



MODULE 4

The Media and the Migration Story – An Analysis Across Countries

by Susanne Fengler



MODULE AIMS

- To provide an overview of research results on coverage of migration and refugee matters.
- To encourage participants to analyse different perspectives in media reporting.
- To sensitize participants to stereotypes and ‘blind spots’ in the coverage of migrants and refugees.



LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of this module, participants should be able:

- To discuss the potential impact of shortcomings in the coverage of migrants and refugees. → **Affective LO: Responding**
- To compare media coverage in different political cultures and media systems. → **Cognitive LO: Analysing**
- To identify key challenges especially for the coverage of matters of migration in a changing journalistic environment. → **Cognitive LO: Analysing**

Outline

The media today operate in a world of political and social upheaval; a time of growing globalization and digitization. The current migration movements are part of this changing world. With the ways diverse media report about matters of migration, journalists can shape the perception of migrants and refugees in countries of origin as well as in destination countries. Even if media do not, or only hesitantly, cover the topic, this may have an impact on audiences and decision-makers. People may not understand the full consequences of migration matters for their own society, make misleading decisions, do or do not exert pressure on policy-makers to take action, or feel betrayed by media. For Europe, media scholars even argue that the high visibility of the so-called ‘refugee crisis’ of 2015 in the media has promoted Euroscepticism among citizens (Harteveld et al., 2018). For Africa, Eric Chinje from the African Media Initiative argues that as long as migration is not adequately covered in African countries, one might never see a critical constituency that fights for policies to effectively navigate issues of illegal migration. A migrant from Kenya, interviewed for one of our research projects, notes that the Kakuma refugee camp, accommodating over 180,000 refugees and asylum seekers, is simply “a forgotten story” in the Kenyan media (Bastian et al., 2018).

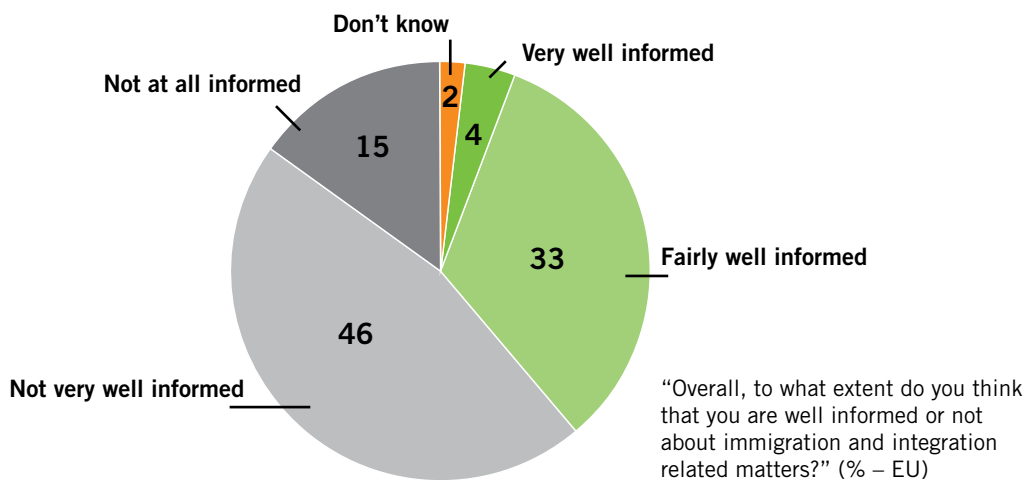
In order to enable a more “independent, objective and quality reporting of media outlets” on migrants and refugees, as urged by the United Nations (UN) Compact (2018), we need to study the status quo of migration coverage and identify achievements as well as shortcomings in the way media may treat the topic. A comparative analysis of migration coverage will enable us to better understand the way that media in origin countries on one hand, and media in transit and destina-



SUGGESTION FOR THE CLASSROOM TO ADDRESS THE COGNITIVE SKILLS OF UNDERSTANDING AND THE AFFECTIVE SKILLS OF RECEIVING:

Discuss how you perceive media coverage of migrants and refugees in your country. You may also take a look at the survey results for Europe below (see Figure 14).

Figure 14: European’s satisfaction with media coverage of migration



Source: European Commission (2018, p. 4). Own illustration.

tion countries on the other hand, frame the issue. Hafez (2011, p. 486) argues that “media systems construct events according to their national preferences. Seemingly homogeneous events [...] are simultaneously reported in a very different manner around the world.” Is this still true for our times, when matters of migrants and refugees have become one of the key issues of global policy?¹ The notion of “objective” reporting is highly contested as an ideal and its meaning varies across discourse about journalism. What seems clear however is that the interpretation and application of professional standards of verification and public interest are coloured by narratives related to economic, political, institutional, demographic, cultural and identity issues.

Studies on migration coverage: literature review

Various phases of migration have triggered mass communication studies on the coverage of immigration, while coverage of minorities (sometimes related to the issues) has been a recurrent subject of mass communication analysis at least since the 1980s. The studies provide a base to assess the

¹ Parts of the text of this module have been taken from the author’s prior publications (Fengler et al. (2020a).

development and status quo of migration coverage across countries, seeking to understand “the factors that shape media coverage of migrants and minorities, as well as the effect of that coverage on public attitudes, policy outcomes or social relations” (Bleich et al., 2015, p. 857). It needs to be noted that the vast majority of these studies has originated in the Global North. While the causes and consequences of migrants and refugees movements have steadily dominated the media agenda in ‘Western’ societies since 2015 (Fengler & Kreutler, 2020; Krüger & Zapf-Schramm, 2016), few stories and headlines in African media focus on people leaving the continent and heading north, according to Eric Chinje of the African Media Initiative (Chinje, 2016). Research on the coverage of migrants and refugees in African countries is largely restricted to South Africa, which has experienced recurring incidents targeting migrants from other African countries. Authors analyzing the South African print media include Danso & McDonald (2001), McDonald & Jacobs (2005), and Fine & Bird (2002), who argue that South African media in recent years provided an “incomplete” and “simplistic” picture of xenophobic incidents (Smith, 2009, p. 11). Apart from these studies, Assopgoum (2011) has looked at the coverage of migration from Senegal to Germany, and White (2015) has produced an overview of frameworks and conditions for migration coverage, which also includes a few African countries. White (2015) argues in “Moving Stories” that journalists fail to tell the full story and routinely fall into propaganda traps laid by politicians. In migrants’ and refugees’ countries of origin, censorship or a lack of resources, or a combination of both, are mainly to blame for poor coverage (see Module 5; see also Al-Mazahara, 2016).

Before reviewing mass communication studies in the Global North, it needs to be noted that countries in Europe vary considerably in their migration history: Long-standing immigration to UK and France due to the countries’ colonial pasts, and the ‘Gastarbeiter’ movement of Southern European and Turkish migrants into Germany since the 1960s, contrast with the recent history of immigration in the 2010s into Spain, Italy and Greece, which had been previously been ‘sending countries’ to Northern Europe. This has had an impact on the way national media cover the migration issue. Also, the majority of studies analyses coverage of migration, (im)migrants and refugees in a single country, even though “this policy domain is increasingly shifting to supranational decision making within the EU, which means that analysing immigration-related public debate from a Europeanised perspective becomes increasingly relevant” (Horsti, 2008, p. 42). Yet, as Meltzer et al. (2018, p. 1) summarize a meta-analysis, “there is little comparative research on the salience of immigration-related issues or actors in the media across different European countries”.

These studies show considerable variation in line with different political positions towards migration within European countries, but also with different journalistic routines, media cultures, and access to sources for migration coverage. Caviedes (2015, p. 898) has compared migration coverage in France, UK and Italy, based on the observation that a large proportion of migration coverage is “increasingly linked with crime and security issues”. Migration is also associated with “threatening economic prosperity and cultural identity”. His analysis finds both the economic and the ‘securitisation’ frames dominant in migration coverage 2009-2012. “[D]ebates over immigration vary in

intensity and issue salience between countries, such that they may each sustain their own particular critical narratives” (Caviedes, 2015, p. 912). According to Esses et al. (2013, p. 520), negative frames and conflicts continue to characterize European coverage of migrants and refugees. Intra-EU migrants are more often described by the media as a “threat to the economy and welfare system”, while non-EU migrants are portrayed as a “threat” to host countries’ culture (Meltzer et al., 2018, p. 6). A recent study in seven EU countries confirms that migration from outside the EU into the EU is framed more negatively, and tends to focus on matters of securitization (Eberl et al., 2019).

Horsti (2008) offers one of the few studies examining African migrants into Europe, focusing on media coverage of the arrival of 30,000 undocumented African migrants in Spain's Canary Islands, in 2006 (Fohrn, 2009). According to her study of one Finnish and one Swedish newspaper, most stories did not present Africans as sovereign actors taking rational decisions; also, the event was largely ‘domesticated’ in the papers, by emphasizing Finnish and Swedish actors and perspectives on this distant event in Southern Europe. Another study by Balabanova & Balch (2010) researched labour migration in the UK and Bulgaria after the EU’s enlargement 2007, and thus compared coverage in the sending countries of migrants and their host countries. The authors expected different types of coverage in host and sending countries, due to various stakes in migration. However, the media agenda in Bulgaria largely mirrored the UK’s, because the Bulgarian news media imported UK news due to lack of newsroom resources for original coverage.

Focusing on the so-called ‘European refugee crisis’ of 2015, Berry et al. (2015) found that coverage of migrants and refugees differed significantly among European countries: Humanitarian issues were more prevalent in Italian media; Swedish publications had the most positive tenor; those in the UK remained largely negative. According to an analysis by the European Journalism Observatory (EJO), newspapers in Western Europe were generally more compassionate towards the plight of migrants and refugees, compared to Central and Eastern European countries (EJO, 2015). Georgiou & Zaborowski (2017) conducted a research project on media coverage in eight European countries, concluding that the media paid little and scattered attention to the context of the migrants and refugees in Europe, and stories were only rarely connected to war reporting or other international news stories from countries of origins of migrants and refugees. Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti (2016) compared how the Greek, German and British press have addressed the initial coverage of the ‘refugee crisis’ of 2015; according to them, migrants and refugees were portrayed as helpless and desperate victims of the civil war in Syria, and newspapers paid a lot of attention to the tragedy. As argued by Caviedes, coverage tends to emphasize the consequences and effects of immigration from the viewpoint of economics and labour markets (Goedeke Tort et al., 2016). Moreover, studies identify a lack of reporting about migrants’ individual stories (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017). A study by the ICMPD (2016) points towards a lack of knowledge about the complex issue of migration among journalists in European and MENA countries about migrants’ countries of origin, and newsrooms’ vulnerability to pressure by populists and via social media.



SUGGESTION FOR AN EXERCISE TO ADDRESS THE COGNITIVE SKILLS OF UNDERSTANDING AND THE AFFECTIVE SKILLS OF RESPONDING:

The literature review has pointed to noticeable differences in media coverage of migration across countries. Along with various political contexts, media systems and cultural perspectives may also have a strong impact on the quantity and quality of media coverage of matters of migration and forced displacement. Discuss the potential impact of the following issues on the quantity and quality of migration coverage in African and European countries: Press freedom, pluralism in the media system, professionalism/journalism education, newsroom resources, technology, advertising markets (you may add more topics).

Cross-country studies of migration coverage I: Africa and Europe

In order to analyse migration coverage across political systems and journalism cultures, the Erich Brost Institute for International Journalism (EBI) has conducted two studies comparing the coverage of migrants and refugees in Africa and Europe (study 1) as well as across Western and Eastern Europe, the United States, and the Russian Federation (study 2). This handbook presents the key results of the two studies and offers comprehensive accompanying material on our project website, hoping to encourage fellow researchers and advanced students to conduct similar studies in Africa and on other continents, to build a broad knowledge base of migration coverage.

The first study compared newspaper content in six European and five African countries (Fengler et al., 2020a). A consortium of European and African universities analysed articles related to migration and forced displacement published in the online editions of two leading daily newspapers from Germany (Süddeutsche Zeitung, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung), the UK (The Independent, The Telegraph), France (Le Monde, Le Figaro), Italy (La Repubblica, Corriere della Sera), Greece (Ta Nea; Kathimerini), Spain (El País, ABC) and Kenya (The Daily Nation, The Standard), Uganda (The New Vision, Monitor), Tanzania (Daily News, The Guardian), Ethiopia (The Ethiopian Herald, Addis Zemen) and Ghana (Ghanaian Times, Daily Graphic). Through a keyword search, 1,512 articles within one year (1 June 2015 to 31 May 2016) dealing with migration from Africa to Europe were surveyed and evaluated using quantitative content analysis. The aim was to ‘de-Westernize’ (Waisbord & Mellado, 2014) the research perspective, and to investigate the phenomenon of migration from different angles. Thus, the African and the European researchers co-operated closely on all levels of the investigation – in the creation of the codebook, data collection and evaluation as well as the final analysis.

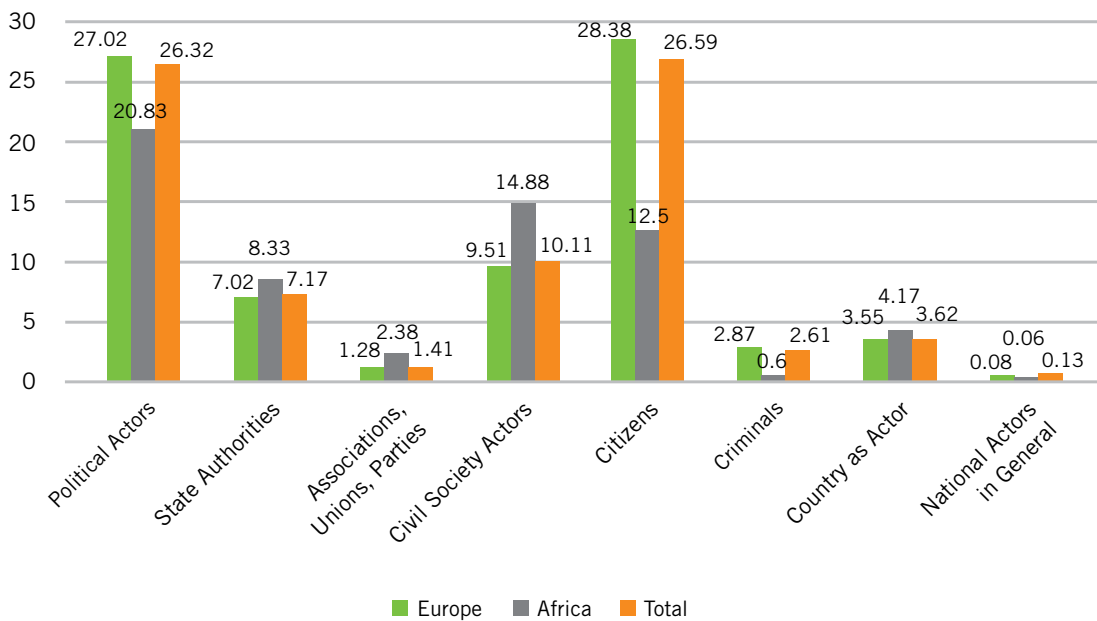
The study found a huge gap regarding the quantity of migration coverage between African and European media. More than 88% of the articles found during the study period 2015/2016 are from European media, with only 12% from African media. This is a striking imbalance, even when

we take into account that African newspapers on average have less space for news compared to European newspapers, and radio is the dominant medium due to financial and technological restrictions as well as a lack of literacy (African Media Barometer, 2018).

Coverage in Europe and Africa was dominated by day-to-day politics, and severely lacks deeper insights; less than 9% of total coverage is devoted to relevant background information, which would help the audience to understand the actual causes and impact of migration and forced displacement. The main topics of the examined reporting are politics (43%) and migration in general (48%) – with a focus on spectacular disasters and boat catastrophes. Media on both continents largely ignored other topics such as economics (2%), media and journalism (1%), everyday life (app. 0%), historical, ethnic or cultural backgrounds (1%) or strategic implications of migration (2%). Thus, media audiences in both Europe and Africa received little background information to assess matters of migrants and refugees – or to understand the relevance of the topic.

In Europe, coverage of migration from Africa was heavily self-centred and revolved around European security issues. Only a quarter (26%) of the articles by European media focused on African main actors (see Figure 15). At the same time, the European media largely ignored the sub-Saharan African countries of origin. Libya as the crucial African transit country to Europe received some attention (5%). Eritrea, with the highest share of migrants to Europe during the study, attracted less than 1%. ‘Africa as a continent’ was the ‘main country’ in 3% of the articles. Little at all was said about who African migrants and refugees are and why they actually decide to leave.

Figure 15: Types of national main actors of migration coverage



Source: Author's own diagram, data retrieved from Fengler et al. (2020b).

However, African media paid even less attention. Instead, accidents and disasters in the Mediterranean Sea dominated the coverage in African media. Migration coverage in African countries neglected the people: Only 13% of main actors in the African media coverage were citizens – authorities and politicians dominated the news. Coverage was focused on authorities and lacked a human face: African newspapers nearly twice as often named international actors (relief organizations, etc.) as acting key actors (more than a third of all actors in Africa altogether). ‘Elitist’ actors such as political actors (presidents, government representatives or opposition politicians), state authorities (judiciary, police, military or intelligence services) and ‘elitist’ international actors such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) dominated. It needs to be mentioned that the study finds support for many of the shortcomings of foreign coverage in general, as described by Hafez (2002). Besides negativism, politicization and elitism, de-contextualization was especially evident. Economic and cultural aspects were almost invisible, as were structural problems of migration (see also Module 3; Fengler et al., 2020a; Fengler et al., 2018).

To triangulate the content analysis of media coverage in Africa and Europe, the EBI research team additionally conducted qualitative panel discussions with African migrants in Germany (Zappe et al., 2020). According to this study, participants agreed that matters of migration and forced displacement were hardly treated in the media in their home countries. In particular, specific information in this area had been scarce; the little information they had prior to their migration decision was almost entirely from personal sources. In addition, there were repeated references to deficits in the truthfulness of such information, mediated as well as interpersonal, as this contribution by a Senegalese migrant shows: “In Senegal, you do not have the truth. They do not tell you the truth. You get the truth when you are here” (cited in Zappe et al., 2020, p. 136). It should be noted, however, that the participants pointed out that this may have changed slowly for the better in recent years. Participants also highlighted a distorted picture of the German reality of life in African media and society, which, among other things, repeatedly implied the idea that financial success is almost guaranteed. Interviewees demanded that African media should draw a more balanced picture of Europe: “Our journalists in Africa, for whatever reason, refuse to show [...] also the negative parts of Europe, like I keep telling people in Africa. [...] And that is why journalism in Africa, I think, plays also some role



SUGGESTION FOR AN EXERCISE TO ADDRESS THE COGNITIVE SKILLS OF ANALYZING AND THE AFFECTIVE SKILLS OF RECEIVING:

Why do media in the Global North pay much more attention to the coverage of migration? Compare the political and societal implications of migration and forced displacement in origin and destination countries, as well as cultural patterns and ethical norms. Provide the participants with the necessary information and let them describe the potential impact for media coverage. Keep in mind the potential impact of different media systems and issues affecting journalism as well as the potential hindrances to migration coverage.

that people migrate” (said a Ghanaian migrant, cited in Zappe et al., 2020, p. 136). Not only migration from Africa to Europe, but also pan-African migration is, according to the experiences of the participants in the discussion, only sporadically addressed by the media. Here as well, interpersonal communication dominates when communicating information. For more details, see the working paper provided by Zappe et al. (2020) available for download on our project website.

Migration and international news flows

The analysis of migration coverage must also be embedded into the discussion about news flows and foreign coverage in both the Global South and North, as initiated historically by several United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) studies (MacBride, 1980; Sreberny-Mohammadi et al., 1985; UNESCO, 1954) with long-lasting impact on the scholarly agenda. Hafez (2002, p. 24) understands foreign coverage as any system of journalistic information, “in the course of which information and news cross state borders”. It has basic structures and characteristics: Foreign coverage frequently focuses on politics, and political elites are at the centre of reporting (Hafez, 2002). Foreign coverage is also characterized by ethnocentrism (Meier, 1984), regionalism (Sreberny-Mohammadi et al., 1985) and domestication (Kamps, 2008), through which the media anchor international events in a ‘national world of perception’. An equally characteristic structural feature of foreign reporting is a dominant negativism, which can be found especially in crisis and conflict issues.

Given the deficits in international news flows, reporting about Africa remains a specific challenge. Segev (2014, p. 425) states “[a]t the global level, under-represented countries were mostly from Africa”. Studies on reporting about Africa in European media identify numerous deficits, especially the emphasis on conflict reporting about Africa, and Western frames dominating the coverage (Mükke, 2009). A negative bias in the coverage by Western media about Africa is created through focusing on topics such as war, crises, disasters, diseases, corruption, and crime (EL Zein & Cooper,



SUGGESTION FOR AN EXERCISE TO ADDRESS THE COGNITIVE SKILLS OF ANALYZING AND THE AFFECTIVE SKILLS OF RECEIVING:

Let the participants analyse the foreign coverage in your country in a discussion about the following questions:

1. How do you evaluate foreign coverage in your country?
2. How is your country being reported about abroad?
3. Which stereotypical assumptions do you have about countries in the Global North/Global South, and where do they come from?
4. How can the shortcomings in foreign coverage outlined above possibly impact migration coverage?
5. What can you as a journalist do to change this?

1992; Mengara, 2001). While some current studies conclude that the African continent continues to be a 'blind spot' for foreign reporting (Franks, 2010; Serwornoo, 2018), others point towards a recent decline of "Afro-pessimism" in the Western press (for Australia: Obijiofor & Hanusch, 2011; Obijiofor & MacKinnon, 2016; for the US and UK: Scott, 2015), and put sharp criticism of Western coverage of Africa into perspective (Nothias, 2016).

African scholars have tackled the issue of representation of Africa in the 'Western' media as well (notably Obijiofor & Hanusch, 2011; Serwornoo, 2018; Wa'Njogu, 2009). Oguh (2015) argues that most media fail to keep pace with the actual developments in African countries, for example with the booming urbanization that contrasts the recurrent depiction of 'rural' Africa. According to Wa'Njogu (2009), this problem can be attributed to the reality that a lot of the global news about Africa is not issued by African media organisations, but by Europeans. In addition to endogenous factors, the news about Africa is also shaped by media structures. The lack of news agencies in Africa, a shrinking number of foreign correspondents on the ground and the limited knowledge about Africa among editors in Europe often leads to a rather stereotyped selection and adaptation of news (Hafez, 2005; Mücke, 2009; Stürmer, 2013). Negativism and a conflict perspective also play a role in Africa, because the negative image of Africa in Western media interacts with the self-perception of African actors (see Hall, 1997; Mengara, 2001).

Michael Yao Serwornoo PhD, professor of journalism in Ghana, has conducted a pilot study on the image of Africa in the Ghanaian press (Serwornoo, 2018). His analysis concludes that Africa is mostly represented with the same frames as Western media uses, as African media rely on sources from the Global North even for the coverage of neighbouring African countries. Due to the lack of original coverage, poor editing, lack of space due to advertising policy, and assumptions about the public's interest in political affairs, the quality of foreign coverage remains extremely low, and political and economic problems that trigger the causes of the migration crises in Africa remain rarely invisible in the African media. Asante, Sun, and Long (2013) conclude that "Africa [...] is victimized by her inherent weakness of media outlets". Also, little research has been conducted on the pressing problem that African media tend to marginalize other African countries, frequently due to lack of newsroom resources, which may have a severe impact for example on potential bilateral trade options (Turkson, 2012). Consequently, Ogunyemi (2011) asks whether the internet could be a valuable tool for creating more truthful representations of Africa due to participation via social media.

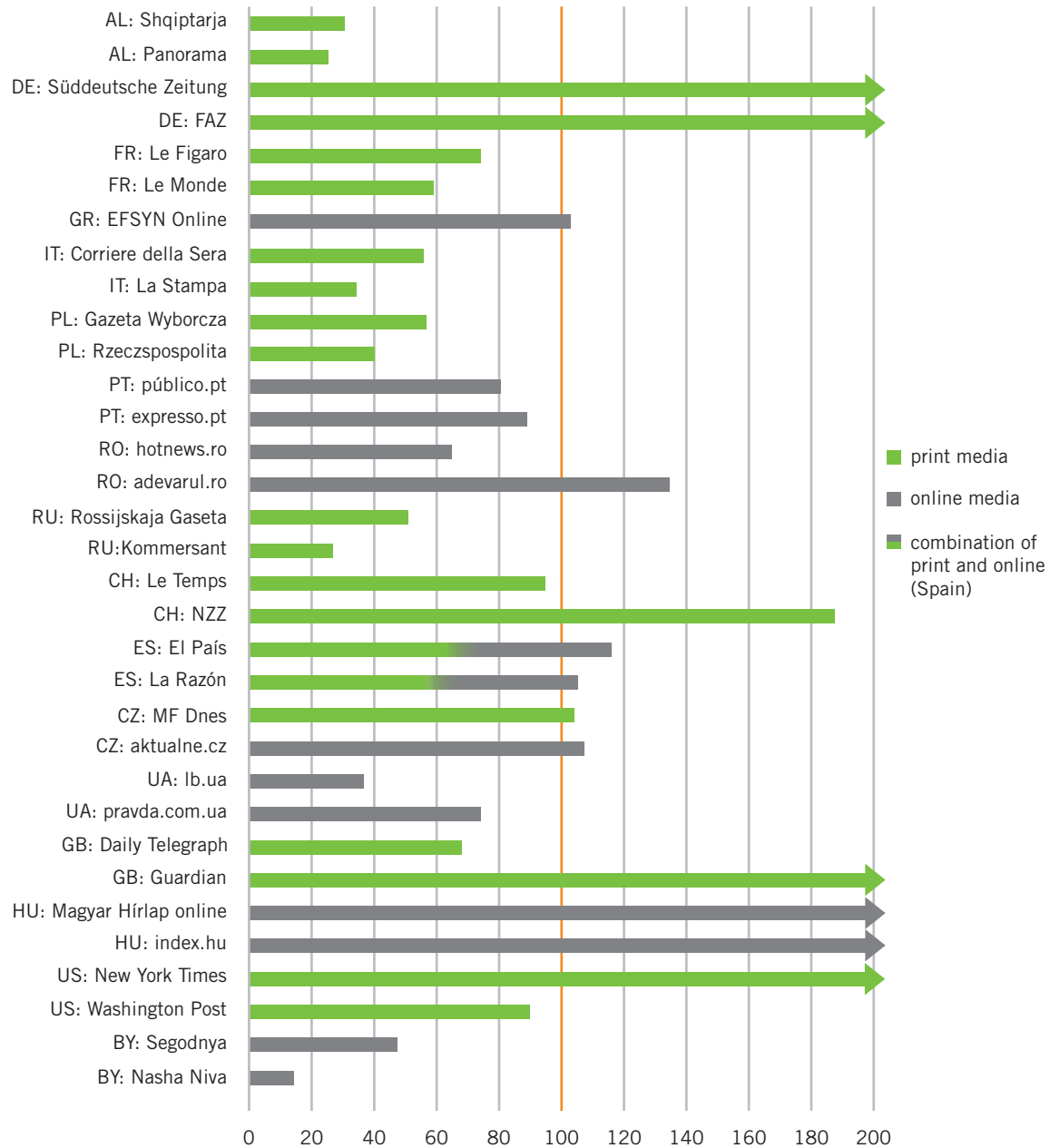
Cross-country studies of migration coverage II: Europe, USA, Russia

A second multi-country study by the EBI compares migration coverage in 17 countries in Western and Eastern Europe, the United States and Russia. The study analyses reporting in six exemplary weeks between August 2015 and March 2018 (Fengler & Kreutler, 2020).² We will highlight some key

2 The study weeks were selected on the basis of a preliminary study in eight media, in which the weeks with the highest increase in the number of articles compared to the previous week were identified. Details on the methodology of the study and an overview over the articles retrieved per country are available online: Fengler and Kreutler (2020).

results here, while the full text is available online on the project website. The study has retrieved a total of 2,417 articles for the six selected study weeks between August 2015 and March 2018 (see Figure 16). Significant differences in the intensity of reporting about migration and forced displacement across countries were evident during the study weeks. Coverage in Germany and Hungary – the two countries with highest numbers of first-time asylum applicants in 2015 – stands out in terms of

Figure 16: Number of articles on migration published during the six study weeks



Acronym Outlets: FAZ – *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*; EFSYN – *Efimerida ton Syntakton*; NZZ – *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*. For outlets with more than 100 articles, 100 articles were random-selected. Periods of analysis: 31.08.-06.09.15, 09.11-15.11.15, 04.01-10.01.16, 09.10.-15.10.17, 11.12.-17.12.17, 19.02.-25.02.18. Source: Fengler and Kreutler (2020, p. 20). Own illustration.

volume. In other European media, the topic receives much less attention. A high number of articles was also found in the international leading media (The New York Times and The Guardian).

Also, many European media treat matters of migrants and refugees as a “foreign topic”, taking place far away from users’ own country. A focus on migration as a domestic topic is only apparent in Italy, Germany and Greece. French and British media see their country involved on an international scale, as well as the Hungarian media – the latter certainly a consequence of the political focus placed by the country’s government on alleged dangers and burdens of migration. In the Italian media, and partly in the French media, immigrants from Africa dominate the media coverage; other countries in Europe focus on migrants and refugees from the Near and Middle East. In the Russian Federation, immigrants from Eastern Ukraine are reflected. Also, it often seems to be impossible for the journalists to differentiate between refugees with the respective rights under the Geneva Convention and other migrants. Journalists may also be unfamiliar with the definitions themselves, as most of the articles (60%) mention a mix of various status groups, or the status question remains unclear. We have however observed that the proportion of articles that clearly speak of refugees with the relevant rights decreased over the study period.

Western European and left-leaning or liberal media focus more on the situation of, and aid for, migrants and refugees, while Central and Eastern European and more right-wing or conservative media focus on problems and protests. Yet, in almost all countries, audiences do have a choice, as the two leading media studied offered different positions on the topic. The analysis of the main actors underlines again the policy focus in migration reporting particularly in regard to the acting persons and institutions. It is actually a government focus. In 37% of the articles the government, or a single actor of the government or ruling party, is the main actor; opposition actors are described as main actors in only 2% of the articles. Migrants represent a total of 26.6% of the main actors, but they are more often represented by large, anonymous groups than individuals or small groups such as families, whose members could still be experienced as individuals. By a factor of ten, more non-migrants than migrants are quoted directly or indirectly. These results underline previous studies on the specificities of migration reporting, but they also show some differences between the countries studied. For example, the two US newspapers surveyed are those which portray more individual migrants and refugees, possibly as a result of a journalistic professional ethos that aligns with the goal to giving ‘a voice to the voiceless’.



SUGGESTION FOR AN EXERCISE TO ADDRESS THE COGNITIVE SKILLS OF ANALYSING AND THE AFFECTIVE SKILLS OF RESPONDING:

Discuss the findings of this study. Which of these problems can be seen in the different media? Which hinderances and obstacles may be faced by journalists and newsrooms? What is the potential impact of shortcomings in the coverage of migration and forced displacement?



SUGGESTED ASSIGNMENT:

- to address the cognitive skills of analyzing and the affective skills of responding (A,) or
- to address the cognitive skills of analyzing and creating (B):

(A) Let the participants select one sample country and ask them to prepare presentations/produce a podcast/create a poster on the challenges for the coverage of migration and forced displacement in a changing journalistic environment.

(B) Download the codebook from our project website. Ask students to form groups and conduct a content analysis for media in your country, for a selected time period (e.g. four weeks), with their results being presented in the last session. Ask them to compare the media coverage in your country with the media coverage in the countries studied in the research from Fengler and Kreutler (2020).



RECOMMENDED READING:

Journalistic:

Fengler, S., & Kreutler, M. (2020a). Migration coverage in Europe's media: A comparative analysis of coverage in 17 countries. Frankfurt/Main: OBS Working Paper 39.

Academic:

Chinje, E. (2016). "Europe Has to Deal with the Causes of Migration from Africa." Retrieved December 20, 2020, from <http://www.theafricancourier.de/europe/europe-has-to-deal-with-the-causes-of-migration-from-africa-eric-chinje/> (accessed 22nd June 2018).

Institutional:

White, A. (Ed.) (2015). Moving Stories. International Review of how Media Cover Migration. London: Ethical Journalism Network. Retrieved December 20, 2020, from <https://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/assets/docs/054/198/8feb836-108e6c6.pdf> (accessed 26th June 2018).

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