in-house research and analysis, commissioned research, a small grants programme, a multi-year research partnership arrangement with the Australian National University, and a series of occasional papers.

The first occasional paper, *Establishing an Evidence-Base for Future Policy Development on Irregular Migration to Australia* (Koser & McAuliffe, 2013), identified specific research gaps in the Australian context and recommended how to fill these gaps, drawing on international experience. In this first occasional paper, the authors noted the existing research on migrant decision making and the importance of information on migration and migration policies. The authors highlighted that research indicates migrants often have only general information on their intended destination country—such as it being democratic and fair—but little information about destination countries' positions on migration, let alone specific policy settings.

To supplement research undertaken as part of the Research Programme on actual and potential migrant decision making (Jayasuriya, 2014; McAuliffe, 2013), research and analysis of media coverage in both destination and origin countries was undertaken. The aim was to better understand what and how media coverage of migration and migrants differs between selected origin and destination countries, including the media contexts in which potential migrants are assessing and re-assessing their migration options.

This occasional paper is a result of collaborative research partnership between the department and private sector firm Cubit Media Research based on work commissioned directly under the Research Programme. The research project used Cubit's extensive media research capability developed over more than 20 years of researching media-related issues for organisations in both the public and private sectors.

This paper has been drafted with policymakers and migration practitioners in mind—it is applied research, although it may be of some interest to the academic community. The research project and this subsequent paper have drawn on the existing academic literature on this topic, which provided a useful base for designing the scope and methodology. Importantly, the research provides a unique and innovative approach to examining the issue, including by comparing the portrayal of migration issues in different countries. It is important to note that this paper is based on the first phase of the research project. A second phase is expected to be finalised in mid-2015.

## 2. INTRODUCTION

It is widely accepted that the nature of the messages communicated by the media in all its forms can have a discernible impact on overall societal attitudes, which in turn can have a bearing on behaviour. This is particularly relevant to the public discussion of migration, aspects of which have become increasingly contentious in national, regional and global arenas (Papademetriou & Heuser, 2009; Koser, 2014; Suro, 2009; Khory, 2012).

The purpose of this research was to compare media discourses on migrants and migration in selected countries by examining thematic content, contextual framing and the extent of polarisation of messages communicated via print and online media over a six-month period. Broadcast and social media were generally outside the project scope.

It is hoped that the development of a clearer picture of how migration discussions are presented in specific segments of the media will assist in better contextualising the attitudinal and behavioural trends as they unfold with increasing international migration. This topic is particularly salient in what Castles, Miller and De Haas (2014) have described as the 'age of migration', involving an ever-increasing number of people moving internationally for a range of reasons including for work, protection, family reunion and so on. The United Nations estimates there were around 234 million international migrants in 2013, up from the estimated 77 million in 1960 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2013).

With the increasing rate of international people movement, there are clear implications for policymakers stemming from how migration is portrayed in the media. First, representations of migration in the media have been viewed as having a significant influence on public perceptions of migration (Hugo, Aghazarm & Appave, 2011). Second, it is likely that the media agenda influences policymaking in destination countries, particularly due to a sense of 'crisis' linked to immigration. For example, Threadgold (2009: 1) described the symbiotic relationship between media and migration policy in the United Kingdom as follows:

> Politicians, media and academics provide the language for talking about immigration and thus set the agenda and frame the stories. A certain policy focus is transmitted from government to media. The stories that the media then produce feed back into policy discourse. In addition to driving policy, 'media panics' also influence academic research on media coverage of migration…This in turn gives rise to further policy changes, thus feeding a cycle.

By better measuring and understanding the nature of the migration discussions and debates in both destination and origin countries, as well as the implications of differences in that coverage, research such as this can clearly demonstrate that that there is room for a more balanced and considered approach to information on migration. It was also designed to help inform more effective information campaigns targeting potential migrants in origin countries.

This project involved large-scale quantitative research that relied on a combination of multilingual human analyses and a human cognitive modelling software system. This developed a unique evidence base, albeit covering a finite period and with certain limitations. The research has highlighted, with a reasonable level of confidence, the nature of the migration discussions occurring within the media in the selected countries as well as the relative 'space' devoted to different migration topics. The findings have identified key areas of interest for further research.

Overall, the evidence this research provides adds to the existing body of work on migration and the media, however, it could be argued that a more pressing longer-term benefit will only be realised through analyses of trends stemming from future research phases. Discerning changes over time,

both in destination and origin countries, has the potential to highlight trends and insights that are likely to have implications for policy makers and migration practitioners internationally. At the time of writing, a second phase of the research had commenced, which is expected to be completed in mid-2015.

## 3. CURRENT KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE PORTRAYAL OF MIGRATION IN THE MEDIA

There is a significant body of literature on representations of migration in the media, and the impact of such representations on the decision making process of migrants and the public perception of migration, as well as the potential impacts on integration and social cohesion.  It is apparent from the research that the media discourse has some impact on various aspects of how migration is managed by a range of actors in at least three ways. Firstly, it can have an impact on potential migrants' decision making processes (Farré & Fasani, 2011; Mai, 2005; Dekker & Engbersen, 2012; Matei, 2011). Secondly, media messaging within a broader public discourse can influence the perceived level of public support of migration and specific migration policies. Thirdly, it can have an impact on governments of both origin and destination countries by feeding into policy deliberations and the ways in which migration policies are communicated.

Much of the literature to date has focussed on the role of the media and its representations of migration in destination countries in influencing integration and policy making on migration. A more limited area of enquiry has focused on the portrayal of migrants and migration in origin countries, including its impact on potential migrants' decision making (Thorbjornsrud et al, 2012).  Previous studies have tended to focus on specific migration topics rather than the broader migration discussion including emigration, immigration, remittances and information about journeys and/or experiences overseas. Case studies looking at representations of migration in destination countries, for example, are often limited to themes of integration and how the public discourse on particular forms of migration (such as labour migration from Latin America to the United States) can have a bearing on the acceptance of such migrants in society (Bauder and Gilbert, 2009; Kim et al, 2011).

Much of the research on the portrayal of migration in the media has been undertaken using case studies or on a small sample basis. This would appear to be related mainly to the enormous volume of media items produced on the topic, particularly in destination countries, making both collection and analysis daunting and, for the most part, not feasible. While case studies and sample analysis provide useful insights, there are some limitations with such approaches. The narrow focus of the findings may miss important elements or aspects that would otherwise be included in large-scale mixed methods research.

There also appears to be less of an interest in understanding the media discourse on migration in origin countries compared with destination countries. While this is understandable in many respects, it is also unfortunate and needs to be a research priority for a number of reasons.  Firstly, understanding local media discourses in origin countries would enable better evaluation of the environment in which potential migrants are assessing their migration options, and to discern any changes or trends over time in how migration and migrants are discussed.

Secondly, it would contribute to a better understanding of changing migration patterns as well as migration policy dynamics. This is relevant given that the most dominant voices in the media discourses on migration tend to be political leaders, making changes in policy approaches discernible in media coverage. In addition, recent history has shown clearly that origin countries may evolve into transit, host and/or destination countries (and vice versa), and that some countries do not necessarily fit neatly within one 'type'. Sri Lanka, for example, has traditionally been an origin country, however, the substantial increase in asylum applications in 2013, along with claims of migrant workers moving

irregularly to Sri Lanka, may signal the beginning of a change in migration dynamics in that country. Finally, it may assist in discerning the extent of information available to potential migrants on the risks and opportunities of different forms of migration, thereby assisting in providing material to better assist, support and inform migrants and their families.

Unfortunately, in the past, understanding media discourses on migration in origin countries has been hindered by inadequate access to origin country media for large-scale analytical purposes. The difficulty in being able to draw on multilingual, native-speaking researchers able to analyse media items from a range of countries is likely to have placed constraints on analysis of this type, particularly comparative analysis involving multiple origin countries.

There has been limited international comparative analysis of media coverage on migration issues. Much of the literature relates to country-specific analysis, which is extremely important in understanding the complexity and depth of issues covered in a particular context. However, comparative analysis employing a consistent methodology for a specific study period would enable a useful comparison of media coverage in broadly similar destination countries. It would also provide a useful illustration of the marked diversity of coverage in origin countries, notwithstanding some common thematic coverage.

This large-scale quantitative research project represents a first step in narrowing some of the existing gaps in research on the portrayal of migration in the media. To place the findings of this research in a broader context, relevant aspects of the existing literature are summarised below.

## 3.1 The role of the media in migration

It is widely accepted that the media intervenes in processes of individual and institutional communication to provide frameworks for the production and consumption of representations of issues such as migration (Georgiou, 2011). Or in other words, that the media's representations of issues such as migration can have a profound influence on how they are perceived.

Hericourt and Spielvogel (2012: 10), when referring to the substantial research conducted on the influence of the media on public opinion in destination countries, reflect that the literature as a whole 'recognizes the unifying impact of the mass media on public opinion and the consequent falling away of ethnic, geographic, and socio-economic differences'. Hericourt and Spielvogel conducted a study based on data from five waves of the European Social Survey, that looked at the impact of exposure to types of media on individuals' beliefs (about the economic impact of immigration) and policy preferences (about immigration). A key finding from this study was that the level and type of media exposure influences individual beliefs about the impact of migration, which in turn influences policy preferences (Hericourt & Spielvogel, 2012).

The role of the media in relation to migration has been argued to: influence the reception within communities of new migrants in a destination country; provide a source of information for potential migrants (including both the promotion and discouragement of migration); and strengthen the bond between a migrant community in a destination country and its country of origin (King & Wood 2001).

Seeing that the media can affect the public's perception of migrants and migrants' decision making, both government and non-government actors have developed media strategies to use the media as an engagement tool, and codes of conduct have been developed for media actors in order to regularise the media (Crawley, 2009; European Integration Forum, 2010; Niessen & Schibel, 2009; Finney, 2003). The study of the representation of migration in the media, therefore, has relevance to migration studies, particularly against the contemporary situation of massive migration flows and

concomitant technological advances in media and communications contributing to globalisation (Hopkins, 2009).

## 3.2 Framing of migration in the media

The way in which issues are framed in the media has been shown to influence the way the public thinks about and evaluates the issues (Branton & Dunaway, 2008).

As previously noted, some researchers, including Hericourt and Spielvogel (2012), found that the media may have an influence on individual beliefs and policy preferences regarding migration. However, some researchers such as Facchini et al (2009) suggest that while the media may only have a nominal influence on an individual's opinion, it can influence its audience through agenda setting (i.e. telling people what to think *about* rather than what to *think*) according to the amount of coverage it allocates to a particular topic. Further, the media can emphasise certain attributes of an issue to give it more salience (Facchini et al, 2009).

Researchers have noted that references to migration in the media in key destination countries, particularly in Europe, the United States and Australia, are characterised by language such as 'illegal immigrants' and associated with topics of criminality, security or border protection (Threadgold, 2009; Kim et al, 2011; Pickering, 2001). There are several explanations for this language, including being a result of the increasing commercialisation of media services and related to attempts by the media operators to increase their audience/profits by seizing upon perceived migration crises and public attitudes (Akdenizli et al, 2008; Branton & Dunaway, 2008). Other explanations present the shift as an attempt by actors to frame the policy issues negatively and in doing so, to influence policymaking and political opinions (Kahn & Kenney, 2002).

Particularly in the United States, themes of law enforcement, security/terrorism, and the burden of illegal immigrants on social services, were found to have been widely used in order to negatively frame immigration and immigrants (Hayes, 2008). Positive framing can also be applied by drawing on themes of economic contributions by migrants and focusing on the behaviour and motivations of migrants.

In a large-scale content analysis of news reports on immigration during a period of congressional debate in the United States (May 2005 – June 2007), Hayes found official government sources were the largest source of restrictive frames. This was in comparison to sources of positive framing, with immigrants themselves representing the largest source of 'welcoming frames', followed by activists (Hayes, 2008: 16).

Branton and Dunaway (2009) analysed a dataset of 1,227 news stories on the topic of immigration, published in California during a 12-month period. The analysis identified the rate of positive, neutral and negative coverage. They found that media ownership and geographical proximity (in this United States example, proximity to the Mexico border) had a distinct bearing on how coverage of immigration policy was reported. In particular, newspapers located close to the border were more likely to print negative news coverage of immigration and negative opinion pieces about immigration than newspapers further away from the border. Branton and Dunaway further reflected on a common finding of research on media behaviour: that economic concerns (i.e. the need to attract and retain audiences to ensure profit) prompt media outlets, such as newspapers and television, to focus on sensational topics such as violence and crime (Hamilton, 1998, 2004).

In their research into the media coverage of refugees and asylum seekers in the United Kingdom, Buchanan et al (2003) monitored print and broadcast coverage of the asylum debate (308 news

reports, articles, opinion pieces, editorials and images over a three-month period). The results indicated that the media used provocative language and images, as well as inflation or misreporting of asylum statistics, to portray asylum seekers and refugees in an overwhelmingly negative light during the period of reporting.

## 4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND SCOPE

The global news media currently publishes millions of stories per day in online sites alone (Moreover Technologies, 2014). Advances in technology have seen significant developments in volume, format and potential reach of media messages. Human movement and migration are critical issues for governments and societies, and coverage of migration in the media is likely to reflect the more high profile migration issues at any one time, including exploitation of overseas workers, the movement of refugees and asylum seekers, and the importance of remittances to economies and livelihoods amongst others. These more high profile issues may relate to broader political discourses as well as perhaps substantive policy issues affecting societies.

The objective of this research project was to create a baseline analysis of 10 selected countries on:

- the thematic content of print and online media messages for the study period
- the extent to which that coverage was favourable, unfavourable or neutral
- the high level contextual framing in which migration themes were reported.

Ideally, any study that seeks to explore the nature of media messaging on a particular topic or issue needs to be based initially on a very large dataset to adequately account for these components of the media environment. It is a particular challenge to collect a potentially vast volume and, within that, still focus on topic-specific material.

With this in mind, this project analysed media messaging within a set of print and online media comprising more than 500 million pieces that contained all the available relevant content for the 10 nominated countries during a six-month period (1 October 2013 to 31 March 2014). Five of the countries studied are essentially migration origin countries: Afghanistan; Bangladesh; Pakistan; Sri Lanka; and Vietnam. The other five are mainly migration destination countries: Canada; the Netherlands; Norway; Switzerland; and the United Kingdom. Given the significant research gap in examination of origin media coverage it was considered important to include this, while also including destination country coverage allowed for a comparison between the two. Within these two types, a mix of countries was included, both from a geographic perspective and from a migration perspective (e.g. regular/irregular migration, asylum-refugee/labour/student/ migration).

Content from both print and online sources was obtained from commercial media content suppliers or the publishers' archives. Broadcast media content was generally outside the scope of the project, partly because of the prohibitive cost involved in sourcing such material retrospectively. The exclusion of broadcast material necessarily poses limitations on the analysis. This limitation is potentially more of an issue for origin country analysis, given literacy and access issues within those countries. Radio broadcasting, for example, is a particularly important form of media in Afghanistan with its patchy literacy, poor infrastructure and low incomes levels. Advances in journalism and digital media, however, have led to the converging of news organisations where news is more commonly published across a multitude of media platforms (Quandt et al, 2009; Edral, 2009). Research has also indicated that there are no significant differences in news coverage across the different platforms; only significant differences between the types of news organisations and the emotive language used (Semetko & Valenburg, 2000; Keith et al, 2010).

Social media was also generally outside the scope of this project, primarily due to feasibility. Including broadcast and social media messages would have enabled a more complete comparative analysis. However, while broadcast media is a widely accepted form of mass media in destination and origin countries, and could theoretically have been included (if feasible cost-wise), including social media would arguably have posed methodological concerns. The extent of social media coverage remains highly variable (Andrew et al, 2012; International Telecommunication Union, 2013), with substantial differences between destination and origin countries. This is less so for print and online media coverage. As a result, comparative analysis of messaging in print and online media was considered the most reasonable approach. Further research on broadcast media would likely shed new light on aspects of the portrayal of migration in the media, but the initial findings from this study of online and print media are still relevant for both destination and origin countries.

It is important to note the very different contexts in which media reporting and messaging operates, including in relation to economic, political, social and security-related regulatory environments. These potential differences can include linguistic/socio-cultural tendencies towards expression, such that the same story is likely to be expressed using more emotive language in Italy than in Germany for example. In addition, the results are likely to reflect differences in the proportion of opinion-based coverage versus traditional fact-based journalism. For example, the United Kingdom media continues to publish higher proportions of pieces containing opinion compared to many other countries.

Of particular relevance to this project was the extent to which the media is free to report news and current affairs. In contrast to the selected origin countries, the destination countries studied enjoy far less constrained media environments, characterised by significantly less government control over what is published and broadcast. Reporters Without Borders (Reporters Sans Frontiéres or RSF) publishes an annual World Press Freedom Index that measures the level of freedom of information in 180 countries and ranks them accordingly. Final scores for each country range from 0 to 180 (with 0 representing the greatest degree of press freedom of the countries evaluated and 180 representing the lowest) and are based on measurements of:

- plurality
- media independence
- environment and self-censorship
- legislative framework
- transparency
- infrastructure
- the level of violence against reporters during the study period.

Table 1 shows the 2014 ranking for each country in scope as well as their corresponding ranking by RSF as either 'good situation', 'satisfactory situation', 'noticeable problems', 'difficult situation' or 'very serious situation'.

Table 1: World Press Freedom Index ratings and rankings (2014)

| Country | Ranking (of 180 countries) | Rating |
|---|---|---|
| Netherlands | 2 | Good situation |
| Norway | 3 | Good situation |
| Switzerland | 15 | Good situation |
| Canada | 18 | Good situation |
| United Kingdom | 33 | Satisfactory situation |
| Afghanistan | 128 | Difficult situation |
| Bangladesh | 146 | Difficult situation |
| Pakistan | 158 | Difficult situation |
| Sri Lanka | 165 | Very serious situation |
| Vietnam | 174 | Very serious situation |

Source: *World Press Freedom Index 2014*, Reporters Without Borders (2014). Accessed at: http://rsf.org/index2014/en-index2014.php.

Along with issues associated with press freedom, the results of the research need to viewed within a range of other contexts, including economic, political, security and social—all of which are intrinsically linked to human displacement and migration. These different contexts feed into migration-related articles in the media. Despite enjoying higher Gross Domestic Product and Gross National Income per capita than origin countries, for example, there are evident concerns within the destination countries about economic growth, unemployment, housing supply and the cost of living. Findings on media messaging around migration need to be considered in terms of this background of continuing economic uncertainly. The selected destination countries are considered to be in the recovery phase from the global financial crisis and facing more recent financial challenges.[1]

## 5. RESEARCH METHOD

The methodology for this project relied on a combination of qualitative content analysis of media articles in representative country-specific sample sets and quantitative modelling. The content analysis was undertaken by multilingual analysts working in both the original (published) language and English. The quantitative component involved the application of a sophisticated human cognitive modelling method able to deal with very large volumes of media articles.

It was important to begin with the most complete media dataset possible—within the cost, time and feasibility limitations—so that a reasonably precise, sizeable and representative sample of topic-specific media articles for each country could be developed. Refining the country samples involved a 'top-down' analytical approach based on iteratively designing, testing and fine-tuning search strings based on human analysis. The first stage involved multilingual analysts examining media material in its published language—English, Bengali, Dutch, Farsi, French, German, Norwegian, Urdu, Vietnamese, Sinhalese or Tamil—before being interpreted and stored in English for further analysis.

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[1] United Nations World Ecoomic Situation and Prospects 2013.

The methodology also relied on substantial quality assurance and data verification processes throughout the data collection, sorting and analysis phases. A detailed discussion of the methodology is contained in Appendix A.

No allowance was made for significant in-country events, such as general, local or regional elections, and this approach necessarily affected analysis. The main reason for this approach was the significant methodological complication required to account for a multitude of in-country events that may affect results, such as elections, economic/financial shocks, natural disasters or terrorist events. In addition, it was decided that to create a time series dataset, the research would be best served by maintaining a consistent approach for future phases, including as more countries are added to the scope.

A series of country-specific datasets capturing migration-specific themes published in the media during the six-month research period was produced at the end of the multi-staged process outlined in Appendix A. The development of a baseline covering the six-month study period provides for future phases and the development of time series analysis. The country datasets used for in-depth analysis are summarised in Table 2.

Table 2: Summary of country-specific in-depth analysis sets following data sorting

|  | Search term incidence of 1 | Search term incidence of 4 | Focal pieces dataset | In-depth analysis dataset |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Canada | 58,000 | 16,200 | 3,000 | 600 |
| Netherlands | 28,100 | 6,100 | 2,600 | 600 |
| Norway | 14,000 | 1,500 | 575 | 400 |
| Switzerland | 34,800 | 7,400 | 3,100 | 650 |
| United Kingdom | >250,000 | 50,000 | 2,586 | 600 |
| Afghanistan | 1,375 | - | 275 | 275 |
| Bangladesh | 3,000 | - | 250 | 250 |
| Pakistan | 17,600 | - | 500 | 500 |
| Sri Lanka | 8,000 | - | 500 | 500 |
| Vietnam | 13,600 | - | 350 | 350 |

Notes*:* As a result of the smaller volumes of articles typically associated with the origin countries studied, and difficulties experienced with indexing text in script languages such as Sinhala, all relevant articles were included in the focal pieces dataset regardless of the number of incidences.

In relation to destination country sets, search term incidence tests were run for 1, 2, 3 and 4 instances and empirical tests were carried out to determine the optimum incidence level, which was 4.

Key findings in section 6 are reported by variables including country, theme, 'favourability', and contextual framing. This can sometimes result in small sub-samples being analysed. To ensure the veracity of the research, findings based on sub-samples of less than 50 messages (destination countries) and 30 messages (origin countries) are not reported. It is also important to note that quantitative analysis is based on messages rather than articles.

## 5.1 Analytical framework

The country-specific in-depth analysis sets were analysed to determine thematic content, the tone of the media messaging (favourable-unfavourable-neutral), and how messages were contextually framed (humanitarian, socio-cultural, economic and security). These three aspects are discussed below.

### 5.1.1 Thematic content

The high level migration themes that emerged from the iterative, multi-staged data sorting and analytical processes were (in alphabetical order):

- asylum seekers and refugees
- emigration and emigrants
- immigration and immigrants
- irregular migration
- migrant accommodation (including detention)
- overseas students
- overseas workers
- people smuggling and trafficking.

The number of themes was kept to a minimum to enable high level comparative analyses, which were conducted on the five destination countries, the five origin countries and also between origin and destination countries. Maintaining high level themes aided the comparative analysis, including by providing a consistent framework that could be applied to all country datasets.

Some of the themes were highly applicable to specific origin and destination countries (asylum seekers and refugees; irregular migration; people smuggling and trafficking), some predominantly to destination countries (immigration and immigrants) and some to predominantly origin countries (emigration and emigrants; overseas workers; overseas students). Appendix B provides a glossary of the themes.

A single media article often contains more than one individual statement (or message) on migration and may relate to more than one theme. One media article on irregular migrants being rescued off the coast of Greece, for example, may also refer to people smuggling, asylum seekers and/or migrant accommodation. Every message in every country dataset was tagged against the themes above.

### 5.1.2 Message tone

In addition to analysing the media content by theme, all messages were analysed in terms of the tone of the message (favourable/unfavourable/neutral).

Factual messages conveying information without opinion were considered neutral. This made up the bulk of the migration media messaging. Where media messages contained opinions (of institutions or individuals) or referred to positions or stances (also of institutions or individuals),.this type of message tone was analysed as favourable or unfavourable. See the text box below for an example of how messages were analysed.

This approach made it possible to determine the extent to which Canadian or Norwegian media, for example, reported messages on 'asylum seekers and refugees' versus other thematic areas, and the extent to which the tone of the coverage was favourable, unfavourable or neutral regarding that theme.

Defining and applying the concept of favourability/unfavourability is acknowledged as difficult. Branton and Dunaway (2009) applied a positive/negative model in their research of media reporting of migration in the United States. A positive/negative distinction implies a definitive construct, whereas the media messaging can often be more nuanced. Assessing a message as unfavourable, for

example, does not necessarily mean the message is negative but that it conveyed a lack of support for a particular issue, topic or assertion (which need not be communicated in a negative manner). The distinction may be subtle, nevertheless it is considered important and required due care.

Several non-neutral messages in the form of opinions and/or references to positions can often be reported within a single article, and so the need to assess individual messages is important (see the text box below). Rather than assessing an article as a whole, the tone of discrete messages was assessed and tagged.

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*How was a message determined to be favourable, unfavourable or neutral?*

*The assessment of whether a message was favourable, unfavourable or neutral involved a systematic and comprehensive method of qualitative analysis undertaken by multilingual analysts and rigorous data checking by senior analysts.*

*An article on the net increase in migration in the United Kingdom, for example, may have contained factual messages on the number and demographic characteristics of migrants and historical/trend data on the increase. These factual messages would be assessed as 'neutral'.*

*In the same article, there may have been statements by politicians on the 'failure' of the government to meet its policy commitment to maintain migration at specific levels. This would have been assessed as 'unfavourable'.*

*The article may also have contained quotes from migrant support groups on the economic and social benefits stemming from net increased migration. This would have been assessed as 'favourable'.*

*By analysing individual messages rather than articles as a whole, a more sophisticated analysis was possible. Findings are all based on quantitative analysis of messages contained within articles.*

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### 5.1.3 Framing of the media discourse

As well as grouping messages into thematic sets to facilitate the quantitative assessment of media across the countries in this study, media content was also analysed according to a contextual-associative typology. This enabled the research to critically examine and report on the overall context in which various propositions and/or themes were couched. For example, was the theme of 'Asylum seekers and refugees' predominantly discussed in terms of the human costs, or did the debate more often refer to economic or social impacts on the country? How did the framing of the migration discussions in the media differ between countries?

Through this associative analysis, four broad contexts were identified, within which all migration media messages fell: socio-cultural, economic, humanitarian and security. An explanation of these four contexts follows.

### Socio-cultural

Messages delivered in a social context discussed the primary theme of migration in terms of its potential impact on integration or social cohesion. For example, the coverage may express concerns for social harmony or question how easy it might be for migrants to integrate in the society, adopt the language, and adapt to local beliefs and practices.

### Economic

Messages in the context of economic impact linked themes, such as immigration or irregular migration, to both up-side and down-side economic potential. Common contextual links involved migration having the capacity to variously: boost an economy; pose a threat to local citizens' jobs; put pressure on the supply of housing; and/or place an additional burden on medical and social benefits.

### Humanitarian

Messages delivered in the humanitarian context discussed the human impact of displacement and migration. Messages related to human suffering and assistance, the plight of migrants and their wellbeing, and the human costs to non-migrants (e.g. staff that provide support services, people that rescue migrants at sea).

### Security

Messages in this context related to the perception of security threats. People smuggling, human trafficking and irregular migration often appeared in the context of national and/or border security. While this context was the least prevalent, it was significant, including in relation to underlying issues of State control and sovereignty.

## 6. KEY FINDINGS

The key findings of the research presented in this paper focus primarily on comparative analysis. The findings clearly indicate how variable the discourse on migration in print and online media can be in different countries. By applying a consistent and systematic methodology across all of the countries in scope for the 6-month study period, it has been possible to highlight a number of key issues:

- Each country had its own particular set of migration issues being discussed in print and online media during the six-month study period, and while not within the scope of this project it is likely that these migration issues were linked to a range of broader discussions including those associated with factors such as political cycles and processes, economic policy, social change and foreign policy.

- Notwithstanding the differences, the **key themes in destination countries differed substantially to those in origin countries. There was** a higher degree of consistency and uniformity of migration themes in destination countries compared with those in origin countries.

- There was a **significant diversity of coverage by theme as well as tone and context across the five origin countries**, which appeared to reflect the diversity of their migration circumstances and issues. Perhaps the common practice of **characterising these countries as 'origin' countries is simplistic given the array of issues many of them face as so-called origin, transit, host and destination countries**.

- In relation to the tone of the migration discussions in print and online media across the entire study group of countries, and despite their very different circumstances and issues, reporting was largely assessed as being neutral. However, **where it was not neutral, reporting was more likely to be unfavourable than favourable**.

- Some themes were more likely to be reported unfavourably (e.g. 'irregular migration' in origin countries and 'immigration and immigrants' in destination countries).

- In most of the countries studied **the print and online media discourse on migration was predominantly framed in a 'humanitarian' context**,[2] although this framing was less pronounced in destination countries compared with origin countries.

- Media **reporting tended to be framed in a border/national security context where it related to irregular migration or people smuggling and trafficking**.

- Pakistan—above all other countries—experienced a complicated, multi-faceted migration discourse covering a multitude of issues including refugees and irregular migrants in or entering Pakistan, the treatment of Pakistani asylum seekers and irregular migrants, opportunities and exploitation of Pakistani labour migrants, and the reliance on remittances.

### 6.1 Key findings and differences between destination countries

The key findings from the analysis of the destination country datasets highlight a range of similarities and some differences across the selected group:

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[2] The exceptions were the United Kingdom and Switzerland, where the economic context was the most significant.

- There is a reasonable level of coherence found in destination countries of media coverage on migration that does not exist to the same extent for the origin countries studied. This possibly reflects the degree of convergence in terms of their migration circumstances and issues.

- Overall, coverage of migration in print and online media tended to be more polarised than in origin countries, with less neutral reporting and more unfavourable reporting.

- The limited extent of favourable messaging on migration across all selected destination countries is one of the more stark findings. In all destination countries, unfavourable coverage significantly outweighed favourable messages.

- Most media reporting on migration was framed in the humanitarian and economic contexts, far outstripping socio-cultural and security contexts.

- Reporting in a security context was evident mainly in relation to irregular migration and people smuggling and trafficking.

### 6.1.1   Thematic content in print and online media in destination countries

All media messages from the country-specific datasets were analysed against a number of themes (Appendix B contains a glossary of themes). A single print or online article may contain more than one message, and each message may relate to more than one theme. Analysing the datasets in this way allows for all messages to be described in thematic terms.

As illustrated in Figure 1 below, there was considerable variation in the thematic content between the countries. Switzerland and the Netherlands appeared to have more thematic diversity in print and online media coverage, with Canada and the United Kingdom appearing to have a more generalised media discussion largely focused on the broad theme of 'immigration and immigrants'. Norway's media coverage on the other hand was dominated by the 'asylum seekers and refugees' theme.

Figure 1: Thematic coverage of migration in print and online media in selected destination countries—key migration themes: October 2013 to March 2014
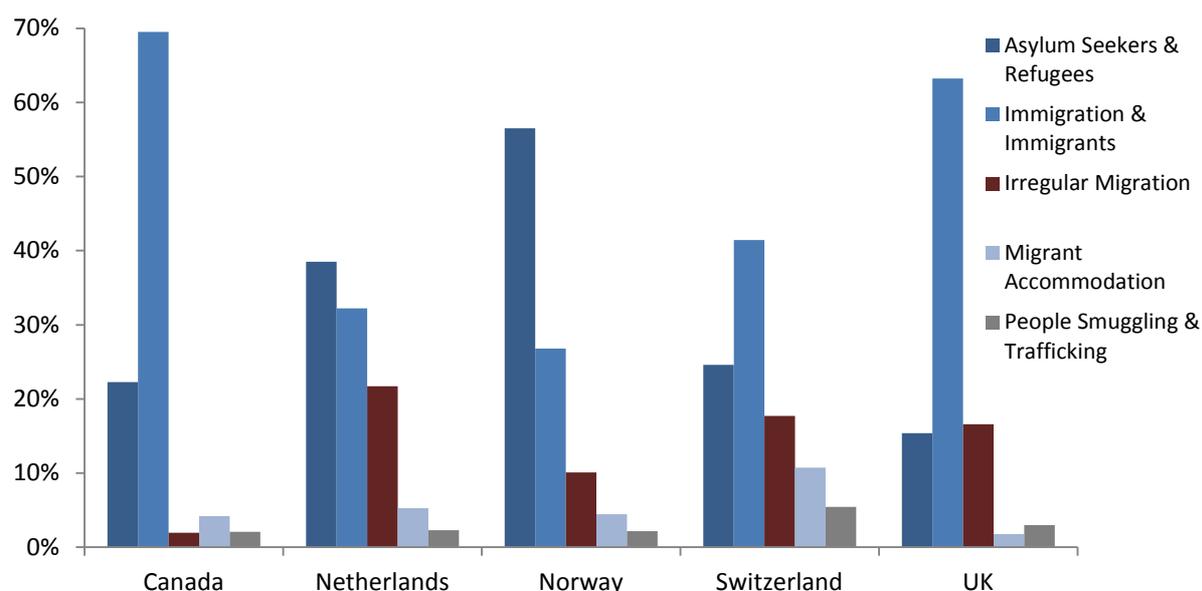


Messages: Canada (n=3,345), Netherlands (n=3,175), Norway (n=1,486), Switzerland (n=3,890), United Kingdom (n=7,045).
Articles: Canada (n=1,580), Netherlands (n=1,753), Norway (n=652), Switzerland (n=1,900), United Kingdom (n=3265).

The differences are likely to reflect the size and structure (and possibly complexity) of their emigrant streams.  According to the OECD's *International Migration Outlook 2014*, 9.6 percent of immigrants to Norway were humanitarian whereas for the UK it was 4 percent and for Switzerland 3.4. The theme 'immigration and immigrants' was prevalent in the UK, where the share of immigration for work is 38.8 percent while it is 6.8 percent for Norway and 1.7 percent for Switzerland. Coverage may also reflect various national debates that were dominant in each country during the study period. In the United Kingdom, for example, much of the migration discussion and debate was on the more general topic of 'immigration and immigrants', which took place in the lead-up to the local elections of May 2014. The dominance of politicians' voices in the media during this period (as outlined in the United Kingdom country report at Appendix C) may have had an impact on the nature of the discussion, including perhaps in relation to the level of sophistication of the discussion (or lack thereof).

> *In the United Kingdom…*
>
> *'Immigration and immigrants' was the dominant theme for the study period, accounting for more than half of all focal stories. Commentary was driven mostly by a political discussion on the higher than expected rates of migration to the United Kingdom.*
>
> *The impact of European immigration on the local job market also came under scrutiny in the lead-up to the lifting of entry restrictions on Romanian and Bulgarian citizens on 1 January 2014. Coverage peaked in the final week of November when both the* Daily Mail *and the* Sunday Times *published polls showing strong support for maintaining the restrictions.*

### 6.1.2   Extent of polarisation of print and online media content in destination countries

Much has been written about the polarisation, and the perceived increasing polarisation, of the public discourse on migration in destination countries (Koser, 2014; Koser, 2012; IOM, 2011). The discourse has variously been described as 'toxic', 'unbalanced' and 'extreme' (Koser, 2012; IOM, 2011).

To a significant extent, this research supports those views and findings. However, importantly, this research has found there is considerable variation in the extent of polarisation, when examined by specific themes. In addition, there is also some variability between countries. Figure 2 shows that for the study period, the United Kingdom had the highest proportion of unfavourable messaging of migration issues (46%), which may be related to the lead-up to the local elections in which migration was a contested political issue.

> *In Canada…*
>
> *'Immigration and immigrants' was the most prominent theme with almost 70% of all messages tracked during the study period related to issues, policies and debate surrounding how Canada deals with, or ought to deal with, migrants.*
>
> *Canada's strict visa requirements for Mexicans received frequent coverage. The restrictions, which were imposed in 2009 to reduce sham asylum claims, were criticised repeatedly by Mexican government spokespeople. During a February visit to Mexico, Prime Minister Stephen Harper highlighted the need for cooperation between the two countries but did not change the restrictions.*

Figure 2: Favourable/unfavourable/neutral coverage of migration in print and online media in selected destination countries—all migration themes: October 2013 to March 2014
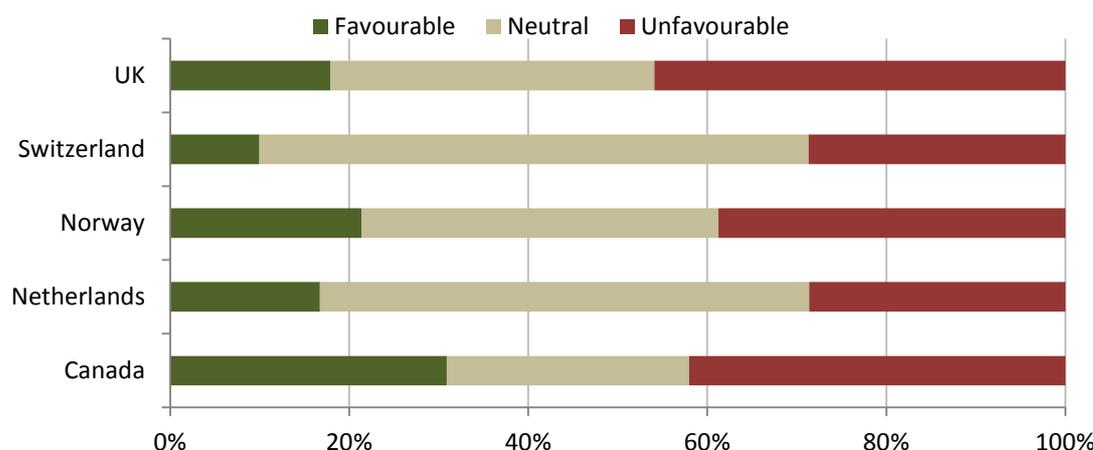


Messages: United Kingdom (n=7,255), Switzerland (n=3,913), Norway (n=1,486), Netherlands (n=3,188), Canada (n=3,415).
Articles: United Kingdom (n=3,425), Switzerland (n=1,923), Norway (n=652), Netherlands (n=1,760), Canada (n=1,630).

Canada experienced the most polarised coverage, with the lowest neutral coverage (27%), the highest favourable coverage (31%) and the second highest unfavourable coverage (42%). Switzerland, on the other hand, experienced the least polarised coverage of aggregate migration messaging, with the highest neutral coverage (63%). This may reflect what was observed during the analysis as a tendency in the Swiss media toward fact-based reporting and the use of measured language. In addition, Switzerland saw a single spike in coverage just prior to its referendum on immigration unlike the United Kingdom, which had heightened coverage for several weeks prior to its May local elections.

The limited extent of favourable messaging on migration in print and online media across all selected destination countries is one of the more stark findings. In all countries, unfavourable coverage significantly outweighed favourable messages. This tendency towards more unfavourable than favourable discourse raises challenges for policymakers and the ability to manage the complexity of migration issues (Papademetriou & Heuser, 2009; Niessen & Huddleston, 2010; Suro, 2009).

In relation to specific themes—the most prominent being 'immigration and immigrants', 'irregular migration' and 'asylum seekers and refugees'—there was noticeable variability among the destination countries and compared with the aggregate results for all migration content.

Figure 3: Favourable/unfavourable/neutral coverage of migration in print and online media in selected destination countries—immigration and immigrants theme: October 2013 to March 2014
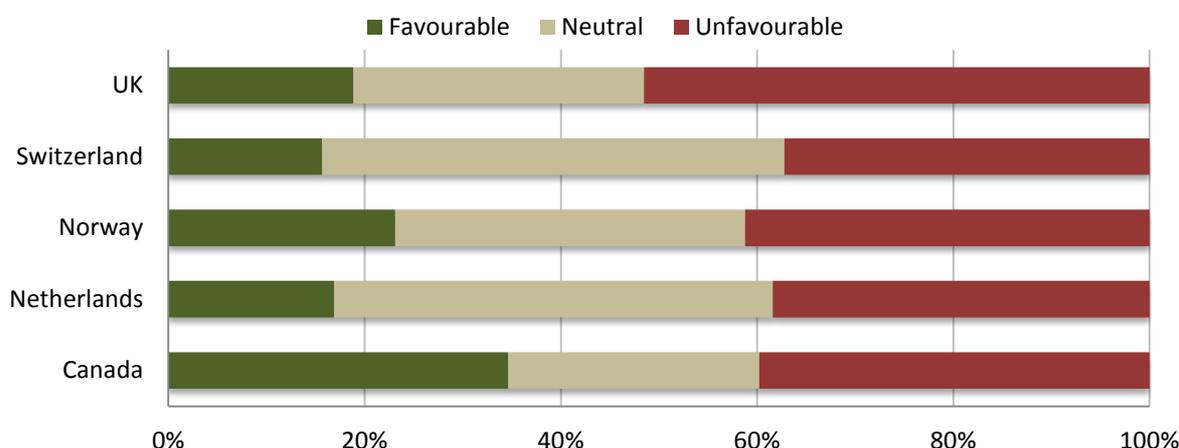


Messages: United Kingdom (n=4,455), Switzerland (n=1,613), Norway (n=398), Netherlands (n=1,023), Canada (n=2,325).
Articles: United Kingdom (n=1,815), Switzerland (n=540), Norway (n=156), Netherlands (n=388), Canada (n=435).

The United Kingdom experienced the highest proportion of unfavourable coverage on 'Immigration and immigrants', as shown in Figure 3, with Canada having had the highest proportion of favourable coverage, as well as the most polarised coverage. As with the aggregate results, all countries experienced more unfavourable than favourable coverage.

It is also interesting to note that despite 'immigration and immigrants' being the least polarised theme across the five countries, it was the most polarised theme within the Swiss context. This may be related to the February 2014 Swiss referendum on immigration quotas. It will be interesting to compare findings from the second phase of the research project, which covers 1 April to 31 September 2014.

Media messages on 'irregular migration', showed far less polarisation across all destination countries, with much greater proportions of neutral messages recorded in most countries, especially Switzerland and Norway (see Figure 4 below). As shown in Figure 4 below, Canadian coverage of 'irregular migration' was substantially lower in volume than for European countries; it was also much lower proportionally (see Figure 1 above). Examination of the 'irregular migration' coverage showed that substantial proportions in the mainland European countries was on factual reporting of the October 2013 Lampedusa incident and maritime migration in the Mediterranean Sea[3], which seems to have had a significant effect on the overall results for this theme.

Figure 4: Favourable-unfavourable-neutral coverage of migration in print and online media in selected destination countries—irregular migration theme: October 2013 to March 2014
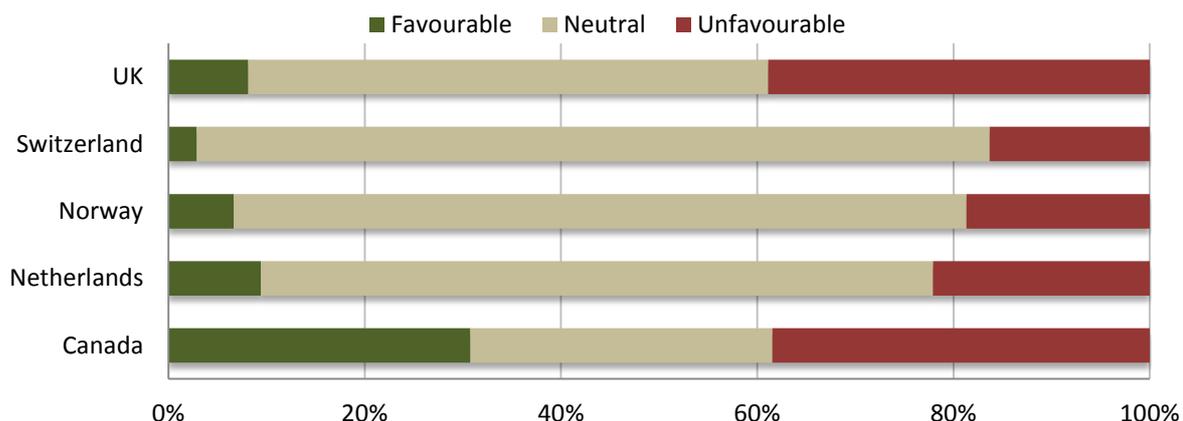


Messages: United Kingdom (n=1,170), Switzerland (n=690), Norway (n=150), Netherlands (n=690), Canada (n=65).
Articles: United Kingdom (n=590), Switzerland (n=440), Norway (n=72), Netherlands (n=456), Canada (n=40).

*In Switzerland…*

*In a similar vein to other European countries, Swiss coverage of 'irregular migration' was dominated by events in the Mediterranean. Information on the number of boat arrivals, the number of irregular migrants both rescued and drowned, and their countries of origin made up the bulk of reporting. The Lampedusa boat tragedy was a major story in early October that continued to attract media attention throughout the month. Mediterranean boat arrivals sparked media discussion on broader European Union migration policy, including on asylum seeker and refugee issues.*

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[3] Coverage of Lampedusa/Mediterranean Sea maritime flows in the 'irregular migration' theme accounted for 65% of coverage in the Netherlands, 85% in Norway and 69% in Switzerland.

In contrast to 'irregular migration', the theme 'asylum seekers and refugees' was more polarised in Canada and Norway, as shown in Figure 5 below.

Figure 5: Favourable-unfavourable-neutral coverage of migration in print and online media in selected destination countries—asylum seekers and refugees theme: October 2013 to March 2014
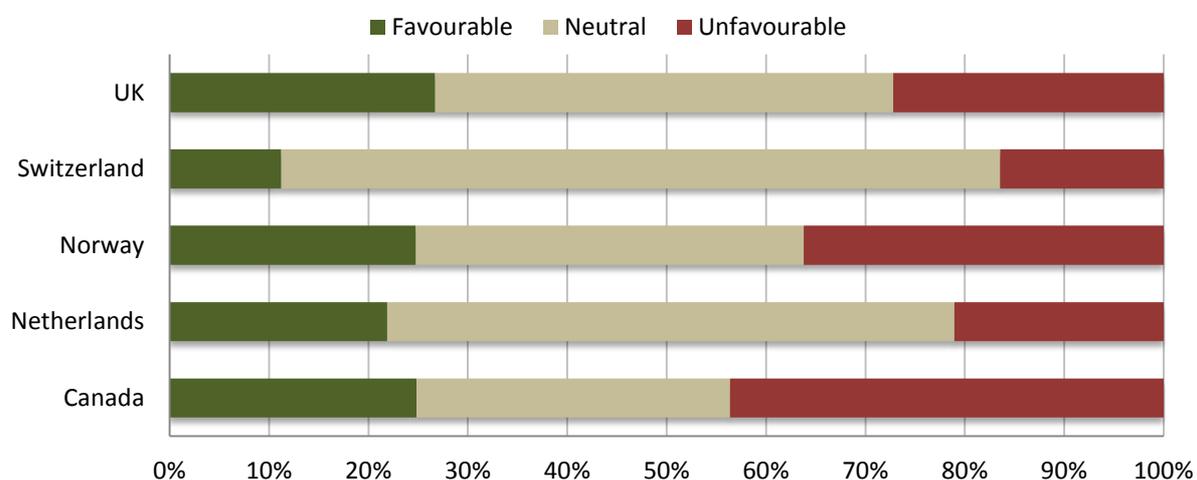


Messages: United Kingdom (n=1,085), Switzerland (n=958), Norway (n=840), Netherlands (n=1,223), Canada (n=745).
Articles: United Kingdom (n=625), Switzerland (n=540), Norway (n=352), Netherlands (n=728), Canada (n=1,005).

One explanation for the differences in the extent of polarisation of media coverage may relate to the level of sophistication of the media discourse on migration. Switzerland, for example, exhibited a more nuanced discussion of migration as well as a much less polarised discussion. It may be that the more detailed the discussion of migration, the less opportunity there is for simplistic messages that could support polarised views based on assumptions, generalisations and (at times) misinformation. Accurate information and evidence on the various aspects of migration appears to support a more sophisticated, balanced discussion. This appears to be consistent with some of the literature (Koser, 2014; IOM, 2011).

Further breakdowns of migration thematic coverage are in the individual destination country summaries at Appendix C. The summaries also contain information on the key issues that arose in the media, the coverage trend over the reporting period, the framing of the coverage and the prominence of specific voices in the media.

### 6.1.3 Framing of the media discourse in destination countries

As well as grouping messages into thematic sets to facilitate the quantitative assessment of media across the countries in this study, we also analysed media content according to a contextual-associative typology. This enabled critical examination and reporting on the overall context in which various propositions and/or themes were couched.

Overall, and as shown in Figure 6 below, the research found that migration coverage was more likely to have been discussed in a 'socio-cultural' context in Canada (32% of coverage) and Norway (26%) compared with the other destination countries (which ranged from 9% to 13%). The 'security' context featured more heavily in Switzerland (20%) and the Netherlands (19%) while an 'economic' framing was most often applied in the United Kingdom (48%). Of all contexts, across all destination countries, however, the single most prevalent context in any one country was the 'humanitarian' context in Norway (55%).

Figure 6: Framing of migration messages in print and online media in selected destination countries—all migration themes: October 2013 to March 2014
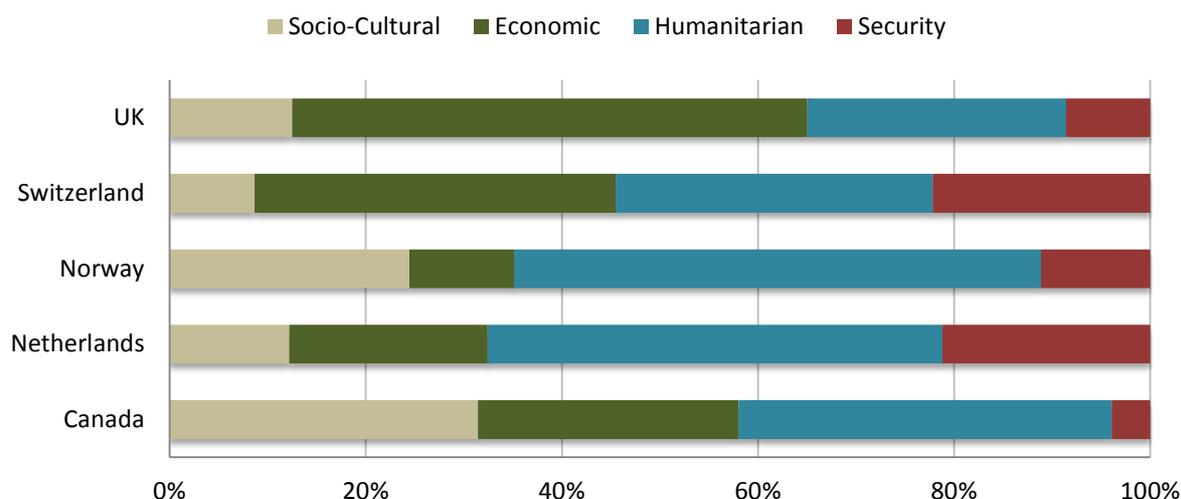


Messages: United Kingdom (n=6,585), Switzerland (n=3,593), Norway (n=1,390), Netherlands (n=3,003), Canada (n=,3065).
Articles: United Kingdom (n=3,425), Switzerland (n=1,923), Norway (n=652), Netherlands (n=1,760), Canada (n=1,630).

At the aggregate level, and taking into account all media messages from all five destination country datasets, distinct differences in the framing of the media discussion is evident. This is likely to reflect the broader national discussions taking place. In the United Kingdom and Switzerland, as noted earlier for example, it appears that migration may well have been caught up in broader economic discussions, particularly in the lead-up to the United Kingdom local elections and the Swiss referendum on immigration quotas. In Norway, where print and online coverage was dominated by articles on asylum seekers and refugees (see Figure 1), it seems intuitive that the framing largely related to a humanitarian context.

*In Norway…*

*Coverage of 'asylum seekers and refugees' appeared in more than half of all items relating to migration. It was also the most balanced theme in terms of favourable versus unfavourable discussion.*

*The cost of resettling refugees was a prominent story, with local municipalities calling on the central government to cover the cost. A government commitment to finding accommodation for asylum seekers was a leading favourable message. Norway's support for Syrian refugees was also a leading story, and there were reports on the benefits refugees and asylum seekers bring to local culture.*

*A triple murder committed by an asylum seeker contributed to unfavourable coverage, while also raising questions about the level of mental health care provided to asylum seekers.*

The substantial differences between countries are also apparent when specific migration themes are examined in more detail. As shown in Figure 7 below, the framing of media messages on 'immigration and immigrants' appeared to be quite different in the five destination countries.

Figure 7: Framing of migration messages in print and online media in selected destination countries—immigration and immigrants theme: October 2013 to March 2014
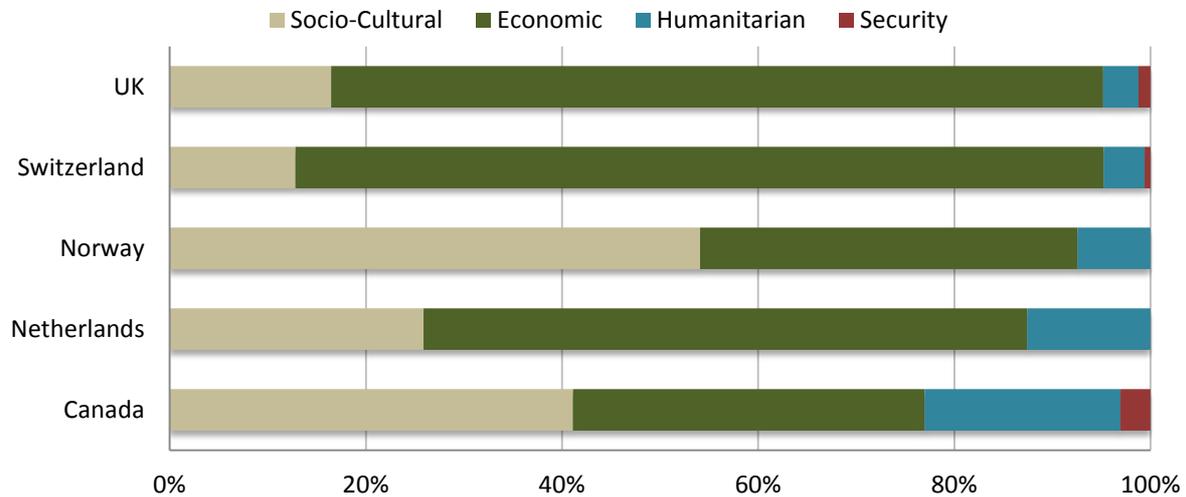


Messages: United Kingdom (n=4,175), Switzerland (n=1,580), Norway (n=358), Netherlands (n=968), Canada (n=2,050).
Articles: United Kingdom (n=1,815), Switzerland (n=540), Norway (n=156), Netherlands (n=388), Canada (n=435).

Norway—which experienced the smallest proportional coverage of the theme 'immigration and immigrants'—had a discussion on the topic that was more likely to have been framed in a socio-cultural context compared with the other countries. Interestingly, during the study period, articles were published in January 2014 on findings of a research report by the University of Oslo indicating that there was less immigration coverage in the Norwegian media since the Anders Behring Breivik shooting in July 2011.

As show in Figure 8 below, a very different picture emerges of reporting of the theme 'irregular migration', with the framing of media messaging in Switzerland, Norway and the Netherlands being predominantly security-related. The security framing appeared to be related to discussion of border security within Europe and irregular maritime migration across the Mediterranean Sea, from North Africa in particular. It is difficult to explain the different framing on the topic in the United Kingdom, which saw much more of the reporting on irregular migration being framed in a humanitarian context. Noting the much smaller volume (and a reduced focus on Mediterranean flows), Canada's framing of the discussion on irregular migration was more evenly spread across the four contexts (socio-cultural, economic, humanitarian, security)

Figure 8: Framing of migration messages in print and online media in selected destination countries—irregular migration theme: October 2013 to March 2014
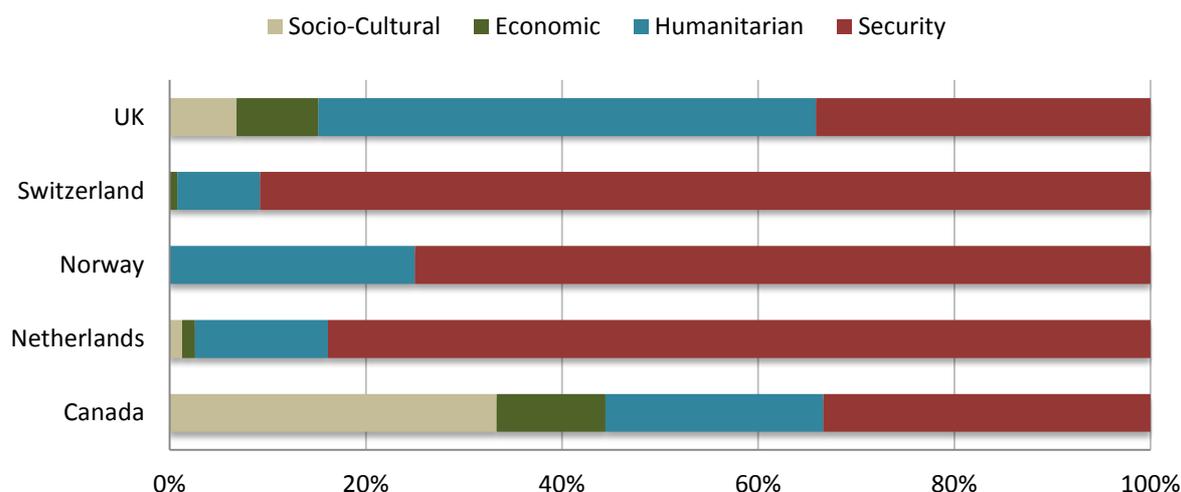


Messages: United Kingdom (n=1,070), Switzerland (n=690), Norway (n=146), Netherlands (n=668), Canada (n=50).
Articles: United Kingdom (n=590), Switzerland (n=440), Norway (n=72), Netherlands (n=465), Canada (n=40).

Further results on the contextual framing of media messages on other migration themes in destination countries can be found in Appendix C.

## 6.2 Key findings and differences between origin countries

There has been very little research into the media coverage of migration issues in origin countries and there appear to be several reasons for this. Firstly, it can be very difficult to access and collect media articles from many origin countries. Secondly, the need for multilingual analysts with native language skills and an appreciation of current social and cultural environments poses challenges. Thirdly, and particularly in relation to comparative analysis, ensuring consistency across different country analyses can be difficult.

The key findings rely on smaller country-specific datasets compared with those compiled for destination countries. This was partly related to significant differences in media volumes and to difficulties with collection. Nevertheless, a comparative analysis produced some interesting findings:

- There is a diversity of coverage by theme as well as tone and context across the five origin countries.

- The reasonable level of coherence of media coverage of migration in destination countries does not exist to the same extent in the origin countries studied, possibly reflecting their more complex and specific migration circumstances and issues.

- Overall, coverage of migration in print and online media tended to be less polarised in origin countries than in destination countries, with more neutral reporting and less unfavourable reporting in origin countries. That said, reporting was more likely to be unfavourable than favourable, which is consistent with destination countries.

- Most media reporting on migration was framed in a humanitarian context, far outstripping economic, socio-cultural and security contexts.

- Perhaps partly due to issues related to press freedom—discussed in section 4 above—the focus on migration in print and online media related primarily to the multitude of aspects associated with the rights and treatment of citizens.

- Reporting in a security context was evident both in relation to people smuggling and, to a lesser extent, irregular migration (and this was principally in Pakistan concerning Afghan migrants).

- All origin countries had media articles on policy developments in key labour migration countries, principally Saudi Arabia, but also Malaysia.

- Pakistan—above all other countries—experienced a complicated, multi-faceted migration discourse covering a multitude of issues such as refugees and irregular migrants in or entering Pakistan, the treatment of Pakistani asylum seekers and irregular migrants, opportunities and exploitation of Pakistani labour migrants, and the reliance on remittances.

## 6.2.1 Thematic content in print and online media in origin countries

All media messages from the country-specific datasets were analysed against a number of themes (see Appendix B for a glossary of themes). As noted in the previous section, a single print or online article may contain more than one message and each message may relate to more than one theme. Analysing the datasets in this way allows for all messages to be described in thematic terms.

As shown in Figure 9 below, there was considerable variation in the thematic content between the countries. Media messages in Bangladesh and Vietnam were dominated by discussion of overseas workers. In contrast, Pakistan and Sri Lanka experienced greater diversity of thematic coverage, with noticeable coverage of people smuggling and trafficking. The highest proportional coverages of asylum seeker and refugee issues were in Afghanistan and Pakistan—with Afghanistan being a significant source of refugees and Pakistan being the main host of refugees in the sub-region.

Figure 9: Thematic coverage of migration in print and online media in selected origin countries—key migration themes: October 2013 to March 2014
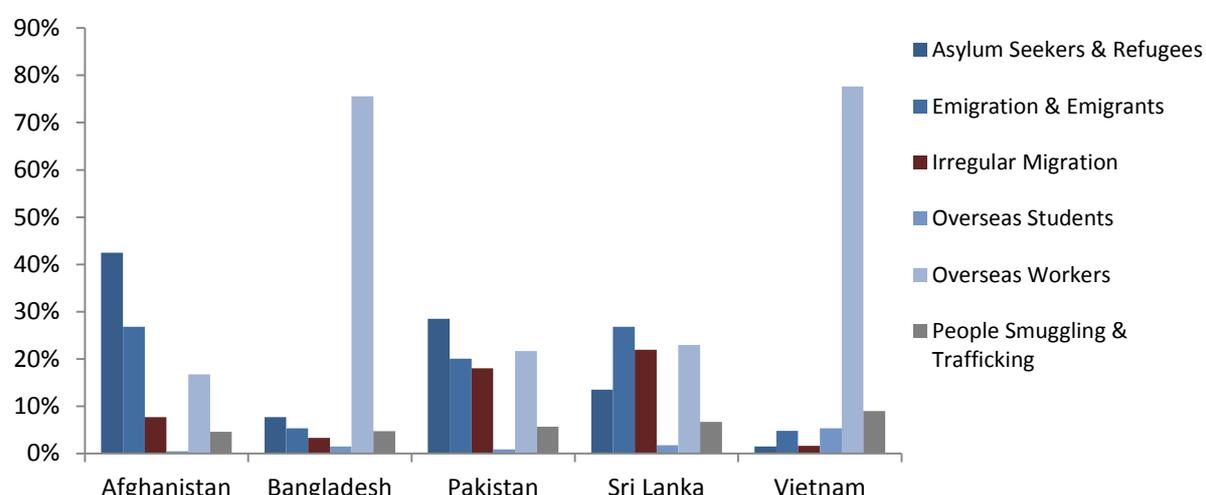


Messages: Afghanistan (n=579), Bangladesh (n=996), Pakistan (n=674), Sri Lanka (n=755), Vietnam (n=781).
Articles: Afghanistan (n=352), Bangladesh (n=486), Pakistan (n=450), Sri Lanka (n=466), Vietnam (n=398).

It is likely that the differences between the origin countries reflect the very different national debates that occurred during the study period. Further, the very substantial differences and the nature of some of the thematic messaging, reflect the nature of migration more broadly within each country. Given the nature of migration flows from Vietnam and Bangladesh, it is not surprising that 'overseas workers' completely dominated the messages. That said, and given regular labour migration flows from Sri Lanka (Jayasuriya & McAuliffe, 2013), this theme would have been expected to feature more prominently in Sri Lanka.

It is interesting to note the sizeable coverage of 'people smuggling and trafficking' in both Sri Lanka and Pakistan. This may reflect the anti-people smuggling campaigns undertaken in both countries by various destination countries, including Australia. This is perhaps more relevant when considering origin country support of anti-people smuggling campaigns, read in conjunction with the RSF World Press Freedom Index (see Table 1).

*In Afghanistan…*

*As might be expected in a country rebuilding after war, yet still in the midst of internal and regional conflict as well as security, political and economic transitions, Afghanistan's media messages were far more in favour of people's efforts to seek a better life by migrating than media messages in other countries. Messages also reflected concern for migrants facing potential hardship on many fronts.*

*Politicians were the most prominent voices (55% of all the messages) during the study period and often focused on the Afghan government's efforts to help its citizens living abroad. However, foreign politicians were also present, discussing their countries' policies on asylum seekers, refugees and irregular migration.*

*The United Nations was a constant source of information and warnings about the practices and dangers around human trafficking, and of human rights abuses suffered by Afghans abroad.*

### 6.2.2   Extent of polarisation of print and online media content in origin countries

As was the case with destination countries, the research found considerable variability in the tone of the media coverage of migration between origin countries. Figure 10 shows that during the study period, Sri Lanka had the highest proportion of unfavourable messaging of migration issues (44%), whereas the other origin countries experienced comparable levels of unfavourable messaging (29% to 33%). Perhaps one of the reasons for this was the number of different and opposing 'voices' in the media discussion—Tamil leaders, Singhalese leaders, the United Nations as well as public figures from Australia and United Kingdom (on people smuggling).

*In Sri Lanka…*

*The theme of 'emigration and emigrants' included reporting of the diaspora's efforts to raise awareness of Tamil issues (Tamil-language media), and included coverage of protests to raise awareness of the persecution of Tamils and a fact-finding visit by a Sri Lankan emigrant, now a Canadian MP.*

*There was also reporting of the diaspora's influence on local politics and views that it was tarnishing Sri Lanka's reputation in the West (Singhalese-language media). Another prominent issue was the social and financial difficulties faced by emigrants in their destination countries. While the 'brain drain' experienced by Sri Lanka as a result of emigration was reported, the use of remittances to rebuild post-war Sri Lanka was also discussed.*

Figure 10: Favourable-unfavourable-neutral coverage of migration in print and online media in selected origin countries—key migration themes: October 2013 to March 2014
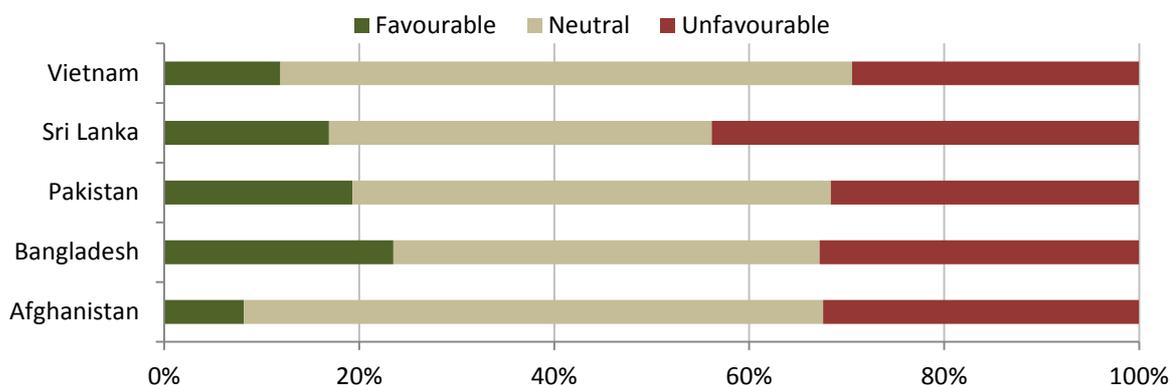


Messages: Vietnam (n=931), Sri Lanka (n=805), Pakistan (n=1,088), Bangladesh (n=1,098), Afghanistan (n=586).
Articles: Vietnam (n=445), Sri Lanka (n=508), Pakistan (n=744), Bangladesh (n=552), Afghanistan (n=356).

Afghanistan experienced the highest proportion of neutral media coverage during the period (59%), and the lowest proportion of favourable coverage. Bangladesh, on the other hand, had the highest proportion of favourable reporting, which was second only to Canada across all 10 destination and origin countries. In Bangladesh, the favourable coverage was related mostly to its status as a significant global emigrant country as reflected in Figure 9 above, in which almost 70% of all coverage related to overseas workers.

> *In Bangladesh…*
>
> *The most prominent media theme was 'overseas workers' (69%). Favourable commentary was largely on the economic benefits that remittances provided Bangladesh. There was also media coverage on the opportunities for Bangladeshi workers in countries such as Malaysia, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. The Bangladesh government's efforts to help facilitate overseas employment also attracted positive media comment.*
>
> *The most prominent unfavourable coverage commented on the exploitation of overseas workers, and women in particular. Common complaints affecting both men and women included lack of pay, poor living conditions and unscrupulous migration agents.*

Not surprisingly, the theme of overseas workers received a reasonable amount of favourable media coverage in most origin countries during the study period. However, the two countries in which the theme dominated (Bangladesh and Vietnam) did not have the highest proportions of favourable coverage. The country with the lowest proportional coverage on overseas workers (Afghanistan) also had the lowest 'favourability' of reporting and the second highest unfavourable reporting.

There is no doubt about the importance of remittances to national economies, a topic that received considerable coverage in most of the origin countries. While there was also coverage of exploitation and vulnerability of overseas workers, there did not appear to be much coverage on the social and family pressure associated with working overseas and remitting. Coverage of origin countries' policies and practices in support of overseas workers was featured, although more prominently in some countries (for example, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka).

Figure 11: Favourable-unfavourable-neutral coverage of migration in print and online media in selected origin countries—overseas workers theme: October 2013 to March 2014
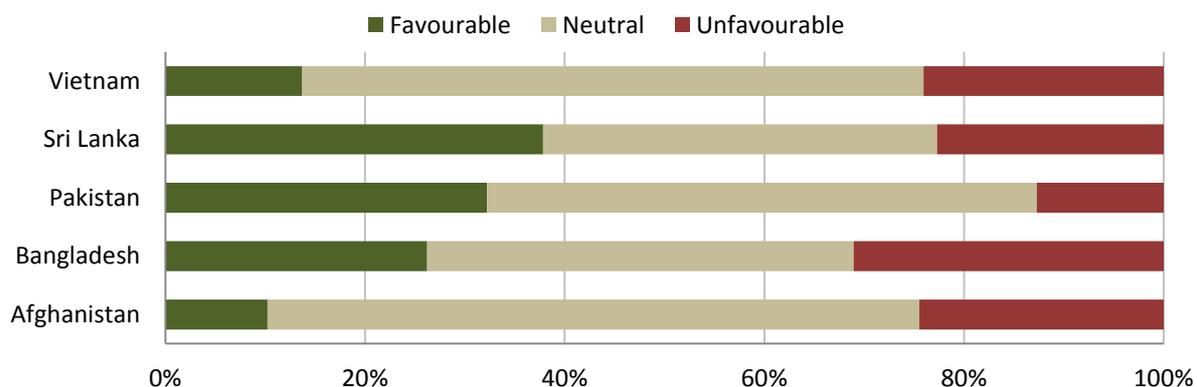


Messages: Vietnam (n=723), Sri Lanka (n=185), Pakistan (n=236), Bangladesh (n=824), Afghanistan (n=98).
Articles: Vietnam (n=304), Sri Lanka (n=89), Pakistan (n=166), Bangladesh (n=378), Afghanistan (n=66).

> *In Pakistan…*
>
> *Commentary on remittances was the biggest driver of coverage of 'overseas workers' and was also the leading source of favourable commentary under this theme. Articles emphasised the importance of remittances to the national economy, with an article in* Business Recorder *(October 22) crediting emigrant workers with 'saving the Pakistani economy from complete collapse'. Considerable media attention focused on the questionable legality of some Pakistani migrant workers. Thousands of Pakistani nationals were deported from Saudi Arabia after new labour laws were introduced. There were also reports of hundreds of workers being detained in Malaysia for violating their work permits.*
>
> *Coverage in favour of 'emigration and emigrants' focused largely on the contribution that Pakistani migrants made to both their country of origin and their host countries. Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry president, Zubair Ahmed Malik, urged the Pakistan government to grant voting rights to expatriates to encourage their continued investment in the country.*

In contrast to the tone of the media messaging on 'overseas workers', the coverage of 'irregular migration' was extremely unfavourable. In fact the tone of the coverage of this theme was the second most unfavourable of all of the thematic coverage across all destination and origin country datasets—second only to 'people smuggling and trafficking', which received extremely unfavourable commentary in all countries.

Interestingly, the tone of the messaging on irregular migration in origin countries tended to be much more unfavourable (33% to 73%) compared with destination countries (16% to 39%). This reflected the focus on the dangers to potential irregular migrants, deportations of irregular migrants back to the origin country as well as commentary on the dangers posed by irregular migrants from elsewhere. It should be noted, however, that the volume of messaging on 'irregular migration' was reasonably low, with only Sri Lanka and Pakistan experiencing moderate volumes (see Figure 9).

Figure 12: Favourable-unfavourable-neutral coverage of migration in print and online media in selected origin countries—irregular migration theme: October 2013 to March 2014
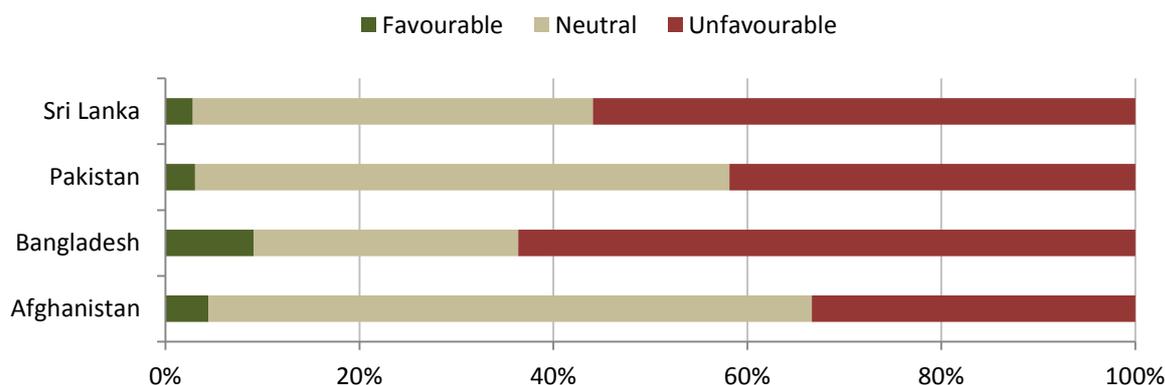


Messages: Sri Lanka (n=177), Pakistan (n=196), Bangladesh (n=36), Afghanistan (n=45).
Articles: Sri Lanka (n=105), Pakistan (n=146), Bangladesh (n=22), Afghanistan (n=34).

*In Pakistan…*

*The theme of 'irregular migration' received the highest volume of unfavourable commentary overall. This was chiefly driven by coverage relating to illegal migrants' ties to criminal networks and terrorist activity inside Pakistan's borders. The arrest and deportation of undocumented Pakistani migrants in the Middle East and Europe also attracted unfavourable commentary.*

*In Sri Lanka…*

*The theme of 'irregular migration' saw a drastic difference between the favourable (3%) and unfavourable (56%) commentary. Unfavourable commentary mainly featured Australia's policy to detain and deport irregular migrants. Another prominent issue was the crackdown on over-stayers in Sri Lanka.*

Further breakdowns of the tone of the thematic coverage can be found in the individual origin country summaries in Appendix C. The summaries also contain information on the key issues that arose in the media, the coverage trend over the reporting period, the framing of the coverage and the prominence of specific voices in the media.

## 6.2.3 Framing of the media discourse in origin countries

The high degree of control and lack of press freedoms in some origin countries becomes particularly relevant when analysing the framing of the media messaging. For example, the extent of the humanitarian context in Vietnam, with its media focus on humanitarian-framed government efforts to reduce exploitation of Vietnamese citizens, is considerably more dominant than other origin countries.

Figure 13: Framing of migration messages in print and online media in selected origin countries—all migration themes: October 2013 to March 2014
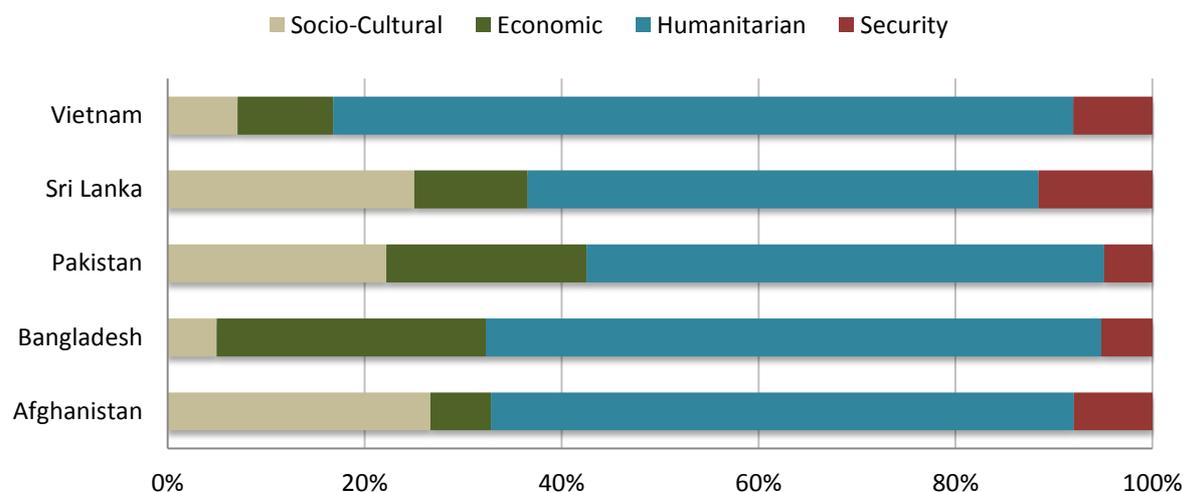


Messages: Vietnam (n=847), Sri Lanka (n=716), Pakistan (n=1,062), Bangladesh (n=1070), Afghanistan (n=480).
Articles: Vietnam (n=445), Sri Lanka (n=508), Pakistan (n=744), Bangladesh (n=552), Afghanistan (n=356).

Somewhat surprisingly, given the strong focus on remittances in the media discourses, humanitarian framing significantly dominated messaging in all origin countries. This is substantially different to the framing in the destination countries, where there was greater 'economic' and 'security' framing (see Figure 6). That said, in Bangladesh a sizeable proportion of messaging was framed in 'economic' terms, reflecting its extensive overseas labour migration.

*In Vietnam…*

*Media messaging served to highlight the efforts of the Vietnam government in creating better work opportunities for its people through inter-governmental agreements, and a more controlled labour export regime. Messages relating to 'overseas workers' were present in the majority of articles (68%), while commentary on 'people smuggling and trafficking' ranked second in importance, appearing in 14% of the pieces studied.*

*The ongoing fight against traffickers in the local press was presented in the media as a fight on multiple fronts: both in terms of preventing exploitation of citizens and the unregulated inflow of unauthorised arrivals.*

*The voice of the Vietnamese government was clearly represented in the media content studied, both through its own spokespeople (55% of all articles) and through state-owned or influenced lobby groups (44%). Just less than 1% of all messages came from independent non-government organisations.*

When disaggregated by theme, the differences in framing between the origin countries becomes more pronounced, as shown in Figure 14. In all origin countries the discussion of 'overseas workers' was more likely to have been framed in an economic context compared with the overall migration discussion. This was particularly pronounced for Pakistan, where almost 60% of reporting on overseas workers was framed in an economic context.

Figure 14: Framing of migration messages in print and online media in selected origin countries—overseas workers theme: October 2013 to March 2014
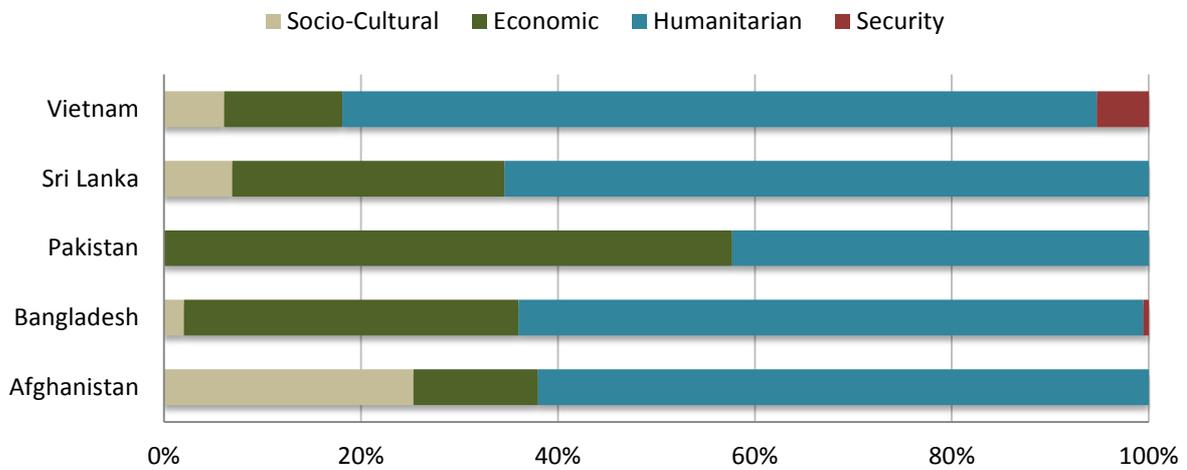


Messages: Vietnam (n=656), Sri Lanka (n=164), Pakistan (n=270), Bangladesh (n=822), Afghanistan (n=101).
Articles: Vietnam (n=304), Sri Lanka (n=89), Pakistan (n=166), Bangladesh (n=378), Afghanistan (n=66).

In origin countries, as in destination countries, discussion on 'irregular migration' saw a greater proportion of messages framed in a security context, with little or no economic framing. The humanitarian context, in contrast, significantly dominated in all origin countries, but less so Pakistan where there was a focus on the impact of irregular migrants (predominantly from Afghanistan) within the country.

Figure 15: Framing of migration messages in print and online media in selected origin countries—irregular migration theme: October 2013 to March 2014
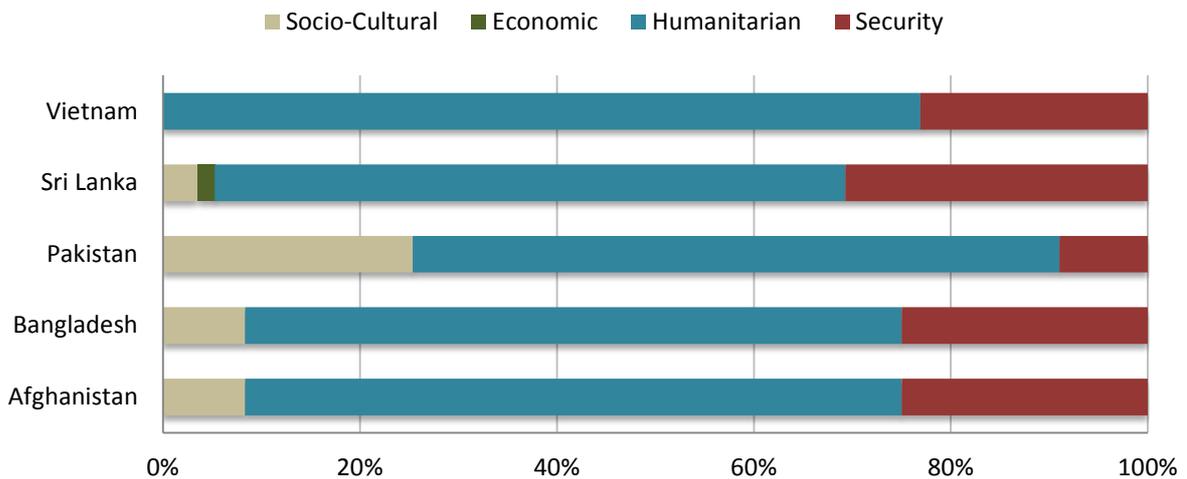
## 7. IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICYMAKERS

The purpose of this research was to compare migration discourses in selected countries by examining thematic content, contextual framing, and the extent of polarisation of messages communicated via print and online media over a six-month period. It is the first phase of research collaboration between the Department of Immigration and Border Protection and Cubit Media Research, designed to inform migration policymakers and practitioners by drawing on expertise built up in the private sector on large-scale quantitative media analytics.

The research findings have some implications for migration policymakers and practitioners. One of the key contributions made by the research is the application of a consistent methodology to a selected number of countries to develop a measurable set of indices, which can be monitored over time. This can be appealing for policymakers, as it offers the opportunity to compare media discourses about migration in other countries, including origin countries. Detecting changes and shifts over time, in a solid and measurable manner, enables policymakers to consider a range of options, including for communications activities, with the benefit of evidence. Further policy implications of the findings include:

- The research highlights the prevalence of destination country messaging—most notably in Sri Lanka—and so has implications for strategic communications activities. How and where destination countries disseminate their policies is of ongoing interest to policymakers. Understanding how migration issues, including overseas workers, irregular migration and people smuggling and trafficking, are characterised and framed in other countries has implications for policymakers involved in strategic communications, where to some extent, a one-size-fits-all approach may have the potential to lead to unintended consequences. Research into public perceptions of destination country messaging within origin countries would undoubtedly reveal further useful insights.

- The findings illustrate the range of complexities and challenges faced by countries that are often labelled migrant 'origin' countries, and shows that these sometimes competing issues are present in the media discussion. An understanding of the various issues being discussed in the media in origin countries, such a Pakistan, is another way of highlighting clearly to those in destination countries how challenging migration is for many countries. This may help further support policies and approaches that take into account complex migration dynamics and build on mutual interest.

- As migration policymakers and practitioners are aware there is a strong case in favour of migration, in many of its forms. These research findings show that, despite this, most non-neutral coverage of migration themes is unfavourable rather than favourable. To balance the discourse, there is a pressing need to provide accurate and useful information on the full range the benefits of migration in its various forms. Creative ideas are needed to assist in the development of possible approaches and collaborations, perhaps drawn from other sectors or areas of public policy.

- The research findings highlight the very different theme-based media discourses that are occurring. More specifically, it highlights which discussions would benefit from the dissemination of more information and evidence as a means of balancing the debate.

- The consistency of media messaging in destination countries highlights an opportunity for collaboration between policymakers, in terms of monitoring media discourses and developing strategies to support balanced, evidence-based discussions where they occur and to counter the thematic discussions that feature high levels of unfavourable coverage and/or are dominated by a particular framing at the expense of other useful perspectives.

## 8.    CONCLUSION

The way migration is represented in the media has been viewed as influencing public perceptions of migration as well as policymaking in destination countries. Better understanding and measuring of the nature of the migration discussions and debates in both destination and origin countries, and the implications of differences in that coverage, would support a more balanced and considered approach to information on migration. This is particularly the case for media discussions on migration in origin countries, which this research showed were complex, multi-faceted and not uniform across the group. The findings highlight that while migration issues within a destination country environment may correctly be thought of as 'complicated', the migration issues that origin countries are grappling with may well be far more complicated, given the multiple migration status that these countries can have at any one time: origin; transit; host; and destination. Perhaps the common practice of characterising countries as 'origin' countries is simplistic given the array of issues many of them must deal with.

The extent of polarisation, particularly in destination countries, adds weight to the argument for a more balanced discussion on migration. A more reasoned debate on migration that draws on evidence, takes into account broader geopolitical, economic and demographic change, and seeks to focus on balanced solutions for future mutual benefit would seem to be the best way forward. This research has been designed to contribute to that end by measuring the extent of polarisation, albeit at a specific point in time.

It would be beneficial to explore in future research the links between migration media coverage and public perceptions of migration. A quantitative approach to comparative analysis as applied in this project, for example, has the potential for further application to large-scale surveys on public perceptions of various aspects of migration.

The evidence provided by this research contributes to filling a major gap in the literature on migration and the media. A longer-term benefit will be realised through trend analysis stemming from future research phases of this project. Discerning changes over time, both in destination and origin countries, has the potential to highlight trends and insights that are likely to have implications for policy makers and migration practitioners internationally. With this in mind, a second phase of the research is expected to be completed in mid-2015.

Finally, it should be acknowledged that media only represents one form of information available to potential migrants in destination countries. For example, the importance of trusted external networks in relaying information from source countries to destination countries cannot be understated. Future research considering the relative importance of these external networks and other sources of information on irregular migration decisions will clearly add further relevant insights.

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## APPENDIX A

## Methodology

The methodology for this project comprised a combination of:

- qualitative content analysis of media articles contained in representative country-specific sample sets, undertaken by multilingual analysts working in both the original (published) language and English; and

- sophisticated human cognitive modelling (primarily involving the application of a quantitative modelling method able to deal with very large volumes of media articles).

It was important to begin with the most complete media dataset possible—within the cost, time and feasibility limitations—to develop a reasonably precise, sizeable and representative sample of topic-specific media articles for each country. As discussed below, refining the country samples involved a 'top-down' analytical approach based on iteratively designing, testing and fine-tuning search strings based on manual analysis. The first stage involved multilingual analysts examining media material in its published language—English, Bengali, Dutch, Farsi, French, German, Norwegian, Urdu, Vietnamese, Sinhalese or Tamil—before being interpreted and stored in English for further analysis.

The methodology also relied on substantial quality assurance and data verification processes throughout the data collection, sorting and analysis phases.

## Data collection

One of the main challenges in conducting a multilingual, comparative media study of coverage from diverse origin and destination countries was gathering a suitably representative dataset to analyse. For this study, Cubit Media Research purchased access to two sources of media content: an extensive historical database of online news content from one of the world's largest data aggregators, and a print media archive from another supplier. This second dataset contained some broadcast transcripts and other licensed online material, which was also included in the study where appropriate. For completeness, the multilingual analysis team supplemented these two datasets with material found via an extensive online search regime.

One of the inherent difficulties in dealing with 'big data' is the ability to accurately account for all pieces across a timespan. It is estimated that over 500 million media items were collected for the project. These items were published between 1 October 2013 and 31 March 2014 in countries including the 10 selected for this study.

## Data sorting

To reduce potential duplication of media stories and filter out irrelevant content, all the media material collected was first brought together using a cross-platform document-oriented database. In this single database (MongoDB) a series of steps was undertaken to remove as much 'noise' as possible, given its potential to obscure key trends and, therefore, negatively impact on the veracity of the study's findings. The use of multilingual human analysts to identify and refine search terms was central to the data sorting.

A real-time, full-text indexer, based on the Apache Lucene core, was employed to create a master search-index, and a proprietary Boolean search system was used to address the resulting metabase for content containing relevant search terms and phrases. This proprietary system has the advantage of having no hard limit to the number or complexity of search terms that can be run against a dataset, and no limit to the number of notional 'records' it can address. This means resulting search profiles can be developed and tested to deliver highly accurate study subsets from large content universes—in this case, one encompassing approximately half a billion items.

To ensure the search terms used would deliver a representative dataset, analysts embarked on a looped learning process—resembling a data sieve approach. After each search was designed, a sample of the resulting content set was checked to determine whether any further key terms appeared in the content that should be added to the master search-set. Through several iterations, this process added several colloquial expressions to the original search set. Searches were then re-run from scratch to ensure no material germane to the study was missed.

To identify key issues and events contained in the output from the Boolean search system, separate origin and destination country-specific content subsets were further processed using a stratified, multi-dimensional search system. This system assembles data along timelines, allowing structured point analysis of news streams. Cubit's experience over almost 20 years of media data analysis has shown that, because of the way media stories break, unfold and morph over time, studying peaks and troughs along a focal content timeline is an accurate and efficient way of identifying all key issues and events from a particular study period. This serves as a useful starting point for a multi-phase analysis exercise of this complexity.

With all pre-processing complete, focal datasets were batched for processing using a proprietary human cognitive modelling data extraction method. Using this approach, each media item is read by an analyst, who records the concepts or propositions being discussed, the messages associated with each concept or proposition mentioned, and the extent to which there is agreement with or opposition to the concept or proposition.

Along with other metadata to support more detailed subsequent correlative analysis and validation, these content elements are stored as a kind of 'data-plasma': an assembly of data elements capable of supporting almost infinite combinative exploration by virtue of the object-oriented matrix in which they are stored.

Figure A1: Summary of data sorting activity to develop country-specific datasets

Against a large (est. 500M items), fully indexed multilingual data set, Cubit's research team ran a series of Boolean searches to identify the 6-mth, 10 country study set.

Data-search activity was conducted in all the languages associated with the nominated destination and origin countries.

Search strings were designed and validated by native language speakers under supervision from Cubit's search specialists.

Study Set

Destination Countries

News pieces were separated into country-specific analysis sets before being "graded" according to the incidence and positional distribution of search-term appearances. This allowed easy identification and tagging of the non-focal content from each country set.

This step reduces the "noise" that can result from the inclusion of incidental mentions of key search terms. Importantly, all material removed from the study batches during this process is retained for later use in the findings-validation phase.

Origin Countries

This approach enabled media articles with incidental references to aspects of migration to be removed from the country-specific datasets developed for analytical purposes. For example, an article profiling a specific person, including a single reference to when they 'migrated', would clearly contain a reference to a migration-related topic and/or search term. However, such an article with only one 'migration' reference would not be within scope of this project and would be filtered out.

Syndication of media content was an issue in specific destination countries, namely the United Kingdom and Canada. Syndicate material was identified to ensure duplicate material was not over-represented. Only the lead article was included in the country-specific dataset.

No allowance was made for significant in-country events, such as general, local or regional elections, and this approach necessarily affected analysis. The main reasons for this approach were the significant methodological complications required to account for a multitude of in-country events that may affect results, such as elections, to economic/financial shocks, natural disasters or terrorist events. In addition, it was decided that to create a time series dataset over time, the research would be best served by maintaining a consistent approach for future phases, including as more countries are included in scope. Fewer methodological complexities enhance the feasibility of ongoing monitoring.

Cubit's inter-lingual analytical capability was applied in recognition of cultural and linguistic differences in media messages. For example, United States media reporting can seem very forthright in comparison to the more reserved German style, which in turn contrasts starkly to the very enthusiastic style often seen in Indian media reporting. Further, when compared with Australian and New Zealand

press reports, Chinese articles are, by virtue of the language structure, sparse in pronoun references, but rich in specific proper nouns. Simply comparing articles from each of these example countries prima facie would not enable an accurate determination of campaign success or the extent to which key messages have appeared in a style likely to deliver a desired outcome.

At its core, interlingual analysis involves tracking each culture's, or country's, coverage to create a series of baseline norms that describe both the structural characteristics of the languages being studied and the culture expressed in the writing. By comparing changes in media characteristics of content appearing before various cultural groups, against its norms, rather than against another country's current performance, Cubit can gain a more accurate understanding of the impact of various events in a country.

At the end of this multi-staged process, a series of country-specific datasets capturing migration-specific themes published in the media during the six-month research period was produced. These datasets were then analysed, individually and comparatively, to produce a fairly comprehensive picture of the selected countries' media discourses that occurred within the given period. The country datasets used for in-depth analysis are summarised in Table A1 below.

Table A1: Summary of country-specific in-depth analysis sets following data sorting

|  | Search term incidence of 1 | Search term incidence of 4 | Focal pieces dataset | In-depth analysis dataset |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canada | 58,000 | 16,200 | 3,000 | 600 |
| Netherlands | 28,100 | 6,100 | 2,600 | 600 |
| Norway | 14,000 | 1,500 | 575 | 400 |
| Switzerland | 34,800 | 7,400 | 3,100 | 650 |
| United Kingdom | >250,000 | 50,000 | 2,586 | 600 |
| Afghanistan | 1,375 | - | 275 | 275 |
| Bangladesh | 3,000 | - | 250 | 250 |
| Pakistan | 17,600 | - | 500 | 500 |
| Sri Lanka | 8,000 | - | 500 | 500 |
| Vietnam | 13,600 | - | 350 | 350 |

Note: As a result of the smaller volumes of articles typically associated with the origin countries studied, and difficulties experienced with indexing text in script languages such as Sinhala, all relevant articles were included in the focal pieces dataset regardless of the number of incidences.

In relation to destination country sets, search term incidence tests were run for 1, 2, 3 and 4 instances and empirical tests were carried out to determine the optimum incidence level, which was 4.

## Data checking and validation

Cubit's chief analyst supervised the examination of a proportion of elements from each batch processed by each multilingual analyst. This ensured material from each day of the study period was validated. Data were further scrutinised before the final analysis commenced. This was accomplished by comparing each country's individual results against norms established for the full origin and destination country sets. Where anomalies were detected, data discovery was implemented to ensure that the source content was correctly captured and the results accurately reflected that country, rather than being the result of a data error. An example of an in-depth dataset against a full dataset is shown at Figure A2 below.

Figure A2: Total country dataset versus in-depth country dataset: the Netherlands, 1 October 2013 to 31 March 2014
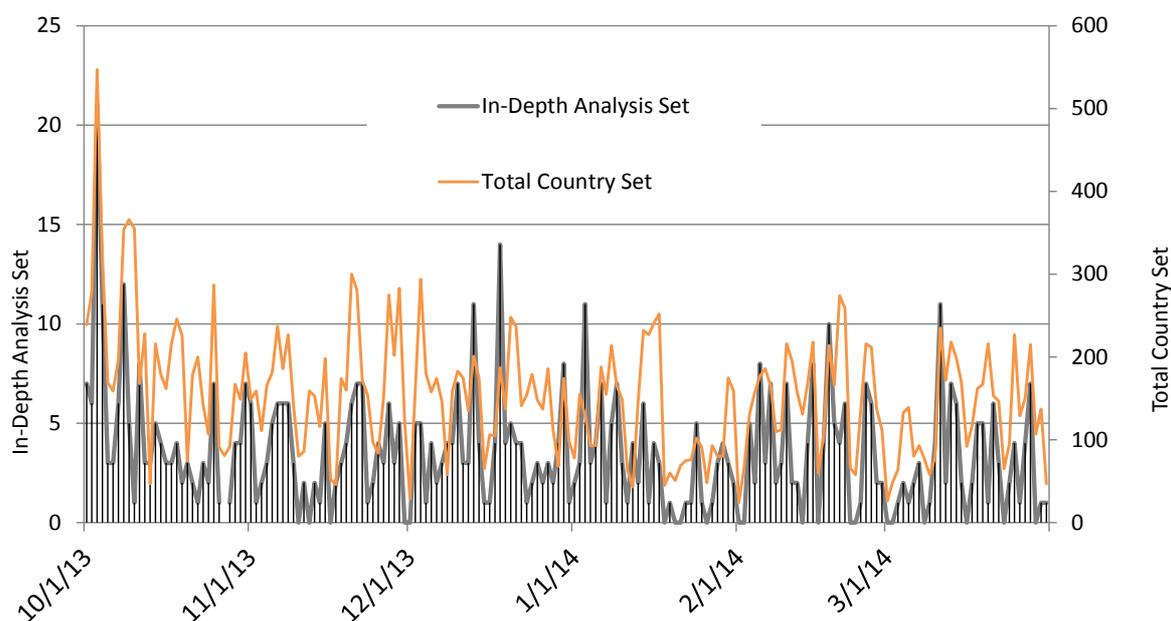


Quality control was also enhanced by the use of the data extraction process. Rather than applying the inherently limited latent 'coding' approach often used by commercial analysis houses in the examination of media content, this project benefited from the use of a highly atomic, manifest, non-finite dataset approach developed and tested by Cubit over many years.

This method dramatically reduces systemic error conditions, by obviating the need for personal interpretation by readers/coders of the combined meaning of multiple statements in each media piece. Since the 'manifest' approach captures every message relating to each proposition or concept discussed in every article studied, aggregative interpretation is eliminated. It is replaced by more straightforward and less error-prone, single statement analysis. This approach also lends itself to superior data validation.

For non-English analysis, messages were read in their original language but stored in English, as a culturally and linguistically faithful interpretation of the original. However, each message was also hyperlinked to the original media piece, providing further opportunity for integrity checking and data validation at a later date.

## Analytical processes

Once all media pieces were collected, sorted and validated, senior analysts executed a series of plasma queries. The results were charted on a per-country basis, and a systematic storyboard process was initiated.

This formal storyboarding process involved the following steps:

1. Examining the charts and datasets for each country.
2. Determining the points of interest.
3. Exploring and further validating the data underlying each point of interest.
4. Assembling the overall 'data picture' for each concept and proposition appearing in the media content.

5.      Documenting the country results.

6.      Reaching conclusions and developing insights.

This process was repeated for each origin and destination country, before a second storyboard phase was commenced. In this phase, the results for each country were compared with others in its set (origin-to-origin, destination-to-destination). Observations were recorded and validated, insights developed, and a third storyboard phase was prepared.

The high level migration themes that emerged from the iterative, multi-staged data sorting and analytical processes were (in alphabetical order):

- asylum seekers and refugees
- emigration and emigrants
- immigration and immigrants
- irregular migration
- migrant accommodation (including detention)
- overseas students
- overseas workers
- people smuggling and trafficking.

## APPENDIX B

## Glossary of migration themes

1. Asylum seekers and refugees.
2. Immigration and immigrants.
3. Emigration and emigrants.
4. Irregular migration.
5. Migrant accommodation (including detention)
6. Overseas workers.
7. Overseas students.
8. People smuggling and trafficking.

## 1. The asylum seekers and refugees thematic category

This was assigned to a message whenever that message contained the terms asylum or refugee, or where there was a derivative or inferred descriptor attached to the message, e.g. 'seeking refuge', 'applying for asylum', or 'fleeing civil strife'. As with all themes, 'asylum seekers and refugees' was applied only where the article was focal to the study i.e. not, for instance, a piece about how a business leader's family were refugees from the Second World War.

Example text:

> Refugee lawyers have argued that the Tamils are legitimate refugees from a country wracked by years of civil war, and face possible abuse or torture if sent back. But the government has taken an aggressive stance to prove they are inadmissible to Canada and not genuine refugees—part of a wider effort to deter large-scale smuggling operations.

> *The Gazette* (Montreal), 12/10/2013

## 2. The immigration and immigrants thematic category

This covered general discussions regarding immigration and associated policies, as well as specific mentions of migration and immigrants. Despite the appearance of the term 'migrant' in a message, the theme was not applied where it was clear that a message actually related to overseas workers or persons seeking asylum or refuge. It also was not applied to irregular migration or irregular arrivals. And as with all themes, 'immigration and immigrants' was applied only to messages where the article was focal to this study.

Example text:

> Immigration minister James Brokenshire admitted the government is powerless to control the numbers of people coming from elsewhere in the EU, despite the pledge to cut the total figure. 'Numbers are down across the board in areas where we can control immigration, but arrivals from the EU have doubled in the last year,' he said. 'The Government is ensuring that our controls on accessing benefits and services, including the NHS and social housing, are among the tightest in Europe. We cannot impose formal immigration controls on EU migrants, so we are focusing on cutting out the abuse of free movement between EU member states and seeking to address the factors that drive European immigration to Britain.' Mr Brokenshire went on: 'Uncontrolled, mass immigration makes it difficult to maintain social cohesion, puts pressure on our public services and forces down wages for people on low incomes.'

> dailymail.co.uk, 28/02/2014

## 3. The emigration and emigrants thematic category

This was applied to messages referring to emigrants and emigration, or to policies around emigration. And, as with all themes, 'emigration and emigrants' was applied only to messages where the article was focal to the study—not, for instance, where references were to emigration or crisis-driven diaspora long past.

Example text:

> After more than six decades since de-colonisation of Sri Lanka, what we observe today is a far more pervasive phenomenon of out-migration. Today, the migrants are mostly highly qualified, young professionals leaving the country looking for greener pastures elsewhere. Since the migrants are mostly young, the outflow has significant demographic implications as well. If you talk to ten middle class adults such as senior public servants, university academics, professionals, diplomats, business executives, etc, most of them will tell you that most, if not all, of their children are domiciled in overseas countries. These children have had access to the best education here or abroad and secured professional qualifications, but have settled down in other countries due to better prospects there.

*Daily Mirror* (Sri Lanka), 20/01/2014

## 4. The irregular migration thematic category

This was assigned to a message whenever it described people who had arrived in a country illegally or irregularly. It was not applied to people who had over-stayed their visas, or who were overseas workers or students, working illegally. As with all themes, 'irregular migration' was applied only where the article was focal to this study.

Example text:

> It is one of the worst such disasters to occur off the Italian coast in recent years; Prime Minister Enrico Letta tweeted that it was 'an immense tragedy'. The boat was believed to have been carrying about 500 people at the time. 'There is no miraculous solution to the migrant exodus issue,' said Italian Foreign Minister Emma Bonino. 'If there were we would have found it and put it into action.' Also on Thursday, local media reported that around 200 migrants were escorted to the port of Syracuse on the island of Sicily, when the vessel encountered difficulties five miles off the coast. Earlier this week, 13 migrants drowned while trying to reach Sicily.

BBC, 04/10/2013

## 5. The migrant accommodation (including detention) thematic category

This category includes messages relating to detention centres, asylum application and/or refugee processing centres, official or unofficial camps, transit accommodation, as well as any temporary or permanent accommodation provided for migrants, asylum seekers or refugees.

Example text:

> Human Rights and asylum seeker advocates were condemning a decision to employ a former Sri Lankan military officer as the acting operations manager of the Manus Island detention centre. The ABC has confirmed that the former Sri Lanka military officer has been running the facility for the G4S security company.

*Daily Mirror* (Sri Lanka), 25/02/2014

## 6. The overseas workers thematic category

This theme was applied to messages that related specifically to those people working outside their native countries, but who had not sought refuge or asylum, and who had not been migrating to the country in which they were working or intending to work. It was also applied to messages around foreign worker exploitation, poor treatment, deportation, remittances, as well as references to the extent to which remittances had contributed to an economy.

Example text:

> Remittance inflows are believed to have played an effective role in poverty alleviation, assisting development process and in improving standards of living. In recent years, remittances are one of the largest sources of external finance for developing countries. Inward remittances are also associated with increased household investments in education, health and entrepreneurship. This has a high social return in most circumstances.
>
> *The Financial Express* (Bangladesh), 23/10/2013

## 7. The overseas students thematic category

This category was attached to messages that related to students studying outside their native countries.

Example text:

> Fouss said false stories and fake documents often end up with a refusal and a permanent mark against the applicant. He highly suggested anyone interested in studying in the US to go to EducationUSA instead of going to brokers for assistance.
> 'The US likes having foreign students in their schools. This is good for Americans for a number of reasons...America benefits in so many ways. Visitors are good for US-Bangladesh cultural ties and they're good for the US economy.' Press and Information Office of the US Embassy, Kelly McCarthy who was also present at the press conference said, 'It's a win-win situation. The US institutions win, American students win and Bangladesh also wins when students return to Bangladesh.'
>
> *The News Today* (Bangladesh), 16/11/2013

## 8. The people smuggling and trafficking thematic category

This theme was used to group messages relating to the act of people smuggling, as well as to the smugglers themselves and their organisations. It also took in the practice of human trafficking, the slave trade, and the steps being taken to combat these practices.

Example text:

> Illegal migrants, no matter which country they belong to, risk life and limb for a shot at a better life. They often take the perilous road to greener pastures, prodded on by ruthless human trafficking syndicates. Pakistan, whose border controls are notoriously lax and shoddy, bears the brunt of this dangerous inflow and outflow of fortune-hunters. Small wonder, then, that Pakistan continues to feature prominently in international studies documenting the scale of the problem. On January 23, for instance, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) launched a report in Islamabad, naming Pakistan among the few countries facing human trafficking and illegal migration challenges.
>
> *The Express Tribune* (Pakistan), 25/01/2014

# APPENDIX C

# Individual country summaries

## Contents

# UNITED KINGDOM

The United Kingdom's media environment delivers a free and open flow of news and opinion on migration to audiences. During the six month period from October 2013 to March 2014, the United Kingdom accounted for the greatest volume of overall media coverage of any country in the study, delivering more than 250,000 pieces.

A substantial number of media outlets serve Britain's large population, relative to the other destination countries. Stories regarding world events, including those involving migration and asylum seekers, are often syndicated across large numbers of these outlets. This ensures the population is exposed to a continuous flow of news and opinion on these matters.

A significant proportion of the media's messaging surrounded concerns about how the inflow of migrants might negatively affect the economy. There was also substantial messaging in humanitarian and security contexts. Migration in the context of social issues was the least discussed facet of this topic.

Together, the themes of 'immigration and immigrants', 'asylum seekers and refugees', and 'irregular migration' accounted for 88% of the messages in focal content published during this study. 'Irregular migration', with 17% of the coverage for the period, was the third most prominent media theme.

Between the start of October 2013 and the end of March in 2014, British audiences were exposed to some 250,000 print and online media pieces discussing migration, the plight of refugees and asylum seekers, or other related issues. A significant volume of these pieces did not address United Kingdom-specific issues, but rather they provided information about the various pockets of unrest and strife throughout the world, and the seeking of refuge and asylum. Over the six month study period, 50,000 media pieces were classed as in-depth (containing four or more references to the topic at hand). Of these, approximately 2,500 pieces were focal editorials published in major media outlets. An in-depth analysis of 600 of these pieces was conducted.

UK Coverage Trend
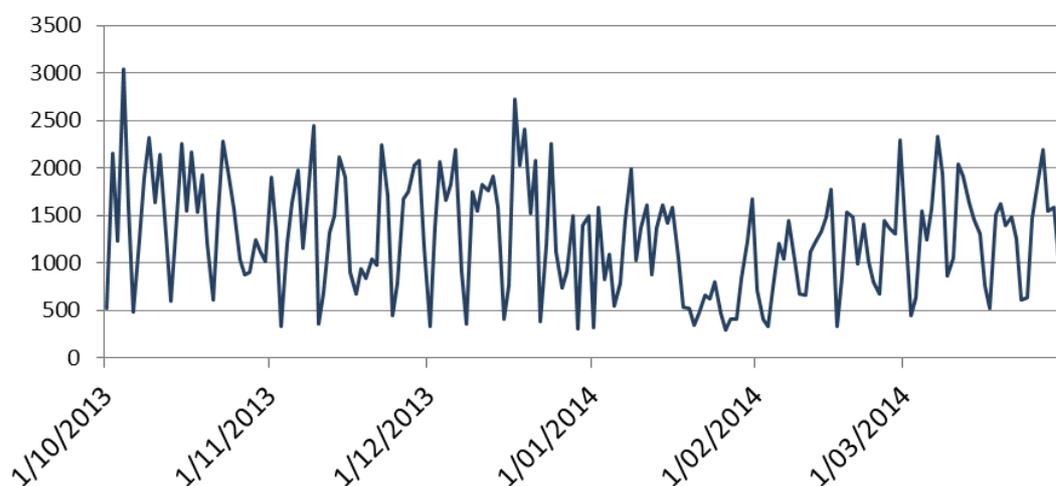
## Thematic media coverage

**Figure C1: Proportional presence of key themes in the United Kingdom**
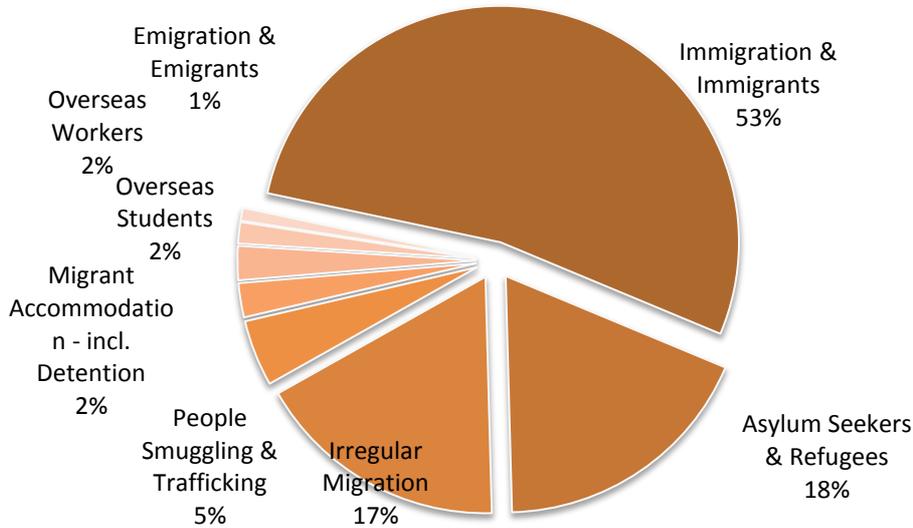


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=217), Irregular migration (n=234), Immigration and immigrants (n=891), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=25), People smuggling and trafficking (n=42), Overseas students (n=18), Overseas workers (n=18), Emigration and emigrants (n=6).

Articles: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=125), Irregular migration (n=118), Immigration and immigrants (n=363), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=16), People smuggling and trafficking (n=31), Overseas students (n=16), Overseas workers (n=10), Emigration and emigrants (n=6).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

**Figure C2: Thematic breakdown for the United Kingdom**
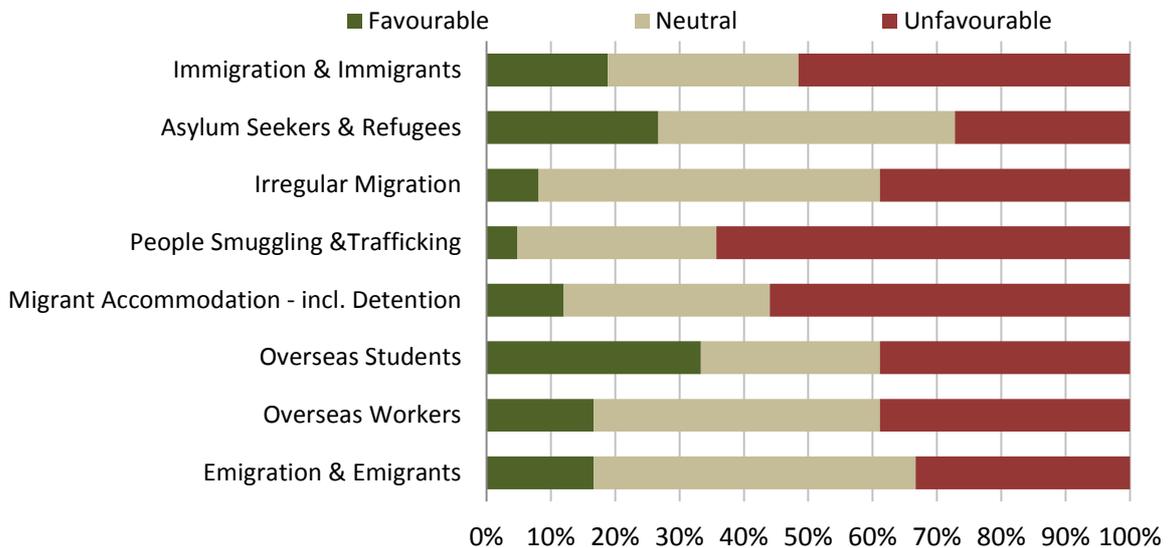


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=1,085), Irregular migration (n=1,170), Immigration and immigrants (n=4,455), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=125), People smuggling and trafficking (n=210), Overseas students (n=90), Overseas workers (n=90), Emigration and emigrants (n=30).

Articles: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=625), Irregular migration (n=590), Immigration and immigrants (n=1,815), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=80), People smuggling and trafficking (n=155), Overseas students (n=80), Overseas workers (n=50), Emigration and emigrants (n=30).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

'Immigration and immigrants' was the dominant theme for the study period, accounting for more than half of all local, focal stories. Commentary in this area was driven mostly by political discussion

surrounding the high rates of immigration to the United Kingdom with more than half of this coverage (52%) not in favour of immigration and immigrants.

The impact of European immigration on the local job market also came under increasing scrutiny in the lead-up to the lifting of entry restrictions on Romanian and Bulgarian citizens on 1 January 2014. The issue peaked in the final week of November when both the *Daily Mail* and the *Sunday Times* published polls showing strong support for the restrictions to be maintained.

The immigration rate came under renewed scrutiny in the last week of February, with the release of new figures showing a rise of more than 30% in net migration to 212,000 over the year to September 2013. The result was widely cited as evidence the government had failed to meet its pledge to bring net migration to below 100,000 before the May local elections.

'Asylum seekers and refugees' saw mixed support and opposition. Unfavourable commentary mostly related to questions over the legitimacy of some asylum seekers and concerns that refugee status was being exploited by criminals and other undesirables to enter or stay in the United Kingdom. One example of this was coverage that centred on revelations that a prominent al Qaeda terror suspect, Abu Anas al-Libi, was granted asylum in the United Kingdom in the mid-1990s.[4]

The plight of Syrians displaced by war was a major issue, and a leading source of supportive coverage of asylum seekers and refugees. Scotland's announcement that it would offer asylum to Ugandans persecuted under laws criminalising homosexuality also attracted supportive comment.

As with other destination countries, events in the Mediterranean comprised the majority of commentary under the 'irregular migration' theme. Coverage was particularly high in October due to widespread media attention to the deaths of African migrants en route to the Italian island of Lampedusa. While the disasters were universally described as tragic, irregular migration received little supporting comment, with concerns cited about the high number of arrivals and the importance of being tough on illegal migration.

Stories and messages about 'people smuggling and trafficking' were predominantly couched in terms of condemnation, more so than any other theme in the United Kingdom media. A large number of messages opposed the practice specifically in regard to its ties to sex slavery and the exploitation of the vulnerable.

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[4] Al Libi fled Britain after being accused of involvement in the 1998 United States embassy bombings in Africa.

## Framing of the media discussion

**Figure C3: Message contexts for the United Kingdom**
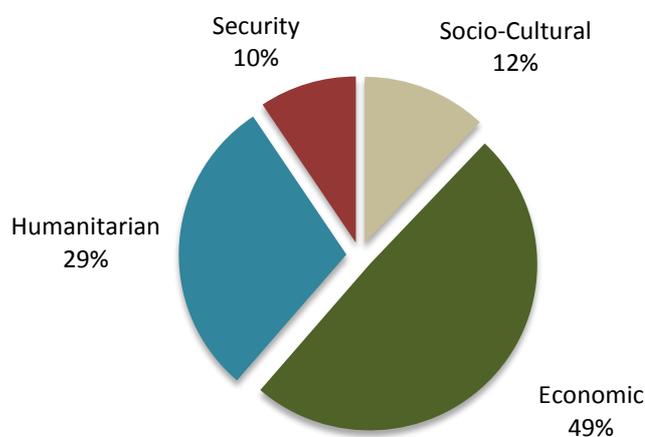


Articles: Socio-cultural (n=100), Economic (n=409), Humanitarian (n=243), Security (n=78).
Source: In-depth analysis set.

**Figure C4: Key themes broken down by context for the United Kingdom**
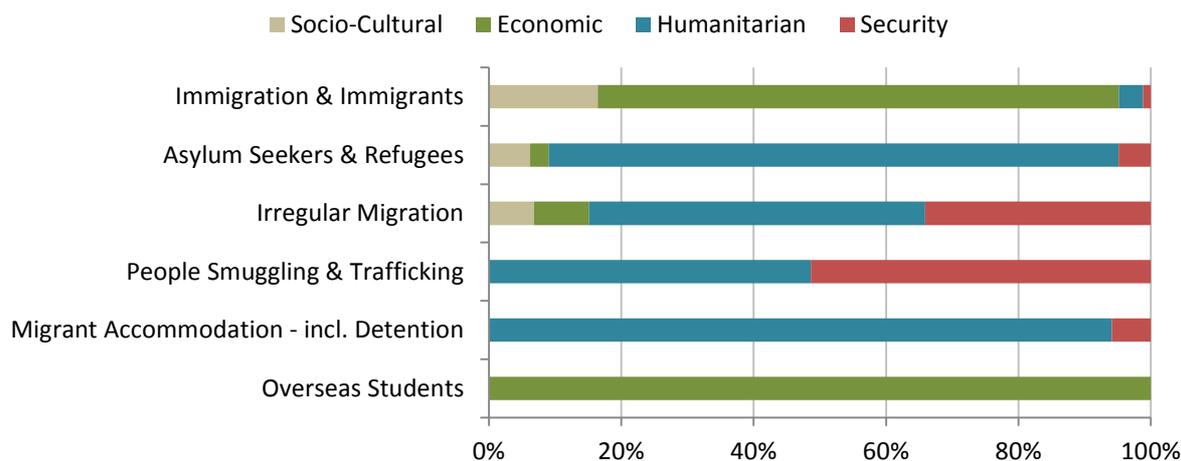


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=1,000), Irregular migration (n=1,070), Immigration and immigrants (n=4,175), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=100), People smuggling and trafficking (n=185), Overseas students (n=50).
Source: In-depth analysis set.

## Voices in the media

**Figure C5: Prominent spokespeople in the United Kingdom**
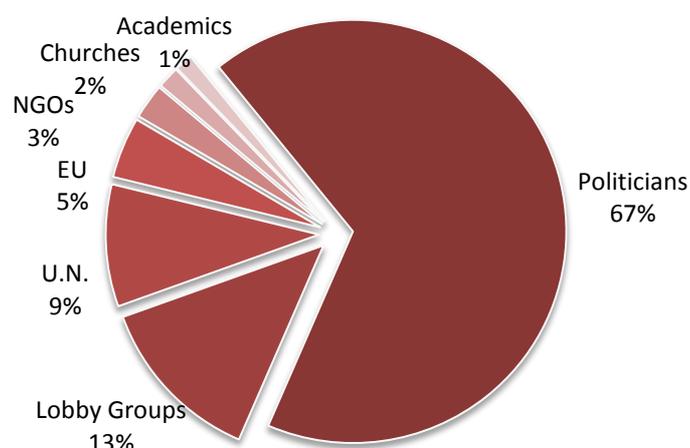


Articles: Politicians (n=202), Lobby groups (n=39), United Nations (n=28), Churches (n=5), European Union (n=14), Academics (n=4), Non-government organisations (n=8).

Note: more than one spokesperson can be identified in a single media piece.

Source: In-depth analysis set.

Political leaders were the most prominent source of key messages on United Kingdom immigration matters, generating two thirds (67%) of overall comment. Lobby groups were the second most prominent message source (13%) and were particularly outspoken on issues of migration control, 'benefits tourism' and the rights of Syrian refugees.

## Major stories

The following stories generated significant interest across the study period, and were often widely syndicated.

- A government campaign targeting 'illegal migrants' drew widespread coverage. Messages were to include warning people living in the United Kingdom illegally to go home or face arrest. It was subsequently announced that the campaign would be scrapped, after having been roundly criticised in the media (12 October 2013).

- The British Labour Party announced a reform package aimed at stopping the exploitation of low-skilled immigrants (12 October 2013).

- November saw interviews and opinion polls expressing concerns about the lifting of controls restricting entry of Romanian and Bulgarian citizens into the United Kingdom (throughout late November 2013).

- In December the government announced that from 2014, migrants would be charged for medical treatment received from the National Health Service. This was in response to concerns that people had been travelling to the United Kingdom to take advantage of the free medical services available there.

- The disappearance of an 18-year-old Pakistani asylum seeker from her home in South Wales attracted significant syndication. She had been unable to attend university because of her family's status as failed asylum seekers (8 January 2014).

- The United Kingdom government again came under fire for failing to bring migration rates down. Figures were released showing an increase in migration of more than 30% over the previous year.

# SWITZERLAND

Switzerland's media environment, like all destination countries studied, delivered a wide range of news and opinion pieces to audiences throughout the study period.

Against a background of increasing arrivals of asylum seekers and migrants to the European Union, and stories expressing the United Kingdom's concerns about the impact of these arrivals, the Swiss media tended to focus heavily on immigration in the context of its potential economic impact during the study period.

Other themes were more often discussed in terms of humanitarian and security contexts. The social effect was the least discussed facet of the broader migration topic.

There was a relatively even distribution of coverage across the major thematic categories. 'Asylum seekers and refugees', 'immigration and immigrants', and 'irregular migration' each accounted for around a quarter of the articles placed before Swiss audiences (28%, 28% and 23% respectively). As expected during a time of intense political debate, politicians were Switzerland's number one source of messaging.

Between the start of October 2013, and the end of March 2014, Swiss audiences were exposed to almost 35,000 print and online media pieces discussing the plight of refugees and asylum seekers, or talking about various issues surrounding migration, irregular migration and detention. However, as with all the destination countries studied, the bulk of these pieces were news bulletin-type reports, informing audiences about the various pockets of unrest and strife throughout the world, and the seeking of refuge and asylum. Of the total media pieces, 7,400 media pieces were classed as in-depth (containing four or more references to the topic at hand), with just under half (3,100) being focal editorials published in major media outlets. An in-depth analysis of 650 of these media pieces was conducted.

Swiss Coverage Trend
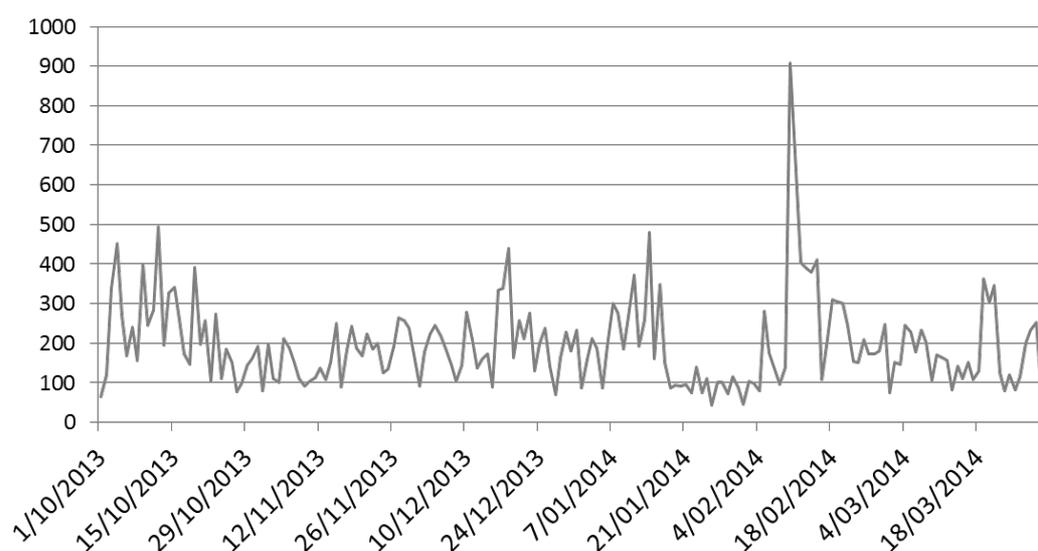
## Thematic media coverage

**Figure C6: Proportional presence of key themes in Switzerland**
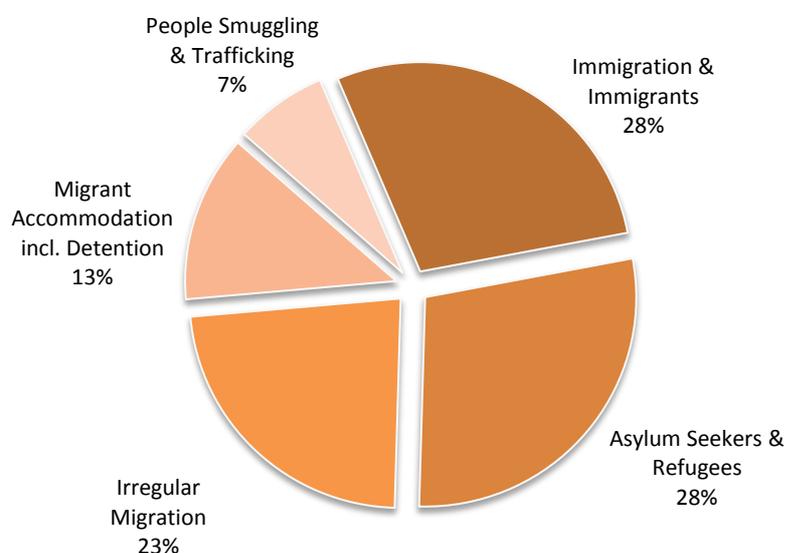


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=383), Irregular migration (n=276), Immigration and immigrants (n=645), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=167), People smuggling and trafficking (n=85).

Articles: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=216), Irregular migration (n=176), Immigration and immigrants (n=216), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=98), People smuggling and trafficking (n=54).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

**Figure C7: Thematic breakdown for Switzerland**
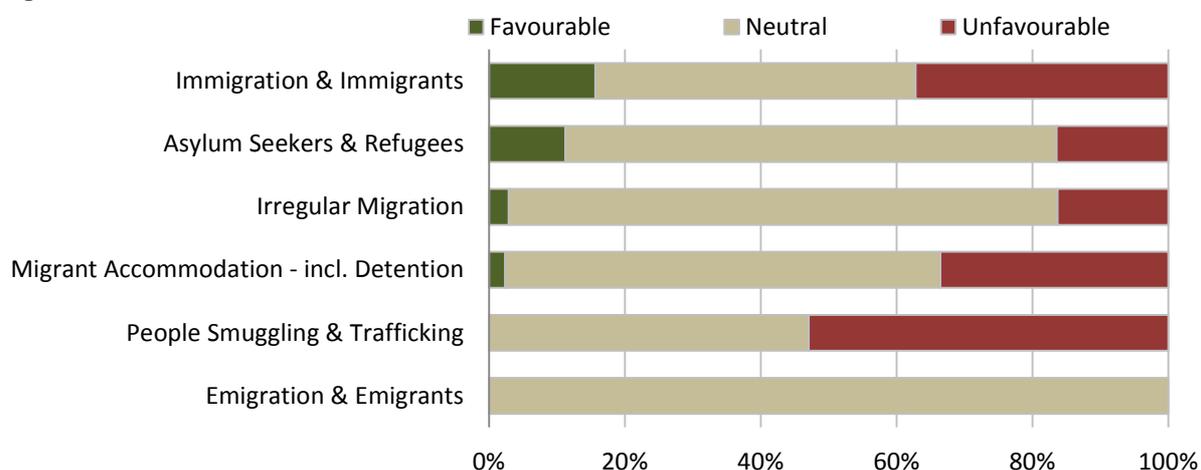


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=958), Irregular migration (n=690), Immigration and immigrants (n=1,613), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=418), People smuggling and trafficking (n=213), Emigration and emigrants (n=23).

Articles: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=540), Irregular migration (n=440), Immigration and immigrants (n=540), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=245), People smuggling and trafficking (n=135), Emigration and Emigrants (n=23).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

As mentioned previously, 'asylum seekers and refugees', 'immigration and immigrants', and 'irregular migration', each accounted for around a quarter of the articles placed before Swiss audiences.

Coverage of 'asylum seekers and refugees' was very balanced due to the high level of neutral (purely factual) media reporting that stemmed from in-depth reports detailing the number of asylum seekers and refugees throughout the world and coming into Switzerland and Europe. Messages favourable

towards asylum seekers and refugees largely related to reports calling on Europe to do more for Syrian refugees.

Coverage that was unfavourable towards asylum seekers and refugees was driven by a range of issues including: the introduction of new policies requiring asylum seekers to provide DNA samples; the perception that many asylum seekers were 'not genuine'; and a perception that asylum seekers and refugees contributed to crime.

'Immigration and immigrants' was the most polarised area of coverage, representing the greatest mix of favourable and unfavourable commentary. The Swiss People's Party initiative to control mass migration was a key driver of unfavourable messaging. There was also a significant level of reporting on United Kingdom concerns about an expected influx of significant numbers of migrant workers from Bulgaria and Romania. Media commentary that was favourable towards immigration and immigrants focused on the economic benefits that can flow from having a growing population.

Coverage of 'irregular migration' was dominated by events in the Mediterranean. Information on the number of boat arrivals, the number of irregular migrants both rescued and drowned, and their country of origin made up the bulk of neutral commentary. Coverage that was unfavourable included complaints about the number of irregular migrants attempting to reach Europe and calls for tougher policies to cut their numbers. There was very little coverage favourable towards irregular migrants, however, there were some media reports praising efforts to rescue irregular migrants.

Within the 'migrant accommodation (including detention)' theme, the most contentious issue was the poor condition of camps housing irregular migrants on the Italian island of Lampedusa.

'People smuggling and trafficking' coverage was closely linked with irregular migration. It contained the highest proportion of unfavourable commentary. Media discussion was largely split between condemning people smugglers for preying on the vulnerable, and calls for authorities to crack down on the illegal trade.

## Framing of the media discussion

**Figure C8: Message contexts for Switzerland**
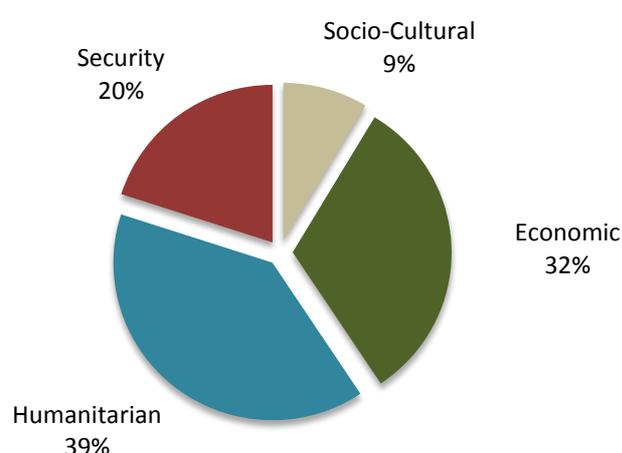


Articles: Socio-cultural (n=77), Economic (n=286), Humanitarian (n=351), Security (n=179).
Source: In-depth analysis set.

**Figure C9: Key themes broken down by context for Switzerland**
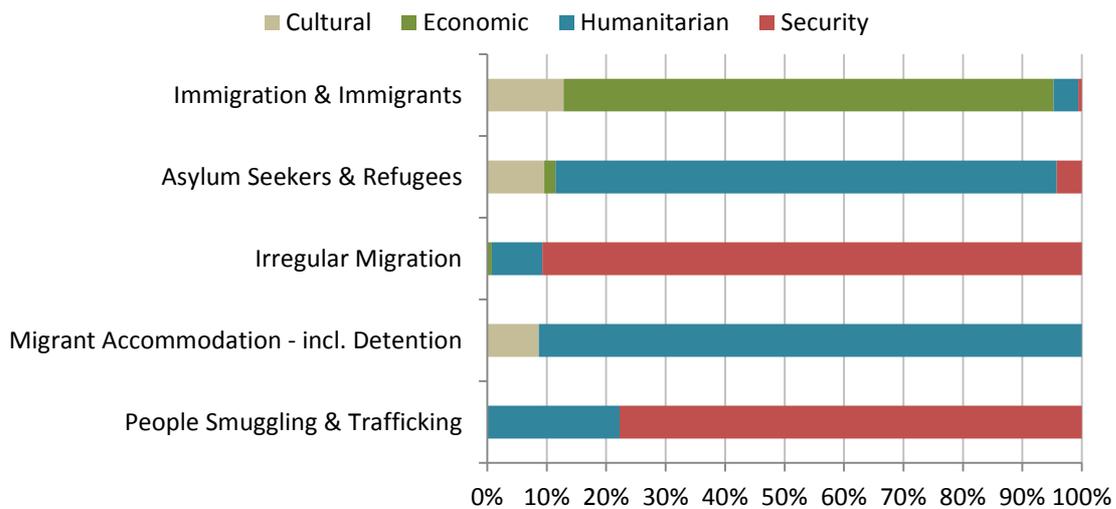


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=860), Irregular migration (n=690), Immigration and immigrants (n=1,580), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=303), People smuggling and trafficking (n=160).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

## Voices in the media

**Figure C10: Prominent spokespeople in Switzerland**
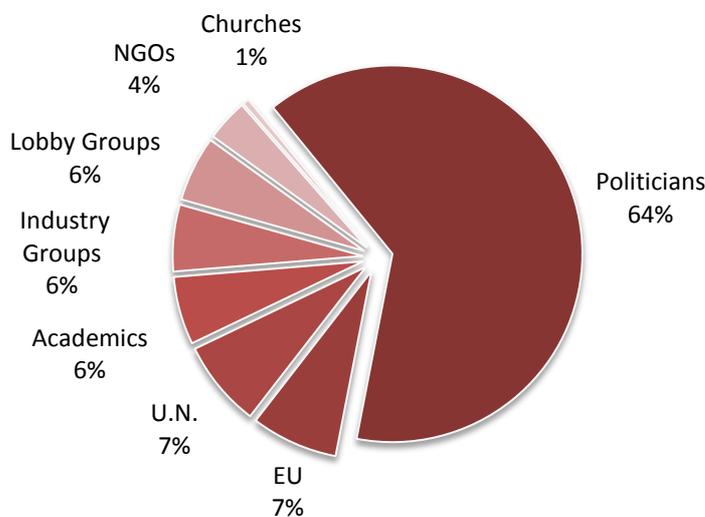


Articles: Politicians (n=569), Lobby groups (n=50), United Nations (n=66), Churches (n=5), European Union (n=66), Industry groups (n=51), Academics (n=52), Non-government organsiations (n=32).

Note: More than one spokesperson can be identified in a single media piece.

Source: In-depth analysis set.

With a high proportion of the media relevant to migration issues related to the Swiss People's Party initiative to control mass migration, it is not surprising that politicians were the dominant voice across the study period.

European Union spokespeople appeared mostly in relation to events in Southern Europe. They were critical of Spain's use of rubber bullets to deter irregular migrants from landing ashore. The United Nations was a leading voice in coverage relating to the Syrian refugee crisis.

Academics, industry groups, and lobby groups spoke out on more local issues such as the SVP initiative and its potential impact on the Swiss economy.

## Major stories

Examples of the major stories presented to Swiss audiences across the study period include:

- The boat sinking near Lampedusa Island was a major story that broke on 3 October 2013. This story continued to attract media attention throughout October, notably between 10 and 12 October.

- These migrant boat arrivals sparked media discussion regarding the broader European Union asylum seeker and refugee policy.

- In late December 2013, the media landscape was dominated by four stories: the Swiss People's Party initiative to cut mass immigration; conditions in the Lampedusa Island refugee camps; irregular migrants arriving in the Spanish enclaves of Morocco; and debates in the United Kingdom about migrant worker access to benefits.

- The SVP initiative remained a prominent story in January, with a focus on seasonal workers, the economy and social welfare. There was also discussion relating to Swiss support for Syrian refugees.

- Coverage spiked in February 2014 as the Swiss People's Party initiative against mass migration was accepted by referendum. Much of this coverage consisted of short, bulletin type reports.

- Also in February, there were further reports of irregular migrants' deaths, this time in Spanish Morocco.

- In late March, an Association for Ecology and Population initiative to contain population growth attracted media interest, however, it did not receive support from most mainstream political parties.

# NORWAY

Norway's media environment, like all the destination countries studied, delivered a wide range of news and opinion pieces to audiences throughout the study period.

Between the start of October 2013, and the end of March in 2014, Norwegians were exposed to some 14,000 print and online media pieces discussing the plight of refugees and asylum seekers, or talking about various issues related to migration, irregular migration and detention. Most of these pieces did not address Norway-specific issues, but rather provided information about the various pockets of unrest and strife throughout the world, and the seeking of refuge and asylum.

Over the six month study period, 1,500 media pieces were classed as in-depth (containing four or more references to the topic at hand). Of these, nearly 600 appeared in major media outlets. An in-depth analysis of 400 of these media pieces was conducted.

## Norwegian Coverage Trend
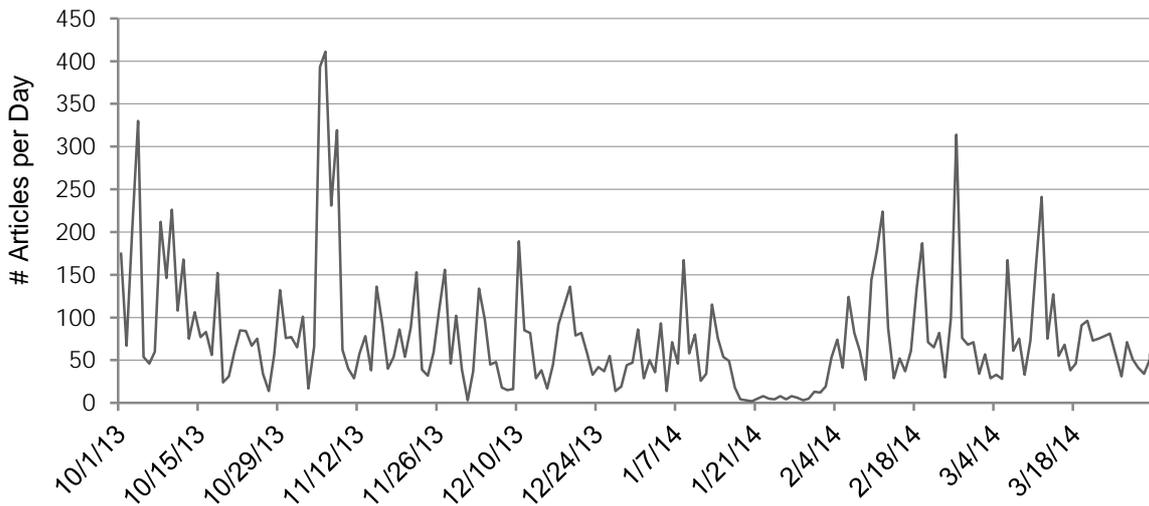


## Thematic media coverage

**Figure C11: Proportional presence of key themes in Norway**
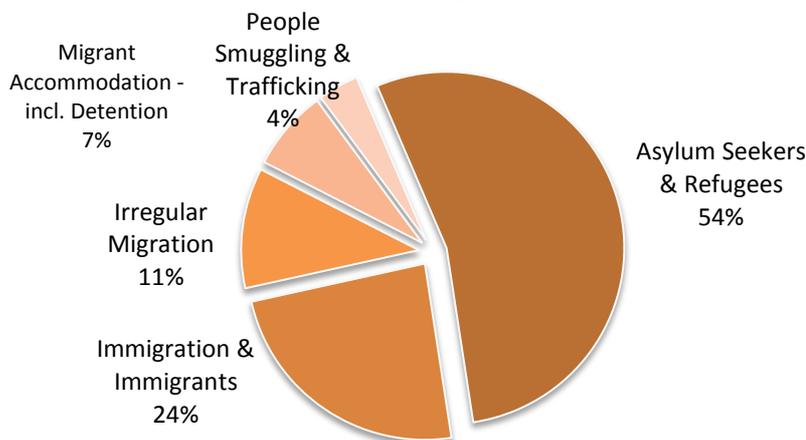


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=420), Irregular migration (n=75), Immigration and immigrants (n=199), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=33).

Articles: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=176), Irregular migration (n=36), Immigration and immigrants (n=78), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=24).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

**Figure C12: Thematic breakdown for Norway**
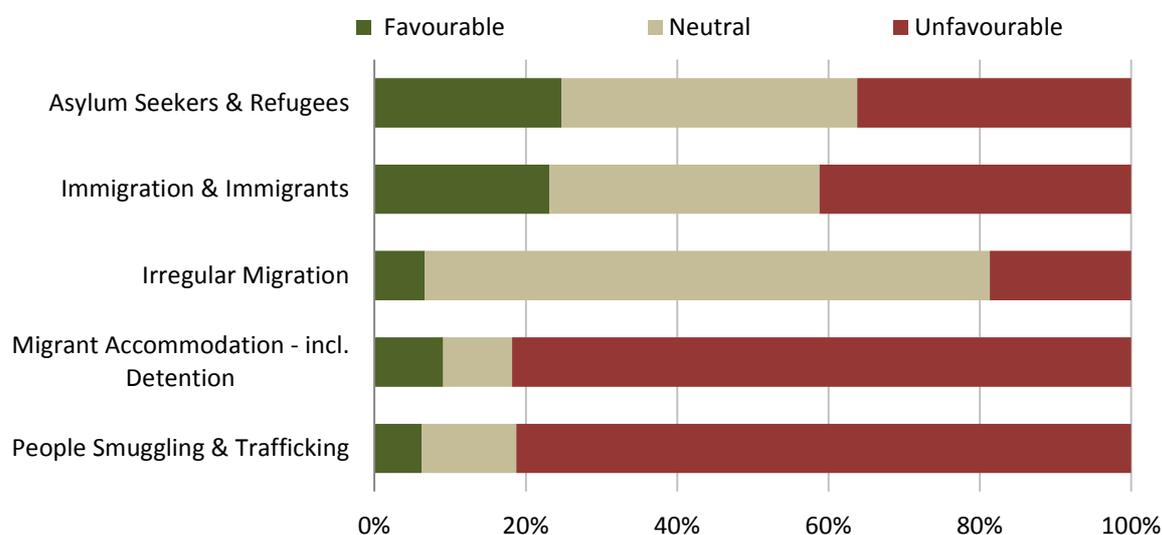


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=840), Irregular migration (n=150), Immigration and immigrants (n=398), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=66), People smuggling and trafficking (n=32).

Articles: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=352), Irregular migration (n=72), Immigration and immigrants (n=156), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=48), People smuggling and trafficking (n=24).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

Discussion of 'asylum seekers and refugees' appeared in more than half of all media items relating to wider immigration issues in the Norwegian media. It also generated the most balanced coverage in terms of the prevalence of both favourable and unfavourable commentary.

The cost of resettling refugees and asylum seekers was one of the leading unfavourable messages, with local municipalities calling on the central government to cover the cost. A triple murder committed by an asylum seeker contributed to negative sentiment, while also raising questions about the level of mental health care offered to asylum seekers.

While the cost of resettling refugees was contentious, the government's commitment to finding accommodation for these people was nevertheless a leading favourable message. Norway's support for Syrian refugees was also a leading story, while there were reports about the benefits refugees and asylum seekers bring to local culture.

'Immigration and immigrants' saw a balanced message mix (relative to other media themes), with favourable commentary accounting for just over one in five messages and unfavourable commentary accounting for just over two in five. The most prominent message to appear in Norwegian media relating to this theme was the need for greater control over immigration numbers. There was a perception in the media that migrants put undue strain on benefits, services and social infrastructure.

Questions were also raised about the social impact of immigration. The importance of integration was prominent in media coverage. There was concern that migrants could dilute the local culture, while there were also suggestions that immigration leads to increased social disharmony. More positive messages regarding immigration pointed to its economic benefits, while others claimed it enriched the local culture.

Media coverage relevant to 'irregular migration' largely related to migrant boat arrivals in the Mediterranean. Reports were mostly factual, news bulletin-style reports.

Coverage relating to 'people smuggling and trafficking' and 'migrant accommodation (including detention)' attracted high levels of unfavourable coverage. The conditions at the Lampedusa Island camp were criticised heavily. People smuggling coverage focused on efforts to curb the people smuggling trade, although there was some favourable suggestion that smugglers offered the only hope for those seeking asylum.

## Framing of the media discussion

**Figure C13: Message contexts for Norway**
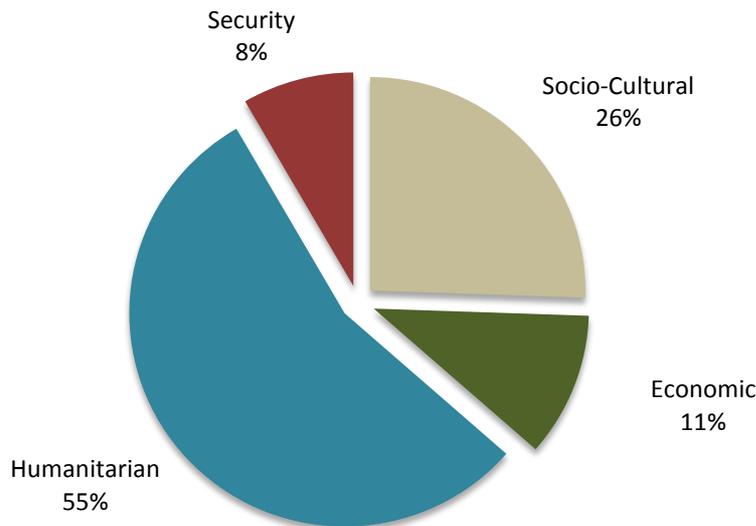


Articles: Socio-cultural (n=131), Economic (n=56), Humanitarian (n=283), Security (n=43).
Source: In-depth analysis set.

**Figure C14: Key themes broken down by context for Norway**
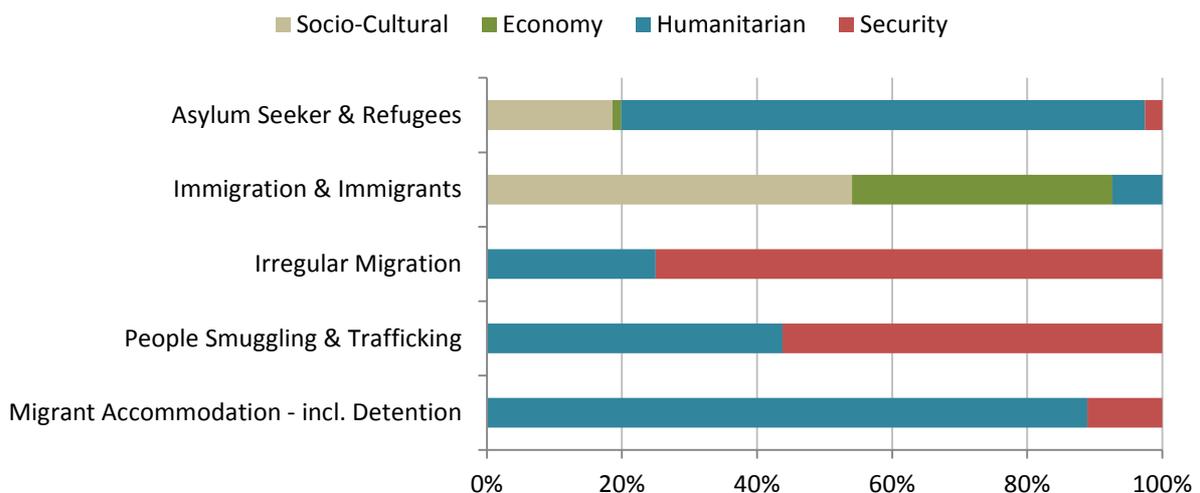


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=788), Irregular migration (n=146), Immigration and immigrants (n=358), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=66), People smuggling and trafficking (n=32).
Source: In-depth analysis set.

## Voices in the media

**Figure C15: Prominent spokespeople in Norway**
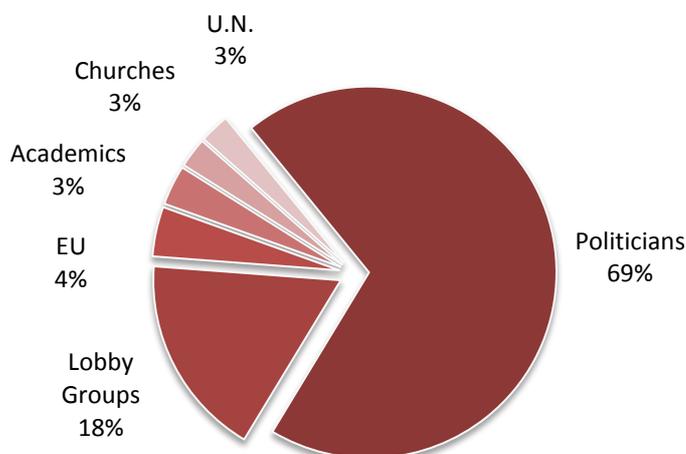


Articles: Politicians (n=241), Lobby groups (n=61), United Nations (n=9), Churches (n=9), EU (n=15), Academics (n=12).

Note: More than one spokesperson can be identified in a single media piece.

Source: In-depth analysis set.

Politicians discussed the potential for stricter controls on immigration, with calls for a Swiss-style referendum. Policy discussion around child amnesty and church asylum was also prominent.

With regard to lobby groups, church asylum was a prominent issue. As was integration, with warnings that appearance of stereotypes and generalisations in rhetoric around migration did not lead to positive integration.

The European Union released research suggesting migrant workers had a net positive impact on Europe.

## Major stories

Examples of the major stories presented to Norwegian audiences across the study period include:

- The Lampedusa Island boat sinking was a major story in early October. Also prominent in October 2013 was the government's plan to end 'church asylum', a move opposed by the Christian Democrat Party.

- The government's policy to resettle refugees in local communities also attracted criticism in the media during October 2013.

- In November 2013, reports that an asylum seeker committed triple murder after hi-jacking a bus led to increased discussion about the mental health of asylum seekers.

- Also in November 2013, there were reports saying unemployment was higher among the migrant community in Norway.

- 'Church asylum' became an issue again in December 2013 after Bishops said the Church would not change its practices despite government policy.

- While not a prominent story, there was some coverage of a research report from the University of Oslo published in January 2014 that suggested there was less immigration coverage in the Norwegian media since the massacre by Anders Behring Breivik in July 2011.

- In February 2014 there were calls from the Progress Party for a referendum asking if more controls were needed regarding mass immigration. This followed the success of a similar vote in Switzerland.

- In March 2014, there were reports that Norway had begun the process of resettling Syrian refugees in Norway. This attracted media attention throughout the period.

# THE NETHERLANDS

The media environment in the Netherlands provides a free and open flow of news and opinion on migration to its audiences. By far the greatest proportion of stories during the study period was bulletin-style coverage that was brief, light on detail, and updated information or reminded audiences of larger more in-depth pieces also running in the media at the time. More focal, message-rich pieces (the objects of the in-depth analysis) comprised world news, local political announcements, as well as opinion pieces from non-government organisations, political opponents, academics, churches, lobbyists and business.

Together, the bulletin and focal media reports represented a substantial regular flow of media content on the subject of migration. There were very few breaks in this coverage, allowing audiences to remain informed of factual information and the discussions on migration-related issues.

Of all the thematic areas covered in the Dutch media, the most prominent across the study set was the discussion of 'asylum seekers and refugees' in a humanitarian context. There was a reasonably balanced discussion of 'asylum seekers and refugees', in contrast to other themes, namely 'irregular migration', 'people smuggling and trafficking', 'immigration and immigrants', and 'migrant accommodation (including detention)'. There was some concern expressed about the impact of immigration and immigrants on the economic and socio-cultural environments in the Netherlands.

During the study period, Dutch audiences were exposed to some 28,000 print and online media pieces on migration. Most of these pieces did not address Netherlands-specific issues but instead provided information on the various pockets of unrest and strife throughout the world, and the impact on asylum seeker and refugee movements.

Of the total media pieces, around 6,100 pieces were classified as in-depth (containing four or more references to the topic at hand). Of these 2,600 (9%) of the media pieces were focal editorials published in major media outlets. An in-depth analysis of 40% of print items and 20% of online items (600 pieces) was conducted.

Dutch Coverage Trend
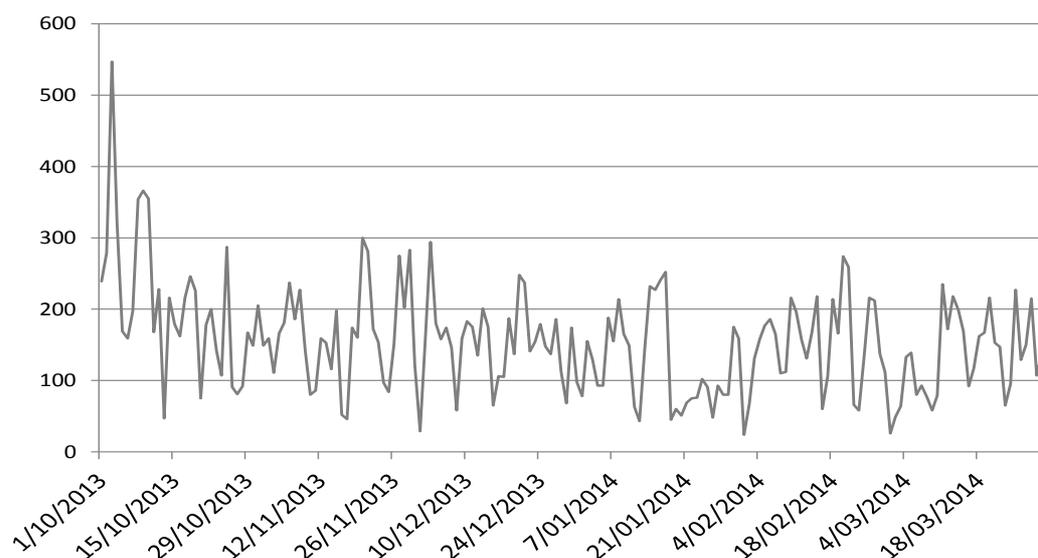
Thematic media coverage

**Figure C16: Proportional presence of key themes in the Netherlands**
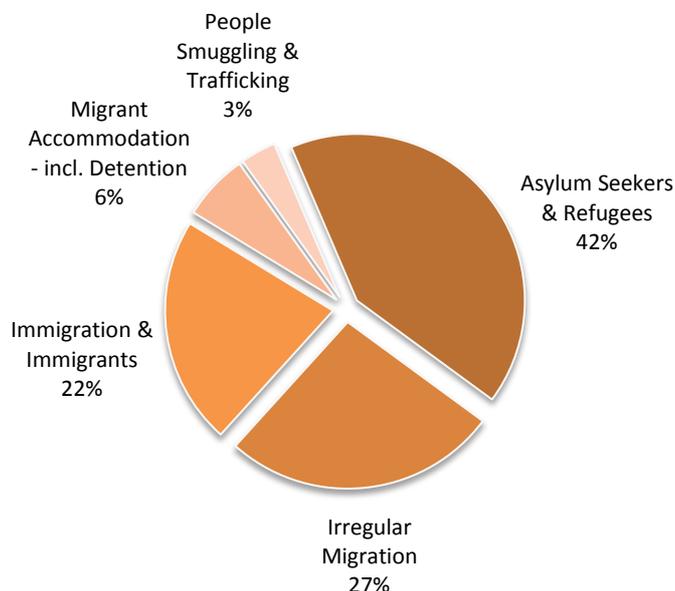


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=489), Irregular migration (n=276), Immigration and immigrants (n=409), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=67), People smuggling and trafficking (n=29).

Articles: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=291), Irregular migration (n=186), Immigration and immigrants (n=155), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=45), People smuggling and trafficking (n=24).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

**Figure C17: Thematic breakdown by favourability for the Netherlands**
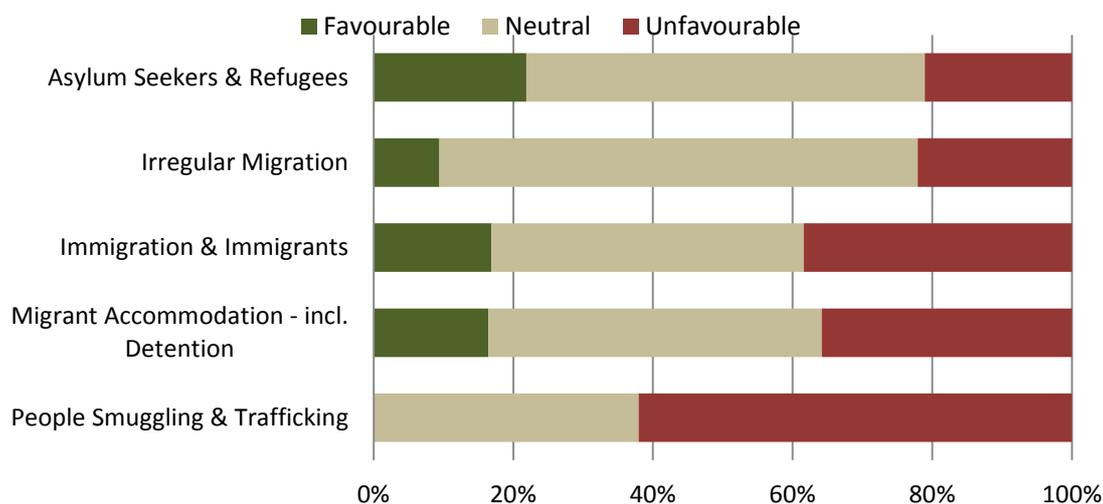


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=1223), Irregular migration (n=690), Immigration and immigrants (n=1,023), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=168), People smuggling and trafficking (n=73).

Articles: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=728), Irregular migration (n=465), Immigration and immigrants (n=388), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=113), People smuggling and trafficking (n=60).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

The most prominent theme in the study period in the Netherlands was 'Asylum seekers and refugees', which accounted for 42% of the media coverage.

'Asylum seekers and refugees' was also the most balanced in terms of favourable and unfavourable arguments. Messages that were favourable accounted for 22%, while unfavourable made up 21%. Prominent local issues included discussion surrounding the need for a quota on the number of rejected asylum seekers and asylum seeker access to health care. Processing and deportation, the Child Pardon Policy, and the asylum seeker accommodation also featured in Dutch media throughout the study period. Stories discussing Europe more widely included the plight of Syrian refugees, with calls for Europe to 'do more'. A European Union court decision granting asylum to Ugandan homosexuals also attracted significant media interest.

'Irregular migration' attracted the highest proportion of neutral coverage (68%). Much of this reporting related to boat arrivals in the Mediterranean, with reports mostly detailing the number of boats and migrants (those rescued, those drowned and country of origin).

'Immigration and immigrants' attracted a high proportion of unfavourable coverage (38%). Media coverage containing opinions and messages in opposition to immigration and immigrants spanned both local and Europe-wide issues. There was political debate about the need to restrict European Union migration. A survey found that more than half the Dutch population believed migrant workers from Eastern Europe brought more disadvantages than advantages. Favourable opinions on immigration pointed to the economic benefits provided by migrant workers as well the need to protect migrant workers from exploitation.

'Migrant accommodation (including detention)' made up very little of the coverage of local issues. Reports noted that detention was only used in the Netherlands as a last resort before deportation. The conditions in which irregular migrants were accommodated on Lampedusa Island received unfavourable media coverage.

'People smuggling and trafficking' unsurprisingly attracted a high degree of unfavourable coverage (62%). While there was a small amount of supportive media coverage of people smugglers in other countries, this was not the case in the Netherlands.

## Framing of the media discussion

**Figure C18: Message contexts for the Netherlands**
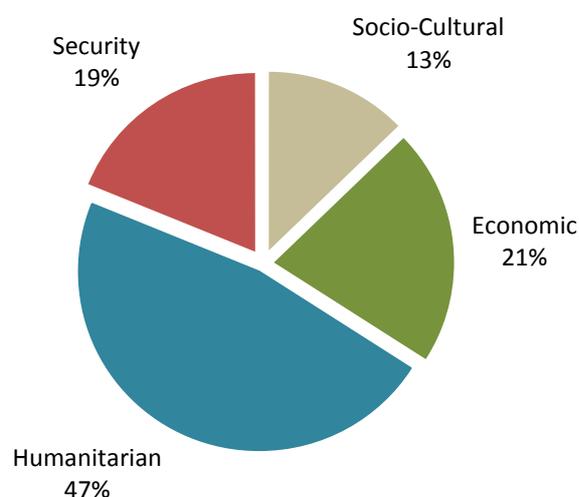


Articles: Socio-cultural (n=107), Economic (n=179), Humanitarian (n=395), Security (n=158).
Source: In-depth analysis set.

**Figure C19: Key themes broken down by context for the Netherlands**
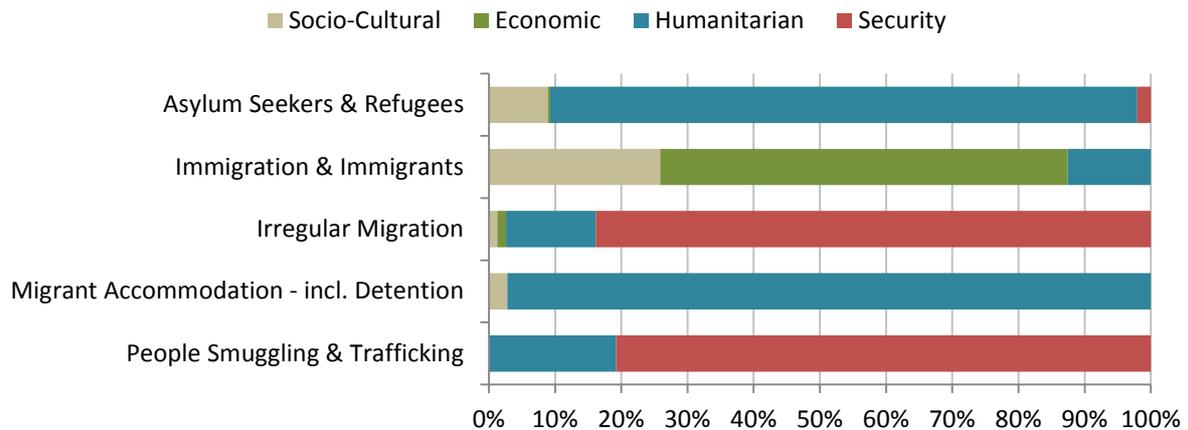


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=1,155), Irregular migration (n=668), Immigration and immigrants (n=968), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=148), People smuggling and trafficking (n=65).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

## Voices in the media

**Figure C20: Prominent spokespeople in the Netherlands**
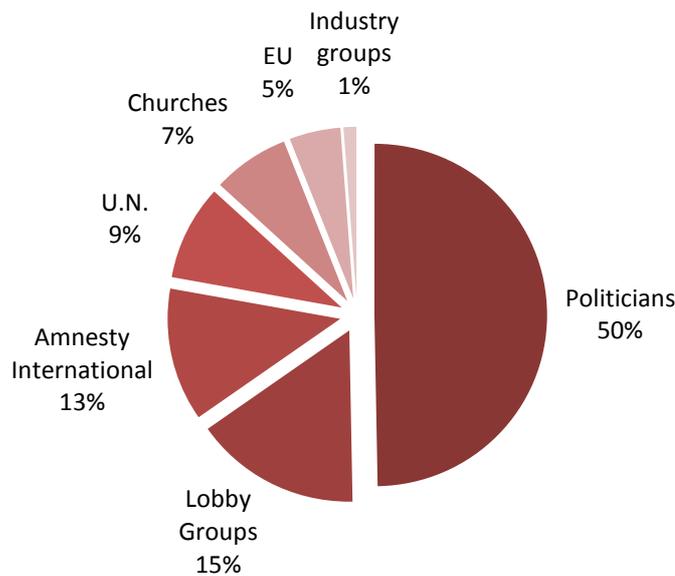


Articles: Politicians (n=83), Lobby groups (n=26), Amnesty International (n=21), U.N. (n=15), Churches (n=12), EU (n=8), Industry groups (n=2).

Note: More than one spokesperson can be identified in a single media piece.

Source: In-depth analysis set.

Dutch politicians discussed policy issues including accommodating illegal migrants, child pardons and asylum for homosexuals. They also weighed into debates about the importance of integration for new arrivals.

Lobby groups were most concerned with accommodation for asylum seekers and the poor treatment of migrant workers across Europe.

Amnesty International was a central voice in discussion around Syrian refugees, as was the United Nations, which was also prominent in media relating to boat arrivals in the Mediterranean.

Churches spoke about the need to house refugees and asylum seekers whose applications had been rejected.

## Major stories

Examples of the major stories reported to Dutch audiences across the study period include:

- There were reports about the boat carrying Libyan migrants that sank off the Italian island of Lampedusa. References to this disaster were seen throughout the reporting period, with renewed interest when a ship carrying Syrian and Palestinian migrants sank in the Maltese search and rescue zone (October 2013).

- The case of an 8-year-old child, born in the Dutch city of Zwolle, but facing deportation because he fell outside the Child Pardon regime, attracted media attention in November 2013.

- The story that immigration authorities were targeting 4,000 illegal migrants for the 'immigration quota', who were to be deported from the Netherlands, also attracted coverage in November 2013.

- In December 2013, a story broke about a group of approximately 100 asylum seekers who had been squatting in Amsterdam and were moved to a former prison, where they could stay for six months (December 2013).

- Results of a poll, in which Dutch residents expressed concerns about migrant workers, received coverage in December 2013. The poll also showed that more than half of the recipients felt that migrant workers were exploited and needed additional government protection.

- There were reports that MPs from the ruling Labour party had sided to end the quota targeting illegal migrants, calling for a more humane way to deal with illegal immigrants (November 2013).

- Across the study period there was media interest in the Syrian refugee crisis. There was some debate about how European countries should assist in providing support for refugees.

# CANADA

The Canadian media environment delivers a free and open flow of news and opinion on migration to audiences. By far the greatest proportion of stories placed before the public during the study period comprised bulletin-style' coverage that was brief, light on detail, and updated information or reminded audiences of the larger, more focal pieces also running in the media at the time. These accounted for 72% of the total print and online material in the Canadian country set.

More focal, message-rich pieces (the objects of the in-depth analysis) comprised world news, local political announcements, as well as opinion pieces from non-government organisations, political opponents, academics, lobbyists and business interests. Together, these bulletins and focal media reports represented a substantial and continuous flow of media content on migration. There was no break in this coverage, allowing audiences to remain informed of the plight of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees and of discussions related to these topics.

The most prominent thematic area covered in Canada's media was 'asylum seekers and refugees', within social, economic, and humanitarian contexts. In terms of favourable and unfavourable coverage, the Canadian media environment was largely balanced.

Between the start of October 2013, and the end of March 2014, Canadian audiences were exposed to some 58,000 print and online media pieces, discussing the plight of refugees and asylum seekers, or dealing with various issues surrounding migration, irregular migration and detention. Many were highly syndicated releases of stories current at the time. However, the bulk of these pieces did not address Canada-specific issues, but rather informed audiences about the various pockets of unrest and strife throughout the world, and the seeking of refuge and asylum. Over the six month study period 16,200 media pieces were classed as in-depth (four or more references to search terms). Of these just 3,047 pieces presented to Canadian audiences were focal editorials, published in major media outlets. An in-depth analysis was conducted on a 20% sample (600 pieces), extracted using a proportional filtering approach. Findings were  tested against the broader set.

Canada Coverage Trend
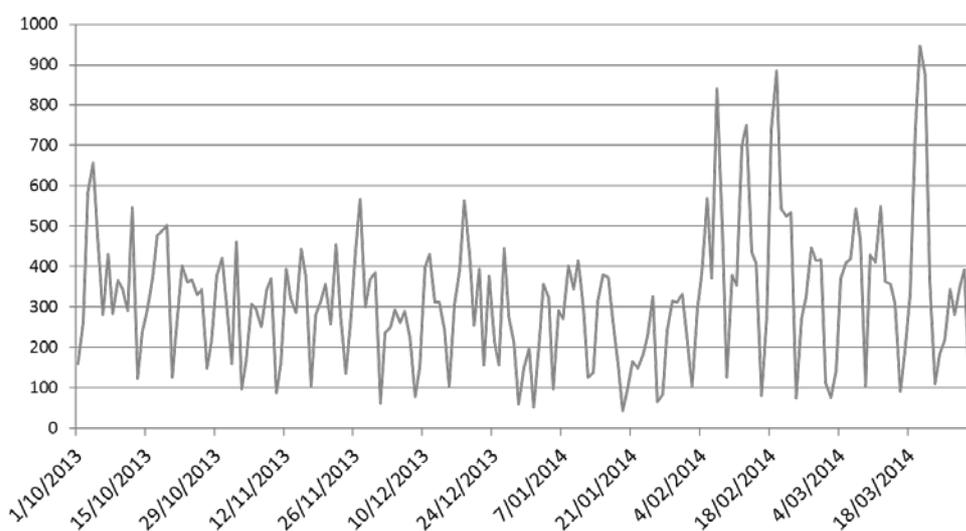
## Thematic media coverage

**Figure C21: Proportional presence of key themes in Canada**
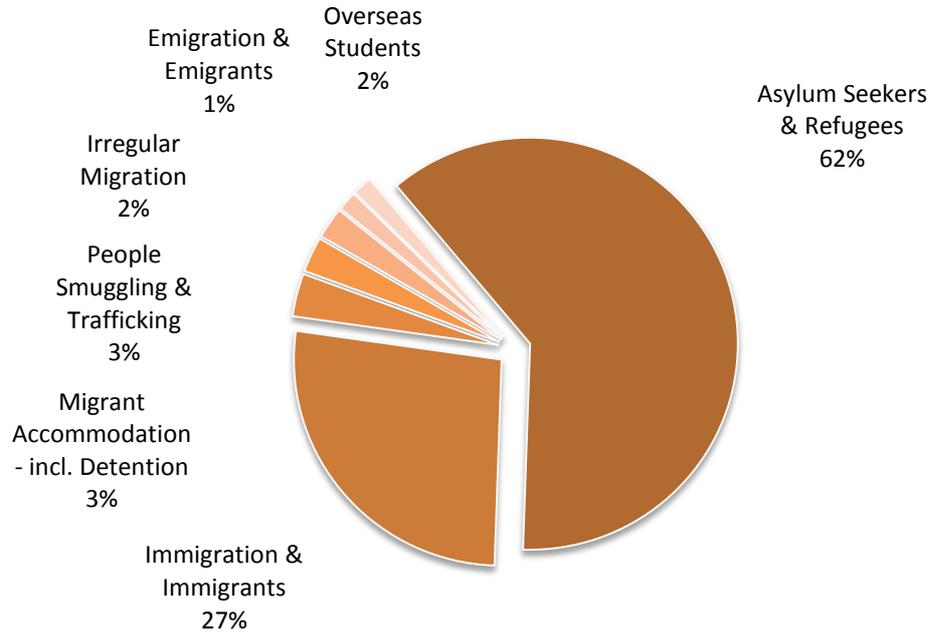


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=149), Immigration and immigrants (n=465).
Articles: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=201), Immigration and immigrants (n=87).
Source: In-depth analysis set.

**Figure C22: Thematic breakdown for Canada**
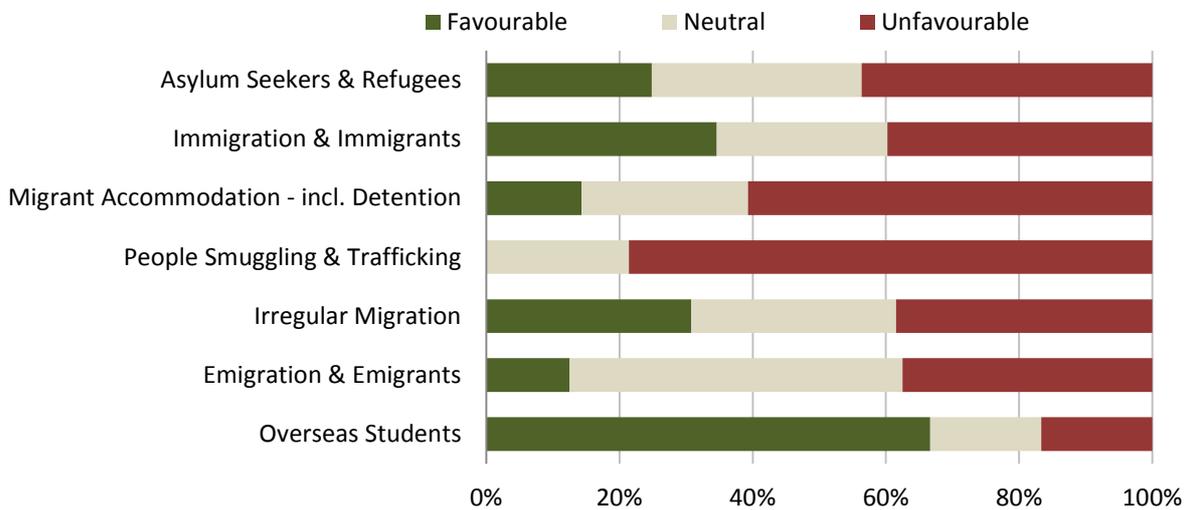


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=745), Irregular migration (n=65), Immigration and immigrants (n=2,325), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=140), People smuggling and trafficking (n=70), Overseas students (n=30), Emigration and emigrants (n=40).
Articles: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=1,005), Irregular migration (n=40), Immigration and immigrants (n=435), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=55), People smuggling and trafficking (n=45), Overseas students (n=25), Emigration and emigrants (n=25).
Source: In-depth analysis set.

'Immigration and immigrants' was the most prominent theme among media coverage, with almost 60% of all messages tracked during the study period related to issues, policies and debate surrounding how Canada deals with, or ought to deal, with incoming residents. Coverage was roughly evenly split between comments in favour and comments not in favour of immigration and immigrants.

Canada's strict visa rules on Mexican arrivals received frequent coverage. The restrictions, imposed in 2009 to reduce fraudulent asylum claims, were criticised repeatedly by Mexican government spokespeople. During a February visit to Mexico, Prime Minister Stephen Harper, highlighted the need for cooperation between the two countries but did not lift the travel restrictions.

Response to the cancellation of the immigrant investor program was mostly favourable, with a variety of sources suggesting that migrants who arrived under the scheme did not make a positive contribution to Canada. However, Chinese community leaders in Vancouver criticised the move and said investor immigrants' contributions to the economy were being discredited.

'Asylum seekers and refugees' represented roughly 28% of coverage during the study period. Provincial and territorial leaders filled the gap left by the federal government's decision to cut funding to a health program for refugees. Doctors and human rights lawyers criticised the cuts and warned that the health of some refugees was being jeopardised.

As with other countries in this study, the plight of Syrians displaced by war was widely covered in Canadian media. Prime Minister Stephen Harper visited a refugee camp in Jordan in late January, where he pledged more assistance in the form of aid.

In relation to 'migrant accommodation (including detention)', coverage relating to refugee camps and detention was largely unfavourable, with only 'people smuggling and trafficking' attracting less favourable commentary. Criticism of the indefinite detention of irregular migrants drove a significant proportion of messages, and included reports that the End Immigration Detention Network had filed a complaint to the United Nations on behalf of detainees.

## Framing of the media discussion

**Figure C23: Message contexts for Canada**
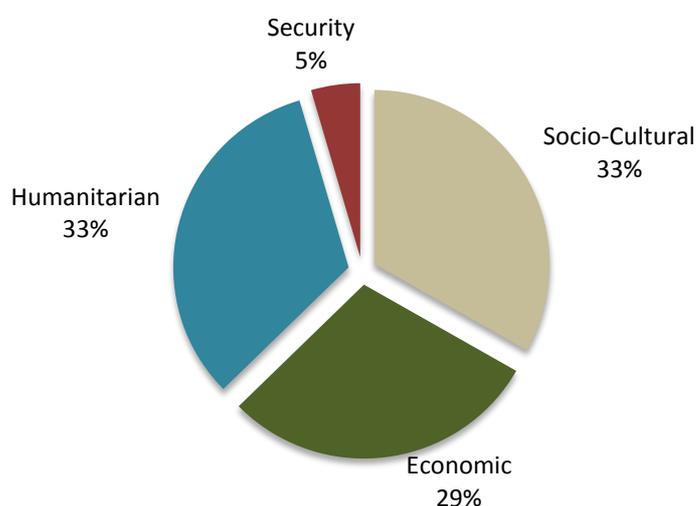


Articles: Socio-cultural (n=147), Economic (n=130), Humanitarian (n=145), Security (n=20).
Source: In-depth analysis set.

**Figure C24: Key themes broken down by context for Canada**
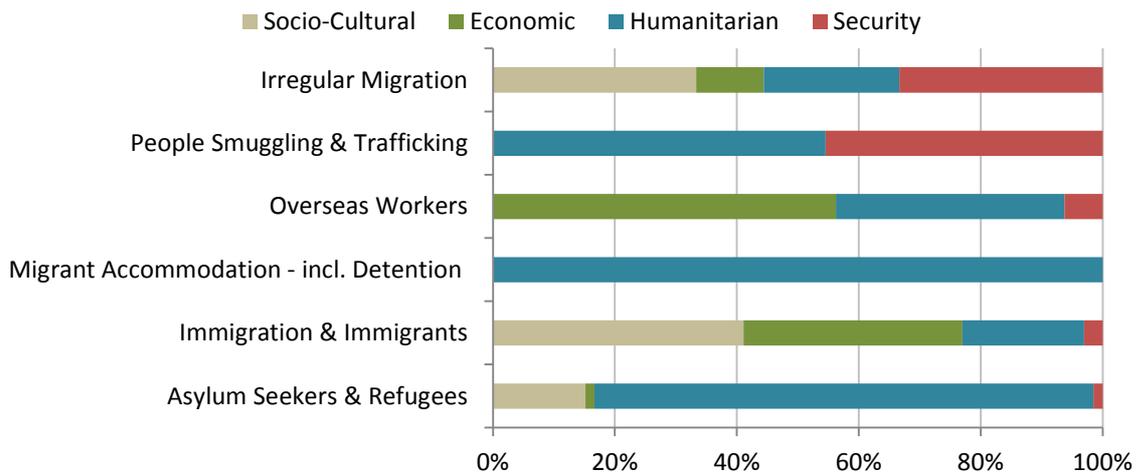


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=690), Irregular migration (n=50), Immigration and immigrants (n=2,050), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=120), People smuggling and trafficking (n=55), Overseas workers (n=85).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

## Voices in the media

**Figure C25: Prominent spokespeople in Canada**
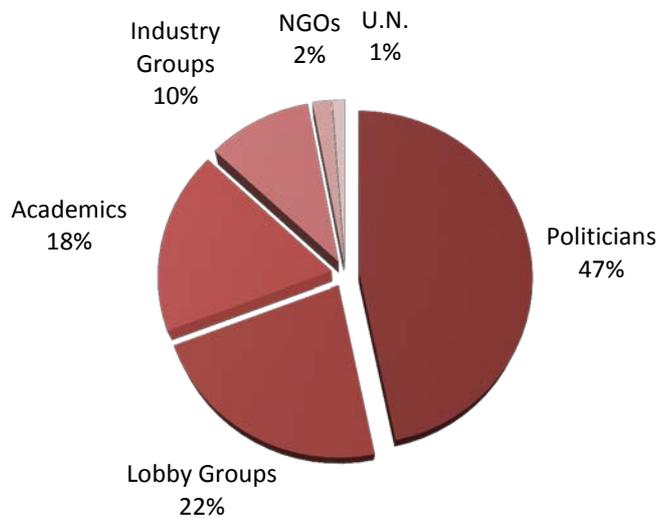


Articles: Politicians (n=79), Lobby groups (n=38), United Nations (n=2), Industry groups (n=17), Academics (n=30), Non-government organisations (n=3).

Note: More than one spokesperson can be identified in a single media piece.
Source: In-depth analysis set.

Political leaders generated almost half (47%) of Canada's total commentary on immigration matters. Messages from this source focused principally on immigration policy and the government's asylum seeker responsibilities.

Lobby groups and academics contributed the biggest proportion of remaining messages (22% and 18% respectively).

## Major stories

The following events generated significant coverage during the study period:

- The sinking of a boat carrying Eritrean refugees off the coast of the Italian island of Lampedusa received widespread international coverage (4 October 2013).

- Preparations were made to ease restrictions on Czech visitors, as part of a move to allow European Union citizens to travel to Canada without visas. However, the refusal to extend this model to Mexican travellers attracted criticism (17 to 19 October 2013).

- The Auditor-General criticised Canada's border security measures for granting entry to potentially dangerous people. Conversely, a Harvard University study accused Canada of contributing to people smuggling by making it harder for people to gain asylum through official means (27 November 2013).

- Ottawa's plan to scale-back healthcare coverage for refugees was criticised by doctors, who accused the government of acting illegally (18 December 2013).

- The federal government announced new proposals to make it tougher for immigrants to receive citizenship. The proposed changes included requiring knowledge of at least one official language and residing at least four out of six years in Canada (7 February 2014).

- On a visit to Mexico, Prime Minister Stephen Harper stated that Mexicans would still not be permitted to travel restriction-free to Canada due to concerns about illegal migration and security (17 to 19 February 2014).

- The dismantling of a people smuggling ring in Texas was widely syndicated in Canadian media (20 March 2014).

# VIETNAM

Migration-centric media coverage in Vietnam, as in other origin countries studied, painted a picture of an environment in which citizens working abroad make a vital contribution to the local economy through remittances, while at the same time facing significant legal, social, and humanitarian challenges.

Overall, articles presented a less than optimistic view of the world outside Vietnam, but also highlighted the efforts of the Vietnamese government to create better work opportunities for its people through intergovernmental agreements, and a more controlled labour export regime. Messages relating to 'overseas workers' were present in the lion's share of articles (68%), while commentary on 'people smuggling and trafficking' ranked second in importance, appearing in 14% of the pieces studied.

The ongoing fight against people smugglers, often referred to as 'traffickers' in the local media, was presented as a fight on multiple fronts, both in terms of preventing the exploitative outflow of citizens as well as the unregulated inflow of unauthorised arrivals.

The voice of the Vietnamese Government was clearly represented in the media content studied, both through its own spokespeople (55% of all articles) and through state-owned or influenced lobby groups (~44%). This reflects the role of government in controlling the media environment in Vietnam. Just under 1% of all messages came from independent non-government organisations.

A total of 13,600 items were sourced from the online metabase. However, the research found significant issues with full text indexing systems that were originally designed to process Romance (European) languages, and tended to deliver anomalous search results when applied to other language streams. Therefore the researched relied heavily on human desk checks and recursive searches to identify the focal study set. This process delivered an in-depth study set of 350 items.

## Vietnam Coverage Trend
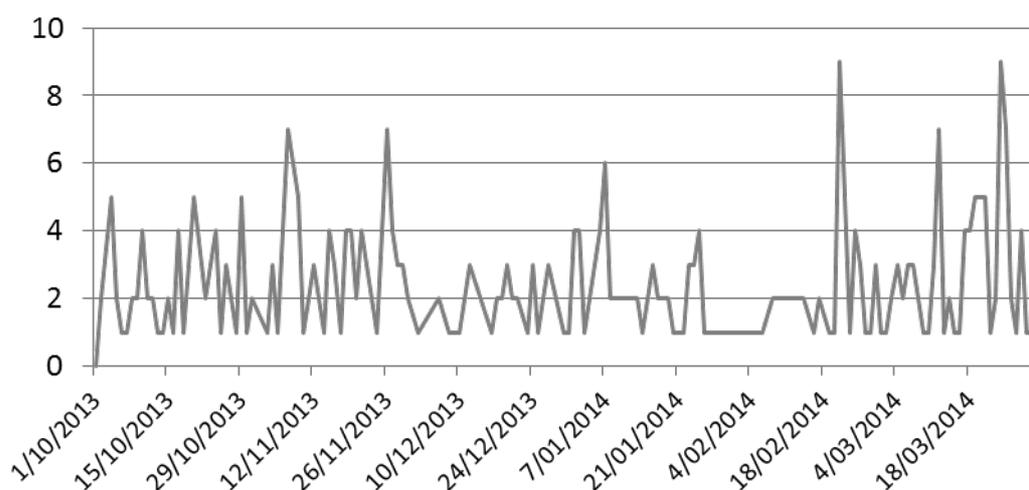
## Thematic media coverage

**Figure C26: Proportional presence of key themes in Vietnam**
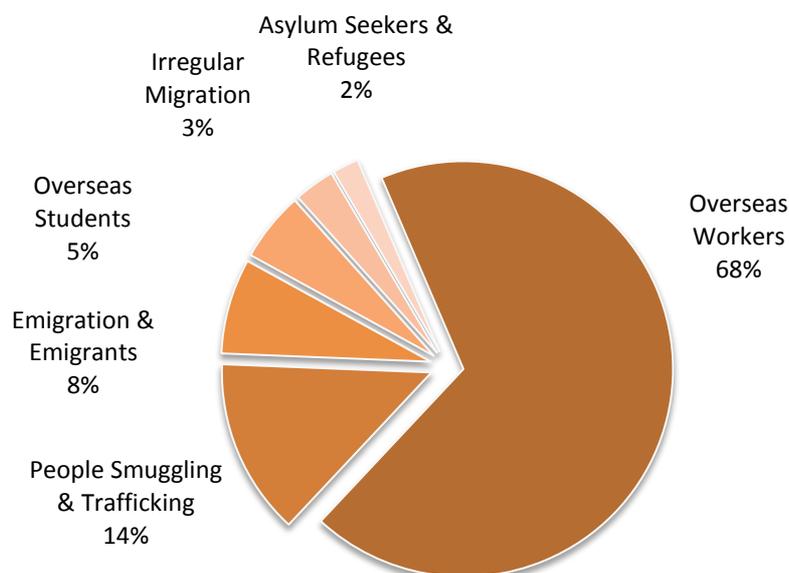


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=14), Irregular migration (n=15), People smuggling and trafficking (n=84), Overseas students (n=50), Overseas workers (n=723), Emigration and emigrants (n=45).

Articles: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=9), Irregular migration (n=14), People smuggling and trafficking (n=61), Overseas students (n=24), Overseas workers (n=304), Emigration and emigrants (n=33).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

**Figure C27: Thematic breakdown for Vietnam**
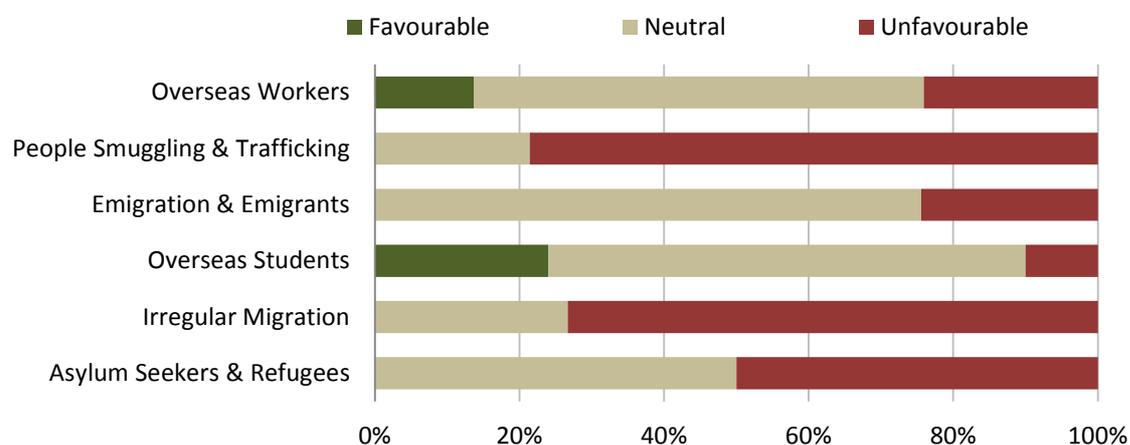


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=14), Irregular migration (n=15), People smuggling and trafficking (n=84), Overseas students (n=50), Overseas workers (n=723), Emigration and emigrants (n=45).

Articles: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=9), Irregular migration (n=14), People smuggling and trafficking (n=61), Overseas students (n=24), Overseas workers (n=304), Emigration and emigrants (n=33).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

A significant proportion of media coverage relevant to 'overseas workers' consisted of neutral commentary (62%) relating to statistics and trends regarding overseas workers.

Media coverage that was favourable of 'overseas workers' (14%) highlighted the importance of remittances to the Vietnamese economy. Opportunities for migrant workers, notably in Japan, the Middle East, and Taiwan, were also prominent.

Media comment that was unfavourable toward 'overseas workers' (24%) focused largely on the exploitation of Vietnamese workers, including those forced into the sex trade after being promised legitimate work. In related news, there was also discussion surrounding the disappointment many migrant workers faced when 'seeking a better life'. The repercussions of working illegally in other countries was another prevalent issue among unfavourable media coverage.

Most commonly referred to as 'human traffickers' in the Vietnamese media, 'people smuggling and trafficking' attracted a very high level of unfavourable commentary (79%), consistent with the Vietnamese government's official stance on smuggling and trafficking. This coverage related mostly to the trafficking of women for sex work, largely into China but also to Malaysia, Angola and other destinations. This issue typically appeared in the media following the arrest of people smugglers. However, despite these arrests, it was noted that human trafficking was increasing.

In relation to 'emigration and emigrants', the bulk of Vietnamese media discussed migration issues in the context of overseas workers. Coverage not about migrant workers largely related to issues faced by Vietnamese women marrying foreigners. Unfavourable commentary (24%) mostly related to the cultural challenges such marriages presented.

While not overly prominent in Vietnamese media, 'overseas students' attracted the highest level of favourable commentary (24%). Scholarship opportunities for Vietnamese students were prominently covered, as were the economic benefits returning students brought to Vietnam. Unfavourable commentary focused on the hardship faced by many international students.

While media discussion surrounding illegal overseas workers was prominent in the Vietnamese media, 'irregular migration' did not attract significant attention. 'Asylum seekers and refugees' was not a prominent theme in the Vietnamese media. There was limited discussion surrounding Vietnamese asylum seekers trying to reach Australia.

## Framing of the media discussion

**Figure C28: Message contexts for Vietnam**
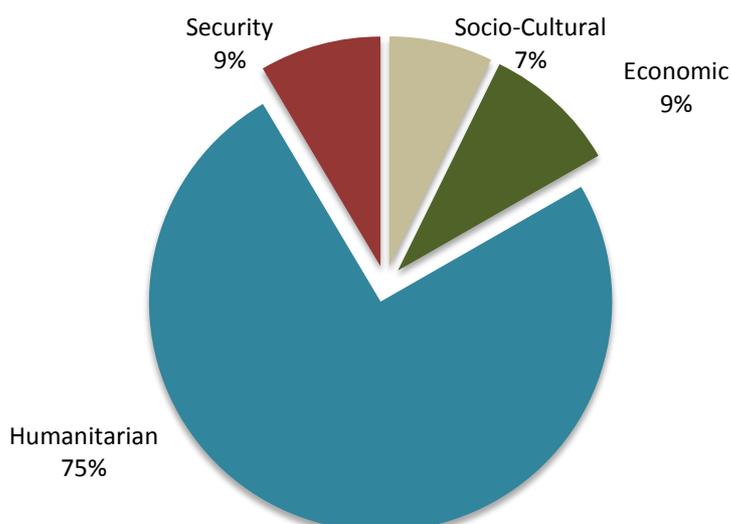


Articles: Socio-cultural (n=46), Economic (n=60), Humanitarian (n=476), Security (n=54).
Source: In-depth analysis set.

**Figure C29: Key themes broken down by context for Vietnam**
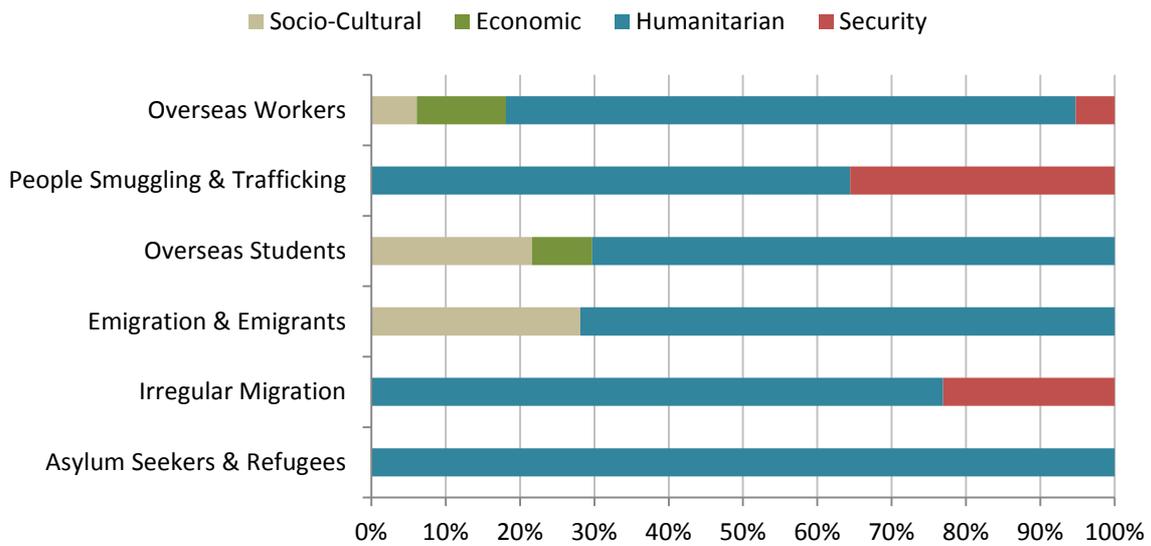


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=10), Irregular migration (n=16), People smuggling and trafficking (n=84), Overseas students (n=44), Overseas workers (n=656), Emigration and emigrants (n=37).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

## Voices in the media

**Figure C30: Prominent spokespeople in Vietnam**
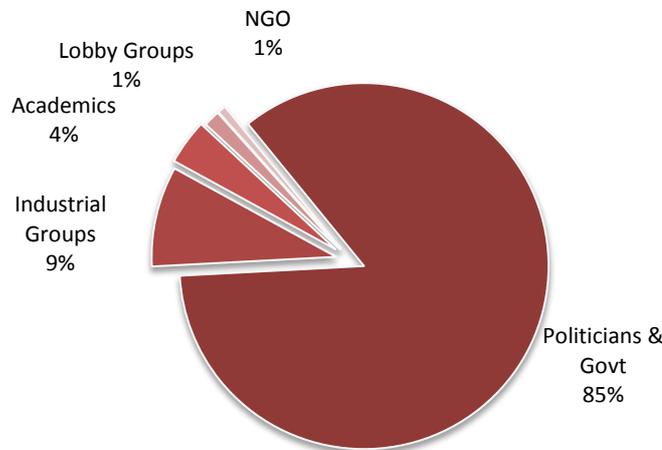


Articles: Politicians & Govt. (n=470), Industrial Groups (n=49), Academics (n=22), Lobby Groups (n=8), NGOs (n=4).
Note: more than one spokesperson can be identified in a single media piece.
Source: In-depth analysis set.

Politicians and government spokespersons were most prominent in discussions around statistics, as well as trends and issues relating to overseas workers. They also spoke about issues surrounding migrant workers staying illegally in other countries.

Industry Groups, Academics, and Lobby groups were active in calling for better treatment for overseas workers. There was some specific focus on the need for greater protection for Vietnamese women living abroad, including steps to more quickly and easily facilitate their return when necessary. Industry Groups also highlighted the importance of remittances.

## Major stories

Examples of the major stories presented to Vietnamese audiences across the study period include:

- Labour export was a leading issue in October 2013, with reports highlighting opportunities for Vietnamese workers in Japan. There was also media interest in new labour policy cooperation between Vietnam and Korea.

- Irregular migration was a leading issue in November 2013, with media interest in the arrest of a people smuggler who brought 84 Vietnamese asylum seekers to Australia. Reports also appeared regarding visa fraud in the United States and the illegal entry of Chinese nationals into Vietnam.

- December saw media interest in illegal overseas workers in Angola, while the plight of Vietnamese women being trafficked into China and Malaysia also attracted attention.

- The importance of overseas workers to the Vietnamese economy was a leading story in January, while ongoing problems presented by Vietnamese working illegally in other countries continued to attract media attention.

- Labour export to Taiwan was prominent in late February 2014 and early March 2014. The government moved to regulate high fees charged by recruitment firms.

- There were also reports in March 2014 that suggested poorer Vietnamese people were increasingly unlikely to take up work offers overseas, despite government efforts to use labour export to tackle poverty.

- Media relating to 'educational emigration' appeared sporadically throughout the study period. A scholarship winner was lauded in the press as a model of success for Vietnamese youth.

# SRI LANKA

As with most other origin countries studied, when it came to the broader subject of migration, Sri Lanka's media focused almost entirely on issues affecting citizens emigrating rather than migrants entering Sri Lanka. Media pieces discussing studying or working overseas, emigration, or the plight of those leaving to seek asylum in other countries, accounted for 99% of Sri Lanka's coverage.

Overall more migration messages were framed in terms of humanitarian contexts than any other context (50%), with social perspectives ranked second (associated with 26% of the messages tracked). Security and economic contexts each served as the background for 12% of messages.

Messages concerning overseas workers and students reflected the positive view of these activities , whereas topics such as irregular migration, immigration and people smuggling received unfavourable coverage.

Politicians and government spokespeople were the sources of 57% of all migration-centric coverage. However, there was a strong presence of both United Kingdom and Australian voices in the Sri Lankan media, typically warning people to avoid seeking asylum.

Lobby groups were also vocal in local media (37%) calling for a reversal of the Sri Lankan government's policy on irregular migrants, while the United Nations (6%) criticised the state of Australia's detention centres and policy towards irregular migrants, including Sri Lankan irregular migrants.

Between the start of October 2013, and the end of March in 2014, 8,000 items were sourced from Sri Lankan media that matched the relevant search terms. This included 1,000 items from the English language print media, with the rest appearing in Sinhalese (550) and Tamil (6,500) language online media outlets. By limiting online Tamil language coverage to major Sri Lankan websites, the number of online Tamil articles was reduced to 1,500.

An incidence search on English print media found 200 focal items. Around 25% of these items were not relevant to local issues. Issues stemming from non-Latin script languages and search engines meant the online content required extensive desk checks. These tests revealed that a very large percentage of coverage was not relevant (for example, mentioning the word 'boat' but not 'boat people'). When desk checking was complete, 300 online pieces remained.

Sri Lanka Coverage Trend
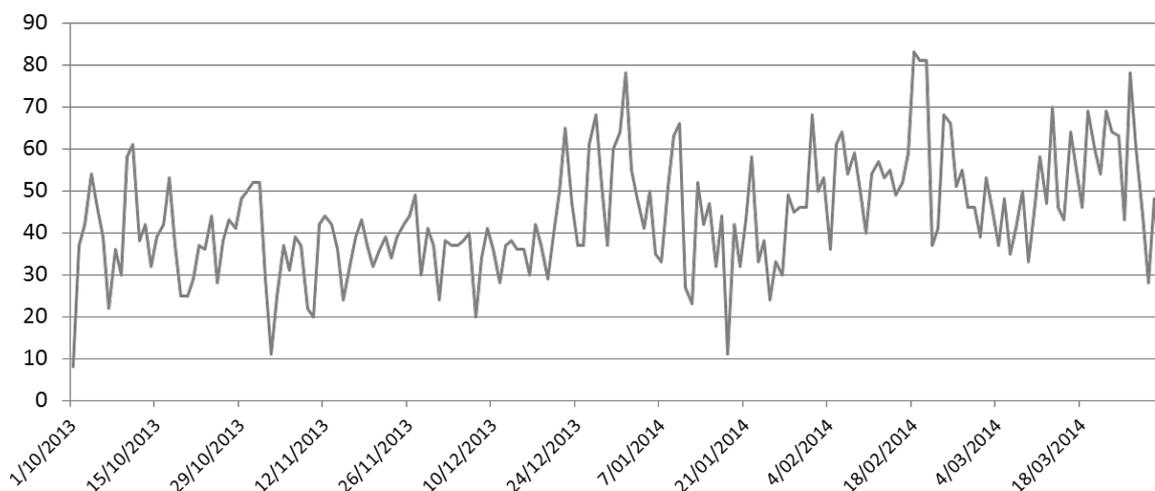


## Thematic media coverage

**Figure C31: Proportional presence of key themes in Sri Lanka**
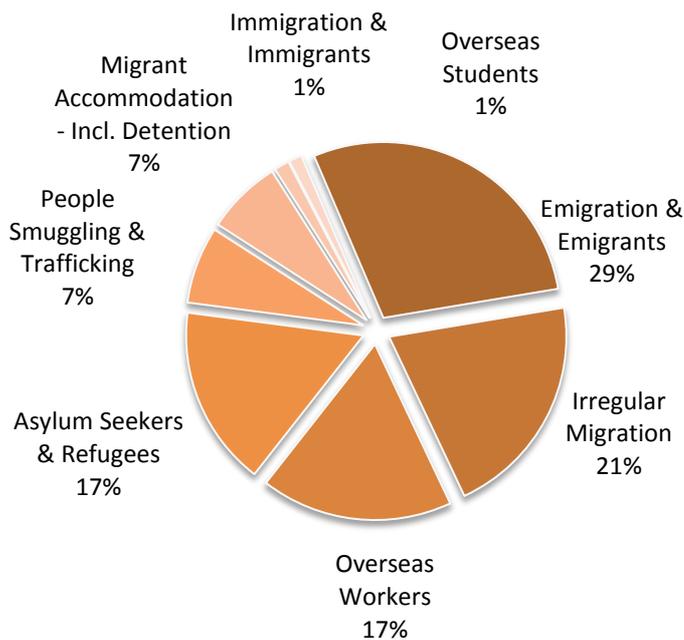


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=109), Irregular migration (n=177), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=42), People smuggling and trafficking (n=54), Overseas workers (n=185), Emigration and emigrants (n=216).

Articles: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=84), Irregular migration (n=105), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=35), People smuggling and trafficking (n=36), Overseas workers (n=89), Emigration and emigrants (n=146).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

**Figure C32: Thematic breakdown for Sri Lanka**
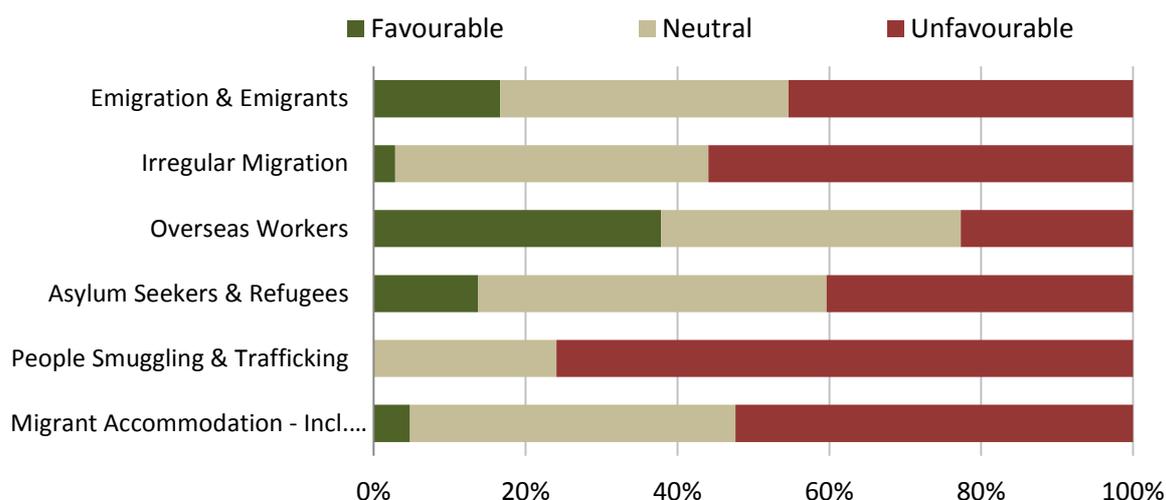


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=109), Irregular migration (n=177), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=42), People smuggling and trafficking (n=54), Overseas workers (n=185), Emigration and emigrants (n=216).
Articles: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=84), Irregular migration (n=105), Immigration and immigrants (n=7), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=35), People smuggling and trafficking (n=36), Overseas workers (n=89), Emigration and emigrants (n=146).
Source: In-depth analysis set.

'Emigration and emigrants' attracted the highest proportion of coverage, with unfavourable commentary (45%) almost three times of the level of favourable commentary (17%). Favourable media coverage of 'emigration and emigrants' discussed the diaspora's efforts to raise awareness of Tamil issues. This appeared largely in Tamil language media, and included coverage of protests to raise awareness of the persecution of Tamils and a fact-finding visit by a Sri Lankan emigrant, now a Canadian MP.

Unfavourable media on 'emigration and emigrants' discussed the diaspora's influence on local politics and how the diaspora is tarnishing Sri Lanka's reputation in the West. This appeared mostly in Sinhalese language media. Another prominent issue was the social and financial difficulties faced by emigrants in their destination counties. While the 'brain drain' experienced by Sri Lanka as a result of emigration was discussed, emigrants were also credited with providing the funds for rebuilding a post-war Sri Lanka.

The theme of 'irregular migration' saw a major difference between the favourable (3%) and unfavourable (56%) commentary. Unfavourable commentary mainly featured statistics and articles on Australia's policy to detain and deport irregular migrants. Another prominent issue was the crackdown on over-stayers in Sri Lanka.

Under the theme of 'asylum seekers and refugees', unfavourable commentary (40%) was almost three times that of favourable commentary (14%). Unfavourable coverage discussed the economic motives of asylum seekers and refugees and also featured Australia's and the United Kingdom's deportation policies. Media reports suggested the situation in Sri Lanka was stable and that Tamil asylum seekers did not face persecution. Favourable coverage highlighted the Indian government's initiatives to grant citizenship to long-term refugees, as well as protests by various lobby groups worldwide for the better treatment and recognition of the rights of asylum seekers and refugees.

'Overseas workers' attracted the highest level of favourable commentary (23%) within the prominent media themes. Favourable coverage discussed the importance of remittances to the Sri Lankan

economy. Articles also discussed the Sri Lankan government's initiatives to develop the skills of the migrant workforce and to provide for the families of overseas workers.

The political landscape in Australia was a key driver of media coverage relating to 'people smuggling and trafficking' and 'migrant accommodation (including detention)'. Reports noted that the Sri Lankan and Australian governments agreed to fight people smuggling. There was, however, criticism of Australia's offshore processing policy.

## Framing of the media discussion

**Figure C33: Message contexts for Sri Lanka**
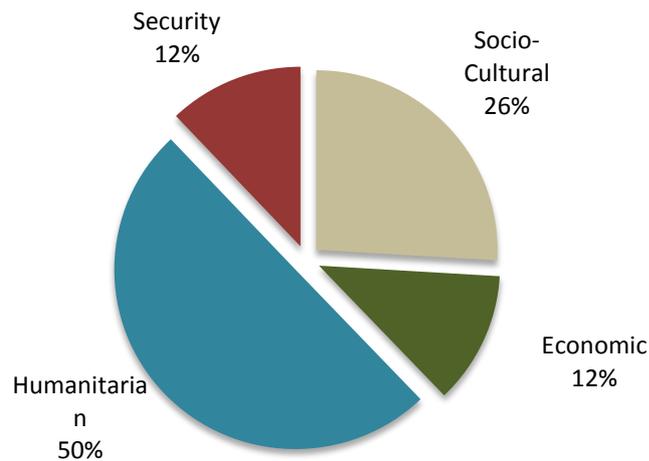


Articles: Socio-cultural (n=159), Economic (n=73), Humanitarian (n=307), Security (n=74).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

**Figure C34: Key themes broken down by context for Sri Lanka**
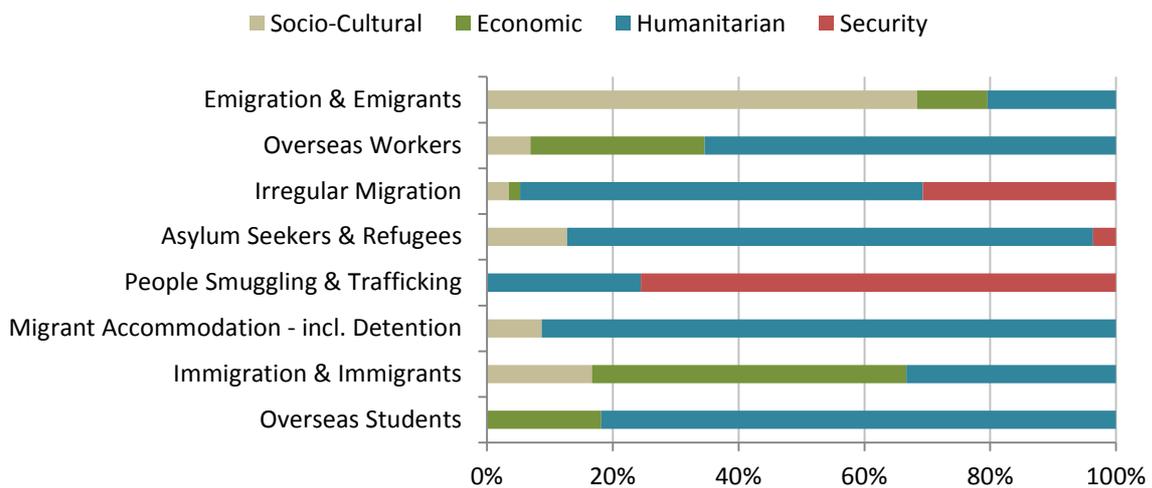


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=97), Irregular migration (n=138), Immigration and immigrants (n=17), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=27), People smuggling and trafficking (n=49), Overseas students (n=11), Overseas workers (n=164), Emigration and emigrants (n=213).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

## Voices in the media

**Figure C35: Prominent spokespeople in Sri Lanka**
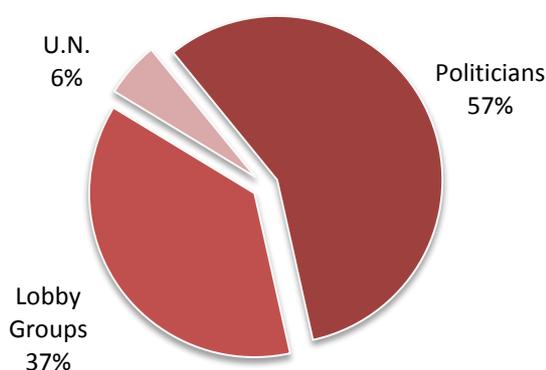


Articles: Politicians (n=74), Lobby groups (n=48), United Nations (n=7).
Note: More than one spokesperson can be identified in a single media piece.
Source: In-depth analysis set.

Politicians and government spokespeople from both the United Kingdom and Australia were prominent voices in the Sri Lankan media, warning people to avoid travelling irregularly to seek asylum.

Australian lobby groups were also vocal in local media, calling for a reversal of the Australian government's policy on irregular migrants, and improved conditions in Australia's detention centres. Meanwhile, lobby groups in India were vocal in asking for the release of refugees and granting them Indian citizenship. The United Nations criticised the state of Australia's detention centres and policy towards irregular migrants.

## Major stories

Examples of the major stories presented to Sri Lankan audiences across the study period include:

- From October to November 2013, there was substantial media interest in Australia's policy towards asylum seekers. Articles mostly contained statements around Australia's no-tolerance policy for asylum seekers arriving by boat, with statistics of deported asylum seekers.

- In November and December 2013, there was coverage on the detention of visitors to Sri Lanka who had violated the conditions of their visa. These visitors included Australian Senator Lee Rhiannon, New Zealand MP Jan Logie, Sri Lankan emigrant and Norwegian citizen V.I.S Jayabalan, and Indian journalist, Tamil Prabhakaran.

- There were reports from October to December 2013 on the exploitation of overseas workers. There were also articles on initiatives by the Sri Lankan government to protect these workers, to develop the skills of the migrant workforce, and to reduce the number of female overseas workers.

- February 2014 saw coverage of Australia's donation of two boats to the Sri Lankan navy, referring to the cooperative efforts between the two countries to combat people smuggling and to reduce the number of irregular migrants travelling by boat to Australia.

- Throughout the coverage period, the Tamil diaspora was variously praised or condemned for damaging Sri Lanka's global reputation. There were also calls for a boycott of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM), to be held in February 2014 in Sri

Lanka, and protests aimed at securing the release of a mother and daughter who were arrested by the Sri Lankan military.

# PAKISTAN

More so than any in other country studied, Pakistan's media painted a picture of a nation that is both a significant origin country for overseas workers and a major host country for refugees and asylum seekers, principally from Afghanistan.

Stories containing messages on four key themes were quite evenly represented in the focal study set. These were 'asylum seekers and refugees', 'overseas workers', 'emigrants and emigration', and 'irregular migration'. Together these stories represented 88% of all articles studied.

Coverage across these themes tended to be favourable toward overseas workers, for example by discussing their positive contribution to the Pakistani economy, but far less favourable  towards refugees arriving in Pakistan.

Half of all editorial pieces studied addressed their topics from a humanitarian perspective, while the remainder tended to be framed against either economic or social contexts. Security was the least common context.

Politicians produced 50% of all media coverage studied, which tended to comprise policy discussions ranging from the plight of overseas workers and their importance to the economy, to the difficulty of dealing with large numbers of irregular arrivals. Industry groups, contributing 22% of the media content, provided an additional voice in support of overseas workers, who reportedly contributed $3.9 billion to the Pakistani economy in the first fiscal quarter of 2012–13 alone.

Between the start of October 2013, and the end of March in 2014, 17,600 items were sourced from Pakistani media that matched the relevant search terms. These included 14,000 items from English language print media, with the rest appearing in Urdu language online media outlets. An incidence search on English print media found 1,500 focal items. Of these, 600 appeared in the major publications. A sample of 50% was taken. Of these, approximately 50% did not contain local issues or were duplicate articles.

Issues stemming from non-Latin script languages and search engines meant the online content required extensive desk checks. These tests revealed that a very large percentage of coverage was not relevant (for example, mentioning the word 'boat' but not 'boat people'). When desk checking was complete, 200 online pieces remained.

Pakistan Coverage Trend
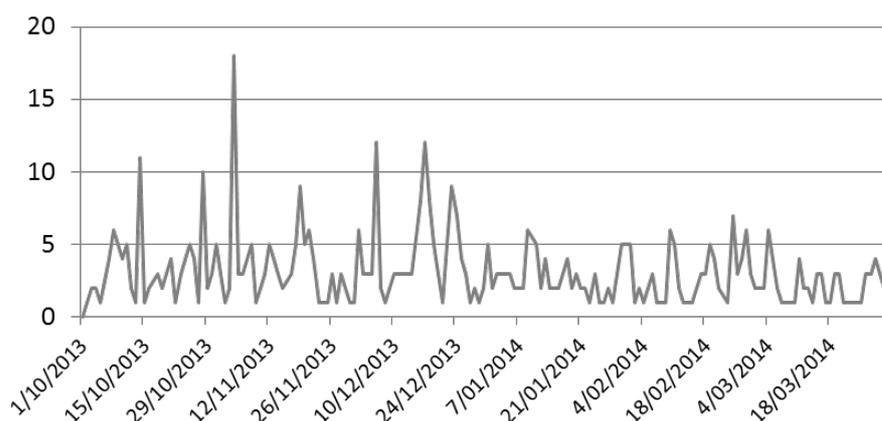
## Thematic media coverage

**Figure C36: Proportional presence of key themes in Pakistan**
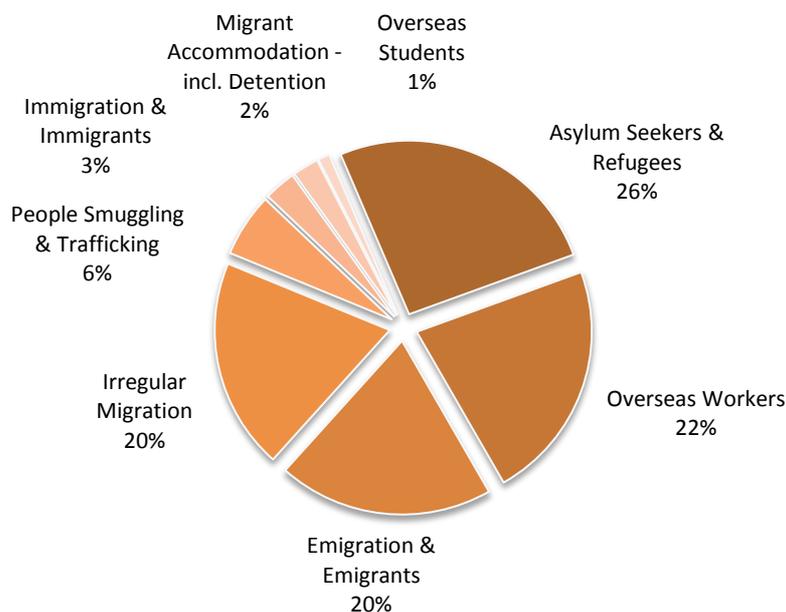


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=155), Irregular migration (n=98), Immigration and immigrants (n=16), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=12), People smuggling and trafficking (n=31), Overseas students (n=5), Overseas workers (n=118), Emigration and emigrants (n=109).

Articles: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=96), Irregular migration (n=73), Immigration and immigrants (n=11), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=9), People smuggling and trafficking (n=22), Overseas students (n=4), Overseas workers (n=83), Emigration and emigrants (n=74).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

**Figure C37: Thematic breakdown for Pakistan**
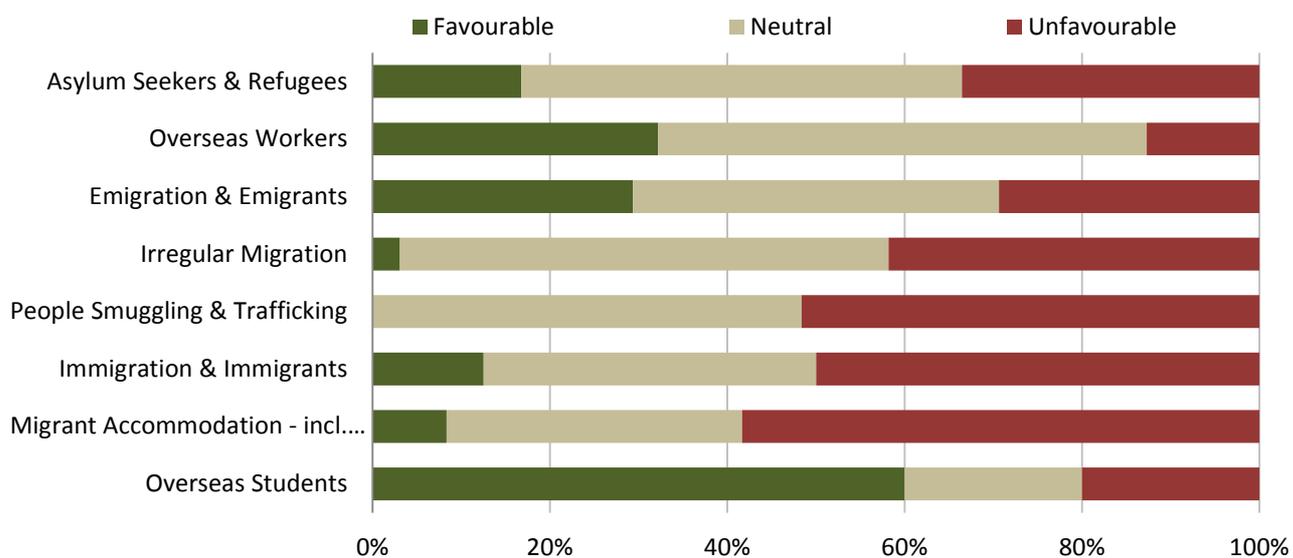


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=310), Irregular migration (n=196), Immigration and immigrants (n=32), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=24), People smuggling and trafficking (n=62), Overseas students (n=10), Overseas workers (n=236), Emigration and emigrants (n=218).

Articles: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=192), Irregular migration (n=146), Immigration and immigrants (n=22), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=18), People smuggling and trafficking (n=44), Overseas students (n=8), Overseas workers (n=166), Emigration and emigrants (n=148).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

'Asylum seekers and refugees' was the most prominent media theme in the Pakistani media, comprising over one quarter of overall coverage. Around 50% of messages relating to asylum seekers and refugees was neutral in tone. Of the remainder, unfavourable messages of asylum seekers and refugees were twice as common as favourable coverage.

Commentary that was unfavourable toward asylum seekers and refugees was driven by concerns about the economic burden and links within the refugee community to criminal activity and terrorism. In a meeting with United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) representatives, Balochistan Province Chief Minister Abdul Malik Baloch said the presence of Afghan refugees was 'affecting every sector in the province'.

Favourable commentary about refugees generally emphasised the importance of following a humanitarian policy and treating displaced people with dignity. Pakistan's generosity in hosting millions of Afghan refugees since 1979 was also mentioned.

The contribution made by Pakistani worker remittances was the biggest driver of coverage of 'overseas workers', and was also the leading source of favourable commentary under this theme. Multiple articles emphasised the importance of remittances to the national economy, with one article crediting emigrant workers for 'saving the Pakistani economy from complete collapse'.

Considerable media attention focused on the questionable legality of some Pakistani migrant workers abroad. Thousands of Pakistani nationals were deported from Saudi Arabia after new labour laws were introduced there. There were also reports of hundreds of workers being detained in Malaysia for violating their work permits.

Coverage in favour of 'emigration and emigrants' focused largely on the contribution that Pakistani migrants made to both their country of origin and host countries. Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry president, Zubair Ahmed Malik, urged the government to grant voting rights to expatriates to encourage their continued investment in the country.

The theme of 'irregular migration' received the highest volume of unfavourable commentary overall. This was chiefly driven by coverage relating to illegal migrants' ties to criminal networks and terrorist activity inside Pakistan's borders. The arrest and deportation of undocumented Pakistani migrants in the Middle East and Europe also attracted unfavourable commentary.

Other prominent themes over the study period included attempts to clamp down on the trafficking of migrants into and out of Pakistan, and concern over the long-term care of Pakistani national, Shahzaib Bajwa, who was injured in a car accident while studying in the United States.

## Framing of the media discussion

**Figure C38: Message contexts for Pakistan**
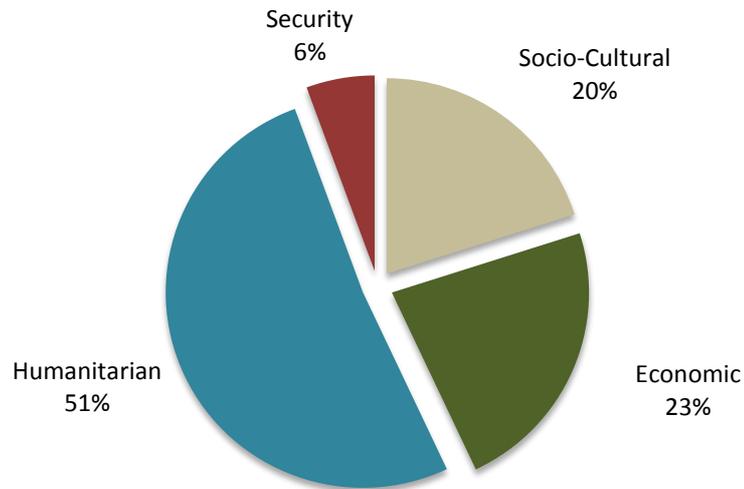


Articles: Socio-cultural (n=86), Economic (n=98), Humanitarian (n=220), Security (n=24).
Source: In-depth analysis set.

**Figure C39: Key themes broken down by context for Pakistan**
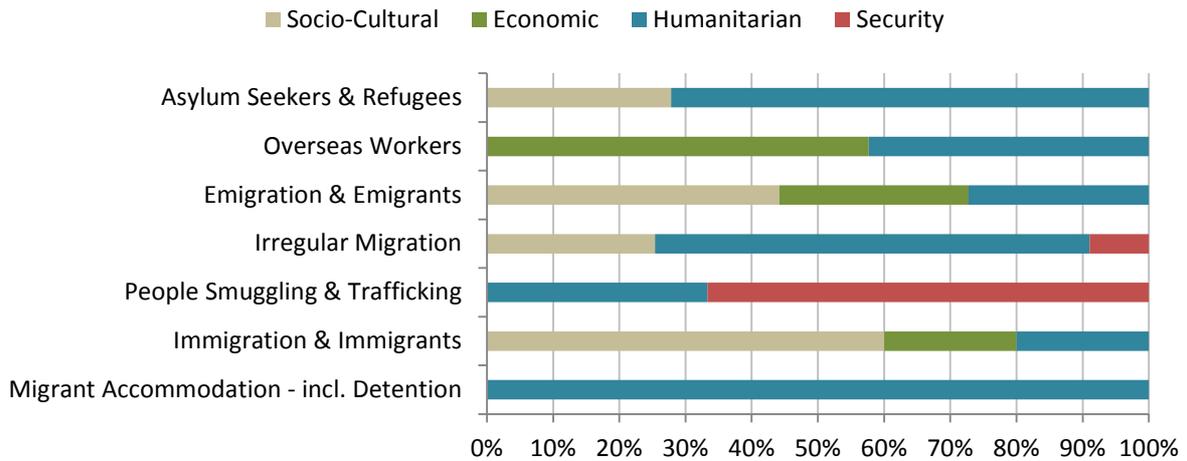


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=314), Irregular migration (n=182), Immigration and immigrants (n=32), Migrant accommodation (including detention) (n=22), People smuggling and trafficking (n=54), Overseas workers (n=270), Emigration and emigrants (n=188).
Source: In-depth analysis set.

Voices in the media

**Figure C40: Prominent spokespeople in Pakistan**
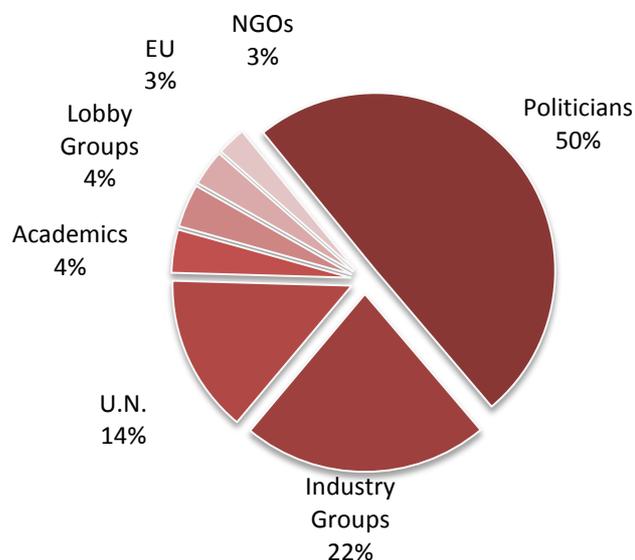


Articles: Politicians (n=76), Lobby groups (n=6), United Nations (n=22), European Union (n=4), Industry groups (n=34), Academics (n=6), Non-government organisations (n=5).
Note: More than one spokesperson can be identified in a single media piece.
Source: In-depth analysis set.

Political leaders were the most prominent source of commentary on immigration matters. Most of these were government representatives discussing the situation of Afghan refugees living inside Pakistan's borders.

The Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry and the State Bank of Pakistan were prominent sources of comment on the importance of overseas workers' remittances to the economy.

Major stories

Examples of the major stories presented to Pakistani audiences across the study period include:

- New figures by the State Bank of Pakistan underscored the contribution that Pakistanis working overseas made to the economy. These figures showed that overseas workers had remitted $3,927.94 million back to Pakistan in the first quarter of the financial year, representing a 9.14 per cent improvement over results for the previous corresponding period (mid-October 2013).

- Saudi Arabia introduced new labour laws restricting overseas workers to work only in the field registered in their residence papers. The changes were expected to cut the remittances paid by Pakistanis working in the country by 20 to 30 per cent. Coverage on the issue peaked with the end of the amnesty period in early November 2013.

- Debate over the presence of millions of Afghan refugees in Pakistan was a prominent source of coverage throughout the study period. Minister of State for Frontier Regions, Abdul Qadir Baloch, warned that the government would consider forcing the repatriation of refugees if they did not voluntarily return to Afghanistan before the extended 31 December 2015 deadline.

- Pakistani nationals were among more than 230 irregular migrants who were rescued by the Italian navy after their overcrowded boat began to founder in the Mediterranean Sea (3 January 2014).

- The issue of Afghan refugees in Pakistan returned to prominence in the week spanning late February to early March 2014. Sindh Province Chief Minister, Syed Qaim Ali Shah, called for the deportation of all illegal migrants and claimed that they were a security threat to residents and installations in the region.

# BANGLADESH

Commentary in the Bangladeshi media during the study period was highly focused on overseas workers and the hardships that confront them. The dominance of this topic area (in 69% of all articles) reflects the high level of economic reliance on remittances from Bangladeshis living throughout the Middle East and neighbouring Asian countries. Messages relating to overseas workers were typically framed in humanitarian or economic contexts.

A distant second in terms of representation in the media was discussion of asylum seekers and refugees (10%). In Bangladesh, this material referenced concerns over Rohingya refugees, coming across the border from Myanmar.

A total of 91% of all stories tracked were framed against either a humanitarian (63%) or economic context (28%). Messages related to people smuggling were the main source of security concerns in 5% of articles.

Industry groups, academics and lobbyists together contributed almost half (49%) of the media pieces tracked in the Bangladesh media. Their areas of concern were the protection of overseas workers and their remittances, as well as the need for economic development inside Bangladesh. Politicians' messaging (48% of pieces) addressed all thematic areas.

Between the start of October 2013 and the end of March 2014, 5,000 items were sourced from the Bangladesh media that matched the relevant search terms. These included 1,000 items from the English language print media, with the rest appearing in Bengali language online media outlets. An incidence search on the English print media found 300 focal items. A sample of 50% was taken. Of these, around 25% did not contain local issues.

Issues stemming from non-Latin script languages and search engines meant the online content required extensive desk checks. These tests revealed that a very large percentage of coverage was not relevant (for example, mentioning the word 'boat' but not 'boat people'). When desk checking was complete, 150 online pieces remained.

## Bangladesh Coverage Trend
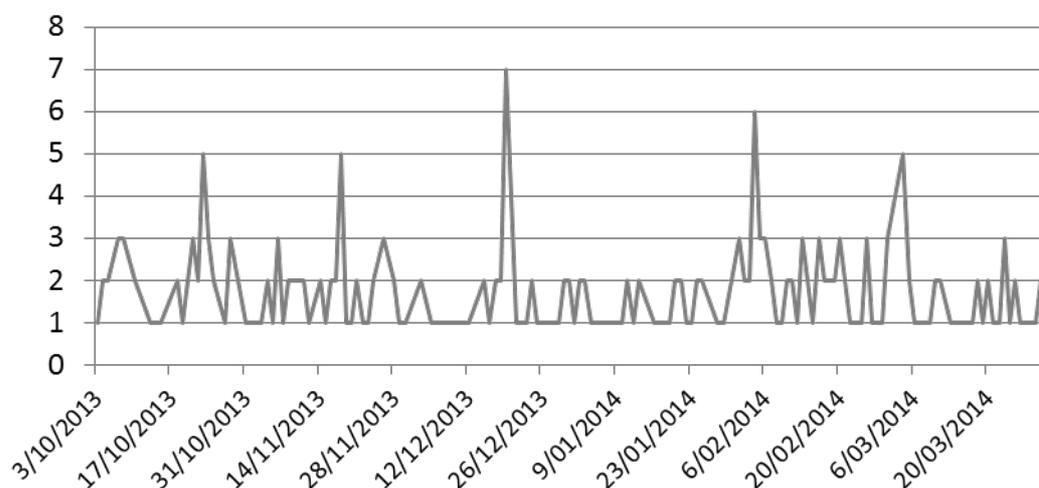
## Thematic media coverage

**Figure C41: Proportional presence of key themes in Bangladesh**
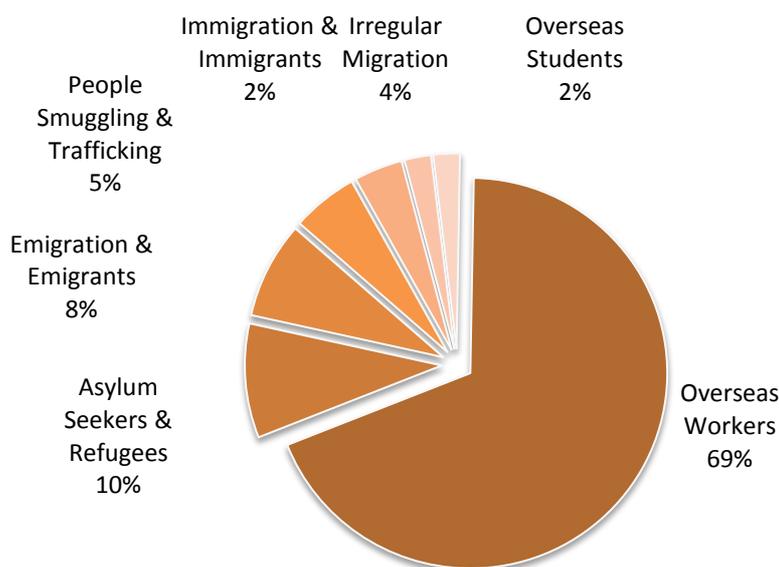


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=42), Irregular migration (n=18), People smuggling and trafficking (n=26), Overseas workers (n=412), Emigration and emigrants (n=29).

Articles: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=26), Irregular migration (n=11), People smuggling and trafficking (n=15), Overseas workers (n=189), Emigration and emigrants (n=22).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

**Figure C42: Thematic breakdown for Bangladesh**
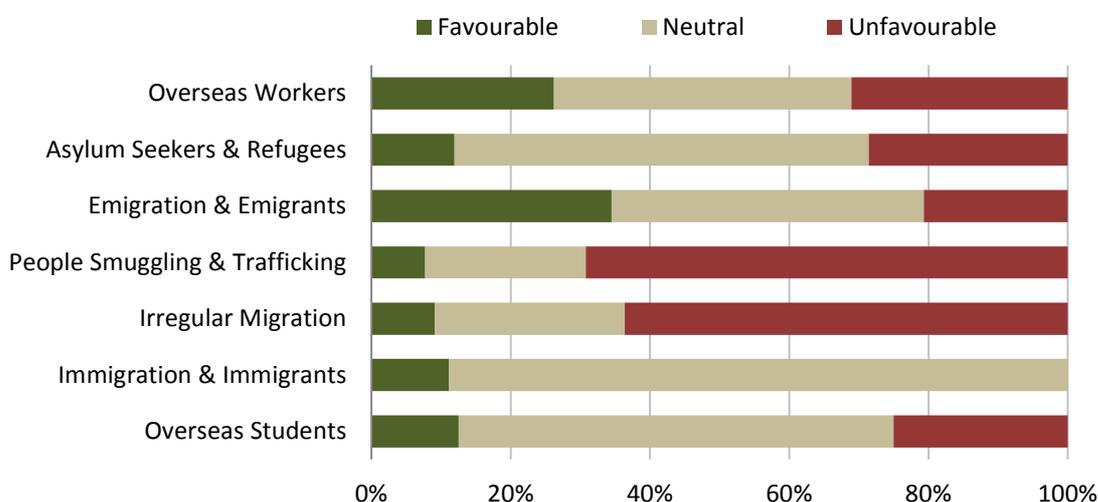


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=84), Irregular migration (n=36), Immigration and immigrants (n=18), People smuggling and trafficking (n=52), Overseas students (n=16), Overseas workers (n=824), Emigration and emigrants (n=58).
Articles: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=52), Irregular migration (n=22), Immigration and immigrants (n=12), People smuggling and trafficking (n=30), Overseas students (n=12), Overseas workers (n=378), Emigration and emigrants (n=44).
Source: In-depth analysis set.

The most prominent media theme in the Bangladesh media was 'overseas workers' (69%). This was also the most balanced theme for favourable and unfavourable media coverage. Commentary that presented a favourable picture of overseas workers made up 26% of coverage, while more negative press accounted for 31%.

Favourable commentary on 'overseas workers' was driven by the economic benefits remittances offered Bangladesh. There was also media coverage regarding the opportunities for Bangladeshi

workers in countries such as Malaysia, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. The Bangladesh government's efforts to help facilitate the repatriation of overseas workers also attracted some positive media comment.

The most prominent unfavourable coverage on 'overseas workers' comprised reports detailing the exploitation of overseas workers. It was suggested female workers were particularly susceptible to exploitation. Common complaints affecting both men and women included lack of payment, poor living conditions, and unscrupulous migration agents.

The leading issue under the theme of 'asylum seekers and refugees' was Rohingya refugees entering Bangladesh from Myanmar. Less prominent were reports relating to Bangladeshi refugees in India and the United States. There was also some discussion of 'climate change refugees'.

The proportion of unfavourable media coverage of 'asylum seekers and refugees' was 29%, compared with 12% favourable coverage. Unfavourable coverage on asylum seekers and refugees was largely two-fold: it included reports on the poor living conditions and discrimination Rohingyas faced in Bangladesh, and allegations that they were involved in criminal activity. Favourable commentary stemmed from the treatment of Bangladeshi refugees in India.

Under the theme of 'emigration and emigrants' there were reports that the number of Bangladeshis emigrating had declined. There was also news that emigrants from Bangladesh were still welcome in the United Kingdom, despite a proposal that would have seen Bangladeshi passport holders forced to pay a bond when entering the country on a tourist visa.

Coverage surrounding 'people smuggling and trafficking' focused on the impact on vulnerable people and efforts to stop the trade. Coverage of 'immigration and immigrants' was driven by media interest in Indian citizens living in Bangladesh. 'Irregular migration' rarely appeared in the Bangladeshi media, although there was some discussion regarding Australia's tougher border protection policy.

## Framing of the media discussion

**Figure C43: Message contexts for Bangladesh**
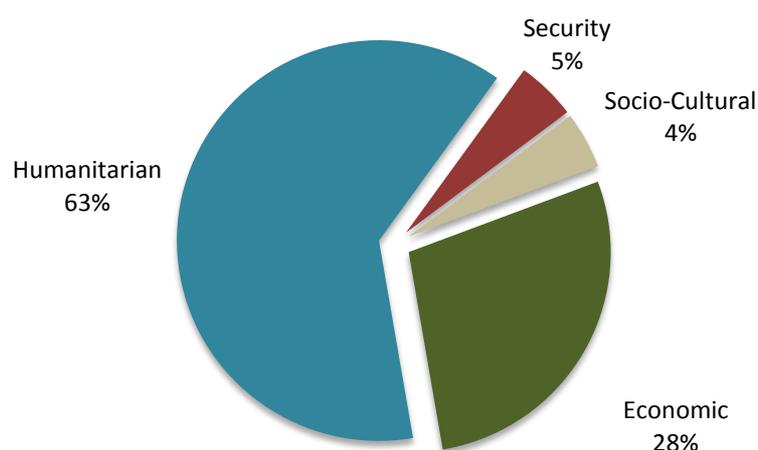


Articles: Socio-cultural (n=20), Economic (n=123), Humanitarian (n=275), Security (n=21).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

**Figure C44: Key themes broken down by context for Bangladesh**
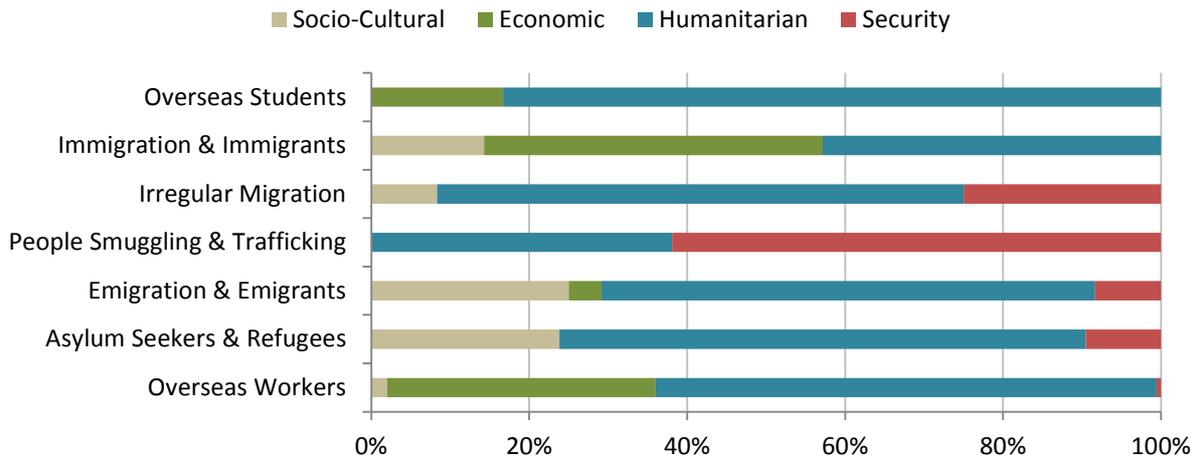


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=64), Irregular migration (n=40), Immigration and immigrants (n=18), People smuggling and trafficking (n=48), Overseas students (n=14), Overseas workers (n=822), Emigration and emigrants (n=62).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

## Voices in the media

**Figure C45: Prominent spokespeople in Bangladesh**
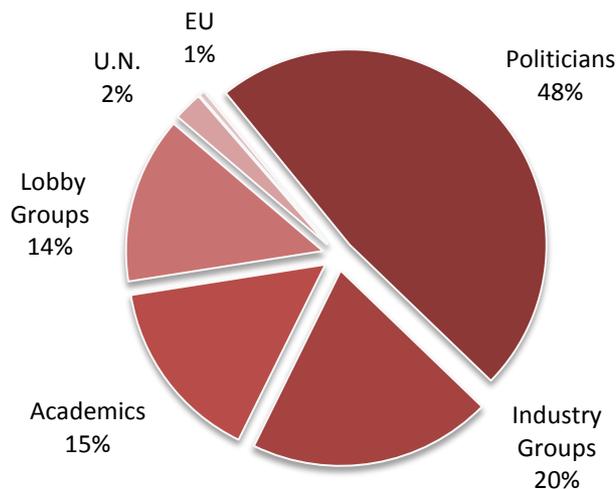


Articles: Politicians (n=101), Lobby groups (n=58), United Nations (n=5), European Union (n=1), Industry groups (n=42), Academics (n=32).

Note: More than one spokesperson can be identified in a single media piece.

Source: In-depth analysis set.

Comment from politicians appeared across all the media themes. They were most prominent in coverage relating to 'overseas workers'.

Industry groups spoke about the benefit of remittances to the Bangladesh economy. Academics were also prominent in media discussion surrounding remittances, but lobby groups were more critical of the government for not doing enough to stimulate employment opportunities. They also called for greater protection for overseas workers.

The United Nations and European Union expressed concern for the plight of Rohingya refugees crossing into Bangladesh from Burma.

## Major stories

Examples of the major stories presented to Bangladeshi audiences across the study period include:

- The importance of remittances to the Bangladesh economy was a standout story in October 2013. Coverage suggested that while the level of remittances remained strong, there was some risk that the number of overseas workers could decrease and that measures were needed to protect this vital part of the economy.

- In November 2013 there were reports that thousands of overseas workers (including Bangladeshis) living illegally in Saudi Arabia were to be deported.

- Fear around declining remittances was a leading story again in December 2013. There were further calls for the government to do more to encourage overseas workers. Several articles suggested that making migration safer was an important step.

- In January 2014 there were reports suggesting that opportunities existed for Bangladeshi workers in Saudi Arabia, due to a decline in the cost of migration.

- Throughout January and February 2014, coverage appeared regarding a crackdown on illegal workers in Malaysia. More than 250 Bangladeshis were reportedly detained in Malaysia at this time.

- In late February and March 2014 the plight of Rohingya refugees living in Bangladesh became an issue. Human rights groups were critical of steps taken to prevent Rohingyas crossing the border from Burma.

- Throughout the study period there were media reports detailing the tough conditions and exploitation faced by overseas workers.

# AFGHANISTAN

As might be expected in a country rebuilding after war, and still suffering internal and regional instability, Afghanistan's media coverage of migration differed markedly from other destination and source countries.

Messages were far more in favour of people's efforts to seek a better life through relocation, but there was also significant concern that those who did so face potential hardship on many fronts.

Messages were most commonly framed in humanitarian and social contexts (59% and 27% respectively), with security and the economy only accounting for 14% of messages in total.

Politicians were the most prominent sources of commentary on migration during the study period, accounting for 55% of all the messages tracked. Messages often focussed on the Afghan government's efforts to help its citizens living abroad. Foreign politicians also appeared regarding their countries' policies on asylum seekers and irregular migration.

The United Nations, associated with 35% of the period's media messaging, was a regular source of information and warnings about the practices and dangers around human trafficking, and human rights abuses suffered by Afghans abroad.

Between the start of October 2013, and the end of March in 2014, 1,375 items were sourced from the Afghan press that matched the relevant search terms. This content set was predominantly Farsi language material sources from online media outlets. Issues with the multidimensional searching of some non-Latin script languages meant that it was necessary to conduct a detailed desk-check of all Afghanistan-centric content to determine the focal study set. A total of 275 media pieces were relevant to this study.

## Afghan Coverage Trend
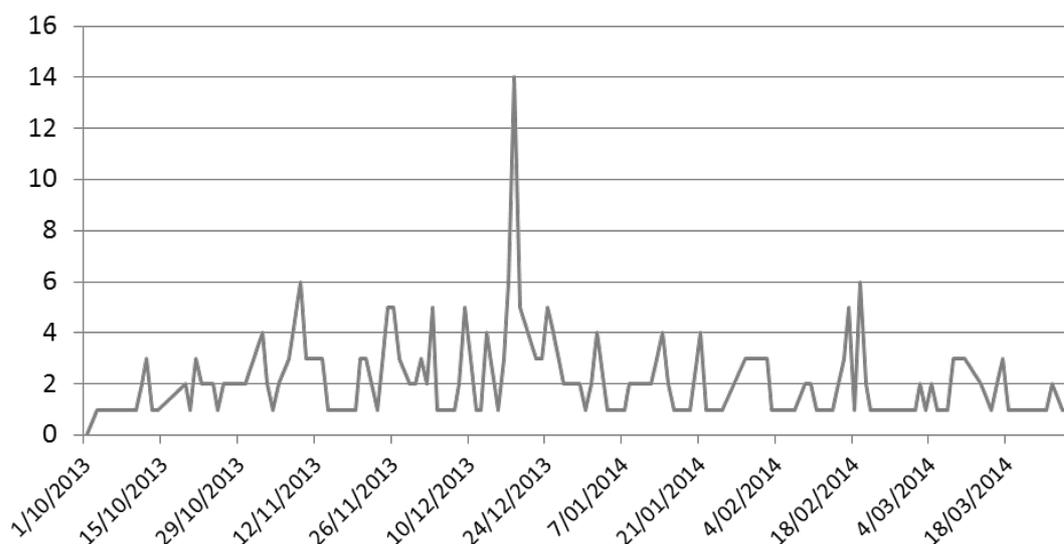
## Thematic media coverage

**Figure C46: Proportional presence of key themes in Afghanistan**
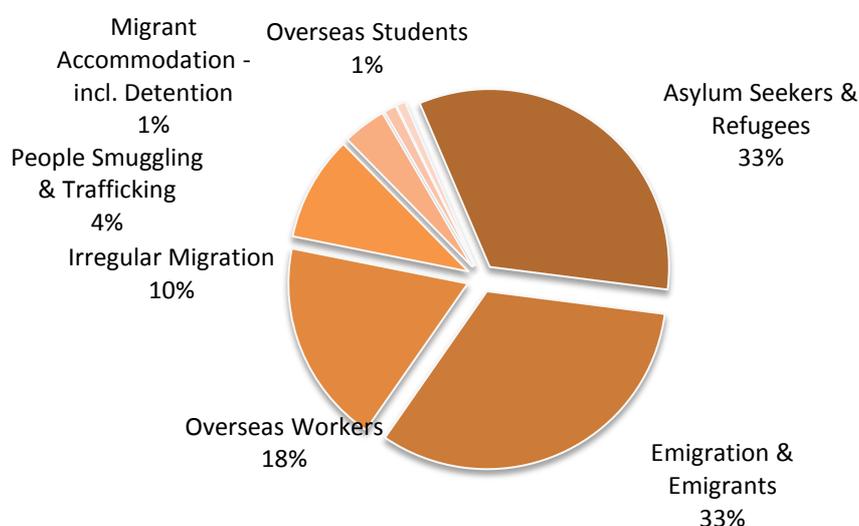


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=249), Irregular migration (n=45), People smuggling and trafficking (n=27), Overseas workers (n=98), Emigration and emigrants (n=157).

Articles: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=119), Irregular migration (n=34), People smuggling and trafficking (n=14), Overseas workers (n=66), Emigration and emigrants (n=116).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

**Figure C47: Thematic breakdown for Afghanistan**
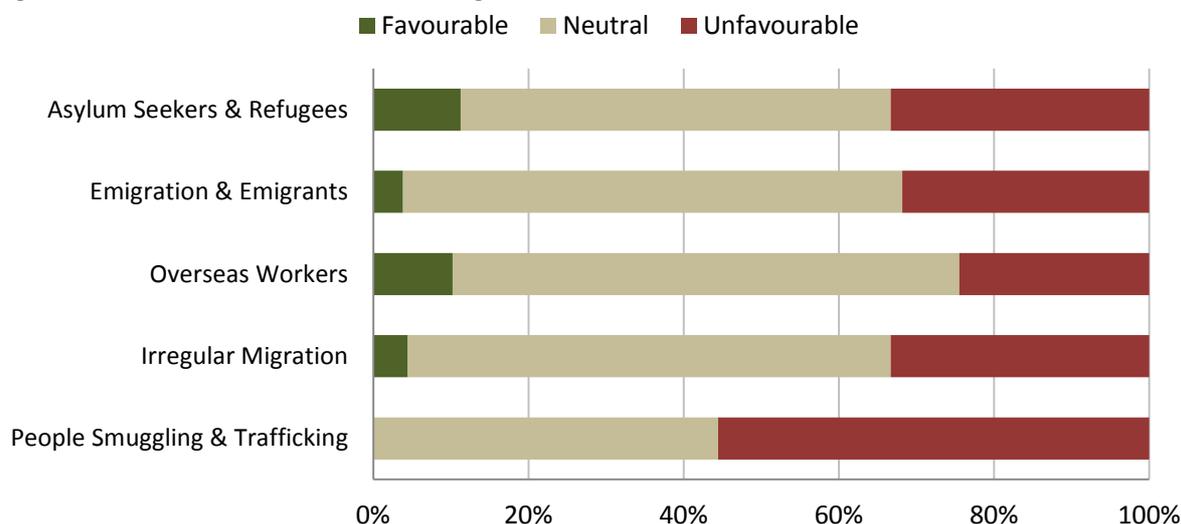


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=249), Irregular migration (n=45), People smuggling and trafficking (n=27), Overseas workers (n=98), Emigration and emigrants (n=157).

Articles: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=119), Irregular migration (n=34), People smuggling and trafficking (n=14), Overseas workers (n=66), Emigration and emigrants (n=116).

Source: In-depth analysis set.

'Asylum seekers and refugees' and 'emigration and emigrants' were the prominent themes in the Afghan media, each representing 33% of coverage. Of the two, 'asylum seekers and refugees' attracted the highest proportion of favourable commentary (11%), while 4% of 'emigration and emigrants' coverage was favourable.

Favourable coverage of 'asylum seekers and refugees' included reports detailing the support being offered to Afghans in Europe, news that Iran would renew visas for some Afghan refugees, and that Afghan refugees in Pakistan enjoyed the same rights as locals.

Unfavourable coverage on 'asylum seekers and refugees' (33%) was driven by a range of issues. The prospect of deportation was a leading message, as was the introduction of tougher policies in destination countries including Australia. Media reports also noted that asylum seekers and refugees often faced exploitation and discrimination, and that their human rights were often not respected.

'Emigration and emigrants' had a similar level of unfavourable commentary as 'Asylum seekers and refugees' (32%). A prominent issue within this theme was the struggle many emigrants faced if they return home. The exploitation, discrimination and human rights abuses of emigrants were recurring issues in the media.

Media coverage of 'overseas workers' represented the lowest level of unfavourable commentary (24%), with 10% of coverage favourable. Concerns about the 'brain drain' effect on overseas workers was a prominent unfavourable message, as was the risk of exploitation and discrimination faced by Afghan workers. Difficulties faced by returning workers were also raised in the media. Leading favourable messages related to visa issues in Iran, with an agreement between the two countries leading to an increase in work rights.

'Irregular migration' attracted a large proportion of unfavourable commentary (33%), which centred on deportation and Australia's tougher policy regarding boat arrivals.

Coverage of 'people smuggling and trafficking' related mostly to reports detailing the capture and arrest of members of local syndicates.

The theme of 'migrant accommodation (including detention)' attracted limited media attention. There was some objection to conditions in Australia's offshore processing centres, as well as complaints that a centre in Norway was contributing to mental health issues.

While 'overseas students' did not attract significant coverage, reports did note the economic benefits that studying abroad could offer Afghanistan.

## Framing of the media discussion

**Figure C48: Message contexts for Afghanistan**
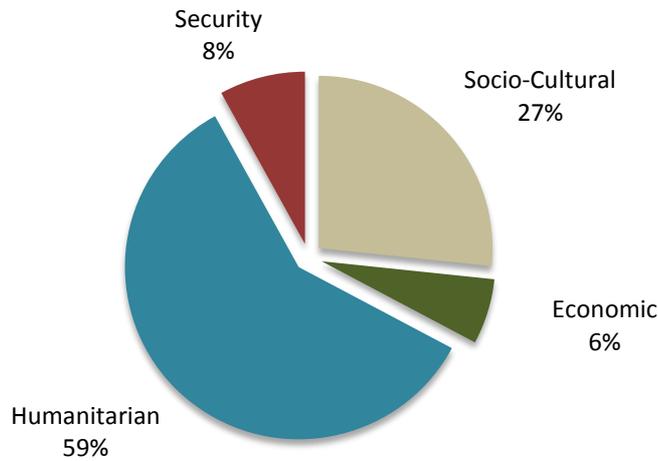


Articles: Socio-Cultural (n=100), Economic (n=23), Humanitarian (n=222), Security (n=30).
Source: In-depth analysis set.

**Figure C49: Key themes broken down by context for Afghanistan**
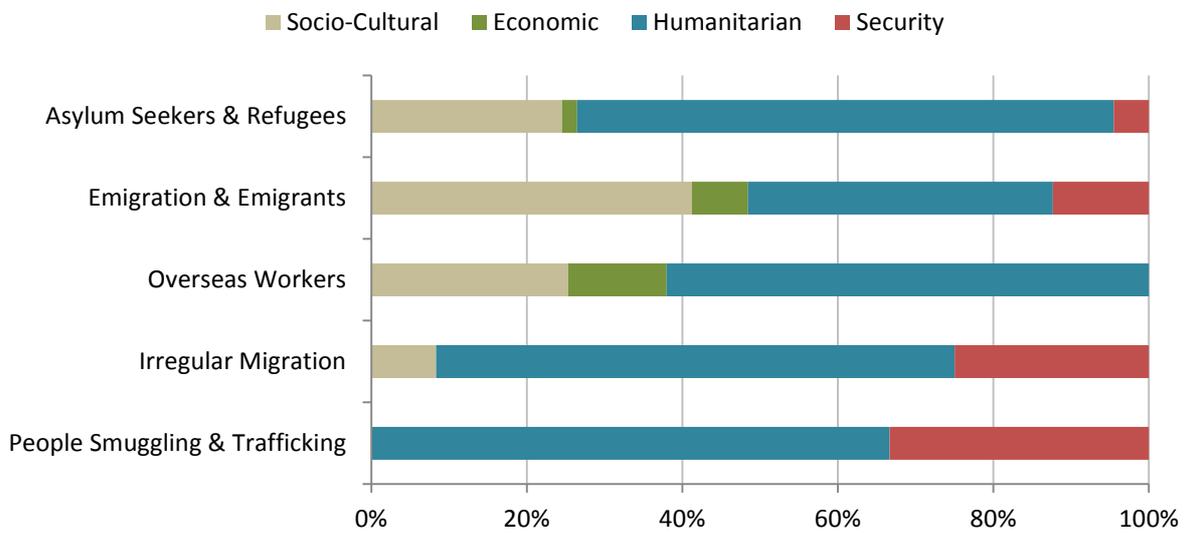


Messages: Asylum seekers and refugees (n=198), Irregular migration (n=31), People smuggling and trafficking (n=19), Overseas workers (n=101), Emigration and emigrants (n=124).
Source: In-depth analysis set.

## Voices in the media

**Figure C50: Prominent spokespeople in Afghanistan**
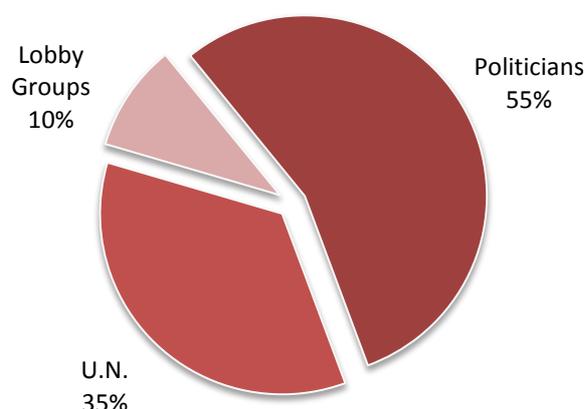


Articles: Politicians (n=69), Lobby groups (n=12), United Nations (n=44).

Note: More than one spokesperson can be identified in a single media piece.

Source: In-depth analysis set.

Local government spokespeople were prominent in discussions regarding the government's efforts to help Afghans living abroad, as well as steps being taken to improve the conditions of those returning home. Foreign politicians also appeared in the Afghan press in relation to their policies regarding asylum seekers and irregular migration.

Both the United Nations and Human Rights Watch expressed concern at the treatment of Afghans living in Iran. The United Nations also warned about human trafficking of Afghan children.

## Major stories

Examples of the major stories presented to Afghan audiences across the study period include:

- In October 2013 there were reports the Afghan election commission had sought to allow emigrants to participate in Afghanistan's election. However, this had proved logistically impossible.

- In early November 2013 articles appeared on Australia's tougher border protection policies, and how these were affecting Afghan asylum seekers. Concern was also expressed for the living standards of Afghans in Europe.

- While stories appearing in early November 2013 suggested that Iran would issue more visas to Afghans, in late November it was reported that Afghans in Iran were suffering human rights abuses. The United Nations said the situation had become very worrying.

- In late December 2013 and early January 2014 stories detailed the trouble facing returning Afghan emigrants. This issue continued to attract attention throughout the study period, with subsequent news that the Afghan government was working with both Iran and the United Nations to facilitate the return of more Afghans.

- Media coverage in January 2014 centred on the fighting in Syria, and the role of Afghan fighters who were there at the behest of Iran. It was suggested these people would be offered visas on their return to Iran.

- Throughout the study period there was media interest in demonstrations and the support given to Afghans facing deportation around the world.