

Migration as a 'European Problem': The Discourse of 'Europeanness' in Migration Policy
and News Articles in the European Union

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Abstract

This research examines how the representation of migrants entering the European Union (EU) through the Mediterranean in European news articles reflects and relates to EU migration policy and the imaginary of a collective European identity. A critical discourse analysis of 18 European-based news articles from Euronews and Deutsche Welle between January and May 2023 was conducted. This analysis falsifies and problematizes the dominant discourses in these news articles and migration policies pertaining to Fortress Europe, crisis narratives, and what it means to be 'European' to highlight how discourse surrounding migration as a European problem purposefully racializes migrants and enables violence against them. The racialization of migrants highlights the role of biopolitics and examines how in the era of externalization and securitization of borders, the border has become more than physical and rather a practice reproduced through discourse. The framing of migration from a European perspective highlights the power of discourse to influence policy and public opinion, and showcases how the actions of the EU can trickle-down to exclusionary nation-state policy, highlighted by the example of Italian migration policy under its newly elected right-wing government. This framing and relationship produces a perpetual cycle of exclusion that is normalized and allows violence to continue unquestioned or be considered acceptable by the general public and within policy. The Europeanization of borders highlights a major juxtaposition between the image of the EU as a leading governmental body committed to democracy and protecting human rights and freedom, and their actions that enable violence against migrants

List of Abbreviations

CBS	Critical Border Studies
DW	Deutsche Welle
EU	European Union
Eurodac	European dactyloscopy database Non-Governmental Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization

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Prologue

Migration is a prominent topic in society today, something woven into the political, social, economic, and cultural spheres of everyday life. However, we often forget at the core of migration is mobility – the crossing of borders – a privilege and freedom not everyone has. Migration is not something that suddenly happens; it is a deeply political and personal process that is constructed and impacted by a multitude of actors, policies, discourses, and power structures. I recognize that migration is a sensitive topic that affects the lives of millions of people everyday, and attempt to uphold this throughout my work. In every mention or representation of migrants and migration, I do so with purpose and the understanding that no individual person or experience can be homogenized or reduced to one category, narrative, or conceptualization. I also have attempted to critically reflect upon my own privilege and relation to migration and therefore my positionality in regard to the research I have conducted. The reason I am at Utrecht University studying and doing this research is a result of my own migration, a migration story that emphasizes the very problems within the European migration regime I present and analyze in this paper.

As both a Canadian and German citizen, I am privileged with easy mobility to most places across the world. With my German passport, I am able to attend university and work in the Netherlands and have untethered mobility throughout the Schengen Zone; my crossing of borders in the EU is porous. My German citizenry is never questioned despite not having been born there or lived there and speaking very little of the language. My whiteness categorizes me as belonging to the European monolith, and contributes to my ability to cross borders with ease and leave the border at the border. In opposition to my experience are the experiences of many other people on the move. Many migrants coming to the EU through the Mediterranean are racialized and subject to abhorrent violence at and beyond the physical border: their mobility is denied so mine can be free. The border becomes a space and a construct that constitutes life or death, is wearable on their bodies, and is confronted on a daily basis. It is not my goal to recognize migrants as only victims of the European border regime; they are individuals with agency whose lives cannot strictly be reduced to their experience with migration. Instead, I seek to exemplify how the border regime and media representation facilitate the dangerous conditions people on the move must face in their attempts to cross the Mediterranean to Europe. With the acknowledgement of this privilege, I wish to highlight the structural issues and violence embedded in the European migration regime and society throughout my thesis.

For a privileged few, the border is an administrative annoyance. It is comprised of wait times, baggage restrictions, strict discipline, and palpable discomfort under the probing gaze of humourless border agents. For Others, the border is intransigent, insurmountable, and inescapable. It is the dividing line between life and death, freedom and bondage, peace and war... It criminalizes survival strategies carried out in desperation, hope, ingenuity, and courage. – Levi Gahman & Elise Hjalmarson (2019, 114)

Chapter 1: Introduction

On February 9, 2023, the European Council of the European Union (EU), a governing body that guides the political direction of the EU, held a one day summit in Brussels to discuss conclusions on a variety of topics such as Ukraine, the economy, and migration. The council described migration as “a European challenge that requires a European response”, and that therefore the EU should have a comprehensive response to migration “in line with EU principles and values and fundamental rights” (European Council, 2023b). The summit set the focus of migration to be on externalization, with mention on increasing external border control, reaffirming support to the European Border and Coast Guard Agency (Frontex), increasing the use of the safe third country and country of origin policies, and called upon member states to increase Frontex funding and reinforcement (European Council, 2023b). This summit builds upon existing EU migration policies that focus on humanitarianism and targeting the criminal activity of human traffickers and smugglers (European Council, 2023a). These strategies reflect the two main narratives in migration policy of humanitarianism and deterrence supported by the EU, which are both highly visible for migration happening in the Mediterranean Sea with migrant boats, whether they reach European shores, disappear, sink, or get pushbacked.

This summit importantly highlighted the role of the EU in shaping the narrative around migration discourse and the focus on European values or ‘Europeanness’ as defining characteristics in policy-making. The EU also influences national responses to migration and promotes and funds Frontex, an important actor in migration to the EU right now. Also, in both media and policy, migration is framed as a threat against the idea of Europe or Europeanness as a collective and homogenous identity and set of values. Jiska Engelbert, Isabel Awad, and Jacco van Sterkenburg have previously exemplified how the idea of Europe extends beyond physical borders and is more so about achieving a certain set of values or standards associated with a population subscribed to a shared Europeanness (2019, 134). They suggest the idea of protecting all of Europe and its Europeanness from outsiders presents a liberal paradox in which Europe is the embodiment of freedom of movement, but

such freedom is always under threat and therefore is restricted to a certain population not deemed a security risk (Engelbert, Awad, van Sterkenburg 2019, 137). I seek to examine how this paradox is embedded in discourse as an indisputable truth to reality circulated by political rhetoric, as made clear with newspapers discussing migration, the Brussels summit, and Italy's state of emergency (Engelbert, Awad, van Sterkenburg 2019, 137).

Despite the important role of the EU in migration, they are often overlooked as an actor that facilitates or intensifies border violence because blame is hard to place and diffused across a multitude of factors (e.g. nation-state policies, national coast guards, Frontex, migrants themselves, human traffickers and smugglers, individual border agents, etc.), none of which can be easily pin-pointed as a singular responsible agent. Also, this imaginatory of Europe as a singular entity linked to Europeanness and European values is a construction rooted in whiteness and constitutes a border that decides who is allowed entry on a racial basis. Nicolas De Genova is an important scholar in this field and foregrounds discussions on the embedded racism in European migration and the idea of a shared Europeanness, and examines the role of white supremacy in the creation of citizenship and borders in Europe. Similarly, Nina Perkowski, Maurice Stierl, and Andrew BurrIDGE present how framing migration as a European problem with the shared goal of protecting a common external border has the trickle down effect of justifying individual nation-states who respond to migration with increased security measures, much like Italy's new far-right government (2023, 112). The EU therefore facilitates an enabling environment for exclusionary migration policy in individual nation-states and intensifies violence against migrants at and beyond the border while simultaneously avoiding responsibility by maintaining the image of an elite governing body that upholds so-called European values of "democracy", "rule of law", and "human rights" (European Commission n.d.). I wish to expand on these existing works related to Europeanness and unpack the juxtaposition of this image of Europe to the reality of their actions in migration, specifically through media discourse as a powerful and legitimating tool in creating an enabling environment for border violence.

Because of the conjunction of the public framing of European migration policy at the summit early this year, the current Italian reaction to migration, and the subsequent visibility of migration flows through the Mediterranean in the media right now, I will be examining newspapers discussing these topics from January to May 2023. Newspapers as an accessible and prominent form of media consumption for political and social issues like migration make them important vessels for the production and circulation of discourse relating to the topic. In this research, I seek to analyze the relationship between how newspapers represent migration

to the EU through the Mediterranean to exclusionary migration policy in the EU. Linking media discourse to policy is not a new phenomenon; previous scholars like David De Coninck have highlighted how the labelling of migrants impacts public opinion and policy, and the role of dehumanization and biopolitics as tactics to legitimate violence have been researched by scholars like Raith Abid, Shakila Manan, and Zuhair Rahman and Özgün E. Topak. I will expand on existing literature by problematizing the EU and the idea of Europeanness in migration discourse and examine how the EU is culpable in facilitating the exclusion and racialization of migrants. I will problematize discourses in newspapers that frame Europe as a monolith with a collective border or gate at the Mediterranean. I focus on European newspapers because migration into Europe is not just governed by national jurisdiction, but also EU wide policy and is policed by the larger EU institution of Frontex. This focus on the EU and its claim of European universalism and tracing media representation to policy specifically in the realm of externalization and securitization of borders differentiates my research from existing discussion.

I analyze the representation of migration from two major english-language online newspapers because they claim to represent an all encompassing perspective of Europe. I will examine a total of 18 articles from both Euronews, which is Europe's top international news channel that provides an "impartial" and "European perspective", and Deutsche Welle (DW), a German international news channel that also provides "impartial" journalism with a main topic being European culture (Euronews 2023; Deutsche Welle 2023). While newspapers from other global or national perspectives may subscribe to similar assumptions about a European collective, I want to analyze the European perspective and image and then relate that presentation to oppositional actions like the violence at EU borders and the ability of discourse to legitimize such violence. Agenda setting theory and framing, which outline the influential power of the media to shape public opinion by forefronting specific topics, will be important analytical tools for understanding the narratives presented in the newspapers I analyze. In my analysis of newspapers, I seek to uncover how the threat and crisis narratives present in reiterating an increase and large volume of migrants is dehumanizing to legitimize exclusion in policy by deeming human worth on what constitutes being European. I will relate this differentiation in humanity to the EU as an actor that allows violence against migrants to occur under the guise of protecting its own values and image. Also, I will trace how the media can translate into hostile nation-state environments for migrants, with the newly elected right-wing Italian government as a highlighting example.

I want to situate this tracing to policy within the narrative of protecting Europeanness and exemplify why it is important to understand how the philosophy of the EU is in direct juxtaposition to the impact of their actions that create an enabling environment for migrant exclusion. I want to problematize the idea of European values or Europeanness that the EU promotes and ask what it means to be these things, or more importantly what constitutes the opposite of such constructs. I hypothesize that media discourse and migration policies, like those exercised by Frontex, will reflect a mutually reinforcing relationship in which exclusion and violence against migrants becomes normalized. For me, it is important to critically reflect upon this relationship to understand how the potential dehumanization and presentation of migrants as a threat in the media can be reflected in policy because it shows the power of discourse to have real-life impacts. I want to highlight the role of the EU as an enabling actor to these exclusionary migration narratives and practices, because of their ability to shape the discourse around migration, the limited repercussions to their role in border violence, and their focus on Europeanness. My research question is thus as follows:

How does the portrayal of migrants¹ entering Europe through the Mediterranean in European news articles from Euronews and DW reflect and relate to EU migration policy and the imaginary of a collective European identity?

I will first contextualize and problematize current EU externalization and securitization policies and the role of Frontex before unpacking the importance of the media and the role of race and the idea of ‘Europeanness’ in migration.

1.1 Frontex and the Making of ‘Fortress Europe’

‘Fortress Europe’ refers to the strengthening and externalization of European borders to ward off unwanted and ‘illegal’ migration, a concept rooted in the security concerns associated with migration and the cultural, social, and political markers of who belongs within Europe (Engelbert, Awad, van Sterkenburg 2019, 134). The role of Frontex has greatly expanded the EU’s capacity to securitize and externalize its borders through surveillance technologies like drones and thermal cameras and the building of physical walls along borders (Ahmed and Tundo 2021). Another tactic used by the EU to externalize its borders is

¹ I will refer to people on the move coming through the Mediterranean to Europe as migrants more generally, a term not defined by international law, which encompasses a wide range of individuals who move from their original place of residence to a new location, often crossing an international border (IOM 2019). I use this term to include the wide variety of people and reasons that these individuals may have decided to migrate, while also recognizing the different political and policy implications of this label in comparison to other labels, such as ‘refugee’ or ‘asylum seeker’.

funding North African countries and outsourcing patrolling and policing to their countries, for example the Libyan Coast Guard as a major beneficiary who now have more capacity to access migrant boats before they reach European borders under the guise of protecting them (Pacciardi & Berndtsson 2022, 4011). The outsourcing of migrant policing to non-EU third parties also allows the EU to shift blame and responsibility onto other parties directly involved with violence, despite their role in funding and compromising such practices. In relation to the Mediterranean, the EU's major goals are preventing and managing 'irregular' migration flows with the intent of reducing dangerous sea travel for the sake of migrants' safety and tackling crime networks involved with migrant smuggling (European Council 2023a).

However, these practices of externalization and securitization are problematic and violate the human rights of migrants. The funding of the Libyan coast guard allows boats of migrants to be pushed back before reaching Europe, a violation of their international human right to seek asylum and the principle of non-refoulement.² Another example of violation to migrants' human rights is Frontex practices that operate beyond physical borders, like the implementation of indirect surveillance to catch migrants before they reach a border (Topak 2014, 822). Frontex and its relation to the securitization and externalization of EU borders has moved the topic of border security beyond the sovereign nation-state, and instead transformed it into a European issue rooted in deterrence and framed migrants as a threat to the very idea of Europe (Perkowski, Stierl, & Burrige 2023, 139). Although it is individual nation-states who determine social policies that decide which migrants are admissible, the EU plays a large role in funding, guiding, and fostering critical partnerships in migration management (European Council 2023a). Frontex as an agency by and for the EU centres the political agenda of European border governance and has become a way for EU member states to avoid and shift blame from their involvement in the human rights violations and suffering of migrants, which is why migration needs to be understood as a problem beyond the nation-state, and instead within the context of Europe (Perkowski, Stierl, & Burrige 2023, 134). The EU therefore plays an important political role in migration because it creates and shapes migration policy in conjunction with its important cultural and social role through

² Under Article 14 of The Universal Declaration for Human Rights, everyone has the right to seek and enjoy asylum, and as part of the United Nations 1951 Refugee Convention and subsequent 1967 Protocol, the principle of non-refoulement was implemented to protect the return of refugees to the country where they risk being persecuted (Amnesty International 2023). The EU's role in denying migrant ships entry to Europe and potentially pushing them back to countries they risk human rights abuses in is a violation of both these rights.

discourse and the construction of a European imaginary and identity that excludes and racializes migrants.

Migration to Europe through the Mediterranean has become especially interesting with the recent election of Giorgia Meloni, the leader of the right-wing populist and national conservative party *Fratelli d'Italia*. Meloni's government has supported more strict immigration policy and deterrence methods to make it more difficult for migrants to reach Italy from the Mediterranean Sea (Shah 2023). The Italian government has implemented a variety of new policies that are in line with the workings of Fortress Europe and are detrimental to migrants' rights. For example, a code of conduct on non-governmental organizations (NGOs) search and rescue ships that limits their capacity to help migrant boats in distress, the limiting of special protection rights, and the restriction of work permits and family tie visas (Shah 2023; Viganò 2023). In December 2022, the Italian government issued a decree which forces NGO search and rescue ships to leave the scene after the first initial rescue and go straight to their designated safe port, which is purposefully far away before disembarking again (Kulikowski 2022). These NGO ships risk being seized, detained, or fined up to €50 000 should they disobey (Kulikowski 2022). This leaves migrants in distress who were not initially rescued in an extremely precarious situation, essentially left to drown. In April of 2023, Italy declared a state of emergency over the migration situation which allows Meloni's government to repatriate migrants they deem illegal much easier. This declaration builds upon a history of right-wing parties in Italy framing migration as a threatening and security based issue, resorting to "crisis-mode-politics" and deciphering between "real" (European) and "fake" asylum seekers (Campisi & Sottillotta 2022, 5). These actions by Italy are important because as of 2023 the threat and security narrative about migration continues to be spread in the media, with many of the news articles being centred on Italy, and this narrative can be reflected in EU policy, which makes Italy a prime example of how discourse supportive of exclusion helps facilitate hostile nation-state migration policy. The Mediterranean Sea more broadly has become a main battleground in sustaining Fortress Europe and its externalization and securitization policies, and in addition has become a prevalent space in the media narrative surrounding European migration.

1.2 Migration and the Media

The presence of migrant ships coming to the EU through the Mediterranean from North Africa is often highly mediatized. This media narrative is two fold: the first narrative

presents migrants as victims, with images that show human suffering and loss to garner an emotional response from the reader, whereas the other is a threat narrative that presents migrants as numbers, a massive population with the ability to overwhelm your security, culture, and society. Both narratives can support different policy and political agendas, the former more so being associated with humanitarian response, the latter with deterrence and the desire to garner public support on stricter immigration policy. Both of these framings reflect the current contradictory migration policy in the EU that focuses on humanitarianism, keeping the migrants safety in mind, and deterrence, preventing migrants from attempting entry. These narratives however often converge, and the line between humanitarianism and deterrence is blurred when the idea of promoting migrant safety means preventing migration, and therefore often making migration efforts more dangerous, not less appealing. The ability for the narrative to be changed based on media representation highlights why the discourse and framing used in the media is important. Despite the desired outcome, these media narratives depoliticize and dehumanize the individual migrants in them by denying them agency and a voice. These narratives also need to be critically analyzed because of their ability to shape public opinion on migration and for their mutually reinforcing relationship with policy, which is why policy and media often reflect a similar political agenda.

Many other scholars have examined the relationships between media framing or representation, public opinion, and policy related to migration. Abid, Manan, and Rahman categorized and then analyzed the use of water metaphors to represent Syrian refugees in the media as mass threats, overwhelming, and a homogenized population (2017). This research uncovered that minority groups are systematically discriminated against and dehumanized in the media and framed as threats to the majority population, which creates a narrative supportive of othering and generally implies negative treatment of such groups (2017, 122). This study provides a base to my research because it uses similar methods and showcases how discourse can have real-life implications on the represented populations and influence public opinion. Also, Harriet Gray and Anja K. Franck analyze the securitization of migration in British media narratives. They provide an important context to securitization and how it relates to both the media and migration, which is an essential preface to my research: “The gradual move of migration issues from the realm of ‘normal’ politics into the realm of security. Approached as a ‘speech act’, securitization encompasses an ‘intersubjective process’ wherein different agents come to a shared understanding around ‘the perceived seriousness of a threat ... and the urgent need to mobilize all available resources to curtail its development’” (2019, 276). This explains how the media can reproduce narratives that frame

migrants as a threat, which will help guide my analysis of how the media influences the securitization of migration by seeing how the threat or crisis narrative has been made the standard and allowed violence against migrants in the Mediterranean to become the norm or a consequence of circumstance, rather than an act of violence constructed by a variety of actors, most importantly the EU. Heather Mohamed and Emily Farris also examine how the discourse in media coverage influences the negative public perception towards migrants and creates a justificatory narrative towards exclusionary migration policy. They do this by mentioning how specific language, like ‘illegal,’ constructs a threat-based narrative: “The power of news stories and images to influence individual attitudes toward immigration policy and immigrants alike illustrates the importance of better understanding whether the news media accurately captures immigrant demographics in their coverage of these news stories” (2019, 158-160). Because I want to evaluate how the representation of migrants in the media influences specific aspects of migration policy, this case study provides a lot of important examples of how that influence could be examined and showcases multiple different linkages to make. De Coninck discusses similar notions in his research on migrant categorizations and its relationship to European public opinion (2020). De Coninck analyzes how the deliberate choice to label someone as refugee or economic migrant impacts the policy surrounding their legitimacy and examines the negative connotation associated with the economic migrant label (2020, 1668). These few examples highlight the power of discourse used in the media to influence policy and public opinion, which is important for my research as well, however I will build upon this by moving beyond a country specific focus and looking at the idea of Europe, and how framing migration from the European perspective can trickle-down to exclusionary nation-state policy with the example of Italy.

1.3 A ‘European Problem’

De Genova poses the idea of the ‘European Question’ and therefore what it means to be European in direct relation or rather opposition to the ‘Migration Question’, which seeks to unpack why an aversion to migration has arisen in Europe: “Europe is increasingly preoccupied by the Migration Question, seemingly bewildered about why all these migrants should come crashing the gates of what was supposed to be an idyllic preserve for the exclusive enjoyment of a distinctly European patrimony” (2016, 78). He determines that Europe has become one big borderland, which is demarcated by the externalization of borders, but also the idea of mobility and who has it, which has become apparent with the

Schengen zone that allows the free flow of EU citizens and residents without passports, whereas migrants are increasingly being pushed back before even reaching the borders or being held in detention centres, penalized for exercising their right to seek asylum (De Genova 2016, 87). This idea of Europeanness and the Migration Question is inherently a racial problem rooted in whiteness and the need to separate European values and identity in opposition to “foreign” ones based on European universalism, and therefore exclusionary migration is justified based on cultural incompatibility and the assumed impossibility of migrant assimilation (De Genova 2016, 83). Posing migration as a European problem, as done by the European Council at the beginning of this year, makes it vital to unpack the role of race and racism in the current climate of migration. This idea of whiteness equating to Europeanness links to understanding the border as more than a physical barrier, but rather something migrants are forced to wear on their bodies as a constant act of racialization that deems them inadmissible to Europe before even entering (De Genova 2016, 88).

Furthermore, it is important to understand how the so-called European monolithic identity subscribes to whiteness because it describes who can and cannot be allowed access to Europe; Europeanness is based solely on what is not European, and therefore not white (De Genova 2016, 90). I will situate my research within De Genova’s understanding of race, borders, and migration to recognize race as an important characteristic inherent to Europeanness. I will, however, narrow the focus specifically to how discourse omits race to justify exclusion against racialized migrants on the basis of security means to appear more morally and politically acceptable and uphold a highly regarded image of Europe.

Race and the omission of race is an important facet to analyze because in Europe there is a desire to deny race as a category, despite race being a category created by the Europeans in colonial times; race is a political and powerful aspect of bordering that defines belonging (Golberg 2006, 334). The role of race in migration policy and media relates to two theories relevant to my analysis; critical border studies (CBS) and biopolitics. CBS as conceptualized by Noel Park and Nick Vaughn-Williams recognizes that the border extends beyond drawing a line between nation-states, and can exist in other externalized ways, with the migrant’s body becoming a bordering mechanism. In this regard, the migrant is stripped of their political status and reduced to their mere biological existence. This reconstruction of the border and the migrant body relates to the idea of belonging, and more importantly who does not belong in Europe or the socially and politically constructed idea of Europeanness: “Borders are constituted through race, the biopolitical technology par excellence, fashioning the foreigner, the stranger, the not-belonging. Europe has long negotiated the lines marking

off those who belong, whose being constitutes Europeaness, whose genesis can be traced in some extended sense to Europe, temporally and spatially” (Goldberg 2006, 359). It is with this focus on migration as a problem beyond the nation state that I situate my research and attempt to draw linkages between media representation and policy.

1.4 Research Logic

I seek to expand upon the existing academic discussion on linking media representation to migration policy and racism by situating it within the emerging phenomenon of migration as a European problem and solution, as mentioned in the Brussels summit. I want to highlight the EU as an important actor in creating an enabling environment for exclusion based on their mission to protect so-called European values. Current exclusionary migration policy in the EU is not outwardly legitimated or defined by racist ideologies, rather they are legitimated by notions of citizenship and who belongs, which still heavily produces racism (Georgi 2019, 109). Structural racism is therefore embedded within the European migration regime and exemplifies how a so-called European issue can translate into nation-state exclusionary action: “When EU citizens today implicitly support or openly demand a restrictive expansion of the European border regime to defend their national-social privileges, they inevitably do so in a strongly racialised context, which they then reproduce” (Georgi 2019, 109). In my analysis, I will still draw on language and reoccurring narratives, such as the focus on increase of migration in articles and its relation to dehumanization, but I will link these findings to how the relationship between the media and exclusionary EU migration policy has a racial undertone that directly impacts the lives and human rights of racialized migrants attempting entry to the EU through the Mediterranean. I will link this racial undertone and the idea of migration as a European problem to build upon existing academic discussion pertaining to the European imaginary.

Chapter 2: Analytical Frame and Theory

The media as a powerful and influential actor in framing and conceptualizing the topic of migration is a central feature in why I chose to analyze newspapers and their relationship to migration policy. Andrew C. Harrison establishes a link between media representation, discourse, and public imagination and its ability to legitimize exclusion in relation to migration: “Medias remain discursively active; they shape popular understandings of citizenship (its insides and outsides), the discursive and structural (re)production of social,

cultural and political marginality via constructions of voiced and silenced, orderly and disorderly, normative and non-normative, citizens, non-citizens, figures of fear and figures of pity” (2016, 4). I will first look at framing, and more specifically negative framing, as an important concept that shaped how I analyzed news articles, before then introducing agenda setting theory, which describes the influential power of the media. I link the understanding of race and its connection to migration with the physical body of the migrant and how the body can become a border. To conceptualize the body and race, both CBS and biopolitics are important theories and analytical tools for my research.

2.1 Framing and Agenda Setting Theory

I used the concept of framing to examine how migrants are represented in the media and to understand how main media narratives reflect and relate to migration policy in the EU. Framing looks at how deliberate choices in the media seek to present a certain narrative or meaning (Lindgren et al. 2022). Elina Lindgren et al. specifically looks at negative framing to reveal how news media showcasing mostly negative biases or aspects of events is more likely to influence people’s opinion on that topic, because they consume most of their information through the media and see it as a trusted source (2022, 4). Negative framing is important because it contextualizes the influential power of media discourse, and I hypothesize most of the media framing I find will be more negatively framed. I will focus on issue-specific negative frames in newspapers, which relates to “the importance of economic, welfare, cultural, or security considerations within migration coverage,” and thus how migrants are a threat to such aspects, most specifically as a threat to European culture, values, and safety (Eberl et al. 2018, 212). Another important aspect of framing is omission of information, because the choice to share or highlight one aspect of a narrative and disregard other aspects shapes what the perception of such a representation is (Lindgren et al. 2022). In my analysis, I will be looking at how race is omitted in media and policy about migration and in the construction of belonging being based on a subscription to Europeanness as advocated for by the EU. The omission of information is deliberate and just as powerful as deciding what to include. Agenda setting theory and framing more generally are both important to understanding the impact of these representations because the former unpacks how the news influences what people think about, and the latter explains that the news influences how society understands issues (Eberl et al. 2018, 208). Evaluating both of these aspects of discourse and the language used in the media can then help to trace links between the

relationship media has with policy, like Frontex practices, and public opinion, like racism towards migrants. In this regard, the case of Italian policy and its disdain towards racialized migrants is a highlighting example of how this relationship operates. I will analyze the framing in newspaper articles to determine what dominant narratives are being shared about migrants coming to the EU through the Mediterranean and tracing the impact of that to exclusionary migration policy.

Agenda setting theory describes that issues which receive the most media coverage are seen by the public to be of greatest importance, which can in turn influence policy and perpetuate negative racial attitudes (Mohammed & Faris 2019, 159). In my examination of the media portrayal of migration and how it reflects and relates to the narrative of exclusionary migration policy in the EU, agenda setting theory is a valuable tool to understanding the role and impact of the EU's involvement. With migration in Europe being understood as a European problem, agenda setting theory can help determine how and why this is being done in the media. In my analysis of migration as a European problem, I seek to unpack the political agenda of the EU in regards to migration and how the news articles relate to that agenda. Both agenda setting theory and framing directly link to and influence my methodological approach of using Critical Discourse Analysis and Discourse Historical Analysis. No decision in the media is made unintentionally; there is always the involvement of power and what is said in the media does not occur in a vacuum, but rather has real life impacts on policy, public opinion, and migrants' lives.

2.2 The Border and the Body

I use CBS to analyze the border as a powerful tool in the EU border regime that produces and maintains a criteria of difference to dehumanize migrants and subject them to exceptional treatment, with the media and discourse being an actor in these bordering practices. CBS seeks to decentre the border by problematizing the idea of borders as purely physical, but rather changing the narrative from the concept of the border to the notion of bordering practices (Parker and Vaughn-Williams 2012, 729). This shift reimagines borders as dynamic and recognizes that borders are not the same for everyone, which is made clear in Europe where some travellers can go freely through the EU whereas the Mediterranean has become a targeted location of immobility (Parker and Vaughn-Williams 2012, 730). To link to the discussion of externalization and securitization of borders, CBS also recognizes how the outsourcing of border control to other state and non-state actors is becoming common

practice (Parker and Vaughn-Williams 2012, 730). Some surveillance technologies and bordering practices that showcase how the border functions past the territorial division of two states are visa policies, biometric databases that restrict entry, identity cards, and profiling of travellers (Topak 2014, 817). Furthermore, Gahman and Hjalmarson critically analyze the border as a space of violence; “Serve as a justification for and by-product of imposed imperialist will and forced uprooting—carved into the ground and onto bodies. Although arbitrary, borders signal to us who ought to matter versus who ought not; who is from a “great” place versus who is from a “shithole;” and who is human versus who is “animal”” (2019, 108). Gahman and Hjalmarson importantly recognize discourse as part of these bordering practices and as a discursive mechanism which can help people to understand how borders structurally impose a hierarchy and act as agents in segregation (2019, 112). The constitution of what it means to be European and the centring of European values by the EU in its migration approach has the power to shape this division of who is allowed entry and on what grounds, and therefore the idea of Europeanness needs to be analyzed.

Linking bordering tactics to the migrant body and its relation to race is essential for evaluating why media framing and discourse matters, and importantly highlights the role of biopolitics in the EU border regime. CBS and biopolitics are useful tools for extracting knowledge on the racial aspects of migration which are often ignored or erased in the European news and EU policy narrative. The EU constructs borders that are not just physical, but rather socio-political and intentionally exclude racialized migrants to protect a homogenous European identity:

Europe’s borders, like all borders, are the materializations of socio-political relations that mediate the continuous production of the distinction between the putative inside and outside, and likewise mediate the diverse mobilities that are orchestrated and regimented through the production of that spatial divide. Thus, with respect to the abundant inequalities of human mobility, the borders of Europe are simultaneously entangled with a global (postcolonial) politics of race that redraws the proverbial colour line and refortifies European-ness as a racial formation of whiteness. (De Genova 2017a, 21)

This racial bordering is enabled by the EU as a large and powerful governing body that shapes migration discourse and policy. Dehumanization discourse can link CBS to biopolitics because it shows how the migrant body defines inclusion and exclusion; a migrant becomes a biopolitical subject, one deemed less human and stripped of agency. Word choice in the media is therefore important because dehumanizing language is often used against minority groups based on their race or ethnicity (Utych 2018, 440). This idea links to biopolitics and the minimization of migrants to their mere biological existence as a mass without individuals;

“In the separation of politically conditioned and biological lives, the migrants’ bodies are ‘Othered’ from the forms of life of the proper citizens... The authorities use these – often racialized – bodies for specific purposes making them residues of the state” (Jauhiainen 2020, 263). The dehumanization of these migrants is a) a bordering tactic linked to externalization because it turns the migrant body into a border that can be managed and categorized, and b) links to the media representation because migrants are reduced to numbers and homogenized in the media and denied agency, which once again legitimates exclusion towards racialized migrants. Biopolitics and bordering tactics in the EU are inherently linked to race, despite the policies nor the media explicitly racializing migrants. It is important to understand that the border and the body are linked because these bordering tactics and legitimating media narratives have a human impact, they are not just political or alleged security issues, but rather cost people their lives everyday. The EU as an enabling actor in creating and sustaining the European border regime therefore allows such violence to occur and fails to challenge violence to protect a sensationalized European identity.

Chapter 3: Methodology

My methodological strategy was to focus on secondary data and open-source investigation, specifically through a discourse analysis of newspaper articles and relating those analyses to the migration policy and practice of the EU within the realm of externalization and securitization of borders. I wanted my research to address a causal intellectual puzzle by analyzing what relationship the media representation of migrants has to European exclusionary migration policy (Mason 2017, 12). My positionality also largely influenced my methodological approach because as a white privileged woman from the Global North who had never done research before, I did not feel equipped or as if I was the right person to do first hand research, like interviews, with migrants who had been affected by exclusionary border politics in the EU. Regardless, in my decision to understand migration as a European problem, the media and policy remain two important and powerful actors in creating the discourse around the issue, and are therefore essential facets to data collection. A limitation to note is that I could only access English language European newspapers, which may have limited the nuance of quotations and narratives in the newspaper articles that are discussing issues not necessarily expressed in English in real time interactions. However, being English-language based is also advantageous because it presents an internationally

accessible story, which reflects my desire to analyze the EU and its projected image to the public and how that juxtaposes their actions in migration.

I chose to do a discourse analysis of European newspapers because of the link between discourse, borders, and Europeanness: “European borders and identities are upheld through a range of (mediated) discourses and practices, including, for example, representations of migrants and migration in journalism and political communication” (Engelbert, Awad, van Sterkenburg 2019, 134). Discourse provides the bridge between media and policy, which is the relationship I sought to analyze. I used Critical Discourse Analysis, and more specifically Discourse Historical Analysis as developed by Ruth Wodak. Critical Discourse Analysis analyzes both the visible and hidden “structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” and recognizes that discourse is a powerful object in society that shapes and is shaped by social conditions (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000, 448). Discourse Historical Analysis builds off this understanding and analyzes the meanings that define the logic of an organization, in my case the EU, and traces the link between social representations, like that of migrants in newspapers, to social practices and political stories that use discourse initiated in the media (Morgunova & Moraru 2022, 744). In doing so, one can trace discourse used in the media to political institutions and examine what influence they have on one another, and the influential power of that relationship on creating social conditions. This method was previously used by Oksana A. Morgunova and Nicoleta-Florina Moraru to analyze the discourse of Europeanness in public discourse in three subsequent increases in migration to the EU leading up to 2022, and concluded that discourse that normalizes Europeanness as a marker of validity and superiority legitimates the exclusion of racialized migrants (2022). The methods used and findings of this research set a precedent for how discourse operates as an enabling feature of exclusionary migration policy in my research looking at the time period of early 2023. In addition, based on this example, Discourse Historical Analysis is essential to my analysis in relation to EU policy and practice because it expands the impact of discourse onto an international platform: “This method, if applied to the problematization of asylum, expands DHA [Discourse Historical Analysis] into the international sphere, where different national models and cultural contexts collide, allowing us to speak about the influence of discursive practices on the decision-making process in international relations” (Morgunova & Moraru 2022, 744). This expansion on discourse relates to my EU based focus and analysis of how discourses framing migration as a European problem creates an enabling environment for exclusion beyond nation-state borders.

With these understandings of discourse analysis in mind, I investigated two major European-wide newspapers, Deutsche Welle (DW) and Euronews, for how they portray migrants and migration specifically in the region of the Mediterranean, so migrants geographically coming to the EU from North Africa via the Mediterranean Sea. This is an extremely popular migration route to the EU and is often highly mediatized, especially with incidents involving migrant boats and migrant deaths (Kovras & Robins 2016, 40). The regional focus of the Mediterranean also coincides with the timeline focus of examining articles from January-May 2023, because of the EU Commission announcement that framed migration as a European problem early in the year and the topical example of Italy. I analyzed a total of 18 news articles which discussed instances of migrant ships being rescued or sinking, the Italian state of emergency, claims of human rights abuses against the EU or Frontex, and the relationship between the EU and migration more generally, whether focused on politics, policy, or economics.³ These 18 articles cover a crucial time frame regarding migration in the EU and the idea of it as a European problem. With migration being back on the political agenda as claimed at the beginning of the year, the reaction of the news to such events plays an important role in how discourse will be created and shapes how the public will react to policies, making the news coverage during this time topical. The exceptional reaction to migration by Italy as a central feature of these news articles also highlights the intersection between legitimating discourse, the EU, and nation-states.

The migration represented in these news articles is inherently related to the externalization and securitization of EU borders, because of the interaction the incidents described may have had with Frontex or national coast guards, or the way in which these migrant journey's were facilitated by EU policy and practice. However, this linkage is often not made explicit, and rather the media more so speaks to the state or outcome of policy and practice, rather than the way these actions and the media can be mutually reinforcing and influential to one another, which is what I sought to uncover in my analysis. I chose to focus on how migration is viewed or represented in regards to the idea of a collective EU or European identity rather than based on national differences, hence looking at European based newspapers. The newspapers I chose are also deemed legitimate based on their impartiality and therefore the statements are more respected by the general public and harness more assumed legitimacy. Despite this impartiality claim made by both Euronews and DW, both sites claim allegiance to a certain Europeanness which makes them important actors in

³ The 18 articles are listed and titled in the Appendix.

creating the discourse around what that encompasses, and therefore their portrayal of migration needs to be critically analyzed. For example, on the main page of Euronews they claim “our European identity sets us apart”, and both Euronews and DW value their international reach and ability to showcase European news from a European perspective (Euronews 2023; Deutsche Welle 2023). I focused on the discourse in European newspapers as stated by the journalists and the news platform itself rather than potential interviews or quotes from politicians within the articles because of these claims and because I wanted the discourse analysis to be based on the narrative presented by the news for the general public, rather than on potentially more politically or policy motivated statements made by people in positions of power. The choice to focus on these articles is to understand what dichotomous relationship is being presented about this image of Europe as a place of desire, versus the presentation of inadmissibility and the threatening nature of migrants in the media.

In addition to newspaper articles, I also examined the Frontex and EU Commission websites to determine what image they present of themselves in terms of values, how they describe Europeanness, and what their goals are in relation to migration. Within these websites, I did not extract or analyze data, rather read and took excerpts from explicit statements the sites made in relation to how they understand their link to European values. I used the statements made on these sites supported and funded by the EU to juxtapose the image the EU presents of itself to the violence committed against migrants in the Mediterranean as facilitated by the EU.

In collecting data from these newspaper articles, I first started with an inductive approach by scrolling through the two news sites and reading articles about migration in the region within my timeline to see what keywords or narratives were recurring or if I noticed any major points that were being omitted from articles. I did this initial search with the intention of finding issue-specific negative frames that linked migrants to threat or security narratives. For DW news articles, I began by using their drop down search bar titled ‘Migration’ and reading any article related to the correct region and timeframe. For both DW and Euronews, I did basic keyword searches to find articles, specifically the terms “migration”, “migrant”, “Mediterranean Sea”, and “refugee.” While I was looking for negative frames, I did not want my search tactics to influence that finding by searching negatively coded language like threat or security, rather I wanted to read articles that sought to portray impartial news, and see how such neutral portrayals can still be problematized. As I read articles, I began to develop analytical categories based on the recurring patterns I found. The two main themes I developed were a) a focus on increase and volume and b) the

mention of Europe or the EU as the central actor in migration. Once I established these recurring themes, I was able to filter which articles were relevant to my desired research, and used these to provide a base for my discourse analysis. While every article had relevant data to my analysis, those that discussed migrant boats, whether being rescued, arriving to European shores, or sinking, were the most data rich because they had more of a focus on migrants and represented them in a specific way. These articles were central in showcasing how migrants are dehumanized, presented as a threat, and belittled in opposition to Europeans. In comparison, articles that discussed migration more broadly had less content on migrants specifically, and rather more so had data related to migration as a European problem. The discourse in these types of articles was less obvious, and rather I had to examine where Europe was placed in the narrative being presented to draw the conclusion that Europe was seen as the central, most important factor.

Within my established themes, I could examine how the language used or omitted related to EU policy goals. The increase and volume narrative relied on discourse that was dehumanizing to migrants and focused on crisis and threat based framing. I therefore searched in my established set of news articles for language and narratives that framed migrants as a threat by looking for negatively coded language like crisis, the homogenization of migrants, and the stripping of agency to migrants. For my second category, I looked at how the discourse used framed Europe and Europeans versus how migrants and their countries of origin were presented. In doing so, I was able to make connections to EU policies and discourse that centre around protecting European values. A major thing I looked for in these articles as well were aspects that were not mentioned, and how the omission of specific information can feed into exclusionary migration policy. Race as an omitted factor in both categories of the news articles I read and EU policy were an important point of departure for my analysis. This omission of race was made explicit through distinction based on geography and nationality; migrants were never described based on physical description, rather based on their country of origin or the point of departure for their migration (Northern Africa). This geographical framing of migrants was in opposition to the framing of Europe and Europeans, a construct deemed better or more worthy in discourse. Through this distinction, I was to draw on race as an important point of analysis despite it not being directly mentioned. Also, while I used numbers in my analysis to track the occurrence of repeating narratives and emphasize they are not one-off representations, my analysis was still qualitative. Similar to research done by Gray and Franck, I conducted an interpretive and thematic analysis to determine which representations of migrants were deemed most significant, and interpreted

context and meanings based on the themes I established through both manifest and latent content (2019, 278). With these established patterns in news articles and negative frames, I was able to make linkages to EU policies and practices that are exclusionary and how they are reflective of media discourse using my own analysis in conjunction with existing literature.

Chapter 4: Construction of a Crisis

Within this chapter, I will analyze the discourse used in the articles I examined based on the two main themes of increase and volume focused narratives of migration, and the focus on Europe and Europeanness. I will relate these findings to exclusionary migration policy and highlight how the discourse used reflects the framing of migration as a European problem by the EU, and therefore enables and legitimizes the exclusion of racialized migrants. These two categories of analysis mostly occur in the same articles I analyzed, and therefore the findings often overlap and converge. Discourse on dehumanization is not mutually exclusive from that on Europeanness, rather the two narratives work together to produce migrant exclusion from the EU.

Chapter 4.1: Increase Narrative and Volume Focus

Two interrelated and main patterns I examined in analyzing newspaper articles are the focus on increasing migration numbers and the mention of the volume of migrants. Of the 18 articles I read and analyzed, 16 had a focus or mention of the increase in migration or highlighted the volume of migrants and the impact of such a volume. For the focus on increase, articles relate the current statistics on migration in Europe to that of previous years, for example the amount of migrants arriving in specific areas within the Mediterranean, the number of interceptions or returns of migrant boats, and the number of asylum requests more generally. Terminology like “sharp rise”, “soaring”, or “doubled” and “tripled” are used to insinuate a large number of migrants as well. The focus on the volume of migrants in newspapers is another major pattern. Volume is portrayed in a variety of ways, such as the use of specific words like “surge”, “influx”, a “wave” of migrants, the emphasis on and mention of short time periods in which a large amount migrants arrived to a location, the comparison of the amount of migrants on a boat to the small size of the boat, mentioning of overcrowding and strained capacity to operate in reception centres, and the mention of nation-states and border control being “overwhelmed” and in states of “crisis”. The

terminology I have quoted above are taken directly from the articles read, and I have displayed the direct quotes relating to these representations and categorized news articles for whether or not they have focused on increase, volume, or both in Table 1. I will use the data found in these articles to examine how media representation is purposefully dehumanizing to the migrants, is a racialized representation, and how these representations can be related to exclusionary migration and bordering policies in the EU. I will relate this issue of representation and its link to EU migration policy to the example of Italy and its state of emergency policy, a major narrative in the majority of the articles I read, as a violation of migrants' rights that is enabled by the EU and its framing of migration as a European problem.

Table 1: News Articles Displaying a Focus on Increase and Volume of Migrants

Article	Increase Mention	Volume Mention	Quotes
Article 1	✓	✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Sharp rise” • “Surging numbers” • “Overcrowded [related to detention facilities]” • “Since the beginning of the year, some 31,000 migrants have arrived in Italy according to data from the Interior Ministry - more than triple the year before” • “The number of arrivals is expected to carry on soaring” • “Growing influx of migrants”
Article 2	✓	✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Migrant arrivals in Italy have more than tripled from last year” • “On Sunday alone, nearly 1,000 migrants arrived on the tiny Italian island of Lampedusa, but 23 migrants drowned before reaching its shores.” • “More than three times what the country reported during the same period last year” • “According to the UN agency, some 26,800 migrants reached Italy by sea in the first three months of the year, compared to 6,400 in 2022. On Sunday alone, nearly 1,000 people landed on the Sicilian island of Lampedusa, often considered Europe’s gate in the Mediterranean Sea. The day before, 679 migrants arrived on the island -- while 23 drowned before reaching its shores.” • “Overwhelmed [referring to immigration centre]” • “Surge”
Article 5	✓	X	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “According to figures from the Italian government, migrant arrivals have tripled in the first three months of 2023.” • “So far this year, more than 20,000 landed on Italy’s shores. Some 6,500 people arrived in Italy during the same period in 2022.”
Article 6	✓	X	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Surge” • “Sharp rise” • “More than 31,000 migrants have arrived in Italy so far this year, interior ministry data shows, up from around 7,900 in the same period last year.”

Article 7	✓	✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The number of migrants from African countries crossing the Mediterranean has been on the rise in recent weeks” • “Rise in migrants from Africa” • “The National Guard said more than 14,000 migrants were intercepted or rescued in this year itself, five times higher than the figures recorded last year.” • “Italian Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni said on Friday that Europe risked seeing a huge wave of migrants arriving on its shores from North Africa”
Article 8	✓	✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Last year saw a drastic increase in the number of asylum applications in the EU. There were 924,000, according to the European Commission, up from 630,000 the year before. • But the system is clearly strained”
Article 9	X	✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Dozens of migrants found drowned off Italian coast”
Article 10	✓	✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “One of the boats, although relatively small, was said to be carrying 400 people” • “The Italian coastguard early on Tuesday was attempting a rescue effort from two boats carrying a total of 1,200 people, following a surge in refugees crossing the Mediterranean over the weekend.” • “Besides the current operations, the Italian coast guard says 2,000 people have been saved since Friday in "a large number of operations."” • “Thousands have landed on Italy's shores recently” • “According to the Italian Interior Ministry, more than 14,000 migrants have landed in Italy since the start of the year, compared with just over 5,300 during the same period last year.”
Article 11	✓	X	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Increase in migration from Tunisia” • “Some 18,893 migrants have reached the Italian coasts from the North African country since the beginning of the year and as of 18 April, 2,764 of whom held a Tunisian passport.” • “The number of arrivals from Tunisia has significantly increased compared to the same timeframe last year, when less than 2,000 migrants reached Italy’s coasts.”
Article 12	✓	✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Crisis” • “Extraordinary transfer of hundreds of people from Lampedusa after nearly 2,000 people arrived on the island in less than three days” • “Lampedusa is always under pressure, amid the ongoing arrival of migrants and refugees by sea from North Africa. One thousand people still remain in the Contrada Imbriacola first reception centre, almost three times its maximum capacity.” • “The Italian Interior Ministry says that in the first four months of 2023, more than four times as many people arrived in Italy compared to last year: 40,856 people compared to 10,188 in 2022.”
Article 13	✓	✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “An increase in attempted migrant crossings of the Mediterranean over recent days.” • “The Italian island of Lampedusa is facing a crisis after over 600 migrants docked between Friday and Saturday.”

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Ten boats with 430 people on board arrived on Saturday alone, compared to 247 on Friday.” • “These new rescues come after a new wave of disembarkations on the Italian coast last week, which saw the arrival of nearly 3,000 people in 48 hours in Lampedusa alone.” • “It is estimated that the island's reception centre is now running at three times its capacity, despite recent attempts to ease overcrowding.”
Article 14	✓	✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Dozen of migrants rescued from small boats arrive in Italian ports • “A dramatic increase in migrant numbers in 2023.” • “In 2023 alone, 2000 migrants have been brought ashore in the port.” • “Since the start of this year, some 31,000 migrants, either rescued by Italian military boats or charity ships or reaching Italy without assistance, have disembarked, according to Interior Ministry figures. That's nearly four times the roughly 8,000 for the same period in each of the two previous years.”
Article 15	✓	X	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The bloc and associated Schengen countries received nearly 924,000 asylum requests last year, according to an estimate by the European Commission, a 46% increase compared to 2021.”
Article 16	✓	X	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “But a 64% surge in irregular border crossings – around 330,000 – and a 46% rise in asylum applications – nearly 924,000 – last year have sparked a new sense of urgency among politicians to give the explosive topic another go.”
Article 17	✓	X	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Rome argues the code is necessary to draw a distinction between "occasional" and "systematic" rescue operations, and crack down on irregular border crossings after over 102,000 episodes were recorded last year across the Central Mediterranean route.”
Article 18	✓	X	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “EU ministers described the situation around migration as "tense", with the number of arrivals increasing” • “After years of pandemic-related restrictions on movement, the number of migrants arriving in the EU has begun rising again.” • “The 330,000 "irregular entries" recorded in 2022 is the highest level since 2016, according to Frontex, an EU border agency.”

4.1.1 Migration ‘Crisis’

The first issue with this media focus on increasing migration is it is either false or over exaggerated for the purpose of pushing a threat and security based agenda, especially when problematizing the ‘crisis’ narrative presented in articles from 2023. While many of the articles I read emphasised the intensity of the number of migrants being more than the previous year(s), this is an over exaggeration of the reality. In 2015 at the height of the so-called ‘migration crisis’ in Europe, Europe saw 1 032 408 migrant arrivals through the Mediterranean, with the dead and missing toll being reported as 3 771, and last year in 2022, the numbers were reported as 159 410 and 2 439 respectfully (Operational Data 2023). In

2023 thus far, there are an estimated 94 138 arrivals and 1 872 dead and missing migrants (Operational Data 2023).⁴ The first discrepancy in these numbers ignored by the media is that the arrival numbers in 2023 are not as overwhelming or dramatic as they are presented, especially in comparison to 2015. Also, these articles have failed to recognize the increased amount of deaths in 2023 in comparison to 2015; the percentage of dead or missing migrants to the amount of arrivals is astronomically higher in current times. The increased amount of migrant deaths in the Mediterranean highlights that the EU's policy strategy rooted in deterrence and humanitarianism and exercised through the externalization and securitization of borders is not working, rather than deterring migration, the EU is facilitating migration to be more dangerous. These numbers become especially interesting when contextualized within the discourse of 'crisis' and the 'migration crisis'. While only two of the articles explicitly used the term "crisis", the omission of the word does not mean a time of crisis is not implied through the use of other terminology like "overwhelmed", "struggling", "extraordinary", or "pressure", and just the continuous reiteration that the borders are constantly seeing large numbers of migrants, because all these representations insinuate an intense situation of difficulty or threat. Crisis narratives in the media support specific political agendas by creating alleged times of exception in which the exercising of exceptional power is legitimated (Perkowski, Stierl, & Burrige 2023, 111). Europe, and the EU more specifically, have maintained the crisis narrative when referring to migration through the Mediterranean since 2015, creating what Perkowski, Stiel, and Burrige refer to as a "protracted crisis", which can be displayed through "routine practices [that] rely on fears of uncontrolled mass migration of unruly 'others' as an ever-present possibility and perpetual threat to EUrope" (2023, 111). The language used in these news articles constructs a narrative that allows for policy and political agendas to be legitimated, often against a racialized 'Other' who is seen as threat to Europe, because the migrant is seen as invasive and exploitative of Europe, which is represented in opposition to Europe as a place and people of security and prosperity (Perkowski, Stierl, & Burrige 2023, 114). On a European level, this crisis narrative can be traced to Frontex policies that implement surveillance and deterrence methods that seek to keep the threat at bay, but can also trickle down to the nation-state level as with Italy and its declaration of its state of emergency and new anti-migration policies.

The crisis narrative and exclusionary policy is further legitimated and produced by focusing on increase and volume by dehumanizing migrants, allowing the violence against

⁴ Recorded numbers as of July 9, 2023.

them to happen. Contextualizing this dehumanization within the Europeanization of migration is essential because it shows how the EU enables such narratives. While the EU and its adjacent Europeanness is understood to embody advanced political ethics, both discursively and in practice, that image is juxtaposed with the facilitation of violence at the border (Morgunova & Moraru 2022, 747). However, the connection of responsibility to such violence being linked to the EU is ignored because of their image and the justifying discourse of protecting Europeanness. The framing of migration as a European problem has allowed exclusionary and often racist discourse to be normalized and its origin to be unquestioned: “European political discourse has recently positioned a refugee from the Middle East and North Africa as an “alien” “non-European,” thus normalizing threats to human life in allegedly “uncivilized” parts of the world. This normalization is consequently affecting the decision making in asylum process” (Morgunova & Moraru 2022, 741). Thus, the EU and this idea of Europeanness is a central feature of exclusionary migration policies that needs to be addressed rather than reproduced in the media, because of its direct effect on framing migration reality and impacts migrants’ livelihoods.

4.1.2 The Body as a Border

Framing migrants as a homogenized and overwhelming mass in the media is dehumanizing and allows violence against the migrant body to be a product of the border regime. Dehumanization is the denial of human status to a group of individuals in comparison to what is given to others, in this case of migrants versus European citizens, and provides the moral justification for abuse against the former (Utych 2018, 440). It is this dehumanization of migrants that has allowed externalization policies, like surveillance and boat interceptions, and the suspension of human rights at the border zones as spaces of exception to be implemented and directly affect the life and death of migrants. This relationship exemplifies how the discourse in the media can be traced to policy and highlights how European borders have become biopolitical (Topak 2014). Once again, deterrence methods implemented by the EU under the guise of humanitarianism are not stopping migration, rather making it more dangerous and shifting the blame onto migrants and smugglers for their deaths. The focus on numbers and especially migrant deaths at the Mediterranean in these articles blamed human traffickers or smugglers or simply blamed the dangerous conditions, implying the onus of responsibility is on the migrant for permitting themselves to such a situation. For example, Article 5 stated “migrants crammed into rickety rafts that sometimes set off in rough seas,” which emphasizes migrants’ voluntary choice to take a risky journey, and 5 other articles

mention the role of human traffickers and smugglers. This representation supports the EU's deterrence based agenda that seeks to prevent migrants from entering Europe on the contradictory fact it is for their safety and Europe's protection. What this representation deliberately fails to highlight is how EU policies make these journeys more dangerous, not less appealing, and that the media does not make a spectacle of the amount of detentions made, people sent back, or illegal pushbacks (Bigo 2014). In the articles that speak to migrant deaths in the Mediterranean, the migrants are simply referred to as numbers, given no agency or defining characteristics; migrants are simply defined by the biological fact of being alive or dead.

One specific example of dehumanization and its policy impact is in Article 9 titled "Dozens of migrants found drowned off Italian coast." The only humanizing aspect this article mentions is that the bodies of women and a baby were retrieved, and that the majority of the migrants were from Afghanistan and Pakistan. However, none of these factors are contextualized to provide any value, such as explaining why these people were migrating, with whom, and with what intention or end goal. Instead, the focus is on an expected increase in death tolls, the overwhelming impact it has on Italy and Spain as receiving countries, and places blame on human traffickers for insufficient and unsafe conditions of the boat and travel conditions. This framing supports deterrence based externalization and securitization policies that directly and negatively affect migrants' lives: "Sovereign power in contemporary Europe lets migrants die at the border by framing their deaths as accidents, unrelated to the machinery of militarization and securitization that accompanies those deaths" (Kovras & Robins 2014, 43). The EU as a powerful governing body shapes such discourses which legitimate exclusionary migration practices, exercised both by nation-states and themselves through Frontex, which is a process that goes unchecked because of their focus on protecting a collective European identity that is being challenged and protecting migrants safety, rather than outwardly stating their desire to stop racialized migrants coming to the EU.

The link of dehumanization to migrants' bodies also includes the role of race, and despite these articles nor EU policy explicitly mentioning race, it plays a role in determining entry to the EU. In the case of migration through the Mediterranean, these articles use racially coded language like "threat", "security", "illegal", and "irregular", which are terms associated with the main demographic of migrants coming through the Mediterranean, often from Northern Africa or South Asia (Gahman & Hjalmarson 2019, 113; IOM 2023). These terms are all dehumanizing by presenting a certain population as less worthy of citizenship or general human rights because of their migratory status, and despite the omission of race in

these statements, this devaluing of life at the border disproportionately impacts people of colour (Gahman & Hjalmarson 2019, 114). The dehumanization of migrants on a racial basis fits into the narrative presented by Gahman and Hjalmarson that recognizes the power of the EU border regime to regulate group mobility, and determine who is allowed entry beyond an individual and objective level, rather an exercising of power is made possible through discourses, reproduced by the media, that create truths about the nation (or in this case Europe as a whole) and citizenship (2019, 117). The ability of the EU to exercise this power is important because they provide guidance to nation-state policies and the EU is viewed as an upholder of democratic values on the international political field. Because of this image and role, the EU is often unquestioned as an enabler in border violence or the institutionalization of racism. When speaking about citizenship, the question really becomes one of who belongs and who does not, a question rooted in race. According to De Genova, by recognizing the racism in news media and policy, it can be understood how the European border regime systematically creates the condition for the mass death of non-European migrants at or beyond the border in the era of externalization (2017b, 1768). Therefore, the reduction of migrants in the news articles I analyzed to their mere existence relates to exclusionary migration policy because it normalizes and legitimates violence against them, supporting existing literature that recognizes the power of the EU border regime to facilitate such actions on a racial basis.

Highlighting the focus on increase and volume narrative in newspaper articles and linking its impact to the dehumanization of migrants is not necessarily a new phenomenon. However, I have built on this discussion by incorporating how this relates to the migrant body and its use as a bordering agent. The crisis narrative idea also helps construct migration as a European problem needing an integrated and combined solution across states, with Frontex representing a common border the EU seeks to maintain sovereignty over, which leads into my next findings on framing migration as a European problem in the news.

Chapter 4.2: The European Monolith

The EU political framing and discourse of migration as a European problem highlights the problem of European values and the idea of being European. Of the 18 articles I read and analyzed, 13 of them mentioned the idea of migration as a European problem. Some ways in which this was displayed was in relation to the newly established state of

emergency in Italy where the articles highlighted this as “a cry for help to the EU”⁵, something requiring a “European solution”⁶, or with the explanation of migrants coming through the Mediterranean seeking entry to Europe, not in terms of the specific country they actually reach (e.g. Italy, Greece, or Spain). This is displayed in quotations such as “seek a better life in Europe”⁷, “dangerous crossings across the Mediterranean to illegally reach Europe”⁸, “flow of migrants to Europe”⁹, and “turmoil in the North African country is likely to have a significant impact on Europe”¹⁰. These frames recentre the migration narrative to be about the impact of migration on Europe, rather than focusing on nation-states, migration push-factors, or the act of migration. This emphasis on Europe feeds into and creates the framing of migration as a European problem in the media, which can then be reflected in and related to EU exclusionary migration policy. The Europeanization of borders supports externalization and securitization efforts that entrench biopolitical violence against racialized migrants. I will first problematize the notion of a collective EU border in both media and policy, and then analyze who is deemed European in such discourses, by relating how ‘irregular’ framing links to racial exclusion in the EU and how deliberate vagueness allows the EU to deter responsibility for enabling violence against migrants.

4.2.1 “Europe’s Gate”

Article 2 about migration to Italy titled “Migrant arrivals in Italy have more than tripled from last year. Why?” highlights migration as beyond a problem of the Italian nation-state, but rather as a problem to all of Europe: “On Sunday alone, nearly 1,000 people landed on the Sicilian island of Lampedusa, often considered **Europe’s gate** in the Mediterranean Sea”. The same article, along with others, refer to migrants arriving specifically in Italy, yet frame these arrivals in relation to all of Europe by claiming migrants’ desire for a “better life in Europe”, referring to Italian shores as “Europe’s shores”¹¹, “Europe’s borders”¹² or “EU’s [external] border”¹³, stemming the flow of migrants to “Europe”, and generally not specifying arrival destinations. The idea of EU member-state borders along the Mediterranean being a gate to Europe implies that a) the EU has a

⁵ Article 1

⁶ Article 1

⁷ Article 2

⁸ Article 3

⁹ Article 5

¹⁰ Article 11

¹¹ Article 2

¹² Article 4

¹³ Article 8 & Article 18

collectively closed border that allows entry to some, and prevents entry for others, and b) that migrants coming to countries along “Europe’s gate” are not necessarily seeking entry into those countries, but rather other countries within Europe. Europe is often broadly described as a destination of desire for migrants and refugees, as exemplified in Article 2, 5, 7, and 9 which mention migrants searching for “a better life” within Europe. De Genova, however, recognizes that Europeanness is categorized by certain assumptions and values that deem some nation-states more European than others (2016, 76-85). For example, testimonies of migrants arriving in Greece revealed that while they arrived in Greece first, they had the desire to migrate elsewhere within Europe because Greece is not deemed ‘European enough’ (De Genova 2016, 76-85). Secondary migration within Europe as ‘irregular’ movement is a problem the EU has attempted to streamline with increased physical barriers such as walls and border controls, but also with the implementation of the European dactyloscopy database (Eurodac), which allows migrants to be traced within in the EU by having them be fingerprinted upon arrival to a member-state, and then sharing that data within the database to catch migrants who seek to migrate past their initial country of arrival (Radjenovic 2017, 3). This is a clear example of policing the migrant body and the EU creating an enabling environment for exclusion while simultaneously deferring the responsibility onto nation-states to penalize migrants. It also marks a shift explained by CBS in which the border becomes more ideological and about bordering practices, like Eurodac, rather than physical barriers. This discourse of Europe as a destination of desire shifts the migration narrative away from specific nation-states and introduces the role of European values and a collective border that enables exclusion while masking responsibility.

The idea of “Europe’s gate” also relates to these articles claiming a collective EU border, a sentiment that can be reflected in EU migration policy and jurisdiction on who is allowed entry to Europe. Migration as a European problem assumes the notion of protecting a common external border for the better of Europe and not just the benefit of an individual nation-state (Morgunova & Moraru 2022, 750). Frontex is the prime example within the EU border regime of protecting a common border and represents the Europeanization of border controls (Perkowski, Stierl, & Burrige 2023, 122). Frontex declares part of its mission to be about caring for Europe and protecting its values: “As European public agents we serve the interests of citizens because we care about people and believe in European values” (FRONTEX 2023). The culture and discourse around Europeanization of borders creates an enabling environment for individual nation-states to implement exclusionary policy which is a) left unquestioned because the discourse of Europeanness relating to quality is so

entrenched, and b) violence against migrants is individualized to certain circumstances or national policies that allows the EU as an imagined upholder of human rights and democracy to evade responsibility for facilitating a culture of exclusion. For example, collective border rhetoric has allowed the new right-wing government in Italy to implement exclusionary policy while the EU turns a blind eye because these deterrence strategies do not just seek to protect Italy, but rather prevent the movement of migrants beyond Italy into more desirable destinations within Europe past the “gate” at the Mediterranean. By creating an environment concerned with preserving European values, the narrative is more about protection and the promotion of something good, rather than the focus being on what is excluded. The idea of collective borders in EU migration practice is not new. In 2016, the EU-Turkey deal was signed, which included the EU providing monetary support to Turkey to take on migrants and prevent their entry to the EU through Greece (Jauhiainen 2020, 262). This previous example of externalization and the new bordering in Italy under the guise of protecting a collective border are EU tactics rooted in institutionalizing and normalizing exclusion: “At the heart of such policies is the governance of asylum-related migration and migrants: a desire to decide which kinds of people may enter the EU, who is allowed to remain inside the EU, and how.” (Jauhiainen 2020, 262). Media representation of migration in the Mediterranean being a threat to a collective European border and presenting Italy as a stepping stone to the larger European monolith reflects externalization of border policies that seek to protect Europeanness.

Language in the media that normalizes a collective European border and assumes identity that needs to be protected, like with “Europe’s gate” and the positioning of Europe as inherently better than migrant countries of origin, reflects exclusionary migration policy that extends the power of the border and policing of migrant bodies. Embedding the restriction of movement in political and migration discourse by adopting a certain European universalism allows exclusionary migration policy to be legitimated: “Gives legitimacy to actual policies and decisions, including the re-erection of national borders, the refusal to accept refugees, the monitoring of migration through the prism of risk and the ‘outsourcing’ of permit assessments to countries far away from European territory” (Engelbert, Awad, van Sterkenburg 2019, 138). The mutually reinforcing media and policy narrative allows violence against migrants facilitated by the EU to be legitimated and normalized. What it means to be ‘European’ is however strategically omitted in both media and policy and is a crucial factor in the EU border regime.

4.2.2 *European versus Non-European*

The European focus is problematic because it fails to clearly define what it means to be European, and instead relies on juxtaposing migrants to an assumed cultural and political superiority inherent to Europeanness. The framing of migration as a European problem in these news articles by relating nation-based migration to Europe as a whole and imposing the pull-factor of a better life onto migrants is one avenue that creates the criteria for who is admissible to Europe. This admissibility criteria can be exercised at the physical border in denying entry or pushing back migrant boats, but also in constructing a normalized discourse and perceived idea of European versus non-European, a construction laden with institutionalized exclusion. Another factor contributing to the non-European identity is discourse that claims migrants or the act of migration as “irregular”, a statement made in 8 of the news articles. The claim of irregularity presents migration and migrants as something out of the ordinary and therefore different to what is expected in the European monolith; irregularity frames migrants as an outsider and an Other. What is important about the European angle present in both media and policy is that together they construct a racialized ideology in which freedom in Europe is politically significant and promoted, but it is not accessible and safe for all; some people's freedom is risky (Engelbert, Awad, van Sterkenburg 2019, 138). As previously discussed, threat narratives in the media are one way in which migrants are seen as a risk to freedom of movement. Those who do not have the freedom to move are those deemed not European, a historical construction which promotes Europeanness as being rooted in whiteness: “Europe has long nurtured the civic drive to identify the foreign, to uphold the possibility of keeping the foreign foreign, of permanently foreignizing the ‘(racially) non-European’. The reproductive logic of Euro-racism ensures that those ‘racially non European’ are never nor can ever be European” (Goldberg 2006, 354). The Goldberg emphasises how this constant reiteration of being European or protecting Europeanness, as presented in a variety of the news articles, highlights that borders are a biopolitical tool constituted by race; exclusion and inclusion are rooted in race (2006, 358). Dogmatic narratives in these news articles that reproduce simplistic notions of belonging are not critical of the construction of admissibility, with the migrant always being positioned as an outsider or an Other, an image that reflects the European political imagination of a perpetual migrant threat seeking entry to Europe (Harrison 2016, 3). This discourse of Europeanness enables exclusion by normalizing moral and physical differentiations between

European and non-European and is rooted in descriptions that are ambiguous and purposefully vague:

“Europeanness” is understood as being socially and culturally “civilized” and is juxtaposed to “nations of remote countries”... such obscure description of “Europeanness” strengthens the argument that public discourse creates the notion as an object of knowledge and normalizes it... As a result, the discourse of Europeanness creates the effect of “normalizing” the image of a refugee as coming from another continent, from only poor, underdeveloped countries, and as being a representative of indigenous ethnic groups of these countries. Therefore, it becomes “normal” to observe struggles and sufferings of refugees. Such prescriptive perceptions of refugees being the “others” contradict both the values that are proclaimed today by any democratic society and the European Union, in particular. (Morgunova & Moraru 2022, 747)

The construction of Europeanness by the EU and its reflection in the media equating to civil and democratic values is a direct juxtaposition to the systematically produced exclusion of racialized migrants at and beyond the border that facilitates violence.

Deliberate vagueness or omission of information, specifically the mention of race, in both policy and media is a cornerstone issue in the migration as a European problem discourse because it diverts responsibility away from the EU and downplays the power of discourse. The EU grounds its policy and values in principles such as rule of law, transparency, accountability, and avoidance of arbitrariness, and promotes having a comprehensive response to migration (Stel 2021, 2). In opposition to these standardized values, the EU implements securitization and externalization practices and policies in relation to migration that exercise strategic and institutionalized ambiguity by accepting “ambiguity in terms of refugees’ status, spaces, and representation” and that allows these policies to operate in spaces of exception (Stel 2021, 4). “Struggling” to handle the “influx” of migration to Italy, as described in a variety of the news articles, led to calling of a state of emergency and quick implementation of exclusionary migration policy. This state of emergency or exception to the rule of law is legitimate because the EU operates using “atypical, informal, and non-transparent measures of migration governance”... thereby allowing ‘legislative, procedural and democratic frames to be avoided’ (Stel 2021, 2). This strategic ambiguity as described by Nora Stel operates in EU policy by muddling the differentiations between certain terms such as illegal and irregular, migrant and refugee, and European and non-European, and the strategic omission of not mentioning race; these acts of vagueness allow responsibility to enabling a racist migration environment to be diluted (2021, 2). While these news articles nor policy about protecting and promoting Europeanness in migration specifically state the role of whiteness, recognizing the role of race in constructing what does

not fit into the collective European identity can highlight potential linkages to the larger narrative of whiteness and the European border regime. Regardless, the discourse distinguishing between European and non-European under the guise of Europeanness is purposefully vague so states of exception and violence against racialized migrants can legitimately operate, because these actions are presented as for the benefit and protection of a European monolith rather than the purpose of exclusion.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In this thesis, I have related the representation of migrants in two European newspapers to the EU's exclusionary migration policy and practice, specifically within the realm of externalization and securitization of borders. I undertook this analysis with the assumption of migration as a 'European problem' that requires a comprehensive and integrated 'European solution', a philosophy and discourse embedded in both the EU's approach to migration and media narratives. This rhetoric was made explicit in 2023 with the statement by the EU Commission and emphasized by the Italian government with their state of emergency, anti-migration decrees, and calling for EU wide support. The example of right-wing, anti-migration politics in Italy highlights how EU action and ideology can legitimize violence in an EU nation-state, while the EU can simultaneously detach itself from responsibility because of their image and outsourcing of implication onto other actors. This move beyond the nation-state in migration is also highlighted with Frontex as an EU institution and its role in expanding border control and security to protect freedom of movement within Europe for Europeans. I use CBS to conceptualize the border beyond the physical, and expand its understanding to one of bordering practices that occur in everyday life and are reproduced through discourses. In this regard, the migrant becomes a biopolitical subject in discourse and practice, reduced to their mere biological existence and dehumanized as a means to enact violence, exclude, and racialize, all in the name of protecting Europeanness from a mass, omnipresent migrant threat. In my analysis, I sought to falsify and problematize the dominant discourses around Fortress Europe, crisis narratives, and what it means to be 'European' to highlight how discourse surrounding migration as a European problem purposefully racializes migrants and enables violence against them.

In conducting a critical discourse analysis, I highlighted problematic narratives present in European news articles and traced those narratives to migration policy and practice both within the EU more generally and with the example of Italy. I used the concept of

framing to analyze how migrants were being represented, and to determine the purpose of such framing I used agenda setting theory to understand how certain representations reflect and relate to the EU political agenda on migration. In this analysis, I first argued that the dehumanizing and threatening representation of migrants in the media and framing of migrants as less than in comparison to the construct of Europeans both reflects and relates to EU policy that seeks to exclude racialized migrants, because it normalizes and legitimates that violence against them. This analysis also revealed the role of Europeanness in both media narratives and migration policy as a defining characteristic in determining exclusion and inclusion, a characteristic that is highly racialized. The narrative focused on increase and volume examines how migrants are dehumanized in the media by presenting migration as a crisis and threat to Europe and homogenizing and racializing migrants. The second category of centring migration narratives around Europe and Europeanness creates distinction for who is allowed entry based on geography and nationality by claiming migration is to the entirety of Europe, framing Europe as a destination of desire, and representing a collective EU border. These two main narratives are converging and often represent the same ultimate goal of keeping migrants outside of Europe, but the reality is migrants are not being kept safe nor being deterred, rather the EU is enabling migration to be more dangerous. These narratives of migration as a threat and protecting Europeanness omit the mention race, and rather attempt to centre the issue of inclusion on security and citizenship. The idea of a collective European identity to be promoted and protected by the EU for the sake of Europeans hints to a racialized determinant for who is admissible to the European monolith. While not made explicit in my findings on Europeanness, this racial aspect is important because it fits into the larger narrative of a racialized European border regime rooted in protecting whiteness as discussed by other scholars like De Genova, Goldberg, and Morgunova and Moraru.

The relationship of discourse in the news articles and EU policy and practice is ultimately mutually reinforcing, and both facilitate a culture of racialized exclusion in migration; exclusionary migration policy is legitimated by media and media narratives support policy. This produces a perpetual cycle of exclusion that is normalized and allows violence to continue unquestioned or be considered acceptable by the general public and within policy. The Europeanization of borders highlights a major juxtaposition between the image of the EU as a leading governmental body committed to democracy and protecting human rights and freedom, and their actions that enable violence against migrants. The humanitarianism image is a facade of empathy that fails to address why migration is happening and the EU's role in creating conditions for migration and facilitating the danger

migrants face. Frontex also presents an inherent contradiction in promoting the freedom of the Schengen Area while simultaneously externalizing and securitizing a collective EU border to prevent migration into Europe from non-Europeans. While the EU is an enabling actor in the violence migrants face at and beyond the border, the onus of responsibility is often placed elsewhere.

With the EU being recognized and presenting themselves as an upholder of democracy and protector of human rights in the international political field and with their ability to influence nation-state policy and action, it is clear they are a powerful institution. They have the ability to shape the migration agenda and legitimize violence and exclusion. Because of this apparent power and legitimacy, it is essential to recognize the role of the EU in its push for Europeanness as a discourse that facilitates exclusion. The EU needs to be held accountable for their central role in border violence and promotion of racist migration policy. In conjunction with this call for accountability, discourse needs to be critically analyzed and the agency and humanity of migrants needs to be recognized. Current mainstream news representations of migrants do not capture an accurate image of people of the move, rather they reinforce otherness by presenting migrants as less than and threats. The power of discourse regarding migration needs to be divorced from actors who seek to maintain exclusion, and instead be recentred to migrants and their voices.

Appendix

List of Articles Used for Data

	Title	Link	Website
Article 1	Why has Italy declared a state of emergency over migration? What impact will it have?	https://www.euronews.com/2023/04/13/why-has-italy-declared-a-state-of-emergency-over-migration-what-does-it-mean-in-practice	Euronews
Article 2	Migrant arrivals in Italy have more than tripled from last year. Why?	https://www.euronews.com/2023/04/10/migrant-arrivals-in-italy-have-more-than-tripled-from-last-year-why	Euronews
Article 3	EU rejects UN accusation it 'aided and abetted' crimes against migrants in Libya	https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2023/03/28/eu-rejects-un-accusation-it-aided-and-abetted-crimes-against-migrants-in-libya	Euronews
Article 4	'A collapse of the rule of law': How does Frontex get away with 'plain murder'? (2023)	https://www.euronews.com/2023/03/28/a-collapse-of-the-rule-of-law-how-does-frontex-get-away-with-plain-murder	Euronews
Article 5	Shots reportedly fired at rescue ship in Mediterranean	https://www.euronews.com/2023/03/26/shots-fired-at-humanitarian-rescue-ship-in-mediterranean	Euronews
Article 6	Italy declares state of emergency over migrants	https://www.dw.com/en/italy-declares-state-of-emergency-over-migrants/a-65283301	DW
Article 7	Migrant boats sink off Tunisia; more than 20 missing, 4 dead	https://www.dw.com/en/migrant-boats-sink-off-tunisia-more-than-20-missing-4-dead/a-65265592	DW
Article 8	Migration: The European Union's perennial conundrum	https://www.dw.com/en/migration-the-european-unions-perennial-conundrum/a-64636153	DW
Article 9	Dozens of migrants found drowned off Italian coast	https://www.dw.com/en/dozens-of-migrants-found-drowned-off-italian-coast/a-64823476	DW
Article 10	Italy coast guard scrambles to rescue	https://www.dw.com/en/italy-coast-guard-scrambles-to-rescue-1200-migrant	DW

	1,200 migrants	s/a-65275577	
Article 11	Why Tunisia's political and economical crisis is Europe's problem too	https://www.euronews.com/2023/05/19/why-tunisia-political-and-economical-crisis-is-europes-problem-too	Euronews
Article 12	650 migrants have been evacuated from Lampedusa amid 'crisis'	https://www.euronews.com/2023/05/09/650-migrants-have-been-evacuated-from-lampedusa-amid-crisis	Euronews
Article 13	Over 600 new migrants dock on Italian island of Lampedusa in 24 hours	https://www.euronews.com/2023/05/06/over-600-new-migrants-dock-on-italian-island-of-lampedusa-24-hours	Euronews
Article 14	Dozen of migrants rescued from small boats arrive in Italian ports	https://www.euronews.com/2023/04/23/dozen-of-migrants-rescued-from-small-boats-arrive-in-italian-ports	Euronews
Article 15	Only 435 asylum-seekers have been relocated across the EU since June under a new voluntary scheme	https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2023/02/08/only-435-asylum-seekers-have-been-relocated-across-the-eu-since-june-under-a-new-voluntary	Euronews
Article 16	Migration returns to the top of the EU's agenda but the same old political divisions remain	https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2023/02/07/migration-returns-to-the-top-of-the-eus-agenda-but-the-same-old-political-divisions-remain	Euronews

Article 17	'It's a shame': NGOs blast Italy's compulsory code of conduct for rescue ships in the Mediterranean	https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2023/02/06/its-a-shame-ngos-blast-italys-compulsory-code-of-conduct-for-rescue-ships-in-the-mediterra	Euronews
Article 18	'Not acceptable': EU vows to punish 'uncooperative' countries over migration	https://www.euronews.com/2023/01/27/not-acceptable-eu-vows-to-punish-uncooperative-countries-over-migration	

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