

CHARLES UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

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How does Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty portray migrants on the Balkan migration route?

Bachelor Thesis

Prague 2021

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I declare that I have created the thesis by myself. All sources and literature used have been duly cited. The work was not used to obtain another or the same title. This declaration and consent will be signed by handwritten signature

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## **Introduction**

In 2015 Southeast Europe became a transit place for migrants from the Middle East and North Africa who were trying to reach Western Europe. Soon this route was labelled the *Balkan route* and tens of thousands of people from Iraq, Syria, and Afghanistan started to arrive over the Mediterranean Sea, crossing via Turkey, Greece, North Macedonia into the western Balkan.

Social backlash begun to grow as more migrants arrived and soon countries started to close their borders. Media was still catching up with the situation but eventually news outlets became increasingly polarized promoting either far-right or far-left propaganda. Migrants that were traveling the Balkan route became stuck in the transit countries like Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Small and impoverished Balkan states like Bosnia and Herzegovina soon became overwhelmed with the crisis.

Several years after the migrant crisis started it is still a heated topic because it is still ongoing, and governments don't seem to have the solution for it.

The frustration with the governments soon became clear after fringe populist parties started to gain voter support. The media also became more radicalized and discourse over the migrant crisis was taken over by the far right and the far left, leaving millions who don't ascribe to these two groups without a voice.

The purpose of this study is the analysis of a neutral news source that reports frequently on the migrant crisis. The study will only concentrate on the articles that cover the Balkan route.

Hopefully this study will give more insights into factual reporting with the hope that the media landscape will change and adopt a more constructive and realistic approach to this topic.

## Theoretical Framework

Spoken or written narratives have a variety of functions in mass media especially if the telling of connected events is institutionally controlled or influenced by different interest groups (De Fina and Johnstone, 2015, 159). Since the study of *narrative* became increasingly important in the social sciences different techniques emerged, among them multimodal analysis which investigates the new forms of communication and the link between media and diverse semiotic resources such as language, text, images etc. (De Fina and Johnstone, 2015, 161). Multimodal analysis questions the evident narratives and regards the narrative account of a single author as problematic and instead it emphasizes the importance of multiple people participating in the narratives (De Fina and Johnstone, 2015, 161).

Story ownership and the important question “*Who has the right to tell which stories to whom?*” are reflected in the discourse analysis because narratives have social and political effects and are not just instrumentalized for community cohesion but also to exercise social dominance (De Fina and Johnstone, 2015, 161). Media discourse analysts who have studied news stories have demonstrated that the framing of protagonists contributes to formation of prejudice and negative attitudes towards groups (De Fina and Johnstone, 2015, 159). Therefore, it is important to mention the theoretical frameworks of *framing* and *positioning* in discourse analysis, especially when it comes to the analysis of narratives, where framing can be described as a *definition of a situation*, while positioning refers to personhood or self-construction and how the individuals position themselves in contrast to others (Gordon 2015, 325, 332). Social identity can be expressed verbally or by writing, as well as through images that can have subtle stereotypical meanings and therefore special attention should be paid to multimodality in critical discourse analysis (Van Leeuwen, 2015, 462).

*Identity* as a subject is a central motive of narrative analysis and many reports examine the mechanisms that are used to build individual and social identity (De Fina and Johnstone, 2015, 161). Authorship and Responsibility are connected to the issue of identity and story ownership, and increased attention is paid on the politization of narrative because storytelling can be instrumentalized to dominate others, for creating conflict or to express solidarity (De Fina and Johnstone, 2015, 161). Narratives explain *what has happened* by putting characters into space and time and they present the reasons why things are the way they are – narratives try to explain what

has occurred (Bamberg, 2012, 77). Narrators can tell personal experiences or the experiences of others, thus narrative analysis tries to connect the narrative methods that explain experiences (Bamberg, 2012, 79).

The founder of sociolinguistics, the American linguist William Labov, contributed to the narrative analysis by placing the elements of narratives into a structure thus connecting the purpose of a narrative with a method (Labov, 1997, 12). He outlined the overall structure of narratives dividing narratives into six categories: *Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Action, Resolution and Evaluation*. *The Abstract* is the opening summarizing statement which gives an overview of the story (Labov, 1972). *Orientation* helps the reader to identify the theme, place, social actors, and social events, this is the *referential function* that connects the narrative to a sequence of events (Labov, 1997, 32). *Complicating Action* is the core of the narrative where the story unfolds and which keeps the reader interested (Labov, 1997, 32). *Resolution* releases suspense and completes the final event of the story (Labov, 1997, 39). *Evaluation* explains the purpose of the story and reveals the attitude of the narrator (Labov, 1997, 37). Events in a narrative are linked together and don't occur accidentally, however, it is also possible that a narrative excludes certain parts of the above structure. Such narratives can consist of less categories in different order (Labov, 1997, 20).

**Critical Discourse Analysis** is a critical perspective present in discourse studies that examines how text or speech expressed in sociopolitical context counters or validates social inequality (Van Dijk 2015, 466). The aim of Critical Discourse Analysis is to connect the different micro levels of social structure such as *language* with macro levels such as *social inequality* and to merge it into a comprehensive analysis of group members, social actions, social structure, and social cognition (Van Dijk 2015, 468, 469). A primary subject that Critical Discourse Analysis studies is *power* and how powerful groups use their influence on impact individual and social attitudes by means of controlling the medium of communication (Van Dijk 2015, 470, 472). There are many different structural approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis. One of the founders of CDA is British scientist Norman Fairclough who developed the (3D) three-dimensional model which consists of the *Text, Discursive Practice - the production, distribution and consumption of text* and *Social Practices – reception - the power relations, ideologies, conflicts reproduced or challenged by discourse* (Fairclough 2003, 19). Fairclough distinguishes between the *internal* and *external relationships* of the text, where the analysis of internal relationships would include vocabulary



relations, semantic relations, grammatical relations, and phonological relations (Fairclough 2003, 36, 37). The analysis of the external relations of text would include the analysis of their relations to other elements of social events and how they part take in *Actions, Identifications and Representations*, what Fairclough calls “*the basis for differentiating the three major aspects of text meaning*” (Fairclough 2003, 36). *Representation* are descriptions of the material world, of people, places, or actions (Fairclough 2003, 38), *Identifications* are processes of establishing the social actors and their social realities in the events (Fairclough 2003, 17). *Action* incorporates *social relation* and is related to the grammatical mood which describes the sentence type as being interrogative, declarative, and imperative (Fairclough 2003, 27). Fairclough argues that *meanings* are produced from the interaction between the three dimensions of text, not just through the straightforward content of the text but also through what is implicit, and it is precisely these *meanings* that will have social effects (Fairclough, 2003, 8).

A principal target of critical media discourse analysis is to discover the presence of manipulation and prejudice in the means of communication (Cotter 2015, 797).

The conflict paradigm can be applied to different types of social competition like class struggle or ethnic conflict (Babbie 2013, 61). The study of social conflicts requires an extensive method of research because the opposing groups in the conflict may directly contradict each other (Druckman, 2005, 278). We can discover valuable knowledge about the conflict and the opposing persons or groups that are involved in that conflict by examining the non-fictional narratives, however, it is important to notice that the actions described in the narrative can be interpreted subjectively by the researcher and even by the person who is creating the interview or story (Druckman 2005, 284). Scientific research that examined the social conflict between migrants and locals revealed that economic competition may not be root cause of anti-immigrant sentiments (Markaki and Longhi 2008, 20). It is important to identify other factors that may contribute to increasing tension between locals and migrants especially at places where these social groups interact with each other. Social identity theory puts forward the notion that humans shape their identity by group affiliation or membership (Haslam et.al 2012, 202). Members of one group are more inclined to favor members of their own in-group than members of an out-group and this perceived feeling of belonging influences our social categorization and comparison with other members of society (Haslam et.al

2012, 203). Social identity theory could explain out-group discrimination; however, it is important to mention that the original notion put forward by Tajfel and Turner is that social competition with out-groups occurs only when in-group members perceive the relationship with their own members to be unstable, insecure and delegitimate (Haslam et.al 2012, 204). One important contribution of the social identity theory is to understand how prejudice works. Prejudice between groups must be examined from the in-group out-group context (Haslam et.al 2012, 208).

Prejudice should not be characterized or labelled as false thinking of an individual or group, rather it should be understood as a way in which a particular belief makes perfect sense to those that hold it and through which the group that holds it experiences the outside world (Haslam et.al 2012, 208). Social science is not taking a moral stance regarding the values certain groups hold, it is not meant to label the values of groups as inherently bad or good (Babbie 2013, 8). Considering social identity theory, the conflict between migrants and local population may be the result of negative group trait generalization, where one group characterizes the values of the other as a personal threat to their own held values and beliefs which triggers the formation of stereotypes and a fight for dominance exertion (Markaki and Longhi 2008, 4-5).

For social science it is important to examine how the media reports on the social conflict and how it portrays one group and its values compared to the other. Mass media plays a distinctive role in the formation of public opinion regarding migrants, influencing both positive and negative attitudes (Berry et.al 2015, 5). Analyzing how media reports on social conflicts that are politicized and that have consequences for greater social cohesion is important because it can contribute to media literacy education (Arke 2012, 5). Currently, there are no agreed methodologies and theoretical foundations for media literacy education, which means that all possible theories and methods that evolve from critical media analysis can contribute to that field (Arke 2012, 5). How broadcast media reports about a social conflict would be hard to precisely categorize because the genres of reporting are broad and unclear, except the genre of interview which maintains its clear characteristics and presents to the reader the opinion of the person that is being interviewed and not the opinion of the broadcast media editorial (Natsvlshvili 2013, 384, 385). Babbie defines the classic question of communication research to be: “*Who says what, to whom, why, how and with what effect?*” (Babbie 2013)

## Methodology

When it comes to text analysis there are two opposing positions which must be considered, the hermeneutical position which is the methodology of interpretation, in this case between the text owner and the text reader and the positivist position, which relies on verifiable data resulting from empirical evidence (Mayring 2014, 7, 8). Strictly following either position would lead us to disregard possible similarities, like for example that there is an agreement of reality, the difference is that in hermeneutics this reality is the agreed socially shared realm which is the result of different individual constructions and in positivism this reality is based on natural phenomena and empiricism (Mayring 2014, 8). Norman Fairclough argues that the approach to textual analysis should be a *realist approach* because the abstract structures as well as the real **social events** are all part of reality (Fairclough 2003, 14). There is not a standard method by which texts can be analyzed because textual analysis is unavoidably selective since it depends on the choices of questions the analyzer is asking about the text.

Articles written on the Radio Free Liberty/Radio Europe news website were chosen for the analysis because the media organization regularly covers the migrant crisis in the West Balkan and has articles available in the English language. This is how Radio Free Liberty/Radio Europe state their reporting agenda on their website: “*RFE/RL journalists report the news in 23 countries where a free press is banned by the government or not fully established. We provide what many people cannot get locally: uncensored news, responsible discussion, and open debate. RFE/RL strives to meet the highest standards of objective journalism and report the facts, undaunted by pressure or attempted influence*”.

The method that was chosen to conduct this study is **Narrative Content Analysis** based on the overall structure of narratives by William Labov (Labov, 1997). However, after conducting preliminary preparation for the study I have discovered that not all articles reference events in sequential order – a problem already discussed in the theoretical part. This means that establishing a structure to the method is very difficult. Conducting only a **Critical Discourse Analysis** also has its limitations. It requires a very high knowledge of grammar and language coding. If it is not executed correctly can lead to inadequate data. Reading through the theory while trying to find the right methodology, I have discovered certain patterns that would make it possible to combine

Narrative Content Analysis and certain aspects of Critical Discourse Analysis. As already discussed in the theoretical part Labov developed a structure to the method of Narrative Analysis by dividing narratives into five categories: *Abstract*, *Orientation*, *Complication*, *Evaluation* and *Resolution*. The categories *Complication*, *Evaluation* and *Resolution* can also be analyzed from the perspective of discourse. Norman Fairclough argues that texts are elements of **social events** and that discourses contribute to how social events are represented, what is implicit or explicit, how relations and social actors are presented (Fairclough, 2003, 17). Another causal effect of texts is the ability to change or sustain ideologies, ideologies are representations that cause or bring about change in social hegemony (Fairclough, 2003, 9).

For the category *Complication*, which is the main story part, we will be looking into the discourse and how social events and social actors are represented. For the category *Evaluation*, we will be analyzing the implicit or explicit ideology of the author. For the category *Resolution*, which is the closure part, we will be looking into the impact of the text and if it challenges or reaffirms social hegemony.

I am positive that this combined method will be efficient enough to answer the research question:

**“How does Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty portray migrants on the Balkan migration route?”**

*Table of Comparison*

<b>Labov’s model: overall structure of narratives</b>	<b>Connection</b>	<b>Norman Fairclough: Analyzing Discourse</b>
<b>Narrative Categories</b>		<b>Text Meaning</b>
ABSTRACT		
ORIENTATION		
COMPLICATION	Discourse	SOCIAL EVENTS
EVALUATION	Discourse	IDEOLOGICAL REPRESENTATIONS
RESOLUTION	Discourse	IDEOLOGICAL REPRESENTATIONS

**Sampling**

The period of the analysis are all articles that relate to the Balkan Migrant Crisis published on the RFE/RL news site in the years (2018 and 2019) with the following search criteria used to select the articles: “*migrants Bosnia*”, “*migrants Croatia*”, “*migrants Balkan*”. These search results bring about (37) articles in that time-period. All (37) articles are to be found in the Appendix.

The actual number of articles that will be examined is (30). This study focuses only on a text analysis, it will not examine media content like images and videos.

This is the reason why the article number selected for examination was reduced to (30). Some articles only contained video or image galleries.

**Ethical Concerns**

Since this research primarily deals with the analysis of news articles, we must consider some ethical concerns. The ethical concerns are anonymity and confidentiality of the participants. Babbie (2013) classifies a research project to be anonymous only when a researcher cannot identify a response with a respondent, while confidentiality is defined as knowing the respondent but omitting the data from publicity (Babbie 2013, 35, 36). The purpose of the research are already publicly available articles and all details that would lead to the identification of possible subjects in the content analysis will be omitted from the study.

One of the shortcomings of this research is the sampling size and sampling method, which is reliance on already available articles, therefore the readers must exercise caution when examining the data as no generalizations can be made (Babbie 2013. 128).

## **Previous Studies**

In 2014 the European Union found itself at the beginning of a migrant crisis when hundreds of thousands of people started to arrive by sea and by land, causing a polarization in the European media with some arguing for solidarity while others criticized rescue operations at sea (Barry et al, 2016, 1). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) commissioned a report on the media coverage of the migrant crisis in the European Union from the Cardiff School of Journalism, Media, and Cultural Studies (Barry et al, 2016, 1). The comprehensive study focused on how the press covered the refugee crisis of 2014 and 2015 in five different European countries: UK, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Sweden (Barry et al, 2016, 5).

The scientists asked several key questions to determine how the media portrays this crisis: “*Who are the key sources in coverage, Which political parties are most cited, Where are refugees and migrants identified as coming from, What terms are used to describe those that are trying to enter the EU, What is the prevalence of different themes in coverage, what explanations are offered for why people trying to enter the EU, What solutions to the migrant crisis are present in coverage* “ (Barry et al, 2016, 5). Thousands of articles were analyzed, and considerable differences were found in the reporting style between the media in different countries (Barry et al, 2016, 1). The research has found that local politicians tend to be the most permeated source category in the news with governing parties dominating the media sourcing while the opposition comes from the

political rivals, mostly anti-immigration right wing parties (Barry et al, 2016, 7). Research has shown that local politicians account for over (30%) of representation in Sweden, Germany, and Italy, with relatively lower representation in the UK (20.4%) and Spain (11.1%). Among the sourced political parties, the coalition government was the major source in all countries except of in Spain where the Peoples Party dominated the with (78.9%) of source representation (Barry et al, 2016, 7). The research has also demonstrated the divergence in representation of citizen voices, migrant voices and civil society (NGO) voices between the different countries. The voice of the citizens was most accounted for in German media (25.4%) and the UK (16.5%) while in Italy (6.5%) and Spain (5.3%) the citizens received meager representation. Migrants were sourced higher than the citizens, accounting for approximately 10% in Germany, Italy and Spain (Barry et al, 2016, 7). Civil society was sourced well below 10% in all countries, with the highest in Spain (9.9%) and lowest in Sweden with (2.9%). Media in all countries mentioned at least some information regarding the countries of origin of the migrants, where Syria was identified to be most represented as the country of origin in addition to Eritrea, Iraq, and Afghanistan (Barry et al, 2016, 7). The labels used by the media to describe the migrants also varied between the countries. In Germany and Sweden, the label *refugee* was used in most of the cases, however in the UK as well as Italy the label *migrant* was used most frequently while in Spain the term *immigrant* was the dominant label (Barry et al, 2016, 8).

A clear thematic difference was also found between the countries. In all countries a humanitarian theme was present while in Italy the humanitarian theme accounted for most of the coverage where the media many times focused on the search events and distress of migrants in the Mediterranean Sea as well as on the reports of migrants themselves. (Barry et al, 2016, 8). When the research coded the humanitarian theme as the leading theme in media coverage Italy still scored (31.3%) while the other countries scored between (9.0%) and (13.1%) (Barry et al, 2016, 8). In all countries migrants were also presented as a threat, both to national security as well as a threat to the welfare system. In Italy the reporting of migrants as a national security threat was the highest with (10.1%) while in the lowest in the UK (4.8%), however the UK scored the highest with migrants being presented as a threat to the welfare state with (18.3%) while Spain scored the lowest with (6.7%) (Barry et al, 2016, 8). Migrants were also portrayed as a cultural threat in all press with the UK scoring the highest with (10.8%) and Germany the lowest with (5.3%), while in addition to this the UK also scored the highest with linking migrants to crime with (8.2%) while Spain scored the

lowest with (1.7%) (Barry et al, 2016, 8). An account of as to why people are migrating was also discussed in the press in all countries. Terrorism, oppression by authoritarian regimes and war were mostly cited in the press in all countries, however the UK with (23.4%) and Spain with (28.5%) also discussed other reasons for migration such as economic pull factors (Barry et al, 2016, 9). In all countries the solution to the migration problem was discussed thoroughly in the media with different suggestions prevailing. In Italy the solution to the migration problem was mostly suggested to be a united European wide strategy to prevent migration (33.9%) while German press discussed the united solution lowest with (7.3%). Other solutions to the migration problem in the European press were the supply of more aid where Sweden scored the highest with (19.9%), the creation of safe migration routes and the creation of more migrant centers with Spain scoring the highest (13.9%), while the quick expulsion of migrants who don't qualify for asylum were discussed at a lower rate with Spain scoring the highest at (12.9%) and Sweden scoring the lowest with (3.2%) (Barry et al, 2016, 9).

The study concluded that there were significant differences in how the press reported about the migrant crisis with Sweden scoring the most positive while the UK had the most negative coverage (Barry et al, 2016, 10). There were also variations within the countries themselves where for example the German and UK press expressed the most polarized views while reporting in Sweden, Italy and Spain was more homogenous, but regardless of the polarization in all the press the European Union was characterized as the main institution to settle the migrant crisis (Barry et al, 2016, 10,11). One of the key factors that is influencing the media coverage is *politicization* of the migrant crisis – how the crisis is utilized for political debate between incumbent coalitions and political challengers as well as the rise of the far-right which received uneven media coverage (Barry et al, 2016,11).

The polarization of the media is also present in the possible solutions to the crisis where center-right leaning newspapers favor solutions such as naval blockades and the elimination of smuggler routes, to the contrast, there is only limited reporting of the benefits of migration to the society with only a few press outlets concentrating on migrant success stories, predominantly in Germany and Sweden (Barry et al, 2016, 12). The study has also demonstrated that the overall reporting of the migrant crisis also depends on the local context, meaning the local socio-political culture, and as an example it singles out Sweden where the far-right is not censored but given a voice, however



the views of the far-right are always challenged or balanced by other politicians or the journalists themselves while in the UK the migrant crisis shifted the political debate more than in other countries to the point where it heavily influenced the General Elections (Barry et al, 2016, 12). The study also concluded that media coverage of the migrant crisis rarely focused on and discussed the push factors for the migration flow. The media in all countries characterized the migration flow to be predominantly the result of war and conflict as well as economic factors, but media rarely addressed solutions to these push factors, only in (3.1%) of the articles where push factors were discussed, solutions such as conflict resolution procedures were addressed (Barry et al, 2016, 12). Another study that examined how articles from Greek, German and British press portray migrants and the migrant crisis in Europe was conducted by Kaimaklioti and Fotopoulos who concluded that the press in these selected countries largely presented the migrant crisis in numbers in addition to covering the topics of child refugees and the relationships between the EU and Turkey (Kaimaklioti et al. 201. 265). The study sampled 1340 press articles and used a combination of two methodologies – corpus linguistics and discourse analysis where the wording of the text was analyzed to specify the words (*collocates*) that were appearing either before or after the specified keywords: *migrants, immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers* (Kaimaklioti et al. 201. 267).

The study demonstrated that the most frequent collocate was a number – the number of migrants, immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers that have either arrived or were deported, and the most frequent word differed between the countries with the collocate “*management*” being most frequent in Greece, *Syrians* in Germany, and *child* in the UK press (Kaimaklioti et al. 201. 270). The study also found that the word “hotspots” most frequently appeared in front of the word migrant/immigrant in the Greek newspapers referring to the migrant camps that were mostly associated with *violent outbreaks* and *poor living conditions* (Kaimaklioti et al. 201. 272).

The study also demonstrated a difference in collocates that describe migrants between German, Greek and the UK Press. The words irregular/illegal appeared (3.1%) in Greece and (1.2%) in Germany, while in the UK press these words were used in connotation with migrants significantly more frequent – (10%) the word illegal and (6%) the word irregular (Kaimaklioti et al. 201. 272). The research has shown that German press frequently covered the topic of child refugees expressing concern for the living conditions of child refugees and negative reporting was generally outnumbered by the positive coverage which presented the migrants as desperate victims of war

accompanied by the frequent personal stories of the migrants themselves that added a tragic tone to the circulating news (Kaimaklioti et al. 201. 273). There are also common collocates that appeared in all newspapers such as geographical locations, however the most common collocate for all examined newspapers was the word *Turkey* implying that all newspapers extensively covered the refugee pact between the EU and Turkey (Kaimaklioti et al. 201. 275). The British newspapers frequently reported about the violent clashes at the borders between North Macedonia and Greece as well as terrorism where the words IS, ISIL or ISIS appeared (17%) in the examined articles from the UK press while the Greek and German newspapers used words that are associated with terrorism in statistically insignificant numbers (Kaimaklioti et al. 201. 276). The study concludes that the Greek, German and UK Press mostly took a homogeneous approach when reporting about the migrant crisis and portrayed the migrants as helpless victims of war, in addition to this the press critically followed the EU-Turkey agreement and focused a lot on the conditions of child refugees (Kaimaklioti et al. 201. 276).

## **Empirical Part**

### Presenting the Results

This part of the thesis presents the results from the analysis of the (30) articles. The results are divided by categories beginning with Orientation, Complication – Social Events, Evaluation – Ideological Representations and ending with Resolution – Ideological Representations. Abstract will be excluded from the analysis because it is just a summary of the article.

#### *Orientation*

In all articles the authors use declarative sentences to pass on information. The migration crisis is the dominant theme of the articles. Migrants are social actors in nearly all articles together with governmental authorities and civil society. Within all analyzed articles there is no instance of the authorial account of events (author's voice), and all the voices that can be *heard* in the articles are the voices of the social actors based on direct speech (quotations) and indirect speech (reported speech).

### *Complication - Social Events*

Migrants are mostly referred to as migrants in (30) articles, people (14) articles, refugees (12), children (6) articles, asylum seekers (5) articles, illegal (2) articles, women (2) articles. The Migrants are on the move; they cross through borders and countries. Migrants know where they want to go, and they have their own agency. Migrants are determined to reach their desired destination and if they can't reach it, they will set up camp closest to it. While they are on the move and in the makeshift camps, migrants live in deplorable conditions. The authors frequently use graphic descriptions for the deplorable living conditions and scuffle with the police. The agency of migrants is in dispute with the local authorities which is a reason for frequent clashes with the police. Clashes with the police are sometimes provoked by the migrants and sometimes by the police. In most of the articles the author/s use language that demonstrates the hardships of migrants such as inadequate living condition or language that describes migrants as determined to reach their desired destination. The authors do not judge the agency of migrants, they only report on it. The authors are not framing the migrants with negative words. If negative framing occurs in the article, it is the case of direct or indirect speech.

### *Evaluation – Ideological Representations*

Most of the articles are concise and factual and it is only the case in a few articles that the reader can recognize potential ideological representations. The authors just pass on information without elaborating. In many articles, the reader is presented with negative information such as chaos, violence, deplorable living conditions and illegal border crossings, but this is all part of the informative reporting and has no explicit ideological representation. The writing tone is not bias, and no personal opinions are expressed. Only in the following articles, the reader is not sure about the author's intention:

Article 6. Bosnia Border Police Stop Dozens of Migrants from Entering Croatia: The article contains a potential misquotation of Peter Van der Auweraert

Article 27: Bosnia to close Makeshift Migrant Camp, Some Refuse to Leave: the author/s describe the intentions of migrants who want to cross through Croatia as *illegal*

Article 28. Bosnia Puts Off Closing Makeshift Migrant Camp Until Further Notice: the same sentence that described the intentions of the migrants as *illegal* was edited to a neutral statement

Article 29. Bosnia Begins Moving Migrants from Makeshift Vucjak Camp: the same sentence now again describes the intentions of the migrants as *illegal*

### *Resolution – Ideological Representations*

The articles are declarative and factual, the author/s don't take any personal stances. They don't challenge anything that is being reported on. They don't interrogate statements of social actors and they don't comment on the social events. If social or political hegemony is challenged, it is implicit and the result of the social actors or the context of the text itself and not the author's voice. Only in the following articles, the reader is not sure about the author's personal stance:

Article 17: Bosnia To Start Tracking Migrant Injuries After Alleged Beatings by Croatian Police: within the article there is a sub header titled "Thousands of other Testimonies". Articles mostly don't have sub headers. The accusation is made about Croatian police brutality

## **Article Analysis**

### 1. Article Title: Dozens of Migrants Living in Vacant Farmhouses Near Hungary-Serbia Border

**ABSTRACT:** The article informs the reader that Migrants live in abandoned buildings near the Serbian-Hungarian border. Local farmhouse owners were expelling migrants from the town of Backi Vinogradi because migrants were allegedly destroying their property. The article reports that thousands of migrants are stuck in Serbia since Hungary has closed its border. Serbian aid groups report that approximately (4000) people live in migrant camps in Serbia, and it is estimated that an additional (500) live in Serbia outside of these facilities. There is one image embedded in the article, the picture depicts a pair of children's shoes laying in a snow-covered field.

**ORIENTATION:** the sentences in the article are declarative. The **theme** is the migrant crisis on the Balkan route. The **social actors** are the migrants, local population, and aid groups. The article does not disclose a lot about the migrants except that they are mostly from Afghanistan and Pakistan. The main **social events** described are the migrant crisis, bad living conditions, and the unlawful occupation of uninhabited buildings by migrants.

**COMPLICATION:** Nouns used to describe migrants are *migrants*, *refugees*, and *people*. Associated words that are used with the word *migrant* are adjectives and verbs that describe the distressful living conditions as seen in the following examples: „living in *freezing* conditions, living in *abandoned* farmhouses, *expelled* migrants; some *have taken shelter* near the towns; trying to make it through a winter, 500 people *live outside* these facilities, fearing they *could be deported* or *be prevented* from crossing into the EU. The author indicates that there are two types of people – “*migrants and refugees*” without elaborating on the difference between these two groups. The author implies that there is a problem by describing that thousands of migrants and refugees “*have been stuck in Serbia*”, choosing the verb “*stuck*” to illustrate the situation without elaborating on what it means to be stuck in Serbia and without elaborating on the agency of the migrants.

**EVALUATION:** the article as the end-product is concise and the author describes a present social event without elaborating on the background. The syntagmatic relations in this text are structured in such a way that the reader creates mental associations with the word *migrant* and distressful living conditions. The reader cannot completely conclude the author’s beliefs because the text is very concise, the author is not taking an explicit stance in favor of any social agent or group. The article presents no references to the claims that the reader can verify.

**RESOLUTION:** the article describes power relations between migrants who want to cross into the EU and local population as well as authorities who object to the presence of the migrants. The article doesn’t challenge any power struggles because of its synoptic reporting style. The article reproduces the refugee crisis dichotomy between locals and migrants because it is not interrogating personal agency of the social actors.

## 2. Article Title: Serbia Moves Dozens of Migrants to Dedicated Centers

**ABSTRACT:** this article reports that the Serbian authorities have moved dozens of migrants from the streets of Belgrade and placed them in appropriate migrant camps. The text quotes Milenko Nikic (adviser to the labor minister) who claims that migrants were granted protection under law according to international standards. The article repeats information from the previous article where readers are informed that thousands of migrants and refugees are “*stuck*” in Serbia and that it is estimated that approximately 500 migrants live in abandoned buildings close to the Serbian

border with Hungary. There is one image embedded in the article, the picture depicts a migrant boy looking through a window and stretching his hand towards the camera.

**ORIENTATION:** the main *action* (format) of the article is again declarative since statements are made about the situation in Serbia relating to the migrant crisis. The main **theme** is migration and main *social event* which is the governmental intervention to relocate the migrants from the streets into appropriate migrant camps and granting them protection under the law. The *social actors* in this article are the migrants, the quoted Serbian authority and aid groups. The article gives us no information regarding the identity and origin of the migrants.

**COMPLICATION:** this article uses reported speech to inform the reader about what the authorities have to say about the migrant crisis. The nouns used for migrants are *migrants, refugees, minors, and people*. The following adjectives are used in the reported speech from the authorities to describe the migrants: “*illegal migrants, unaccompanied minors*”. The group that is being quoted reports negatively about the interaction but positively about themselves e.g., “*carried out with incident*” and “*provided with proper conditions*”. The author makes the distinction between *migrants* and *refugees* without explaining the difference between these two *concepts*. The author repeats the assertion that “*migrants and refugees have been stuck in Serbia*”, using the verb “*stuck*” to describe the condition of the migrants without explaining what it means to be stuck, how the migrants got to be stuck and what the agency of the migrants is in this situation.

**EVALUATION:** the article is concise, and author is not taking an explicit stance. The reader is informed about the current situation but there is no elaboration on the statements. The article seems to have no agenda. There are no references presented in the article and no links to the quotes.

**RESOLUTION:** the article reports about a social crisis, but it does not challenge the power relations due to a lack of interrogation.

### 3. Article Title: Renewed Serbia-Iran Flights Seen as Possible Migrant Route

**ABSTRACT:** this article reports that after a (27) year long standoff, direct flights were resumed between Serbia and Iran which is the result of the visa liberalization deal between the two countries. Aid groups in Serbia are concerned that the new visa free travel opportunity will be misused as an illegal migrant route. Serbian sources claim that interviews revealed that once landed in Belgrade, some Iranians establish contact with people smugglers to transfer them to their desired destinations.

Serbian Trade Minister Rasim Ljajic is quoted as saying that both countries will investigate the possibility to abuse the system and install checks in Tehran. The article has one image which is the picture of an IranAir airplane.

**ORIENTATION:** the **action** of the article follows a declarative format. The main **theme** is migration as well as international relations. The main **social events** are the reintroduction of direct flights between Serbia and Iran, as well as the investigation by Serbian authorities that some Iranians use the system to contact human smugglers. The main **social actors** are the concerned aid groups, Iranians that travelled to Serbia and Serbian authorities.

**COMPLICATION:** the writing style in this article is formal and represents the views of the different social actors and not the article author. The article relies on reported speech e.g., *“looking to remain permanently in Europe; route for those seeking to stay in the EU illegally; instead of returning to Iran, most do not intend to return”*.

**EVALUATION:** The agenda of the text is to inform the reader about the possible abuse of the visa free travel system. The article is explicit and elaborates on the background to the incident. The reader is presented with more information, but the text is not opinion-shaping, and it follows the usual general synoptic structure. Like before, there are no references presented in the article.

**RESOLUTION:** the visa free travel system is being challenged as a security risk because it serves as a pull factor for illegal migration, but it is not completely sure if author challenges it

#### 4. Article Title: Bosnia Struggles with Thousands of Migrants on New Route to Western Europe

**ABSTRACT:** Bosnia-Herzegovina struggles with the influx of Middle Eastern migrants who are using the country as a route to reach Western Europe and hundreds of them are blocked on the Croatian-Bosnian border. The government of Bosnia-Herzegovina has no capacity to deal with the influx of migrants and Bosnian ministers are discussing the measures to offer more housing while many migrants are sleeping outside in tents. Bosnian politicians are asking the EU for financial aid while being criticized by the Council of Europe commissioner for human rights due to the lack of response to the crisis. The influx of migrants in Bosnia is the result of tighter border controls on the routes previously used by migrants. In the Bosnian town of Bihac, migrants are staying in abandoned buildings. Migrant’s report trying to cross into Croatia on several occasions. Migrants report that they allegedly get their possessions stolen or destroyed by Croatian police if the police

catch them crossing the border. The article contains an image of a woman with a headscarf sitting on grass with three children.

**ORIENTATION:** the action of the text is declarative describing the migrant crisis in Bosnia. The **theme** is migration. There are several **social events** described in the article: influx of migrants to Bosnia and the countries' inability to cope with the situation, migrants are camping outdoors, Bosnian ministers are trying to provide more aid, correspondence between Bosnia and the EU with regards to the crisis, migrants are trying to cross into Croatia, but they are being returned etc. The **social actors** are the migrants, Bosnian and EU authority figures as well as aid groups. We can discover the following information about the migrants from the article: migrants are mostly from the Middle East mentioning that in 2018 approx. (4000) people from Syria, Iraq, Turkey, Algeria, and Afghanistan entered Bosnia. Most migrants are seeking to cross into the EU. Migrants are camping outside due to the lack of accommodation. Migrants are reporting that they are trying to cross the border into Croatia but that they were allegedly beaten and returned to Bosnia.

**COMPLICATION:** the nouns used for the migrants are *migrants, people, refugees, families with children*. The sentences in the article center around phrases that carry most of the weight to build the story narrative: “*struggling to cope; blocked from entering; camping outside, seeking to cross the border; does not have the facilities; strain Bosnia's already weak economy; sleep rough; stop the influx; stranded in Serbia; staying in an abandoned; sleeping in the streets, beat them, broke their mobile phones, and took their money*”. The writing style is formal, using both reported speech and the authors reporting. The reader gets informed about the developing crisis in each consecutive sentence. The following examples demonstrate how the migrant crisis is reported to be beyond control, where the authorities aren't trying to stop migrants from entering Bosnia, moving through Bosnia or trying to enter another country: “*expects arrivals in Bosnia to continue to average 350 to 400 a week; the route is growing; lack of systematic response; we are creating...a mini-humanitarian crisis; a million migrants entered Europe through the Balkans; recent influx into Bosnia are people who were stranded in Serbia; increasingly attempting to cross into the EU; It is a big challenge to accommodate people*”.

**EVALUATION:** The author writes factually about this social crisis, elaborating on the story with each new paragraph. The reader is presented with a lot of negative information such as *chaos, beatings, illegal border crossings*. The author is not taking a stance and the *meaning-making* is left



to the reader. The author of the article provides no references to the text, and it is not possible to verify the claims. The text contains accusations of migrants that they have been beaten by the Croatian police, but no evidence is presented to verify such claims.

**RESOLUTION:** the article perhaps unintentionally challenges the notion that the migrants have no agency of their own. The migrants are described as a moving entity crossing many different safe countries, many times illegally while trying to reach a desired destination.

#### 5. Article Title: Migrants Transferred in Bosnia After Hours-Long Standoff

**ABSTRACT:** buses with (270) migrants arrived in the asylum center in the southern town of Salakovac in the Herzegovina-Neretva County which is populated by ethnic Croats. The transfer of migrants from Sarajevo to the asylum center caused a conflict with the regional authorities in the Herzegovina-Neretva County who stopped the buses claiming that they haven't been informed about the transfer. The buses were returned towards Sarajevo and waited for five hours before being allowed to continue. The Security Minister Dragan Mektic called the stand-off illegal and requested the arrest of the cantonal police commander. The text contains an image of migrants waiting in line carrying their belongings in front of parked buses.

**ORIENTATION:** the article **action** is declarative; the author informs the reader about the migrant crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The main **theme** in this article are migration and internal political conflict. The **social event** is the transfer of migrants from Sarajevo to an asylum center and the hour-long standoff that was triggered by an internal political conflict within Bosnia. The main **social actors** are the migrants and authority figures.

**COMPLICATIN:** the nouns used for migrants are *migrants* and *refugees*. The author states that “more than (4,000) migrants have *entered* Bosnia this year after traffickers opened a route” which means that migrants move between the countries. The verb *entered* is used implying that migrants have agency. Further in the article, several clauses challenge the agency of the migrants e.g., “*carrying* (270) refugees, authorities ordered them *to be moved* to a refugee center, the buses were *stopped*, the buses were *returned*, the buses *waited* for nearly five hours, the permission *was finally given*”.

**EVALUATION:** the author reports about the events factually and no personal stance is taken. The reader is informed that the migrant crisis also influences a political crisis. The tone of the reporting

is not political, and the meaning-making process of the reader is independent. The article contains no references to verify the claims. The article contains a direct quote from Croatia's president Kolinda Grabar - Kitarovic, but no link is given to verify the claim.

**RESOLUTION:** because of the factual reporting the article is not deconstructing or challenging any power relations of the social actors. The dysfunctionality of the Bosnian political system is implicit but not challenged in the text.

#### 6. Article Title: EU Pledges Funds to Help Bosnia Meet Migrant Crisis:

**ABSTRACT:** The European Commission pledges (1.5 million) Euros in aid to Bosnia and Herzegovina to help with the migrant crisis. The aid is intended for shelters, food, and health assistance. The article informs that (1 million) migrants made use of the Balkan route before the deal between EU and Turkey. Officials estimate that (5,500) illegal migrants have entered Bosnia and most of the migrants are gathering in northwest Bosnia near the border with EU member state Croatia. The article contains a picture of European Commissioner for Humanitarian Aid and Crisis Management Christos Stylianide.

**ORIENTATION:** the action of the article is declarative since the writer informs the reader about the social crisis. The main **theme** presented in the article is migration and international relations. The main **social event** in this article is the pledged financial aid from the European Commission to Bosnia – Herzegovina to help with the migrant crisis. The **social actors** are the authorities and the migrants who are reported to be from Pakistan and Iran. The article informs us about the EU and Bosnian cooperation as well as about estimated numbers and movements of migrants in Bosnia.

**COMPLICATION:** the nouns used for migrants are *migrants* and *refugees*. The text informs the reader that the migrants are moving: “*migrants have continued to slip through; have begun to travel through Bosnia; 5,500 illegal migrants have entered Bosnia, gather in northwestern Bosnia...near the border with EU member Croatia*”. The verbs to *travel*, *gather*, *enter* all imply that the migrants have an agency of their own and that they are deciding about the places they are travelling to.

**EVALUATION:** The article is concise, and the author reports factually about the events. No personal opinions are expressed in the article. The reader is not influenced by the author. The article provides no references to verify the claims. The article only contains a written note that the reporting is based on the reporting by AFP, dpa, and AP.

**RESOLUTION:** Bosnia and Herzegovina can't deal on its own with the migrant crisis therefore the EU pledges monetary help. The power struggle between impoverished Bosnia and the large EU is implicit in the article but the theme is not analyzed by the author.

7. Article Title: Bosnia Border Police Stop Dozens of Migrants from Entering Croatia

**ABSTRACT:** Bosnian police have stopped migrants from crossing into Croatia and an incident occurred in June 18 due to an increase in migrants from the Middle East, Africa and Asia seeking refuge in Western Europe. Approximately (100) migrants moved to the border crossing with Croatia where they have been blocked by police, after which the migrants proceeded to stage a sit-in protest. Activists report that some migrants were able to cross the border but that Croatian police refused to process their asylum claims, the border crossing was functioning normally but had to be reached via a secondary route. The article contains an image of four Croatian police officers walking through a field and a linked Tweet from Peter Van der Auweraert (an official with the International Organization for Migration) containing a video which depicts dozens of migrant men, women and children passing by parked cars and Bosnian police who warn them that they shouldn't walk towards the Croatian border, or they will face arrest.

**ORIENTATION:** The article action is declarative. The reader is informed that there was an incident between migrants and border police on the Bosnian border with Croatia. The main **theme** is migration. The main **social event** is the incident between the migrants who wanted to cross into Croatia and border guards who stopped them. The main **social actors** are the migrants, border police as well as a Croatian migration activist and the spokeswoman for the Bosnian border police.

**COMPLICATION:** the noun that is used to for migrants is *migrants*. The text again implies that the migrants are on the move: "seeking *to cross* into European Union, migrants *had moved* toward from the town of Velika Kladusa...to the Maljevac border crossing, many then *staged a sit-in* on the access road, had managed *to cross* earlier, migrants have *turned to* Bosnia in order *to avoid* other routes". Verbs such as *to cross* and *had moved*, imply the active agency of the migrants who move around freely and decide where they want to go. When the agency of the migrants was blocked, they staged a *sit-in* protest with the authorities.

**EVALUATION:** The authors reporting is factual as usual, but this article is different because it contains a lot of reported speech and embedded media like the tweet of Peter Van der Auweraert

who tweets that “*migrant protection team are witnessing group irregular border crossing attempt towards Croatia in Velika Kladusha. Very worrying development that risks to create backlash that is not in interest of anyone*”, while the article author reported Van der Auweraert as saying that the police move was a "very worrying development that risks" creating a backlash. Van der Auweraert doesn't mention the police in his original tweet. This seems to be a mistake on the author's part rather than a deliberate misquotation. The author is not taking any personal stance when reporting about the conflict. The article contains a written note that the reporting is based on reporting from AP. The article references a video from Peter Van der Auweraert (official with the International Organization for Migration). The article also contains a dysfunctional link that directs the reader to one of its regional websites, however the page is not loading. The article contains a claim by the Croatian migration activist that migrants had their money stolen by Croatian - Police but no references were given to verify this claim.

**RESOLUTION:** because of the factual reporting the discourse is not reproducing any power struggle between the migrants and the police. The power struggle is explicit in the article, but the author is not challenging it. The actions of the social agents are not questioned.

#### 8. Article Title: Bosnia Struggling with Influx of Migrants After Other Routes Shut Down

**ABSTRACT:** Bosnia struggles with an increase in migrants since other routes shut down. It is estimated that (4000) people are stranded in the country and will sleep outdoor as the winter approaches. The migrants are mostly concentrated in the northwest towns close to the border with Croatia and live-in abandoned buildings. Migrants are hoping to enter the European Union but are sent back by Croatian police. Local volunteers report that they need more help. Migrants report that they have been beaten and robbed by Croatian police, accusations that the police deny. Residents are complaining that the authorities aren't doing enough with the migrant camps. Bosnian Security Minister Dragan Mektic reports that the European Union has pledged an additional (6 million) Euro on top of (1.5 million) Euro pledged earlier in negotiations. The article contains two images, one is a picture of three male migrants that sit in front of an abandoned building and the other image is a map depicting Bosnia in red graphics and its neighbor countries in gray graphics.

**ORIENTATION:** the action of the article is declarative, and the article contains reported speech as well as factual reporting of the article author. The main **theme** presented in the article is

migration. The **social event** reported in this article is the influx of migrants to Bosnia and its inability to deal with the crisis while migrants are sleeping in abandoned buildings and trying to cross into Croatia where they are allegedly beaten by Croatian police. The main **social actors** are the migrants reported to be from Afghanistan, Iran, Syria, and Pakistan in addition to the (11,000) people from Asia and North Africa who have registered with the Bosnian authorities. Other social actors are the Croatian and Bosnian authorities, local aid groups and residents who are dissatisfied with the situation.

**COMPLICATION:** the following nouns are used in relation to migrants: *refugees, migrants, and people* (of various nationalities). The text again implies that the migrants are on the move by describing that they “*arrive* from Serbia and Greece via Albania and Montenegro; between 4,000 and 5,000 people are *stranded* in Bosnia; are *concentrated* in two northwestern towns; they *live in poor* conditions”. Even the verbs that describe a lack of agency such as *stranded* or *concentrated* imply agency because migrants crossed many safe countries and deliberately choose the location near the Croatian border. The reader is informed that migrants have complained of being *beaten* and *robbed* by Croatian police when they *attempt to cross* over. The choice of words implies that migrants attempt to enter Croatia continuedly. The author uses “*attempt to cross over*” to describe the unlawful crossings via unofficial back channels.

**EVALUATION:** the article is very elaborate and the author reports without taking a personal stance. The focus is on all social agents and how the situation impacts them. The reader is not conditioned to sympathize with any side. The article contains reports from the Croatian Police which denies beating and robbing the migrants, but no link is presented to verify these claims. The article contains a note that the reporting is done with reporting by AP and Reuters.

**RESOLUTION:** The author describes Bosnia as an impoverished country “that is still recovering from a brutal war in the 1990s”. Such reporting reproduces the myth that the civil war which has ended more than 25 years ago is to be blamed for all contemporary social and political problems.

#### 9. Article Title: Council of Europe Urges Croatia to Probe Reports of Police Violence Against Migrants

**ABSTRACT:** The council of Europe is urging Croatia to investigate reports of ill treatment and violence against migrants. The human right commissioner Dunja Mijatovic addressed the letter to

Croatian Prime Minister Andrej Plenkovic where she states that she is worried about the collective expulsions and violence allegedly committed by the Croatian border police and reported by activist groups. Croatian authorities deny these allegations. The article contains an image which is a picture of human rights commissioner Dunja Mijatovic.

**ORIENTATION:** the action of the article is declarative, and it contains both factual reporting and direct quotes from the social actors. The **theme** is migration and the abuse of power by Croatian authorities. The main **social event** is the letter sent by human rights commissioner Dunja Mijatovic to Croatian Prime Minister Andrej Plenkovic and an 87-page report published on October 2 by the Council of Europe. The main **social actors** are the Croatian and EU authorities as well as the activist groups.

**COMPLICATION:** the nouns that are used to describe the migrants are *refugees, migrants, children, pregnant women, potential asylum seekers* and *irregular migrants*. This is the first article where so many different nouns are used. Particularly interesting is the collocation *irregular migrants*. It implies that the concept migrant can be further broken down. This is how the text describes the social conflict between migrants and authorities: “*collective expulsions; allegations of violence; ill treatment; systematic violence; violently forced back outside Croatia’s borders, police abuse and thefts of phones*”. Such frequent usage of the noun violence implies that the conflict is now physical.

**EVALUATION:** the main opinions expressed in this article are the opinions of the social agents and not the author. The text contains serious allegations against the Croatian police, but the author makes no personal statements and reports factually. As reference the article provides two links. One link takes the reader to the letter from the Commissioner for Human Rights and the other link to the report from the Council of Europe.

**RESOLUTION:** the discourse is not challenging any power relations. The allegation of physical violence is not interrogated.

#### 10. Article Title; Bosnian Police Scuffle with Migrants at Border with Croatia

**ABSTRACT:** The article reports about an incident where Bosnian police scuffled with approximately (300) migrants who tried break through a police corridor and enter the border with Croatia. An additional (100) migrants camp at the border. The article reports that Bosnia became a

hotspot for migrants after other routes were shut down. Migrants are reportedly from the Middle East and South Asia. Most come from Pakistan and Afghanistan, but there are also Iranians, Syrians, and Algerians among them. Croatian-Police is frequently returning groups of migrants from the border claiming that they will not allow any illegal crossings. The UN refugee agency warned that the accommodation of asylum seekers is inadequate, and that better shelter is needed before winter arrives. The article contains an image which is the picture of Bosnian-Police surrounding a group of migrants.

**ORIENTATION:** the action of the article is declarative, and the article informs the reader about incidents between migrants and the Bosnian authorities. The **theme** pertaining to the article is migration. The **social event** reported in the article is the scuffle between the migrants and the Bosnian police. The main **social actors** are the migrants and the authorities.

**COMPLICATION:** the nouns used for migrants are *people* and *migrants*. The pattern from the previous articles continues and the conflict is getting more physical. Migrants have agency, we can read this in the following clauses: “sought to *run* a blockade; attempted three times to *break through* the police cordons”. The verbs *run* and *break* indicate that migrants initiate the action. Here are some examples where we can read that the migrants act independently “remained *camped* at the border; migrants have been *living in* makeshift shelters; awaiting an opportunity to *continue* on to the EU; many have managed to *slip through*”. Migrants move or stay according to their own agenda. The physical force that is interrupting the plans of the migrants is the police, and this is also expressed verbally in the following examples “*sent back* by police in buses; police *stopped them* from marching farther and *sent them* to a hotel”.

**EVALUATION:** the author reports about the incident without taking a personal stance. The reader is not influenced by the author. The article presents no references except of the written note that the reporting was done with reporting by AP and AFP.

**RESOLUTION:** the article reports about negative events and physical alteration; however, the factual reporting also means that the article is not interrogating or challenging the power dynamics between the opposing groups.

11. Article Title: Bosnia Moving to Avert Migrant 'Crisis' As Cold Weather Sets In

**ABSTRACT:** Bosnian authorities are transporting migrants from the Bosnian-Croatian border to a new migrant center as cold weather sets in. Authorities unveiled two new facilities able to house (1700) migrants. It is estimated that around (1000) are left to sleep outdoors. Migrants live in abandoned buildings and makeshift camps near the border with Croatia hoping to cross into the EU. Croatian border police steps-up patrols while aid groups allege that the migrants face abuse by the police if they are caught crossing the border. As winter approaches migrants try to break to the border more frequently, clashing with the police. Up to (200) migrants have been arriving daily in the Bihac region causing tension with the residents who came out to protest. Police announced that migrants won't be allowed anymore to the northwest zone and that about (700) migrants were sent back to Sarajevo. The article contains an image which is a photograph of a migrant man that holds a child standing in front of Bosnian police officers.

**ORIENTATION:** the article action again has a declarative format. The article author uses factual reporting, reported speech and direct quotes to present the story. The **theme** of this article is migration. The **social event** reported in this article is a conflict between migrants and authority figures as well as residents. The **social actors** are the migrants and the authority figures. The article discloses general information about the migrants stating that they are trying to escape war and poverty in the Middle East, Asia, and Africa.

**COMPLICATION:** the migrants are referred as *migrants* and *people*. The article is very migrant centered explaining the harsh living conditions they must endure. Because of the harsh weather conditions, the migrants are eager to move but this is prevented by the police. Migrants initiate the action: "they *cross* the country in hopes of reaching the European Union; where they *skirmished* with police; 200 migrants have been *arriving* daily". The police acts as a barrier: "they had *bused* dozens of migrants to a new migrant center; some have been *thwarted* by border police; *no longer allow* migrants into that northwest zone; sending at least 700 south *back* to Sarajevo". Especially the word *skirmished* is interesting because it continues the pattern of describing the conflict as physical. In two occasions in the text the migrants are described as short-term "*transient visitors*" and "*in transit*". This is interesting because it highlights Bosnia as a transit country which is stuck with people who don't want to stay there, but also can't leave.

**EVALUATION:** just like in all previous articles the reporting is factual and the author makes no personal statements. There is no hidden ideology in the article and the reader is free to interpretate



the situation according to own judgement. The article contains no references except of the note that the reporting was done with reporting by AP and AFP.

**RESOLUTION:** it is not the intention of the author, but the article challenges the notion that the migrants are not responsible for their own hardship. The article directly quotes a migrant who tells that the unlawful border crossing is called “the Game” and that they try it several times.

#### 12. Article Title: Eleven Migrants Arrested After Massive Brawl at Bosnian Reception Center

**ABSTARCT:** Violence broke out in a reception center in the Bosnian town of Bihac and hundreds of migrants participated in the brawl. It is unclear what caused the unrest. Eight people were reported injured while eight nationals from Afghanistan, two from Pakistan, and one from India were arrested. The reader is informed that an estimated (23,000) migrants crossed through Bosnia in the hopes to reach the European Union. The article contains a photograph of a migrant standing with his back to the camera in the reception center filled with bunk beds.

**ORIENTATION:** the article is short and concise. The article **action** is declarative, and the author uses informative reporting to inform the reader about the brawl at the reception center. The main **theme** is the migrant crisis. The **social event** is the brawl between migrants at the reception center. The main **social actors** are the migrants.

**COMPLICATION:** the nouns that are used for the migrants are *people, migrants, and nationals*. This article continues the pattern of reporting about the migrant crisis as a physical conflict, this time among migrants themselves. The clauses suggest physical force e.g., “the *violence* that broke out; have been *arrested*; eight people were reported *injured*”.

**EVALUATION:** the article is brief and factual. The author makes no personal statements. There are no references presented in the article. The migrants are not interviewed about the incident. The article contains a written note that the reporting is based on reporting by AFP and Fena.

**RESOLUTION:** because it is brief, the article is not challenging the situation.

#### 13. Article Title: Bosnia Detains Six Afghans Linked to Terrorism, Human Trafficking

**ABSTRACT:** six Afghan migrants have been detained because they are suspected to have links to terrorism and human trafficking. The Afghan men entered Bosnia in (2018) together with other (23,000) migrants. The Bosnian foreign affairs agency said that the six men present a threat to

national security and that they will be expelled from Bosnia. The article also reports that (5000) migrants are stuck in Bosnia and hope to reach the West. The article contains an image which is a graphic representation of the regional map with Bosnia being depicted in red and its neighbor states in gray graphics.

**ORIENTATION:** the article action is declarative; the author of the article factually reports that Bosnia has detained six migrants with links to terrorism. The **theme** is the migrant crisis. The main **social event** is the arrest of six Afghan migrants. The main **social actors** are the arrested migrants and the authorities. The article author makes no personal statements, the Afghan men are described as "*a threat to public order and security*" but this quote belongs to the social actors.

**COMPLICATION:** the detainees are referred to as *migrants* and *the six*. The text implies that the arrested migrants had agency because they “*entered* Bosnia since 2018” but now the arrested migrants are “*detained*” and “*will be expelled*”. The verb *expel* indicates that the arrested migrants will not face the trial in Bosnia. The authorities are quoted as saying that the arrested migrants are “*a threat to public order and security*”. This is the first time that (any) migrants are described by a word with negative connotation.

**EVALUATION:** the reporting is concise, factual and the author makes no personal statements. There are no references presented in the article. The article contains a note that the reporting is based on reporting by Reuters and AP.

**RESOLUTION:** the informative text does not challenge anything in the report.

#### 14. Article Title: Amnesty: EU 'Complicit' In Croatian Police Violence, Abuse Against Migrants

**ABSTRACT:** Amnesty International accuses the European Union of being complicit in the violent pushback against migrants by Croatian police and urges to halt police violence on its border citing its own conducted surveys where most migrants reported to suffer police violence while trying to cross the border. Croatian authorities deny these reports labelling them as false accusations and claim to respect the rights and dignity of migrants. The article contains two images and one embedded video. The first image is located under the header and portrays the face of a migrant covered with a thermal blanket. The video is in the middle of the article and titled: Migrants Accuse Croatian Police of Brutality at Border. The author of the video is RFE/RL. The video is (2:54)

minutes long and dated to be from November (2018). The video contains interviews with migrants and aid workers who report about police violence. The video contains a written account of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs that rejects the claims of the migrants. The second image in the article depicts a map of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina with a mark located on the Bosnian city of Bihac where the crisis takes place.

**ORIENTATION:** the action in the article is declarative, and the reporting is factual. The main **theme** is migration. The main **social event** is the accusation of Amnesty International that the EU (together with the Croatian police) is complicit in violence towards migrants. The main **social actors** are Amnesty International and Croatian authorities, they are also the two sources cited regarding the migrant crisis on the Croatian border with Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**COMPLICATION:** the nouns used to refer to the migrants are *asylum seekers, migrants, refugees, women, men, children, and people*. The author uses quotes and reported speech to describe the conflict between the migrants and authorities. The quoted sources describe: “systematic, *unlawful*, and frequently *violent* pushbacks and collective *expulsions*”. The living conditions of migrants are “*squalid and unsafe* refugee camps; camps are unhygienic, lacking hot water, medical care, and sufficient food; currently *trapped* in two Bosnian towns”. Migrant’s face “*vicious assaults* by the police; they were *beaten*, had their documents *destroyed* and possessions *stolen*”. From these examples we can see that the conflict is exercised through physical force and that the situation is deteriorating. The Croatian police deny such accusations and claim that migrants often *falsely accuse* police officers of violence.

**EVALUATION:** the article does not convey opinion of the author/s. There is no explicit agenda or preference towards either source cited in the text of the article. There is a difference in representation of the cited sources. Amnesty International is cited in ten sentences, while Croatian authorities are cited in three sentences. Because of this disbalance, the article is bias against Croatian police. A reference link is provided which leads to the report of Amnesty International. A reference link is provided for the citation of the Croatian authorities which leads to another article of RFE/RL’s regional branch. The article contains a written note that the reporting was made with reporting by AFP and Balkan Insight.

**RESOLUTION:** since the accusations in the article rely on quoted sources, the overall action of these sources is probably challenging the Article 31 of the UN Refugee Convention according to

which refugees can only cross illegally into another country if they are “*coming directly from a territory where their life or freedom was threatened; if they present themselves without delay to the authorities and show good cause for their illegal entry or presence*”. It is questionable if migrants who freely cross several safe countries before reaching the Croatian border fall into this category. Implicitly, the concept of *asylum* is being challenged.

#### 15. Article Title: Bosnian Border Police Deny Housing Migrants in Cages After Video Emerges

**ABSTRACT:** Bosnian authority figures reject claims that they are abusing migrants after a video emerged which was made by the *Are You Syrious* group and shows migrants being held in cages at the border facility. The authorities are quoted as saying that the migrants haven’t spent more than two hours in the facility which has no walls but fence-like dividers. The authorities claim that the facility has air conditioning, sanitary conditions and that the migrants were not locked inside. The article contains an image which is a photograph of four migrants sitting outside with their backs to a wall.

**ORIENTATION:** just like in previous articles the action is declarative, and the author reports factually relying on reported speech and direct quotes of the social actors. The main theme is migration. The main **social event** is the emergence of a video made by the group *Are you Syrious* that depicts migrants being held in cages while the Bosnian authorities deny these allegations. The main **social actors** are the authorities, the group *Are You Syrious* and the migrants.

**COMPLICATION:** the nouns used for migrants are *people, migrants, illegal migrants, and children*. The opening paragraph of the article states that a video emerged which shows “children and others being held in *cages*”, using the word *cages* to describe the place of the confinement. The border police of Bosnia are not denying the charges against them. They use different words to describe the place of confinement like “*temporary detention center for illegal migrants*”, thus inexplicitly confirming the charges against them. The police also try to downplay the incident claiming that *migrants did not spend more than two hours there, before they are deported, and that the migrants were not locked in them*”. The police use positive framing to reduce reputational damage.

**EVALUATION:** the author of the text is not taking a personal stance in favor of any group. The reporting is factual and there is a lot of evidence that proves the accusation against the border police

to be true. The reader feels sympathy for the migrants. As reference the article contains a link to the video made by the **Are You Syrious** group. The link opens in a different website.

**RESOLUTION:** just like with mostly all previous articles, the text is not challenging the power

#### 16. Article Title: HRW Warns of Risks of Bosnian Plan to Relocate Refugees in Tent Camp

**ABSTRACT:** The Bosnian authorities are relocating hundreds of migrants to a newly established camp in Vucjak after municipal governments decided that migrants can no longer stay in public places. The relocation has mostly focused on the city of Bihac which is critical state. This relocation has raised alarms with Human Rights Watch (HRW) who issued a statement that the action poses a health and safety risk for the migrants because the camp is build next to a garbage dump and close-by minefields. The article contains an image which is a photograph of an open tent located in a field with migrants standing around it.

**ORIENTATION:** the article action is declarative, and the article author uses factual reporting to describe the events. The theme is migration, and a crisis scenario which highlights the dispute between the situation on the ground and the demands of Human Rights Watch. The **social event** is the relocation of migrants to a newly established camp by Bosnian authorities. The main **social actors** are HRW and the Bosnian authorities. All statements and opinions in the text are made by the social actors like HRW researcher Lydia Gall who told reporters that Bosnian authorities need to ensure adequate accommodation for all asylum seekers and Bosnian police spokesman Ale Siljdedic who told that they must work every day until they somewhat resolve the situation.

**COMPLICATION:** nouns that are used for migrants are *refugees*, *asylum seekers* and *migrants*. The article contains reported speech and quotes from the social actors. In previous articles migrants possessed a lot of personal agencies, but now the agency is limited. We can see this in the following examples: “migrants *can no longer stay* in public spaces; *relocate* hundreds of refugees and asylum seekers; *started to move refugees*”. The authorities *relocate* and *move* the migrants which means that freedom of movement has been limited. The article also repeats that migrants in Bosnia are *concentrated* in two northwestern towns which implies that the agency is not completely lost because they purposefully went to these locations.

**EVALUATION:** the author reports factually and there are no personal statements made in the text. All statements belong to the social actors. The reader is not influenced by the author. The article contains two links for references. The first link is a reference to the statement *relocating hundreds of migrants* and it take the reader to the RFE/RL regional site to a related article which contains a photo gallery of the relocation. The second link is a reference to the statement *registered as entering Bosnia* and it takes the reader to the flow monitoring site **migration.iom.int**.

**RESOLUTION:** the text author is not reproducing or challenging anything what has been reported about in the article.

17. Article Title: Migrants from Pakistan, Iraq Allegedly Beaten at Bosnia-Croatia Border

**ABSTRACT:** eighteen migrants from Pakistan and Iraq were injured by Croatian police while trying to cross into Croatia. The men were taken in for hospital treatment and six are in serious condition. Bosnian police claim that armed Croatian police illegally entered the territory of Bosnia when they returned the migrants. Bosnian police claim that they also have footage of Croatian police abusing the migrants. Croatian police confirmed that they blocked migrants from entering Croatia but denied allegations of abuse and stated that the matter is being investigated. The matter has been put under jurisdiction of the Bosnian state prosecutor. According to a report, Croatian police was leading the migrants into Bosnian territory and when approached, abandoned the injured migrants, and returned to Croatia. Thousands of migrants have entered Bosnia hoping to reach Western Europe, while Croatia, Slovenia and Hungary have closed their borders. The article contains two images. The first image is a photograph of two migrants who appear to be resting on a blanket in a graveyard, and the other image is a regional map with a pin placed on the Bosnian city Velika Kladusa.

**ORIENTATION:** just like in previous articles the action is declarative, and the author factually reports about the events. The **theme** is a social crisis caused by migration and a political dilemma between two countries. The **social event** is the incident were Croatian police allegedly violently assaulted migrants who crossed into Croatian territory, afterwards the police crossed with the migrants into Bosnian territory and left them there. The **social actors** are migrants, the Bosnian and Croatian authorities as well as Amnesty International.

**COMPLICATION:** in this article migrants are referred to as *men, migrants, illegal entries, and refugees*. The migrants are again described as a moving force whose agency is to cross between the countries e.g., “*migrants were blocked from entering the country; violently forced migrants back*” while the authorities are allegedly getting more violent in their pursuit to protect the borders e.g., “*alleging the men had been beaten; six reported in serious condition; personnel have beaten; they beat them, take away their money and mobile phones*”. Words that describe physical violence or alteration dominate the text.

**EVALUATION:** serious accusations are made against the Croatian police in this article; however, the author makes no personal statements. All statements are made by the social actors. The reader is not influenced by the reporting. The article contains a link to the Amnesty International website where readers can download a report. In addition to this the article contains a written note stating that reporting was done with by Reuters, AFP, dpa, Total Bosnian Faktor, The Independent, and AP.

**RESOLUTION:** the social events in the text are not interrogated by the author. The article is not challenging the actions of any group.

18. Article Title: Bosnia To Start Tracking Migrant Injuries After Alleged Beatings by Croatian Police

**ABSTRACT:** Bosnian authorities in the northwest will start to track the injuries of migrants after an incident with the Croatian police where (18) migrants were allegedly beaten. The migrants were subsequently taken to the hospital where it was established that they have swellings, hematoma, and bruises. This incident follows allegations by Amnesty International and Bosnian police that Croatian police is abusing migrants. Croatian police reject the accusations, but the event is being investigated. An aid worker told reporters that she doubts the Croatian version of events because there are thousands of testimonies that report of violent behavior by the police. The article contains an image which is a photograph of migrants who carry their belongings, in the background are tents and other migrants.

**ORIENTATION:** the action of this article is declarative, and the article reports on the events informatively. The theme is the migrant crisis and the corresponding sociopolitical disputes. The **social event** is the statement of Bosnian authorities that they will start to track the injuries of

migrants after an incident with the Croatian police where migrants were allegedly beaten. The main **social actors** are the Bosnian and Croatian authorities, the aid workers as well as the migrants.

**COMPLICATION:** the nouns that refer to the migrants are *men, Pakistanis and Iraqis, refugees, and migrants*. The author uses quotes and reported speech from social actors. Following previous patterns, the language progressively points to a physical conflict e.g.: “*recording injuries sustained by migrants; were found with signs of physical trauma; said they were beaten by Croatian police; they had injuries*”. The accounts of the migrants are always disputed by the Croatian authorities e.g., “*force is applied within the bounds of law*”, not denying that force is applied but that it is legal. The language still implies that the migrants have agency *by* repeating they are *camped* out in northwest Bosnia and that (15,000) others have already managed to *continue* onwards.

**EVALUATION:** the author of the article reports factually and makes no personal judgements. The statements are made by the social actors. One such statement is written in big bold letters in the middle of the article as a header. The statement reads ‘Thousands of other Testimonies’ and it is made by Milena Zajovic of the Zagreb-based refugee assistance center Are You Syrious. To the reader this header stands out, but the intention behind it is not completely clear. The article contains a link to the Amnesty International website where readers can download a report. There are no additional references in the article.

**RESOLUTION:** the header ‘Thousands of other Testimonies’ could potentially be a sign that the article challenges the narrative of the authorities and highlights a statement which the editor/s believe to be true.

#### 19. Article Title: Serbia Accuses Croatian Cops Of 'Torture' Against Afghan, Other Migrants

**ABSTRACT:** Serbian authorities have accused Croatian police of psychological and physiological torture of an Afghan teenager as well as (15) other migrants. The Croatian authorities dismissed the accusations claiming that Serbia is trying to deter from accusations of its own ill treatment of migrants. Reuters spoke to the Afghan migrant at a Serbian refugee camp. The flow of refugees and other migrants has slowed but many migrants still travel the Balkan route in the hopes of reaching Western Europe. The article contains an image which is a close-up photograph of a male hand with bandages on it.



**ORIENTATION:** the action of this article is declarative. The article is concise and factual. The **theme** is the migration crisis and the corresponding regional tensions between affected countries. The **social event** reported in this article is the accusation made by Serbian police that Croatian police abused an Afghan teenager and other migrants. Unlike in previous articles where the migrants are mostly anonymous, the Afghan teenager has a name. The main **social actors** are the Serbian and Croatian authorities, the migrants as well as Reuters.

**COMPLICATION:** the nouns used to refer to the migrants are *16-year-old Afghan* (referred by his name), *young man* and *migrants*. The language in this article contains heavy accusations e.g., Croatia is accused of “*torturing and Afghan teen; physical and psychological torture; electric shocks and beatings; fractured bones and internal bleeding*”. Croatian authorities described the accusations as “*unsupported allegations*”. As seen in previous articles this article also describes migrants as continuously moving e.g., “*thousands still travel routes in the Balkans*”.

**EVALUATION:** the author makes no personal judgements, and all statements are made by the social actors like the accusations by Serbian refugee agency of “physical and psychological torture”. The language used in this article can be described as graphic and the reader can create vivid mental images based on the description. The article contains no references. It contains a written note that the reporting is based on Reuters reporting.

**RESOLUTION:** the discourse in this article is factual and the social events are not interrogated by the author.

#### 20. Article Title: Fifty Iraqi Passengers Turned Back from Bosnia

**ABSTRACT:** the article reports that (50) Iraqi citizens were denied entry into Bosnia and Herzegovina and will be flown back to Istanbul where their flight departed from, after it was established that the group intended to transit through Bosnia to reach Western Europe. In a separate incident, migrants were injured during a police chase when their car overturned.

**ORIENTATION:** the action of the article is declarative, and the author factually reports about the incident. The article is brief and consists only of (6) sentences. The **theme** is migration. There are two separate **social events**, the first being the denial of entry to a group of Iraqi citizens into Bosnia and Herzegovina by the guard service, and the second is the police chase incident where migrants got injured. The main **social actors** are the Bosnian authorities, migrants, and the Iraqi citizens.

**COMPLICATION:** the nouns that describe the migrants are *Iraqis* and *migrants*. The author reports based on statements made by the social actors. The article is brief, but it contains important information such as that Iraqi citizens were “*denied entry and that they were turned back upon arrival*”, and separately that “*migrants were injured when their car overturned during a police chase*”. These clauses tell us that the migrant crisis is everywhere, not just in the makeshift camps on the border but also on the airport and on the roads.

**EVALUATION:** the article is brief, and the author makes no personal statements. The article contains no references, but only a note that the reporting is based on reporting by AP.

**RESOLUTION:** the article does not challenge any social events.

21. Article Title: Bosnian Police Round Up Migrants, Move Them to Controversial Camp as Winter Nears

**ABSTRACT:** authorities in northwest Bosnia have moved hundreds of migrants to a temporary new migrant camp Vucjak, because of worsening weather conditions. Most migrants in Bosnia are concentrated in the northwest near the border with Croatia where many of them live in abandoned buildings and makeshift tents. Bosnian authorities received criticism regarding the Vucjak camp, with aid groups claiming that the camp has security and health hazards as the camp has no running water, no toilets, and no electricity. Sukret Fazlic, the mayor of Bihac has accused Bosnian Security Ministry of underestimating and ignoring the crisis as the city receives no help. Many migrants are living outdoors, and the residents have reported clashes with the migrants. Croatian police prevent the migrants from crossing the borders, with rights groups accusing Croatian police of violent pushbacks. Croatian police deny these charges. The article has an image which is a photograph of migrants walking in a long column in the Bosnian town of Bihac.

**ORIENTATION:** the action in the article is declarative. The reporting is factual. The **theme** is the migration crisis and corresponding political disorganization of the affected country. The **social event** reported is the relocation of hundreds of migrants that lived outdoors to a new migrant camp. The **social actors** are the Bosnian authorities, migrants, and aid groups.

**COMPLICATION:** the nouns that refer to the migrants are *people* and *migrants*. In the opening paragraph, we are told that the Bosnian police “*rounded up hundreds of migrants living in abandoned buildings and public spaces and moved them to a temporary refugee camp*”. This

sentence reveals a lot because the city of Bihac is not an official refugee destination of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but a city approximates to the Croatian border and therefore migrants choose to go there. The authorities estimate that “*there are more than 6,000 in Bihac alone*”, and this is why” many *are living in tents in parks and other public spaces*”. This implies that the migrants are there by their own agency and that Bosnia is dysfunctional because it allowed this situation to happen. In the text the author writes that “*Croatian police regularly prevent migrants from crossing into the country, creating a bottleneck in Bosnia*”. This implies that Croatia is to be blamed for the situation in Bosnia. The article also reports that residents of Bihac claim that the migrants are “*harassing people; breaking into homes; and causing damage*”. This is one of the view citations where residents are given the opportunity to tell how the migrant crisis affects them.

**EVALUATION:** The article contains several statements, but they are all made by the social actors. The author reports neutrally and takes no personal stance. The article contains no references. There is a note that the reporting is done with reporting by RFE/RL's Balkan Service, AP, and Balkan Insight

**RESOLUTION:** the article is not explicitly challenging the social events because of the neutral and factual reporting style. There is one statement that is important to address and that is the assertion that a bottleneck is created in Bosnia because Croatian police regularly prevent migrants from crossing into the country. Bosnian authorities have allowed thousands of migrants to enter the country and settle in the northwestern region. This is the primary reason for the crisis which should be addressed by the journalists.

## 22. Article Title: Council of Europe Urges Bosnia To Relocate Unsafe Migrants Camp

**ABSTRACT:** Dunja Mijatovic, the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights urged the Bosnian authorities to relocate migrants in the Vucjak camp because of its inadequate living conditions. Bosnia is struggling with the migrants since all surrounding EU member countries closed their borders for undocumented migrants. Around (7,300) migrants have settled in the northwest hoping to cross into Croatia and about (20%) are children. Around (1,000) migrants have been relocated to the Vucjak camp that has no water or electricity. The EU has pledged (14 million) euros in aid to Bosnia for new shelters but the aid was not realized because of arguments between the Bosnian ethnic groups. The article contains an image which is a photograph of migrants in the

Vucjak camp where migrants sit in open tents surrounded by garbage and makeshift fireplaces for cooking.

**ORIENTATION:** the **action** of the article is declarative; the reporting is neutral and factual. The **theme** is the migration crisis and the local government's inability to deal with it. The **social event** is the suggestion by the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights to close the Vucjak migrant camp and relocate the migrants to a different location because of deplorable living conditions of the Camp. The **social actors** are the local authorities, the EU Commissioner for Human Rights as well as the migrants.

**COMPLICATION:** the nouns that refer to the migrants are *people, children, and migrants*. In this text it is expressed that migrants are essentially "*trapped in the region*". The word *trapped* implies that Bosnian authorities essentially don't process the migrants. The text reveals the overall dysfunctionality of Bosnia e.g., local authorities make the statement that they can "*no longer cope*" with the thousands of people staying in the migrant camp, followed by accusations that the Bosnian Security Ministry "*is not taking the crisis seriously*" and that EU aid "*has been held up*" because of "*bickering among rival ethnic groups*". There is a lot of emphasis on the deplorable living conditions of the migrants e.g., "*overcrowded migrant camp which lacked running water and electricity*".

**EVALUATION:** the author makes no personal judgements and all statements in the article are made by the social actors. The article contains no references but only a note that the reporting was done with reporting by RFE/RL's Balkan Service, AFP, AP, and Balkan Insight.

**RESOLUTION:** the social events in the article are not challenged by the author.

### 23. Article Title: Authorities Say Water, Utilities Restored at Migrant Camp in Northwest Bosnia

**ABSTRACT:** authorities in northwest Bosnia are stating that water and some other services are again reaching the Vucjak camp because an agreement was made with local utilities ending a two-day water shutdown. The size of the camp has overburdened the local authorities and the major of Bihac has cut off funds to the camp to draw attention to the crisis. The European Union Commissioner for Human Rights has urged to relocate the camp. The major of Bihac said that there are approximately (6000) migrants in the region, but they are receiving no help. The police try to keep migrants away from reaching Bihac by pulling them from trains. The article contains an image

already used in other articles which is a photograph of a long column of migrants walking on a street in Bihac while being relocated. The article also contains a video titled “This camp is for Animals: Calls to relocate Migrants in Bosnia as Winter Looms”

**ORIENTATION:** the article **action** is declarative, and the reporting is factual. The author recycles what has been said in the previous articles. The **theme** is again the migration crisis and the local government’s inability to deal with it. The **social event** is the renewed supply of basic services like water to the migrant camp Vucjak which had the services shutdown after funds were cut off for the camp by the local major. The **social actors** are the municipal authorities.

**COMPLICATION:** the nouns used for migrants are *refugees*, *migrants*, and *children*. The dominant theme of this article are the deplorable living conditions in the migrant camp and the language reflects that. The camp is described as “*overcrowded; unsanitary and unsafe*”. The positive news is that “*a deal was struck for local utilities to supply water, migrants and refugees in Vucjak won't be deprived of services*”. This positive news is not changing the overall negative mood of the article. Regardless of these deplorable conditions, migrants still try to reach Bihac, the reader is informed that “*police pulled dozens of migrants off a train on October 22 to keep them from reaching Bihac*”. This is very important information because it implies that authorities could have prevented the crisis in the northwest if they acted earlier and blocked access to the location at the beginning of the crisis.

**EVALUATION:** The same as in the previous articles, the author takes no personal stance and all statements in the article are made by the social actors. The text is factual and there is no obvious agenda that should impact the reader. The article also contains a video titled “*This Camp Is for Animals: Calls to Relocate Migrants in Bosnia As Winter Looms*”. The content of the video is not part of this analysis.

**RESOLUTION:** In the text the author does not interrogate the social events. The video indeed reflects on the social events, but its content is not part of this examination.

#### 24. Article Title: HRW Says Croatia Shouldn't Be in Schengen Free-Travel Zone Over Treatment of Migrants

**ABSTRACT:** Human Rights Watch (HRW) urged the European Union not to admit Croatia into the Schengen Zone due to its alleged abusive treatment of migrants. HRW also sent accompanying

footage as evidence. Croatia has not commented on this report. The European Commission stated that the allegations are a reason of concern but that Croatian authorities have committed to investigate the matter and this is enough to join the Schengen Zone. The article contains a photograph of Croatian border police standing next to a fence with the EU sign next to them.

**ORIENTATION:** the **action** of this brief article is declarative. The **theme** is the migration crisis and the backlash that this situation creates between human rights organizations and affected countries. The reported **social event** is the statement of HRW that Croatia shouldn't be allowed into the Schengen Free-Zone. The **social actors** are HRW and the European Commission.

**COMPLICATINON:** the nouns that are used for migrants are *migrants* and *asylum seekers*. The article quotes HRW repeating accusations that Croatian authorities mistreat migrants e.g., “*unlawful and violent summary returns; escorting migrants across the border; collective expulsions*”. These terms are recycled in several articles.

**EVALUATION:** The author takes no personal stance in this article. The article contains a statement made by the HRW researcher that Croatia's addition into the Schengen Area “*sends the message that serious human rights abuses are no obstacle to Schengen accession*”. To the reader it is evident that this is not the author's statement but of the social actor. The article contains a link to the HRW Website where viewers can see the video evidence.

**REVELATION:** Since the above-mentioned statement belongs to the social actor and not the author, the article does not challenge any social events.

25. Article Title: Bosnian Migrant Camp 'Dangerous and Inhumane,' Rights Group Warns Amid Rising Tensions

**ABSTRACT:** Doctors Without Borders (MSF) issued a statement saying that the Vucjak migrant camp does not meet basic living standards. The European Union which gave Bosnia (36 million) euro to tackle the migrant crisis, doesn't want to provide money for the Vucjak camp due to its low standards. EU Migration Commissioner Dimitris Avramopoulos warned of a humanitarian crisis and that adequate accommodation must be provided for the (8000) migrants. Hoping that the central government will relocate people, authorities in northwestern Bosnia have threatened with a curfew in other large migrant camps that host asylum seekers and that are run by the Organization for Migration. The article contains a photograph of a migrant man walking through mud and

puddles in the Vucjak camp. The article also contains a Photo Gallery from article number (28) and a video from article number (18).

**ORIENTATION:** the article **action** is declarative. The **theme** is the migrant crisis intensified by political dysfunction. The **social event** is the statement by MSF that the Vucjak camp has inadequate living standards and separately, the dispute between the Bosnian central government and local authorities regarding the migrant crisis. The **social actors** are MSF, the EU Migration Commissioner and Bosnian authorities.

**COMPLICATION:** the nouns used for the migrants are *migrants* and *asylum seekers*. In the opening paragraph the article quotes MSF as saying that “*Migrants trying to reach Western Europe are living in dangerously cold and harsh conditions*”. This sentence is problematic because it implies that Bosnian authorities must provide accommodation anywhere on its territory for any amount of people who have chosen that spot as gathering ground. The camp where the migrants are housed is described as a “*dangerous and inhumane*”, a place that “*does not have electricity or running water; erected on bare ground*”. From this description it appears that the Bosnian authority was not able to maintain basic supplies to the camp for more than one month. The camp is in such bad condition that “*no EU financial support can, or will be, provided for it*”.

**EVALUATION:** the article contains only statements by the social actors and not by the author. Some of these statements are not elaborate enough and it is not clear to the reader what is meant by it. This article contains no direct references in the text to the statements that were made. The article contains a written note that the reporting was made with reporting by AP and dpa.

**RESOLUTION:** the author does not challenge the social events. The social events are only challenged by the social actors.

## 26. Article Title: Storm Adds to Misery at Migrant Camp Deemed 'Dangerous, Inhumane

**ABSTRACT:** A storm in Bosnia-Herzegovina has damaged the Vucjak camp with migrants appealing for help and saying that no help was provided by authorities. A day earlier MSF issued a statement calling the camp “dangerous and inhumane place”. The camp hosts (2000) people. The EU provided monetary aid to Bosnia, but no aid was given for the Vucjak camp due to its inhumane

standards. The article contains a photo of migrants standing on muddy soil in a line in the Vucjak camp.

**ORIENTATION:** The article **action** is declarative. The **theme** is the migrant crisis and the local governments' mismanagement of the situation. The **social event** is a storm damaging the migrant camp Vucjak. The **social actors** are the migrants.

**COMPLICATION:** the only noun used for migrants is *migrants*. A migrant is directly quoted in the article saying, "*please help me, I am a human*" and that the camp is "*an animal place*". The text describes the migrants as stuck and desperate after the storm destroyed the tents e.g., "*garbage floated in pools of water; he had received no help from the authorities or aid groups*". The description of the camp reflects negatively on the authorities and on the aid groups.

**EVALUATION:** just like all previous articles, this article is factual and contains no personal statements of the author. Most of the statements in the article are made by the social actors. The reader is free to form independent judgement. The article contains a link to the Doctors without Borders (MSF) website as well as a written note that reporting was done with reporting by AP.

**RESOLUTION:** In the last paragraph the author states that *the government in Sarajevo, perpetually blocked by ethnic squabbling, has struggled to deal with the issue*. This is not a challenge of the government, but the article acknowledges that the internal political structure is not competent to deal with the crisis.

#### 27. Article Title: European Rights Official Warns of Death At 'Shameful' Bosnian Migrant Camp

**ABSTRACT:** The high representative for human rights at the Council of Europe Dunja Mijatovic, during her visit to the Vucjak migrant camp, stated that the camp needs to be closed immediately or that people will die and that talks will be held with Bosnian authorities. Migrants at the Vucjak camp have begun a hunger strike. Currently the camp hosts around (600) migrants with no water or electricity while the tents were built on bare ground. Aid groups like Doctors Without Borders labelled the camp as a dangerous place. Most migrants in Bosnia are in the northeast, close to the border with Croatia hoping to enter the European Union. The EU provided monetary aid to Bosnia to handle the migrant crisis, but no aid is supposed to go to the Vucjak camp due to its inadequate living standards. The article also contains a Photo Gallery.



**ORIENTATION:** the **action** of the article is declarative with repeated information from previous articles. The **theme** is the migrant crisis. The **social events** described in this article are the hunger strike by the migrants living in the Vucjak camp and the visit of human rights representative Dunja Mijatovic. The **social actors** are the migrants and Dunja Mijatovic.

**COMPLICATION:** the only word used for migrants is *migrants*. The text reports that migrants “*have begun a hunger strike*” to protest the deplorable conditions. It is very evident that the situation is deteriorating. The article repeats again that the camp “*does not have electricity or running water*”. The article also contains one very important statement made by the high representative for human rights Dunja Mijatovic who says that “*as a Bosnian I am ashamed because of the Vucjak situation*”. The high representative for human rights is embarrassed because of the situation in her country.

**EVALUATION:** the author makes no personal judgements and all statements in the article belong to the social actors. The article contains a link to its regional branch where the reader can watch a video of Dunja Mijatovic visiting the camp.

**RESOLUTION:** the article does not challenge any social events and power relations.

#### 28. Article Title: Bosnia To Close Makeshift Migrant Camp, Some Refuse to Leave

**ABSTRACT:** Following criticism by aid groups and by the Council of Europe representative of human rights Dunja Mijatovic, Bosnian Security Minister Dragan Mektic issued a statement that the Vucjak migrant camp will be closed and that migrants will be moved to other centers. Mijatovic also voiced concern of migrants being beaten and stripped of their belongings during violent pushbacks by Croatian police, something Croatian authorities have denied. Some migrants issued the statement that they will refuse to be moved away from the Croatian border hoping to continue their journey to Western Europe by illegally passing through Croatia. The article contains a photograph of a male migrant in a crouching position washing his face.

**ORIENTATION:** the **action** in the article is declarative. The **theme** is the migrant crisis. The **social events** reported in this article are the visit of Dunja Mijatovic to the Vucjak camp as well as remarks of Bosnian Security Minister Dragan Mektic that the Vucjak camp will be closed. The main **social actors** are the migrants, Dunja Mijatovic and Dragan Mektic.

**COMPLICATINON:** the nouns used for migrants are *people* and *migrants*. The Bosnian government has announced that the makeshift camp “*will be closed within days*” and that the migrants “*will be relocated to other camps outside the region*”. The Bosnian government is acting with these important announcements. The information that the migrants will be moved outside the region means that they will be moved away from the Croatian border. Some migrants said that despite the deplorable conditions, they will *refuse* to be moved farther away from the border. The authorities will start to *relocate* them, the migrants will *refuse*. Migrants have their own agency and there is a power-play between them and the authorities. The author explains that most migrants flocked to northeast Bosnia because they want to reach Western Europe by “*illegally passing through European Union member Croatia*”. This is the first time that the actions of migrants are described as *illegal*.

**EVALUATION:** The author reports factually and takes no personal stance. The only divergence from previous articles is that the author described the intentions of the migrants to travel through Croatia as illegal. The reader is not influenced by this sudden change because this was implicit in all other articles as well. There are no references presented in the article.

**RESOLUTION:** The author describes the attempt of migrants to pass through Croatia as *illegal*. Maybe this was not the author’s intention, but with this statement the author challenges the *actions* of the migrants by labeling them as contrary to criminal law.

29. Article Title: Bosnia Puts Off Closing Makeshift Migrant Camp 'Until Further Notice

**ABSTRACT:** Rade Kovac, the director of the Bosnian Service for Foreigners' Affairs visited the migrant camp Vucjak and said that the closing of the camp will be indefinitely postponed, media citing the lack of proper accommodation in other centers to be the reason. Bosnia-Herzegovina's security minister, Dragan Mektic previously announced that the camp will be closed following the criticism of aid groups and Dunja Mijatovic, the Council of Europe commissioner for human rights. Despite of the inadequate conditions some migrants said that they will refuse to be moved farther away from the Croatian border. Following a hunger strike the migrants started to accept food again after refusing it for several days in protest of the decision that the camp will be closed and the migrants relocated. The article contains a photograph of a male migrant walking between the tents, while scattered litter between the tents is covered in snow.

**ORIENTATION:** the **action** in this article is declarative and the article consists of factual reporting. The **theme** is the migrant crisis and governmental inability. The **social event** is the announcement by Rade Kovac that the camp closure will be postponed and that the migrants started to accept food again after a hunger strike related to the camp's closure. The **social actors** are the migrants and the Bosnian authorities.

**COMPLICATION:** the nouns used for migrants are *people* and *migrants*. This article recycles the reporting from the previous one. The new information is that the Bosnian authorities have “*indefinitely postponed the scheduled closing of a makeshift migrant tent camp*”. Of importance is the adverb *indefinitely*, which implies that there is no concrete plan to move the camp. The unofficial reason for the postponement is the “*lack of proper accommodation at the reception centers*”. This revelation implies that the authorities first announced the closure of the makeshift camp before they verified where they will relocate the migrants. The author also writes that “*migrants resumed accepting food... after refusing it for several days in protest at the announced relocation*”. It is questionable if a food strike represents personal agency, but it shows how determined the migrants are to continue their journey. The most important sentence from this article is the sentence in the 11<sup>th</sup> paragraph. It is the same sentence from the previous article where the author writes that migrants “*want to continue their journey to Western Europe's more prosperous countries by crossing the border into European Union member Croatia*”. The difference is that in this article the author writes “*crossing the border*”, while in the previous article it was called “*illegally passing*”. It is not by mistake that this was changed.

**EVALUATION:** just like with all previous articles, the author is factual and is not expressing personal judgements. However, if this article is compared with the previous one, it is very well evident that there was an ideological decision to edit the article and change *illegal passing* into *crossing the border*. The reader can only speculate why this was the case. There are no references presented in the article.

**RESOLUTION:** since there was a conscious decision to change a negative term that was applied to the actions of migrants back into a neutral one, perhaps the author (editorial) is examined how their own language could impact the social events. The decision was made to censor the article.

30. Article Title: Bosnia Begins Moving Migrants from Makeshift Vucjak Camp

**ABSTRACT:** After receiving international criticism, Bosnian authorities started to relocate migrants from the Vucjak camp. Buses were sent to relocate the migrants to other reception centers in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The decision to relocate the camp was made after criticism from Dunja Mijatovic, the Council of Europe commissioner for human rights, who visited the camp. The article contains an embedded video which will be discussed in the next analysis.

**ORIENTATION:** the **action** of the article is declarative, and the author factually reports by recycling information from previous articles. The **theme** is the migration crisis and the governmental temporary solutions to it. The **social event** is the closure of the migrant camp Vucjak. The **social actors** are the Bosnian authorities and the migrants.

**COMPLICATION:** the nouns used for migrants are *people* and *migrants*. The Bosnian authorities are the ones with agency, we can see this in the following examples: “*begun moving migrants; buses carrying migrants began departing; migrants will be relocated; all migrants from Vucjak will be moved*”. The author again repeats that “*migrants earlier said they do not want to be moved*”, but there is no information if some migrants stayed behind. The most interesting sentence of the article is the recycled sentence from the two previous articles and migrants “*want to continue their journey to Western Europe's more prosperous countries by illegally passing through Croatia*”. It is interesting to discover that this sentence is used like in the initial version where the actions of migrants are described as *illegally passing*.

**EVALUATION:** the article is factual and there is no personal judgement made by the author. If this article is compared with the two previous articles, the reader can notice that there is a change how the author refers to the actions of the migrants in the recycled sentence. It is not clear if this is an ideological difference between more authors who write the articles. The article contains video material, however there are no references presented regarding the claims in the text. The article contains a written note that the reporting is done with reporting by Reuters.

**RESOLUTION:** after the self-censorship, the author describes the attempt of migrants to pass through Croatia as again as “*illegal*”. With this statement the author challenges the **actions** of the migrants by labeling them as contrary to criminal law.

## Conclusion

The results mean that RFL/RE is a very factual newspaper whose authors report only to pass on information - at least when it comes to the coverage of the migrant crisis. It seems to be a neutral source of information without editorial pieces on sensitive topics.

With regards to the research question “How does Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty portray migrants on the Balkan migration route” – it portrays migrants very factually, as a moving force but also as stuck, as victims and as instigators but most importantly with personal agency.

The results mean that it is possible to report about sensitive issues without taking a stance, but readers can still form their own opinion based on the reported facts that show - don't tell - the reality of the social crisis.

The results matter because it is not easy to find balanced sources on sensitive topics where most people have radically shaped views on. Sometimes action-based reporting should demonstrate why something is unsustainable, rather than an editorial.

The limitations of the study are that the results can't tell us anything about possible solutions to the problem. Factual reporting is limited to the facts, but sometimes problems need to be challenged for a solution to be found.

It is recommended to study further if factual reporting influences the readers ideologically and what kind of attitudes such readers have compared to those who consume editorial articles.

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**Appendix:**

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty news site: <https://www.rferl.org/>

### List of Articles with links:

1. **January 05, 2018**, Dozens Of Migrants Living In Vacant Farmhouses Near Hungary-Serbia Border: <https://www.rferl.org/a/dozens-migrants-living-vacant-farm-houses-near-hungary-serbia-border/28955959.html>
2. **February 02, 2018**, Serbia Moves Dozens Of Migrants To Dedicated Centers: <https://www.rferl.org/a/serbia-moves-dozens-of-migrants-to-dedicated-centers/29014839.html>
3. **March 11, 2018**, Renewed Serbia-Iran Flights Seen As Possible Migrant Route: <https://www.rferl.org/a/serbia-iran-iranair-qeshm-direct-flights-belgrade-tehran/29091082.html>
4. **May 16, 2018**: Bosnia Struggles With Thousands Of Migrants On New Route To Western Europe, link: <https://www.rferl.org/a/bosnia-struggles-thousands-migrants-new-route-western-europe/29229172.html>
5. **May 18, 2018**, Migrants Transferred In Bosnia After Hours-Long Standoff: <https://www.rferl.org/a/bosnian-croats-turn-back-buses-carrying-migrants-from-sarajevo/29235766.html>
6. **June 07, 2018**, EU Pledges Funds To Help Bosnia Meet Migrant Crisis: <https://www.rferl.org/a/european-commission-pledges-funds-to-help-bosnia-meet-migrant-crisis/29278783.html>
7. **June 18, 2018**: Bosnia Border Police Stop Dozens Of Migrants From Entering Croatia, link: <https://www.rferl.org/a/bosnia-border-police-stop-dozens-of-migrants-from-entering-croatia/29301733.html>
8. **August 23, 2018**: Bosnia Struggling With Influx Of Migrants After Other Routes Shut Down, link: <https://www.rferl.org/a/bosnia-struggling-flood-migrants-other-balkan-routes-shut-down/29448610.html>
9. **October 05, 2018**: Council Of Europe Urges Croatia To Probe Reports Of Police Violence Against Migrants, link: <https://www.rferl.org/a/council-of-europe-urges-croatia-to-probe-reports-of-police-violence-against-migrants/29528115.html>
10. **October 12, 2018**, Serbia Ends Visa-Free Travel For Iranians, Citing 'Abuses' By Some: <https://www.rferl.org/a/serbia-abolishes-visa-free-travel-iranians-citing-abuses-by-some-migrants-to-eu-/29539329.html>
11. **October 24, 2018**, Bosnian Police Scuffle With Migrants At Border With Croatia, link: <https://www.rferl.org/a/bosnian-police-scuffle-migrants-border-with-croatia/29560642.html>



12. **October 31, 2018**, Bosnia Moving To Avert Migrant 'Crisis' As Cold Weather Sets In, link: <https://www.rferl.org/a/bosnia-moving-avert-migrant-humanitarian-crisis-as-cold-weather-sets-in/29574310.html>
13. **February 02, 2019**: Eleven Migrants Arrested After Massive Brawl At Bosnian Reception Center, link: <https://www.rferl.org/a/eleven-migrants-arrested-after-massive-brawl-at-bosnian-reception-center/29747777.html>
14. **February 20, 2019**: Bosnia Detains Six Afghans Linked To Terrorism, Human Trafficking, <https://www.rferl.org/a/bosnia-afghanistan-terrorism/29780121.html>
15. **March 13, 2019**: Amnesty: EU 'Complicit' In Croatian Police Violence, Abuse Against Migrants, link: <https://www.rferl.org/a/amnesty-eu-complicit-in-croatian-police-violence-abuse-against-migrants/29818810.html>
16. **April 24, 2019**: Bosnian Border Police Deny Housing Migrants In Cages After Video Emerges, link: <https://www.rferl.org/a/bosnian-border-police-deny-housing-migrants-in-cages-after-video-emerges/29900018.html>
17. **June 18, 2019**: HRW Warns Of Risks Of Bosnian Plan To Relocate Refugees In Tent Camp, link: <https://www.rferl.org/a/hrw-warns-of-risks-from-bosnian-plan-to-relocate-refugees-in-tent-camp/30006012.html>
18. **August 07, 2019**: Migrants From Pakistan, Iraq Allegedly Beaten At Bosnia-Croatia Border, link: <https://www.rferl.org/a/eighteen-migrants-from-pakistan-iraq-allegedly-beaten-at-bosnia-croatia-border/30098034.html>
19. **August 08, 2019**: Bosnia To Start Tracking Migrant Injuries After Alleged Beatings By Croatian Police, <https://www.rferl.org/a/bosnia-tracking-migrant-injuries-alleged-beatings-croatian-police/30100316.html>
20. **September 05, 2019**: Serbia Accuses Croatian Cops Of 'Torture' Against Afghan, Other Migrants, link: <https://www.rferl.org/a/serbia-accuses-croatian-cops-of-torture-against-afghan-other-migrants/30148248.html>
21. **October 16, 2019**: Bosnian Police Round Up Migrants, Move Them To Controversial Camp As Winter Nears, link: <https://www.rferl.org/a/bosnian-police-round-up-migrants-move-them-to-controversial-camp-as-winter-nears/30219987.html>
22. **October 17, 2019**: Council Of Europe Urges Bosnia To Relocate Unsafe Migrants Camp, link: <https://www.rferl.org/a/council-of-europe-urges-bosnia-to-relocate-unsafe-migrants-camp/30221620.html>
23. **October 22, 2019**: Authorities Say Water, Utilities Restored At Migrant Camp in Northwest Bosnia, link: <https://www.rferl.org/a/authorities-say-water-utilities-restored-at-migrant-camp-in-northwest-bosnia/30230593.html>

24. **November 08, 2019:** HRW Says Croatia Shouldn't Be In Schengen Free-Travel Zone Over Treatment Of Migrants, link: <https://www.rferl.org/a/hrw-croatia-schengen-zone-migrants-treatment/30260572.html>
25. **November 15, 2019:** Bosnian Migrant Camp 'Dangerous And Inhumane,' Rights Group Warns Amid Rising Tensions: <https://www.rferl.org/a/bosnian-migrant-camp-dangerous-inhumane-rights-group-warns-rising-tensions/30273638.html>
26. **November 17, 2019,** Storm Adds To Misery At Migrant Camp Deemed 'Dangerous, Inhumane': <https://www.rferl.org/a/storm-blasts-migrant-camp-bosnia-herzegovina-croatia-pakistan/30276101.html>
27. **December 03, 2019,** European Rights Official Warns Of Death At 'Shameful' Bosnian Migrant Camp: <https://www.rferl.org/a/bosnian-refugee-camp-european-rights-official-warns-of-death-at-shameful-bosnian-refugee-camp/30305533.html>
28. **December 06, 2019:** Bosnia To Close Makeshift Migrant Camp, Some Refuse To Leave: <https://www.rferl.org/a/bosnia-to-close-makeshift-migrant-camp-some-refuse-to-leave/30311535.html>
29. **December 09, 2019** Bosnia Puts Off Closing Makeshift Migrant Camp 'Until Further Notice': <https://www.rferl.org/a/bosnia-puts-off-closing-makeshift-migrant-camp-until-further-notice-/30315624.html>
30. **December 10, 2019,** Bosnia Begins Moving Migrants From Makeshift Vucjak Camp: <https://www.rferl.org/a/bosnia-begins-moving-migrants-from-vucjak-makeshift-migrant-camp/30318056.html>