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REPRESENTATIONS OF UNNACOMPANIED ASYLUM SEEKING MINORS AND REFUGEES IN THE PORTUGUESE MEDIA

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ABSTRACT

The topic of migration has become one that is gaining notice in society. With the number of migrants, asylum seekers, unaccompanied minors and child refugees rising rapidly in the past few years it has become a theme of great importance with global reach. These migratory fluxes blur the boundaries between voluntary and forced migration which were previously regarded as separate notions. The media plays a powerful role when it comes to define such concepts as well as creating representations of these populations and shaping the public perception of these individuals. Through this thesis, the representations of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees constructed by the Portuguese media will be analysed using discourse analysis. The aim is to create knowledge about the representations of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees in the Portuguese media as this means of communication is an important voice in the public and political debate concerning these populations.

The results show that there are several dichotomies regarding the representations of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees in the Portuguese media. Young migrants are represented both as security seekers and causes of insecurity, victims and survivors, passive agents which lack agency and active agents who use their agency to leave their home countries, as well as people worth supporting and people who had enough support. Discourse analysis provides information regarding the discourses used in the Portuguese media to represent unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees as well as the context in which the articles were written. Finally, there are several representations of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees in the Portuguese media, yet the ones whose discourse is stronger, in the five chosen articles, are the of young migrants as security seekers, victims that are worth being supported and that are mostly active agents in their journeys.

Keywords: refugees, unaccompanied minors, asylum seekers, Portuguese media, discourse analysis.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Just in 2015 88.300 asylum seekers applied for international protection within the Member States of the European Union (EU) and fell into the category of unaccompanied minors (Eurostat, 2016). "Children under 18 years of age who are outside their country of origin and separated from both parents and their legal/customary caregiver are defined as unaccompanied minors/separated children." (Çelikaksoy & Wadensjö, 2015, p. 3) Even though their number always stayed between 11.000 and 13.000 in the European Union during the period of 2008-2013, this increased almost twice in 2014 to reach over 23.000 people. In 2015, it approximately quadrupled. In accordance with Kanics, Hernández and Touzenis (2010), during 2015, a considerable majority of unaccompanied minors were males (91%) and more than half (57%) were 16 to 17 years old, 29% were 14 to 15 years old while 13% were less than 14 years old. The independent migration of minors, although it has characteristics and several links in common with that of adults, has become a phenomenon throughout the world (Kanics, Hernández, & Touzenis, 2010, XIII). Children who come alone to another country, without their parents become highly vulnerable individuals in an extreme situation. Children are a key part of the displaced populations and the numbers of unaccompanied minors have constantly grown. Çelikaksoy and Wadensjö (2015) argue that there may possibly be numerous explanations to why a child arrives alone, without the presence of a parent or even a legal guardian. Some examples of such situations are: the child arrived in the country first while the family is still trying to make it to the same country or the family has already come and the child is still making his journey (Çelikaksoy & Wadensjö, 2015, p. 3). According to Çelikaksoy et al. (2015), this disconnect happens often due to the lack of financial resources to fund the trips of the whole family at the same time. Another scenario to consider is when the child lost his parents during, for example, conflict being now orphan and possesses no other legal guardian. Often children arrive without an adult to accompany them yet other times they arrive with other adult asylum seekers such as siblings whom are not in charge of them as a legal guardian (Çelikaksoy & Wadensjö, 2015, pp. 5–7). Yet it is also important to mention that some families try to protect their children and to do this they send them away. This sometimes results in separation against the child's will from their respective family (Child Protection Working Group, 2013, p. 5).

As reported by the Conselho Português para os Refugiados (2014), although Portugal has mostly been receiving low numbers of asylum applications annually, there has been a significant increase in recent years. There has also been reported a rise in the number of

unaccompanied minors who came to the country in search of asylum. In the light of the increasing numbers of asylum seekers arriving in Portugal, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) had concerns that the quality of the reception was highly affected since in 2012 there were reports of worrying situations such as overcrowded reception centres and delays regarding the asylum procedures (Conselho Português para os Refugiados, 2014, pp. 15–17).

When it comes to the representations of current topics such as unaccompanied minor asylum seekers, refugees and migration the media plays an essential role on how these populations are projected in the social sphere. It is then of great importance to analyse representations in the media because of the information it provides us regarding the kind of portrayal of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees that the Portuguese public receives through the media.

2. AIM AND RESEARCH QUESTION

Migration is a complex phenomenon that has been acquiring not only relevance but new elements throughout the years that have given it relevance (Silvestre, 2011, p. 1). When it comes to the Portuguese context unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees have a small expression in the migration fluxes. When compared to other European countries the Portuguese reality regarding asylum requests to the authorities is rather different since the numbers are quite low (Silvestre, 2011, p. 1).

The first report of the project ERC (Entidade Reguladora para o Comunicação Social) - Public and Consumer Average, started at the end of 2014. This project was designed to analyze an annual survey that was conducted nationality, both in the mainland and the autonomous regions. Such reference is useful due to its aim which is to gather knowledge regarding the preferences of the Portuguese people and how these have evolved over time. One of the displayed information is that television, radio and newspapers are the most preferred means of communication when comparing with the online media (Entidade Reguladora para a Comunicação Social, 2014, p. 6). According to Entidade Reguladora para a Comunicação Social (2014), in this survey, the respondents referred to television news programs as the most important when it came to news sources (66%). When it comes to the second highest consumed news source there are "Newspaper sites and applications" and "print journals" (Entidade Reguladora para a Comunicação Social, 2014, pp. 8–9). Subsequently, both the online

newspaper platforms and the printed versions seem suitable yet interesting to analyse the conveyed representations of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees in Portugal, since their usage by the population is rather common.

Child Studies is a field with a broad disciplinary spectrum that focuses on important questions and matters that concern children. Since the circumstances experienced by unaccompanied asylum-seeking minors and refugees have turned out to be fundamental issues not only in terms of integration but also of how this interest group is perceived by the populations of different countries, in this case in Portugal, it is also my belief that this topic would be of interest to Child Studies. In another perspective, this has become a global topic that is part of our daily lives and that is portrayed regularly by the media. Although the themes unaccompanied asylum seeking minors, refugees and migration have been heavily documented by the media in Europe this has not occurred with such visibility in Portugal, maintaining low profile. Although some thesis and essays about refugees and the psychological trauma they suffered during their journeys were written by fellow Portuguese students and researchers not much has been done with a focus on the media as a building agent of the representations of young migrants in the Portuguese society. Possibly the research findings could be helpful to begin slowly closing this existing gap regarding the media role when it comes to the perspectives portrayed daily regarding these particular groups.

The aim of this research is to create knowledge about the type of representations of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees in the Portuguese media as this means of communication is an important voice in the public and political debate concerning these populations. It is also my goal to describe the discourses used when young migrants are portrayed in the media and in what themes are these representations based upon.

Lastly, the research question I will be answering is: What discourses and representations are portrayed by the Portuguese media regarding unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees?

3. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

This literature review took place largely on Google and Google Books using keywords such as "Migration", "Refugee children", "Unaccompanied minors", "Asylum seeking children" yet also on Linköping University Library search engine using the same terms and specific book as well as article tittles relevant to the topic at hand. This research was conducted using the time

period of 2010-2017 as I aimed to collect current information. To complement my research with clear examples of what had been written regarding these topics I used the library search engine of other Scandinavian universities such as the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), the University of Oslo (UiO) and Stockholm University (SU). The library search engines of Portuguese universities such as the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas Universidade Nova de Lisboa (FCSH) and ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (ISCTE-IUL) were used as well in order to gain a better insight into the Portuguese context. The same time period of 2010-2017 was used to limit the search. The articles and thesis written by fellow students and used for the purpose of gathering additional information were all available for public consultation. The result of these searches was acquiring the necessary information for my literature review mostly through authors such as Ensor, Marisa O., Dr & Gozdziak, Elzbieta M., Dr (2010), Watters (2008), Rosling (2015), Koser (2016), Rosa (2015) among others.

4. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section, information regarding previous research on the main topics of the thesis such as migration, children refugees, unaccompanied minors, asylum seekers, the Portuguese reality and the media in Portugal will be offered as a way of contextualising the chosen theme. First a small introduction regarding migration and refugee children will be presented followed by a selected amount of information concerning unaccompanied minors and asylum seekers. Finally, the material concerning the Portuguese perspective regarding all these subjects as well as the media.

4.1 Migration and Refugee Children

The world we live in nowadays has been greatly affected and changed by globalisation and, like globalisation, migration has become a significant topic and a life changing event for both families and individuals regardless of their age or home country. Ensor et al. (2010) argues that a new reality has come upon us and it became increasingly common that children migrate either across international borders or within their home countries. There are several reasons for this event but mostly these children are forced to migrate due to factors such as war, persecution, lack of living conditions in the country of their birth, the desire for a better future and even to look for their families that have made the journey already (Ensor, Marisa O., Dr & Gozdziak, Elzbieta M., Dr, 2010, p. 1). As migrating children become increasingly common so do the difficult situations that lead these children to become child refugees, asylum seekers, unaccompanied minors and economic child migrants (Ensor, Marisa O., Dr & Gozdziak,

Elzbieta M., Dr, 2010, pp. 1–2). Jesus (2015) defines that these children have learnt to deal with negative experiences from a young age (Jesus, 2015, p. 9). Such experiences include, for instance, the death of their relatives and violation of their rights among others. As a result they try to escape in order to find refuge and protection elsewhere (Jesus, 2015, p. 9). Watters (2008) argues that children play a key role in contemporary globalisation as they are linked to descriptions such as "flexible and itinerant" when it comes to consumption and production of capital (Watters, 2008, pp. 218–219). Perspectives regarding childhood have changed as time goes by from the notion of universality to what is acknowledged today: childhood and youth are social constructions that vary based on the society that applies them but also based on culture (Ensor, Marisa O., Dr & Gozdziak, Elzbieta M., Dr, 2010, p. 15). Also, when it comes to the new conceptions regarding child migration as well as the policies linked to this phenomenon it portrays a deep connection to notions that these children are both victims and suffering from psychological trauma. As a result, Ensor et al. (2010) claim that migrant children have been looked upon as passive and lacking agency to change their circumstances (Ensor, Marisa O., Dr & Gozdziak, Elzbieta M., Dr, 2010, p. 15). There is a dichotomy because child refugees have been portrayed as not having an active role when it comes to making decisions or influencing migration procedures, yet it is the child refugee to chooses to leave her home country in search of a better future. Therefore it is clear that these children are heavily connected to perceptions of them as victims of exploitation and sufferers of trauma but also as survivors, who took charge of their fate and migrated in search for better life conditions (Ensor, Marisa O., Dr & Gozdziak, Elzbieta M., Dr, 2010, p. 15). Yet it is important to acknowledge that as time goes by these children have been portrayed more often as having agency. This agency is what allows them to try to find their way out of their current status with hopes of better conditions for their future (Ensor, Marisa O., Dr & Gozdziak, Elzbieta M., Dr, 2010, p. 15).

According to Watters (2008), "becoming a refugee child is therefore an ascribed identity temporarily outlined as relating in general to the ages of 0-17 years grounded on Western conceptions of childhood and transition to adulthood." (Watters, 2008, p. 5). It is important to note that the previous definition on what is a refugee child has, as its base, universalised ideas regarding the child and the span of childhood (Watters, 2008, p. 5). Yet this can differ according to the country of birth of the child refugee. Nevertheless, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) states that all children have the same rights regardless of their refugee status or not. Tylum (2016) claims that in order to accomplish this aim there is a need for humanitarian assistance but also for international conventions that bind State Parties and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) to fulfil this right (Tyldum, 2016, p. 11).

4.2 Unaccompanied Minors

The high fluxes of asylum seekers and refugees that actually manage to complete the trip and arrive to Europe is commonly described as a crisis. This comes to be because of the high numbers that have been registered in the past two years: in 2015, there were around 1.2 million asylum requests in Europe. This number is indeed high since it was double than the applications that were received in 2014, which was a year of an extremely high number of requests (Rosling, 2015a). In accordance with Rosling (2015), it is important to have an insight into the reality beyond these high numbers. This author notes that there are very different nationalities that migrate yet the Syrian refugees are probably the group that is most mentioned due to the armed conflict occurring in their homeland. There is a preconceived idea that these refugees are making their way into Europe but in fact only part manage to do so and this is a small number (Rosling, 2015a). Rosling (2015) claims that before the war, Syria was home to 20 milion people yet after its start 12 million people escaped. From these 12 million, eight million tried to seek asylum inside other parts of the country and are now commonly known as internally displaced people. The four million left are staying in refugee camps in countries such as Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan (Rosling, 2015a). All in all, there is only record of 250.000 asylum applications and entries in the European Union can be accounted for. Although there is this wrong misconception that refugees want to enter Europe regardless of its immigration policies this is not always the case (Rosling, 2015a). For instance, some of them wanted to ask for a visa to enter the European Union legally yet it is not possible for them to request a visa in the countries mentioned above. As a result, they are forced to pay smugglers and to enter in an illegal journey in the Mediterranean Sea in order to reach their goal, mostly at great personal cost (Rosling, 2015a). This personal cost is indeed high sometimes since death by drowning is a recurrent reality that has affected over 4.000 people in 2015 (Koser, 2016). According to Rosling (2015), among many misconceptions surrounding refugees and asylum seekers is the reason why they travel by sea. Most of the population has no knowledge of the visa situation that was described above so it is believe that they do this dangerous journey out of lack of ability to finance their trip by plane (Rosling, 2015b). The reality is that the boat passage is much higher than the plane one but they are forced to do so because the airlines stop them at the check-in counter and they become unable to board the plane (Rosling, 2015b). The reason for this obstacle is the EU directive 2001/51 EC which states that "in order to combat illegal immigration effectively, it is essential that all the Member States introduce provisions laying down the obligations of carriers transporting foreign nationals into the territory of the Member States. In addition, in order to ensure a greater effectiveness of this objective, the financial

penalties currently provided for by the Member States for cases where carriers fail to meet their control obligations should be harmonized to the extent possible, taking into account the differences in legal systems and practices between the Member States" (COUNCIL DIRECTIVE 2001/51/EC of 28 June 2001). This directive supports that if there is a passenger that could not obtain a visa, for example, yet is trying to travel to Europe illegally it is the airplane or boat company's financial responsibility to cover the costs of their return trip to their home country. Moreover, the directive also states that "application of this Directive is without prejudice to the obligations resulting from the Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 28 July 1951, as amended by the New York Protocol of 31 January 1967" (COUNCIL DIRECTIVE 2001/51/EC of 28 June 2001). According to Rosling (2015) this results in the high numbers of death by drowning in the Mediterranean Sea while the European government escapes its responsibilities to these populations when makes the staff at the check-in counter decide on the status of refugee Rosling, 2015b). One of the dramatic parts of the migration process is the arrival of unaccompanied minors. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) describes an unaccompanied asylum-seeking minor as "a person who is under the age of eighteen years, unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier and who is separated from both parents and is not being cared for by an adult who by law or custom has responsibility to do so" (Guidelines on Policies and Procedures in dealing with Unaccompanied Children Seeking Asylum, 1997, pp.º1). According to Koser (2016) the available data shows 88.300 asylum applications in 2015 made by unaccompanied minors. Yet this is a higher number than what was expected in 2016. The numbers have been rising consistently since 2013 and throughout 2014. Koser (2016) claims that "of the 2015 total, 91% were male; 57% aged 16-17, 29% 14-15, and 13% under 14 years old. Over half of these minors were from Afghanistan, compared to about 16% from Syria. These unaccompanied minors largely arrived in Sweden, followed by Germany, Hungary, and Austria. Unaccompanied minors made up almost one in four of all refugee children arriving in Europe in 2015" (Koser, 2016).

When it comes to refugee children they are entitled to protection and assistance in accordance to their needs. But unaccompanied minors must be taken into an even deeper regard since they may be rather vulnerable. In accordance with the Child Protection Working Group (2013), these children suffer the loss of their known surroundings, as well as the familiar faces that were present in their daily. In short, young migrants loose everything they have ever known while making use of their agency in order to change their lives while being alone although sometimes it is voluntary and other times they are made to leave (Child Protection Working Group, 2013,

p. 5). Some of them are dealing with the fact that they were forced to leave by their families yet most of them do not wish to be separated from their kin. Even so, sometimes their relatives make the decision to send them away to work or to live with relatives (Child Protection Working Group, 2013, p. 5). According to the study by the Child Protection Working Group (2013), "mainly, the parents were conscious of families who had sent children out of Syria and quoted their motivations as safety, economic hardship and avoidance of being used by armed forces and armed groups" (Child Protection Working Group, 2013, p. 5). Koser (2016) claims that such a separation in addition to the loss of everything these children knew as well as the negative experiences faced when trying to reach Europe results in severe psychological trauma. In addition, these negative experiences are most likely associated with the risks they take on in their journey and the lack of resources both physical and emotional (Correa-Velez & Nardone, 2015, p. 296). Koser (2016) also mentions that one of the risks that these children face is to fall into human trafficking networks (Koser, 2016).

According to Pereira, Escobar and Santos (2015), due to their precarious situation and struggles unaccompanied minors become more likely to be targeted by human traffickers so conditions need to be created by the first EU country they enter and apply for asylum in order to minimize this risk (Pereira, Escobar, & Santos, 2015, pp. 1–3). At their arrival in Europe these children are in a vulnerable position and commonly require support. A solution to this situation would be to appoint a legal guardian or advisor whose responsibility would be to care for the well-being and needs for the child (Pereira, Escobar & Santos, 2015, pp. º1-3; Koser, 2016). There are situations that go against the UN guidelines when it comes to the fate of unaccompanied minors. Such situations are, for example, the imprisonment upon arrival in a few Central European countries (Koser, 2016). In accordance with Koser (2016), what should have been done instead was to place the minors with foster families because they are not able to return to their home countries and the families are out of reach. Another situation that occurs is that frequently their countries are or have been devastated by, for example, war and as a result cannot take on the responsibility of being their legal guardians (Koser, 2016). According to the directives of the EU "all individuals who claim minority of age, have the fundamental children rights to protection, health care and education stated in UN convention of Children's Rights" (Pereira et al., 2015, pp. 1–3).

4.3 Asylum seekers

To start this section, two definitions are essential: the definition of asylum and the definition of asylum seeker. Asylum is "the protection that a State concedes on its territory or in some

additional location under its control—for example an Embassy or a warship—to an individual who seeks it" (Gil-Bazo, 2015, p. 3). In this light, Watters (2008) claims that an "asylum seeker may be defined as those who flee their own country and seek sanctuary in another state" (Watters, 2008, p. 5).

Political asylum has become a reality of hundreds of thousands of individuals. Each year there is a high demand for the possibility to be sheltered in the west countries. Mumba-Martiskainen, (2016) conveys that more and more the asylum system is looked upon as a source of difficulties and with ambivalent feelings. There are two sides to this ambivalence: the side of the asylum seekers and the side of citizens of the countries where they applied for asylum. The asylum seekers feel misjudged by the terrorist events that have recently taken place and made people regard them as potentially dangerous and with blurred motives as well as intentions. Still regarding this group, the way that they have been treated by the police due to these misconceptions that are based in generalisations (Mumba-Martiskainen, 2016, pp. 15–16). The side of the citizens is marked by feelings such as the desire to help young migrants and the desire of not wanting to take them in order to protect themselves of negative consequences such as terrorist attacks. Yet this only promotes exclusion and division (Mumba-Martiskainen, 2016, pp. 16–17).

Unaccompanied asylum seeking minors suffer both at the hands of displacement and of separation from their parents. As a result of both separation and displacement, asylum seeking minors represent at least half of the world's refugee population and with the number of children who get separated from their parents on the rise so is the number of children who seek asylum in the European Union and North America (Mumba-Martiskainen, 2016, pp. 18–19).

4.4 The Portuguese reality

The Observatório das Migrações (2016), reports that Portugal has not been as appealing to asylum seekers in comparison to other EU countries. Yet the applications for asylum has been growing to almost six times more in 2015 than in 2008. Even in 2015, the applications received for asylum in Portugal were only 0.1% of the EU28 in total (Observatório das Migrações, 2016, p. 4). In the report of the Observatório das Migrações regarding the home countries of the applicant asylum seekers in 2015 these were the results: Ukraine (41.3% of applicants), Mali (8.9%), Pakistan (7.3%), China (6.1%) and Guinea (3.9%) (Observatório das Migrações, 2016, p. 4).

Portugal is receiving child refugees every year. The reported numbers are 8 to 10 child refugees per year, most of them being 15 to 17 years old, from Asian and African countries (Jesus, 2015,

p. 9). The reality of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors in Portugal is especially difficult to get access to, because there is a lack of research regarding this topic and the quality of the information available is not the most accurate. Yet there are laws such as law no. 67/2003 of 23 August that grant us a definition of what is considered to be an unaccompanied minor under Portuguese national law. This law transposes into national law Council Directive 2001/55/EC of 20 July, Article 2 and it defines "Unaccompanied minor citizens of third countries to the European Union or stateless persons under the age of 18 who enter national territory unaccompanied by an adult who, under the law, is responsible for them and who are not effectively taken over by that person, or minors abandoned after entering national territory" (Protecção Temporária, 2001). This means that a child who comes alone without an adult that has legal custody of him or her (sometimes children come with other migrants that are adults but who do not have custody over them under the law) or whom are abandoned after entering the country will be regarded and approached as unaccompanied minors (Protecção Temporária, 2001). When this situation occurs, the national legislation can decide to refuse entry in the national territory. This happens depending on the chance of this individual returning to his home country as displayed in the European Code of Fundamental Rights as well as in the national legislation regarding asylum (Concessão de Asilo ou Protecção Subsidiária, 2008). Rosa (2015) reports that a pattern is emerging when it comes to unaccompanied minors. The ones that are entering the country do so because they are seeking asylum and protection from the situations they were facing in their home countries (Rosa, 2015, p. 189). Also in this pattern it is noticeable that the minors who applied for asylum in the last three years were mostly boys, 16 to 18 years old that came from countries in the African continent and the Economic Community of West African States (Rosa, 2015, pp. 188–189).

Compared to other European countries, Portugal has not been regarded as appealing by the thousands of asylum seekers. Silverman (2015) argues that this is a common result of several factors such as: geographical location, economic situation and not so high standard of living like other EU countries (Silverman, 2015, p. 25). The asylum application process is quite similar to both unaccompanied minors and ordinary asylum seekers. Rosa (2015) claims that although there are several similarities these differ in two areas: reception and integration measures. Since there is a low number of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors in Portugal, there is the possibility to look deeply into each case keeping close attention to this vulnerable group in order to make sure that the rights predicted by law are accessible to them (Rosa, 2015, p. 189).

4.5 The media in Portugal

According to Josefsson (2016) the media represents unnacompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees as passive subjects that lack agency to influence their fates (Josefsson, 2017, p. 24). The author argues that claim making by these populations through the media is key when they desire to contest the law. These claims also provide a representation of who and what should be recognized by law (Josefsson, 2017, p. 24). Besides, by looking into the media and its representations of these populations, it is possible to "analyse social interaction or socio-political practice in the public sphere" (Josefsson, 2017, p. 24). Continuing in this line of thought, Berry, Garcia-Blanco and Moore (2015) claims that the media plays an undiniable role in the process of shapping the perspectives of public and elite political actions towards both migration and asylum (Berry et al., 2015, pp. 4–5). The media is responsible for the representations that creates the perspectives of the readers regarding the world they live in and how they play a part in it. claims that in many countries asylum seekers and refugees have been portrayed negatively by the media, as a way to present them as a difficult matter to the countries that receive them (Berry et al., 2015, pp. 4–5). Yet the contrary has also happened and these populations were represented favourably as a way to change policies and public opinions (Berry et al., 2015, pp. 4–5).

With the data provided to the Entidade Reguladora para a Comunicação Social (2014) during their annual report shows that the Portuguese population prefers the impartiality of the journalists and that in the news pieces they present diverse points of view leaving it up to the public to construct their own opinions (Entidade Reguladora para a Comunicação Social, 2014, pp. 54–55). This goes hand in hand with the feeling of confidence in the media by the Portuguese population when it comes to its neutrality. Yet in Portugal and countries like the USA, Denmark and Finland, part of the population also enjoy when the journalist takes a stand and presents arguments to defend his position (Entidade Reguladora para a Comunicação Social, 2014, pp. 54–55). The Entidade Reguladora para a Comunicação Social (2014) reports that according to their survey the interviews when asked about their preferred type of newspaper highlight firstly the general newspapers such as Público, secondly the sports newspapers and finally the weekly press reports such as Expresso (Entidade Reguladora para a Comunicação Social, 2014, pp. 54–55).Regarding the obtained data during another survey conducted in 2015, the Entidade Reguladora para a Comunicação Social (2015) claims that the general international audience, just like in Portugal, maintain confidence that imparciality is still one of the core values that guides journalists when providing information (ERC – Entidade Reguladora para a Comunicação Social, 2015, p. 85).

5. METHOD

In this chapter will provide insight into my approach researching the Portuguese media when it comes to the representations of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees using a qualitative method. The purpose of this section is therefore to showcase the data in a detailed manner, explaining the process of its collection focusing on the structure used to limit the newspapers, the selected articles as well as the strategy and questions that lead me to these choices. The following section that is presented is the data collection in which I intend to portray the whole of what was done to achieve the final product. A section regarding how the analysis of discourses was conducted is also showcased. Finally, the ethical considerations will be presented and discussed.

5.1 Data collection

To better understand the Portuguese media representations regarding unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees, the best option was to analyse newspaper articles since it is through them that their image is constructed in society on a daily basis. The following analysis is based on five articles from two of the main Portuguese newspapers, Expresso and Público during the period of 2006-2017. I chose this period of time because although Portugal has not received high numbers of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees, during my search I realised that the first news pieces that were written about young migrants dated back to 2006. So, I was interested in looking into what had been written before since only in the more recent years has the subject in question gained a higher importance in the Portuguese social sphere. The choice of newspapers was based on the credibility of the articles since these are prime examples of quality newspapers. A quality newspaper is quite different from a popular newspaper. While popular newspapers report lighter news, a quality newspaper reports mostly hard news. Duanprakhon (2012) argues that when it comes to hard news it is usually linked to political, social or economic among other demanding themes that make it more challenging for the reader who does not have knowledge concerning the matters being discussed (Duanprakhon, 2012, p. 34). This implies that the lighter news are not as demanding and are usually direct in comparison with the hard news that have a higher use of language and indirect speech (Duanprakhon, 2012, p. 34).

 At first, I decided to attempt to find newspapers in their original form and to fulfil this objective I first encountered the printed editions at the Biblioteca de Belém on the 5th of April 2017. This library is located in Lisbon, Portugal and keeps an archive of the printed editions of the previous and present months regarding the main Portuguese newspapers such as Expresso, Público and

Correio da Manhã. During this visit, I retrieved six articles – four from the newspaper Público dated March 2017 and two from the newspaper Expresso also dated March 2017. The remaining articles have been retrieved from the respective newspaper websites. At the homepage of the newspaper Público (publico.pt) I looked for the articles in the Portuguese news section using search words such as "Crianças asilo Portugal" (Children asylum Portugal), "Crianças refugiadas Portugal" (Refugee children Portugal), "Crianças requerentes de asilo Portugal" (Asylum seeking children Portugal), "Menores não acompanhados Portugal" (Unaccompanied minors Portugal), "Menores refugiados Portugal" (Refugee minors Portugal), "Menores requerentes de asilo" (Asylum seeking minors), "Menores requerentes de asilo Portugal" (Asylum seeking minors Portugal), "Requerentes de asilo" (Asylum seekers) and finally "Requerentes de asilo Portugal" (Asylum seekers Portugal). I used the same search words in the Expresso newspaper website. In total 42 articles were retrieved from both newspapers websites – eight from Expresso (expresso.sapo.pt) and 32 from Público (publico.pt).

I chose all the articles based firstly on how the theme of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees was presented, on how the articles could help me to better understand these representations and to do so I decided to choose the ones that invoked the most out of the voices, the living conditions, the hardships and journeys of these population and finally by having a direct link to Portugal. From all the 42 articles, I narrowed the choice to five based on the previous specifications. The remaining 37 articles were mostly about infrastructures that were being built in order to improve the housing quality for asylum seekers, organisations that were being created in order to help young migrants during their adaptation process to Portugal and about arrivals of small groups of refugees to the country. Still, I believe the five chosen articles were the most representative of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees and were the ones containing the most information about the discourses I wanted to analyse.

5.2 Method Analysis

When it comes to the method analysis I have used discourse analysis. Qualitative approaches are linked to diversity and complexity and discourse analysis is a method that can aid with dealing with both these qualities since, according to Davies and Elder (2004), it can look in depth into the meanings in social context. As a result, the data is rich contrary to being easy to replicate (Davies & Elder, 2004, p. 141).

According to Davies and Elder (2004), discourse analysis can be defined as "the study of language viewed communicatively and/or of communication viewed linguistically" (Davies & Elder, 2004, p. 134). Discourse analysis focuses on the use of language and the context of its

usage as well as how it is viewed and dealt with being a part of social conventions (Räisänen, 2009, p. 5). According to Räisänen (2009), when it comes to the discourse analysts their main interest is not only the purpose and context of language but also how individuals change and interact with the world around them by the use of language (Räisänen, 2009, p. 5). Davies and Elder (2004) claim that discourse analysts look for elements such as patterns which is something that all individuals do in their daily lives although they do not notice it (Davies & Elder, 2004, p. 133). On the contrary the discourse analysts do so intentionally in order to look into detail at the text they are using as a manner of reporting accurately what their research sheds light upon (Davies & Elder, 2004, p. 133).

Adolfsson (2014) notes that language is a powerful resource in the discourse analysis perspective. It is important to keep in mind that it is through language that the world is portrayed and that viewpoints are created (Adolfsson, 2014, p. 15). According to Ghannam (2011), both spoken and written discourse take place mostly in social and pollical settings yet it is understood in different manners when it comes to social and cultural situations (Ghannam, 2011, p. 22). Bennett and Frow (2008) claim that discourse analysis, is the process of analysing culture not as a matter of variables linked to behaviour or specific social structures but as a means of understanding culture at its roots being the text the object of investigation of the cultural analyst (Bennett & Frow, 2008, p. 1).

Concerning the analysis itself I will be partially follow Florian Schneider's (2013) discourse analysis in ten steps:

1. Establishment of the context;
2. Exploration of the production process
3. Preparation of the material for analysis;
4. Codification of the material;
5. Examination of the textual structure;
6. Collection and examination of discursive statements;
7. Identification of cultural references;
8. Identification of linguistic and rhetorical mechanisms;
9. Interpretation of the findings;
10. Presentation of the results.

Although I will be following this method I will not be using the exploration of the production process since I do not have access to it, neither the examination of the textual structure as it is

not as relevant to my analysis, I will describe all the steps in full as I believe it helps the reader grasp Schneider's (2013) method.

In the first point, I will give information about where I found the material and the context surrounding the event the specific articles describe. In the data collection section will be described both the time and process of how I gained access to the sources as well as the websites that hold the articles in their archives (Schneider, 2013). Concerning the second point, according to Schneider's method, it should be taken into account the political positions and the target audience of the particular newspaper of which the articles were retrieved from. Although it is not relevant to my thesis I explored briefly in the data collection section the kind of newspaper I used in regard to them being hard news instead of popular newspapers (Schneider, 2013). Afterwards I will proceed to look into detail into the issues portrayed by each journalist regarding the article each of them wrote. When it comes to the type of version that was used I chose the online one at each newspaper platform for its easy access and broad archive although I also came into contact with the printed version. I will describe the images (when presented) that accompany the articles I chose (Schneider, 2013).

In the next part of the analysis the process of data coding will take place. According to Schneider (2013), to code is to assign "attributes to specific units of analysis, such as paragraphs, sentences, or individual words" (Schneider, 2013). I chose categories such as "migration to escape violence", "threatened childhood by war", "crossing borders in search of a better future", "feelings of fear, doubt, sacrifice and loss", "precarious life conditions in refugee camps and in their home countries", "asylum as their last hope for a better life" and "integration as the desire to feel part of a new community and a new home". The presence of these themes will be verified and a collection of statements that support them will also be presented with an English translation in order to facilitate the understanding of the readers.

The next step in the analysis will be to explore in which manner does the discourse function in detail. In this stage I will look into the language in the sense of getting to know if the form is colloquial, formal, among others. Secondly, I will identify in terms of grammar the nouns and adjectives used to represent my interest group to society. This is important for my analysis as it allows me to understand what type of representations are associated with the nouns and the adjectives used to describe unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees in the course of the articles. For instance, adjectives such as traumatic or fragile can be representative of young migrants as victims. Finally, I will try to detect examples of direct and indirect speech,

rhetorical and literary figures as well as textual modalities that imply a sense of urgency (Schneider, 2013).

To conclude an interpretation of the data and the findings will be presented. Regarding the interpretation, I will link all the obtained results together as a way to explain the content of the discourse and how it plays out. The findings will be showcased as well as a compiled account of the data analysis.

6. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In regard to ethical considerations since I will be working with newspaper articles that are available for public access in both of the newspapers websites and the data is not directed at a specific person I do not require to formulate a formal consent form. This would not occur in this manner if I would choose to work directly with this interest group that most likely has suffered very traumatic experiences. If this was my chosen path I would have to take this fact into account as way to figure out empathetic ways to interact with them (Farrell, 2007, pp. 83–84). Since the material, I chose to use is written as public material in a newspaper context, there is no need to involve personal contact with individuals. Most of the articles I chose have been based on testimonies from the interviews with unaccompanied minor asylum seekers and according to Müller (2012), it is necessary to be careful since these testimonies can suffer changes regarding the events that truly took place. This occurs due to the fact that the time that has passed since the individuals gave their version of the events and the time of the interviews may have cause them to leave out details for instance. Also one must take into account that the way that the information was retrieved may influence all the following variables: structure, style and content of the text (Müller, 2012, p. 158). Besides some of the interviewees may withhold information or change traumatizing events that occurred as a means to avoid painful memories or to disclose information that makes them uncomfortable. (Müller, 2012, p. 158). Although the information is available to the public it is still my moral responsibility not to overwork or use this information in a way that may be detrimental to the person in question, for example if using an interview. It is important to just take what is necessary for the construction of the representations without exposing the individual in a way that might be negative. Regarding the participants' identification this is exposed in the articles but I will not mention their names to protect their identity. Thus, the main purpose is not on exposing individuals, but on seeing how unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees are represented in the Portuguese media.

7. RESULTS

The lack of news pieces regarding young migrants can be related to the process of trying to contact these populations since the institutions that provide them with shelter tend to be protective of them due to their past experiences. They may also be concerned about their representation being accurate and positive.

The articles used for the analysis were written in Portuguese, before the migration wave in Europe that arise in 2014 and after it. When analysing the before and after, other European countries have had much different results, yet this is not the case when it comes to Portugal. The chosen articles fit the theme in the sense that they showcase the young migrants in diverse areas such as economy, housing, asylum seeking, migration and personal voices. All the material used to understand the representations of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees is available at the newspaper's website Expresso and Público, as they keep a public record of all printed editions. These articles were produced mostly during a social and historical context of change in Europe. Before the description of each article a table will be presented with detailed information about the article which will be used. The following table is an overview of all the articles present in the thesis.

	Article Title Portuguese	Article Title English	Newspaper	Publishing date
Article I	*Os colegas de Amadou não sabem o que é "ter medo na cabeça"*	*Amadou's colleagues do not know what it is to "be afraid in the head"*	Público	15/05/2012
Article II	*Aos 13 anos Said chegou sozinho a Portugal e pediu asilo*	*At age of 13 Said arrived alone in Portugal and asked for asylum*	Público	11/10/2007
Article III	*Portugal recebeu 50 pedidos de asilo de menores não acompanhados em 2015*	*Portugal received 50 asylum applications from unaccompanied minors in 2015*	Expresso	01/02/2016

| Article IV | *Adora boxe. No campo de refugiados não tinha luvas nem saco. Treinava na parede"* | *He loves boxing. There were no gloves or sacks in the refugee camp. Trained on the wall* | Expresso | 25/04/2017 |
| Article V | *Acolher refugiados: portugueses divididos entre a solidariedade e o medo* | *To welcome refugees: Portuguese divided between solidarity and fear* | Público | 12/09/2015 |

Figure 1. Overview of articles.

During the analysis, it became clear that when referring to the young migrants mostly words such as victims, refugees or people were used. When it comes to the unaccompanied minors they are often referred to as teenagers, minors, children or youth. In the articles, it is possible to find descriptions of feelings such as fear, being in danger, loneliness, need for protection, loss due to the passing of family and loved ones. I was also able to identify various types of discourses portrayed such as: the victim discourse, the security discourse and the support discourse. These discourses are common to almost every chosen article and this provides a good term of comparison. The themes such as immigration, safety, negative experiences related to their home country and the manner in which the institution works, loss of family members, injustice, hope, happiness are the building blocks for the discourses and finally, for the representations of the unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees. This will be approached in a short introduction to the discourses later.

7.1 Article I

	Article I
Portuguese Article Title	*Os colegas de Amadou não sabem o que é "ter medo na cabeça"*
English Article Title	*Amadou's colleagues do not know what it is to "be afraid in the head"*
Newspaper	Público
Author	Catarina Gomes

Publishing Date	11/10/2007
Length of Article	1739 words
Type of article	News coverage
Topic and main source of information	Interview to two unaccompanied asylums seeking minors

Figure 2. Overview of article I.

This first piece of news is in fact constructed from an interview to two unaccompanied asylums seeking minors. It was written by Catarina Gomes and published in the newspaper Público on the 15th of May 2012. The context of the news piece is related to the opening of the brand-new centre in Bobadela (outskirts of Lisbon, Portugal) that will house refugee children. This article's focus is the story of two teenagers, their families and their experiences in Portugal. Although one of the teenagers is identified by name in the title, he is spoken about indirectly as if the author was retelling his story. In this article, I was able to find the following discourses: the victim discourse, the security discourse and the support discourse. The tittle has a negative connotation to fear and this appears between quotation marks as it is a direct citation on behalf of the child ("Be afraid in the head"). This gives emphasis to this feeling and also to the representation that he is misunderstood by his colleagues since they cannot comprehend what it is like to live with fear ("Amadou's colleagues do not know what it is to" be afraid in the head"). This feeling of being afraid is connected to the negative experiences Amadou had in his home country and that forced him to leave. It is a firsthand example of looking into the other and consequently it portrays the feeling that most unaccompanied asylum seeking minors as well as refugees will most likely face the reality of the lack of comprehension when it comes to their situation, their experiences and feelings. Both children are identified in the text as teenagers and never as refugees as in an attempt not to label them as well as by their age (17 years old) and by their home countries (Sierra Leone and Bangladesh). The names used for the children have been chosen by the author providing them with anonymity much like the picture used for this piece of news which represents a dark siluet of a child of whom you cannot tell the identity. This anonymity is not only used as a benefit to the children but also to their families because of the sensitive information that is revealed by them such as cultural rituals. The article is composed by indirect and direct speech. In the indirect segments the author tells the story of the child and the institution where he is staying. In the direct speech segments the author quotes the child's voice, feelings and personal experiences. It is possible to identify military vocabulary relating to the war ("Murders, bombs, suicide attacks") in their home countries and

also ritualistic vocabulary relating to the rituals practiced on young males from which they tried to escape ("From the teeth marks of the devil").

7.2 Article II

	Article II
Portuguese Article Title	*Aos 13 anos Said chegou sozinho a Portugal e pediu asilo*
English Article Title	*At age of 13 Said arrived alone in Portugal and asked for asylum*
Newspaper	Público
Author	Andreia Sanches
Publishing Date	15/05/2012
Length of Article	509 words
Type of article	News coverage
Topic and main source of information	Interview to one unaccompanied asylum seeking minor

Figure 3. Overview of article II.

This second piece of news is constructed as well from an interview to one unaccompanied asylum seeking minor. It was written by Andreia Sanches and published in the newspaper Público on the 11th of October 2007. The context of the news piece is related to the presentation of the report regarding the situation of unaccompanied minors in Portugal, at Conselho Português para os Refugiados (CPR), in Bobadela (outskirts of Lisbon, Portugal). This article's focus is the experience of an unaccompanied minor that arrived in Portugal on the 9th of February 2002, on how this institution that gave him shelter functions and the statistics of the demand for asylum in Portugal. In this article, I was able to find the following discourses: the victim discourse, the security discourse and the support discourse. The title "Aos 13 anos Said chegou sozinho a Portugal e pediu asilo" (At age of 13 Said arrived alone in Portugal and asked for asylum) portrays this young migrant as an active agent regarding his choice to ask for asylum when he arrived in Portugal. It is possible to identify similar themes to the ones displayed in article I such as immigration, safety, negative experiences related to their home country and the manner in which the institution works. In this article, there is also a report on disappearances of unaccompanied minors from Portugal and on how the Portuguese migration system functions. The child is identified in the text as unaccompanied minor as well as by his age (13 years old upon arrival and 18 years old at the moment) and by his home country (Sierra

Leone). The name used to identify the teenager is apparently his real one, although this is not disclosed throughout the article. The article is composed by indirect and direct speech. In the indirect segments the author tells the story of the child, the institution where he is staying and the statistics regarding asylum seeking in Portugal. In the direct speech segments, the author takes pieces of the interview he has done with the children and he quotes their feelings as well as personal experiences. It is possible to identify military vocabulary relating to the atrocities committed by the rebels ("One day the rebels burned down the houses.") in his home country. Yet there is a colloquial language used by the author as a way to refer to the new way of life this child has adopted here in Portugal.

7.3 Article III

	Article III
Portuguese Article Title	*Portugal recebeu 50 pedidos de asilo de menores não acompanhados em 2015*
English Article Title	*Portugal received 50 asylum applications from unaccompanied minors in 2015*
Newspaper	Expresso
Author	Agência Lusa
Publishing Date	01/02/2016
Length of Article	2958 words
Type of article	News coverage
Topic and main source of information	Interview to the president of the Conselho Português dos Refugiados

Figure 4. Overview of article III.

This third piece of news is constructed as well from an interview to the president of the Conselho Português dos Refugiados. It was written by Agência Lusa and published in the newspaper Expresso on the 1st of February 2016. The context of the news piece is related to the rise of asylum requests of unaccompanied minors in Portugal and the disappearance of thousands of children in Europe. This article focuses on the representation of the personal views of this figure regarding the topics previously mentioned. In the title figures the number asylum requests of unaccompanied minors received by Portugal in 2015 which was 50. It is possible to identify similar discourses such as: the victim discourse, the security discourse and the personal discourse. In this article, there are also available other themes such as the hardships during the journeys of unaccompanied minors and human trafficking. The president of the Conselho

Português dos Refugidos is identified by her full name and her opinions are quoted as a form of direct speech. A picture of the president of the Conselho Português dos Refugidos, in black and white, also accompanies the text. By identifying the subject, it deposits a sense of responsibility by all the quotes and opinions expressed in this article. When it comes to the structure of the discourse all the themes described above are approached one by one and with the representation of the thoughts of the interviewee. As well as the previous articles this piece of news is constructed by direct and indirect speech. The language used has mostly a political and social connection citing reports such as the Europol report or the international community.

7.4 Article IV

	Article IV
Portuguese Article Title	*Adora boxe. No campo de refugiados não tinha luvas nem saco. Treinava na parede"*
English Article Title	*He loves boxing. There were no gloves or sacks in the refugee camp. Trained on the wall*
Newspaper	Expresso
Author	Raquel Moleiro
Publishing Date	25/04/2017
Length of Article	8042 words
Type of article	News coverage
Topic and main source of information	Interview to one unaccompanied asylum seeking minor, to an employee of the Greek NGO named METAdrasi and to the State Secretary for Citizenship and Equality

Figure 5. Overview of article IV.

This fourth piece of news is constructed as well from an interview to one unaccompanied asylum seeking minor, to an employee of the Greek NGO named METAdrasi and to the State Secretary for Citizenship and Equality. It was written by Raquel Moleiro and published in the newspaper Expresso on the 24th of April 2017. The context of the news piece is related to the arrival of five Afghan unaccompanied minors to Lisbon, Portugal on March 2017. This article's focus is the experience of these minors and the opinions of these employees regarding matters such as conditions in refugee camps and the children's lives once they are in Portugal. In this article, I was able to find the following discourses: the victim discourse and the support

discourse. The title portrays a sense of the reality lived by this child in the refugee camp as it is mentioned that he enjoys boxing but as he was at a refugee camp he had no boxing bag so he used the walls. It is possible to identify similar themes such as immigration, safety, negative experiences related to their home country and their difficult journey. New themes arise such as hopes and dreams, realities lived in refugee camps and future perspectives in Portugal. The interviewees are identified in the text with nouns as unaccompanied minors, kids and children as well as by their age (12 years old) and by their nationality (Afghan). Their identity is protected and as such he remains anonymous. Both the employee of METAdrasi and the State Secretary for Citizenship and Equality are identified by their respective names making giving them visibility and accountability about what is said during this article. The text is built upon direct and indirect speech as the author quotes parts of the interviews to the participants yet also retells their own personal stories. Accompanying this article there is an illustration of the five Afghans unaccompanied minors. This illustration portrays a boxing glove as a boat, linking this to the dreams of becoming a boxer of one of the children, with harsh waves coming upon it. These symbolises the difficult journey taken by the refugees in the Mediterranean Sea. It is also possible to identify sadness and despair in the face of the children as three of them are portrayed rowing, while one holds a football and another looks with a sad expression into the reader's eyes. This can be interpreted as although the journey is difficult and full of adversity their dreams and hopes keep them going in their attempt to find a new home. The language used is mostly colloquial.

7.5 Article V

	Article V
Portuguese Article Title	*Acolher refugiados: portugueses divididos entre a solidariedade e o medo*
English Article Title	*To welcome refugees: Portuguese divided between solidarity and fear*
Newspaper	Público
Author	Catarina Gomes
Publishing Date	12/09/2015
Length of Article	4034 words
Type of article	News coverage
Topic and main source of information	European Day of Refugee Action and Portugal's association with this celebration

Figure 6. Overview of article V.

This fifth piece of news was written by Catarina Gomes and published in the same newspaper on the 12th of September 2015. The context of the news piece is related to the European Day of Refugee Action and how Portugal will associate with this celebration by doing demonstrations of solidarity in five Portuguese cities. This article's focus is on both the solidarity movements and the movements against the entrance of more refugees in Portugal. I was also able to identify various types of discourses portrayed such as: the victim discourse and the security discourse. The title portrays a dichotomy when it comes to the feelings of the Portuguese population since it implies that they are torn between solidarity and fear when it comes to the thematic of welcoming more refugees. It displays a negative representation of young migrants and refugees through the security discourse as again it is shown that they are associated with activities that propel fear, such as terrorist attacks. Yet it is also possible to understand through the displayed social awareness that although there is this negative connotation, the Portuguese people still want to offer their help and aid them in the fight of such stereotypes. New themes arise such as solidarity, opposition, unemployment, support to the refugees, humanitarian crisis and terrorism. The only intervenient that is identified is the Minister of the Presidency. The writers of the manifest against helping asylum seekers and refugees are only identified as petitioners or people. Since these individuals cannot be identified their actions become impersonal as exemplified in the following quotes:

> *"However, there are three petitions that, together, add almost 30 thousand subscribers."* (Article V)

> *"No to refugees in Portugal" is the petition that brings together more signatures, counting with the support of 14.175 people."* (Article V)

Público also mentions that it is not clear if these are real supports or just virtual ones which makes it extremely hard to get to know their identities and, therefore, to attribute responsibility.

> *"Although it is not possible to see if they are real or virtual support."* (Article V)

The virtual support on the previous quote means the support provided by users in internet forums. However, the author does not disclose in which forums this support is happening and thus it makes it difficult to perceive how much of it is true outside of the internet world.

The text is built upon direct and indirect speech as the author quotes parts of the manifest written against the refugees and quotes the Minister of the Presidency. Accompanying this article there is a picture taken by Philipp Guelland that portrays several adults, three children and a volunteer

at the entrance of a tent. This is a reminder of the conditions lived by these people in refugee camps.

8. DISCOURSES

After reading the chosen articles I noticed that there were several themes that appeared constantly throughout. These were the themes that were found: victim, security, memory, support, hope, loss and injustice. These themes are what the coding categories are built on. I then divided these themes into three main discourses which are: the victim discourse, the security discourse and the support discourse. Themes such as memory, hope and lost are present both in the security and victim discourses. The injustice theme is present in the support discourse. This separation of themes per discourse has the aim to clarify the content that creates the representations of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees.

8.1 Security Discourse

The security discourse is key and it appears (even if indirectly) in all the articles. This discourse is representative of the dichotomy of both unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees as security seekers and causes of insecurity. By using relevant figures in the field of immigration or figures who work directly with these populations it empowers the warnings that the media intends to convey to the readers.

8.1.1 Young migrants as security seekers

Throughout the first four chosen articles, young migrants are represented as security seekers. All the unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees that were interviewed for articles I, II and IV came to Portugal in search of security which they did not have in their home countries. The security they found in the refugee centres in Portugal is linked to feelings such as hope and happiness because now they dream about a new future. The feelings of happiness are visible in the following quote:

> *"He is a robust teenager who comes in with assertive pass at the refugee centre with a green backpack, the only object he brought with him to Portugal, along with two pairs of pants and two shirts, which he bought before embarking for Lisbon, where he came to be protected because no one else could do it for him. The reasons to feel happy have to do with the fact that in the centre you feel protected. "I know no one will come to take me into the forest."* (Article I)

The security discourse can have as consequences the exposure of the trauma and hardships faced by this population, thus gaining a prime relevance in their speech and the way they express their opinions. In the quotes presented above it is also possible to grasp that the journalists argue that whenever these populations feel secure and protected this gives way to a more optimistic view regarding their presence in a new country. This kind of discourse is also connected with memory since the media often gives away that unaccompanied minor asylum seekers usually relate negative events that happened in their past with the security they have now and how this allows them to have hopes and dreams regarding their future. As portrayed by the following quote it is also possible to see a connection between the victim discourse that will follow and the security discourse that are habitually joined together by the journalists.

> "*A refugee is someone who is persecuted in the country where he lives for reasons such as race, religion or nationality and who, for personal security reasons, seeks protection from a third country.*" (Article I)

Young migrant Amadou states:

> "*It's very strange for them [because] there are some who have never left Lisbon, who have not even seen a forest. They do not know what it is not to feel safe, they do not know what it is to be afraid in the head.*" (Article I)

When the journalist puts emphasis in the security and victim discourses its aim is not only to tell the children's stories but also to make a stand when it comes to immigration and security it is used in order to argue that there is a lack of it and this usually ends up putting migrants in situations where they can be the victims. These quotes are used to argue that these children feel safer in Portugal while sharing their institution room with strangers than they did back in their respective countries. This is a powerful comparison made by the journalist who wrote article I and through it the author intends to alert the reader to the severity of the situation.

Another topic that the journalists cover is the shelter of both refugees and unaccompanied minor asylum seekers. It is possible to identify the security discourse as a sense of worry to achieve the best manner to shelter refugees and unaccompanied minors is presented. Again, the journalist uses a relevant figure such as the CPR president to give a stronger relevance to this social problem that she wants to highlight to the public. According to the CPR president some of the children that are dragged into human trafficking networks are often threatened about what can happen to their families if they do not comply.

> *"Often children are brought by the networks to Europe and are subject to these networks on pain of families suffering retaliation."* (Article III)

The journalist uses once again the testimony of an employee of the organisation METAdrasi, which works with refugees, to make it clear that refugee camps are no place for children and have a negative impact on their lives. It is also made clear that this message needs to get through to Europe. The safety discourse is brought up also in connection with these refugee camps as the author argues that there is a lack of conditions that makes them safe not only for children but for all of its inhabitants.

> *"The fields are not child-friendly. And we have to get this message across Europe. Having children there for a year or more is not safe."* (Article IV)

To use the security discourse is a means to portray not only its importance to these populations but also as a way to captivate the reader into realising the need to offer security to both refugees and asylum seeking minors. Once more the journalist uses the words of this employee of the organisation METAdrasi to make a distress warning regarding the individuals that stay trapped in refugee camps, as the longer they are detained the easier it is for them to become persuaded with the idea to pay traffickers to take them by other means to Europe and here it is also possible to see another example of the security discourse:

> *"We are pushing them to look for solutions that take them away and take them illegally to other European countries."* (Article IV)

This desperation that is commonly linked to the refugees and unaccompanied minor asylum seekers reflects the notion that regardless of the travel conditions, they will search alternatives to arrive in a place that provides them with the safety they long for.

In article I, it has been shown that these children feel safer in Portugal while sharing their institution room with strangers than they did back in their respective countries. When portraying feelings of hope coming from refugees or unaccompanied minor asylum seekers, the journalist intends to focus on the new life that these individuals have created for themselves in Portugal. The following quote she argues that by feeling safe the children are able to learn to let go of the past and feel eager to know what the future has instore. This can also be linked to the security discourse since, according to the representations created by the journalist, the feeling of hope is only possible because this child feels safe and thus is able to trust that he will be able to invest, for example, in his education in order to have a better chance of achieving his goals.

"Learned" a new life "learned" to forget the past "and learned" that Sporting is the club of the heart ". Completed the 6th grade, a professional course and will soon start an internship. He says he trusts the future." (Article II)

8.1.2 Young migrants as causes of insecurity

It is also possible to identify a certain negativity regarding the arrival of the unaccompanied minors mostly because of the difficulties such as the child who is in an international zone of an airport is immediately admitted to national territory without having to wait for a decision. Not all uses of the security discourse have the same message of young migrants and refugees needing and looking for security, as it can also be used with connotation to terrorism organisations and how if more refugees come the bigger is the risk of an attack.

"There are even those who argue that if the refugees arrive, the country will see people" exploding in the middle of Lisbon "in a few years." (Article V)

Yet the journalist uses such negative connotations as the one in article V to denounce that not all the Portuguese population has the same view when it comes to sheltering more refugees. By doing this the journalist tries to portray both sides by taking a neutral stand. To make these perspectives stronger, usually the media connects these populations to terrorism organisations and how if more refugees come the bigger is the risk of an attack.

"There are even those who defend that, if the refugees arrive, the country will see people "exploding in the middle of Lisbon" in a few years." (Article V)

8.2 Victim Discourse

This discourse is representative of the dichotomy of both unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees as victims and as survivors. The victim representation is linked to trauma, psychological fragility of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees, loss of family members, painful memories connected to leaving their home country and making the journey to Europe. The survivor representation is connected to feelings of happiness, hope and even of support.

8.2.1 Young migrants as victims

Although it is sometimes implicit, young migrants are mostly connoted with the status of victim or as someone in danger of prosecution. This relates clearly to the victim representation and as a consequence unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees end up being portrayed, by the media, as helpless and in desperate need of protection from a third party (either an organisation, institution or another country). When the journalist conveys these children's

stories and they refer to how the rebels destroyed their home, it links them to the role of victims that are driven away from everything they ever known by force. It becomes also part of the memory theme since the minor is represented as having remembrances of such negative moments as the one that made him come to Europe in search of safety. Also, when topics such as ritualistic practices that these children endured prior to their journeys in search of safety are approached, they are again represented in a vulnerable manner and as being victims of unwanted traditional practices that traumatized them both physically as well as psychologically. In this particular case and regarding the interview with the president of Conselho Português para os Refugiados, it is possible to identify the victim discourse. The representations of unaccompanied minors and refugees in the media in accordance to the CPR president are of extremely fragile individuals, whom are prosecuted and driven away from their own countries. Once again, the victim discourse is clear and this leads to this image of vulnerability as well as links to the security discourse since the conditions of how children are travelling are precarious:

What comes through in the interview with the president of the CPR is a theme that is commonly connected to this discourse which is the theme of loss. The usage of this theme by the media portrays the refugees as suffering from the loss of their families and as individuals that unfortunately get separated from their loved ones. This ends up building a dramatic representation of these individuals as victims, as it is made clear by the following quote:

> *"We are witnessing a dramatic situation in which refugees are living, and particularly children, who lose their families and are left alone."* (Article III)

The family aspect linked to the loss theme often focus on these children being abandoned, that their relatives died or were murdered. Here it is clear that the loss and memory themes are present since they reminisce about these negative events that have impacted them deeply. A consequence of these types of themes associated with the victim discourse is the vulnerability transmitted to the reader, as well as the lack of understanding from the behalf of the children regarding, for example, the circumstances that lead their parents to send them away as it is mentioned by this child in the following quote:

> *"With no one to return to in Pakistan since his uncle died, Salim now turns to Bangladesh, to the refugee camp of the Bihari community where he was born and from where he left with his uncle when he was three years old. Perhaps his parents sent him away because they thought there were no living conditions and that he could die of an illness if he stayed."* (Article I)

In general, the chosen articles portray children as being fragile individuals, both physically and psychologically. One of the representations that occurs briefly and is similar to the ones in the other articles is that the children are sufferers and have become traumatized because of their journey. This is portrayed by the journalist using the victim discourse linked to the memory theme, which as a consequence paints the picture of how these children become affected psychologically, opting sometimes to stay silent to avoid connecting with negative past experiences.

> *"The trip across the sea was very traumatic. The whole way they didn't talk about anything else. There are things they will never tell anyone."* (Article IV)

During article II it is also possible to find the same aim as the following quote focuses in another worrisome situation which is the disappearances of unaccompanied minors. It is possible to grasp a sense of the support and security discourses. As mentioned by the CPR president there are several concerns when it comes to the over 10.000 unaccompanied minors that have disappeared in this period of time.

Lusa, the agency that described in the newspaper as being the author of article III states:

> *"The official, who spoke to Lusa about the data from the European police agency (Interpol), which indicates that more than ten thousand children accompanied disappeared in Europe in the last 18 to 24 months."* (Article III)

By sharing the concerns of an authority figure in this field, as the President of the Portuguese Council for Refugees, the journalist can draw attention to this difficult situation. So, there is an effort to reach out and compel the reader to realise the hardships and concerns stated because these were voiced in the first place by someone who is relevant in the immigration scene in Portugal.

Once again, the victim discourse is clear leads to this image of vulnerability as well as links to the security discourse since the conditions of how children are travelling are precarious and again the journalist connects these two discourses to bring awareness to the hardships faced by these populations when traveling to Europe:

> *"Which means that these children are fleeing from their countries and coming to Europe in very precarious conditions and in very vulnerable situations."* (Article III)

Human trafficking has taken centre stage as one of the most preoccupying issues relating to migration as the number of cases rises throughout Europe. According to the CPR president

some of the children that are dragged into human trafficking networks are often threatened about what can happen to their families if they do not comply. The CPR president uses again the victim discourse to alert for the lack of solutions regarding human trafficking, which consequently end up portraying the refugees as its main sufferers. As shown by the following quote, although this is a difficult issue there is a sense of urgency in resolving it in a favourable manner:

> *"The solution to the problem is difficult, but the reality is that trafficking is increasing ferociously through the exploitation of refugees."* (Article III)

The interviewee also pleads that a solution might be found to help all of those tangled in the human trafficking networks. She also urges that the human trafficking networks must be dismantled.

To conclude, the representations of both unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees are those of fragile individuals that must be taken care of and for whom Europe must look for better solutions when it comes to shelter and human trafficking.

8.2.2 Young migrants as survivors

The representation of a personal side of the child's story takes place when the media conveys the child's own experiences. As a consequence of this personal representation, the victim discourse gives way to another side of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees as the media represents these young minors as survivors. Although the young migrants have been victims of cruelty by armed groups among others, these children managed to take action in order to find better life conditions in other countries. The survivor representations are connected to themes such as hope and portray young migrants as having dreams of a new life in their host country. The survivor representations present another side to the sadness and difficulties lived by unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees. In article III, although the victim discourse is present, young migrants are mostly portrayed as survivors who enjoy their time in Portugal focusing on their love for sports such as boxing and football.

> *"He loves boxing, he already practised this sport in his home country".*

> *"The youngest boy is 12 years old – he escaped before he was 10 years old – spends the days playing football".*

The representation of young migrants as survivors brings out positivity which is different from the representation provided by the victim discourse which describes these children as fragile.

The survivor representations in the victim discourse portray children as children and not as small suffering adults. The survivor representations always present young migrants as being empowered by their difficult journeys.

8.3 Support Discourse

There are two opposing realities to the support discourse: the one where Portuguese people are receptive to these populations and the one where Portuguese people are not. The representations provided by the media's use of the support discourse are of individuals that are worth helping. It portrays both refugees and unaccompanied minor asylum seekers as people who need support and the Portuguese people as individuals that are willing to provide it alongside with numerous solidarity initiatives that showcase how welcome young migrants are.

8.3.1 Young migrants as individuals worth supporting

The support discourse is presented in all the articles consulted. The Portuguese media portrays unaccompanied minor asylum seekers and refugees as individuals in need of help and in most news pieces that display interviews, there is a desire to offer this help on behalf of part of the Portuguese population as I will exemplify later on. The Portuguese population in these article is represented by the CPR president and the m Although there is this desire and several initiatives to better shelter these individuals are put into practice, there are still several disappearances of young migrants. There is a negative connotation related generally to unaccompanied minors and their disappearances and this is portrayed by the media by using expressions such as "nobody knows where they have gone" or "they ran away".

> *"Three remain in the host centre, go to school, learn Portuguese, but two, aged 16 and 17, have disappeared. They must have run away."* (Article II)

In these quotes, it is possible to realise that during the support discourse regarding the asylum offered to these minors that ran away generate feelings of inadequacy when it comes to the sheltering institution. These feelings arise because there is a lack of information regarding their whereabouts.

> *"Of the five adolescents to whom it was granted asylum, two fled the reception centre and nothing is known of them."* (Article II)

There is a slight tone of dismiss although the media tries to give voice to worrisome professionals in the field such as the ones working at Conselho Português para os Refugiados (CPR), the Portuguese institution that takes refugee children such as this minor and adults. These disappearances are portrayed with a certain sense of disappointment on behalf of the

professionals from this institution, yet there is also a feeling of acceptance of these attitudes of escaping, because although this institution provides them with shelter they do not feel obligated to control their whereabouts, and so give them their own freedom to choose to leave or to stay.

> *"This is not a closed centre, there is a certain responsibility, but people are not watched."* (Article II)

The representation of the minors that flee from Portugal show them as being mostly teenage males, that arrive to the country alone after a hard and strenuous journey.

> *"It's mostly teenage boys. And they arrive in Portugal alone after a long and dangerous journey."* (Article II)

Even though problems arise from their unexpected departure, there is still noticeably a support discourse that presents itself in an empathic form in order to show that unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees are worth the help they receive. The media portrays the concern on the behalf of the professionals in contact with this population when it comes to taking into account the feelings and expectations of the children who decide to stay in Portugal. The author portrays that there are numerous initiatives to integrate them and make them feel that they have a place in this new country but without pressuring them. It is stressed that they are worth getting to know as individuals, it is worth getting to know their expectations to find the best way to help them achieve them.

> *"In order to define the project of life and an intervention strategy, it is necessary to listen to them, to know their course and expectations, their leisure activities, their traumas, without the rush of time, so that they do not feel pressured."* (Article IV)

Helping these children becomes a priority and developing strategies to do so a necessity. One of the consequences of the use of this discourse is the positive light that shines upon these population in the sense that they are worthy of all the help that the Portuguese population can provide them with, from an online platform to help with doubts and sheltering of families to specific communities that desire to offer them help when it comes to a place to get settled.

> *"A Refugee Support Platform was also set up to look for answers and shelter for families in emergency situations, which now includes 30 institutions."* (Article V)

> *"The Islamic Community of Lisbon, has expressed its willingness to receive close to 250 refugees."* (Article V)

The reality is that the receptive aspect of this discourse remains and that is possible to identify in article V as the Minister of the Presidency still makes a stand through the use of this discourse reassuring that Portugal will maintain all the solidarity initiatives. Also, the media reports that numerous regions of the country have already come forward saying that they want to receive more refugees such as the ones that follow:

> *"Authorities from all over the country, including the Azores and Madeira, showed interest in receiving refugees, as well as the University of Coimbra, the Portuguese Bishops' Conference and also the Union of Portuguese Misericórdias, which was able to accommodate a large number of refugees that come to Portugal."* (Article V)

> *"Portugal wants to be at the forefront of humanitariann aid to refugees."* (Article V)

8.3.2 Young migrants as individuals who have been supported enough

Although when this discourse is used by the media, it general tries to portray these individuals and the reactions of the Portuguese population regarding them in a positive manner, it is also possible to find other representations such as the one in article V. In this article, the journalist portrays the feelings of the Portuguese people that dislike the presence of these individuals. there is the other part of the Portuguese population that feel threatened by the presence of these individuals and the journalist expresses their feelings of being victims of injustice, as there is the common belief that Portugal cannot support the people already living in the country financially as well as that the coming of refugees will take away jobs that are already difficult to find. The arguments are voiced using a colloquial language to try to reach more people. This feeling of injustice which is portrayed in the following quote, clearly presents the refugees as individuals bearing a negative connotation that live off the benefits offer by the Portuguese state when Portuguese people are living in bad conditions without any type of help.

> *"It is not fair" to the various Portuguese "living miserably" that the refugees will have "benefits" such as integration allowance, furnished and equipped housing or consumption of electricity, water, gas and free telecommunications."* (Article V)

The injustice theme is usually connected to the support discourse, as it represents the negative side to young migrants and aims to encourage feelings of displacement and discontent that commonly turn into distorted perspectives on behalf of some of the Portuguese population. The media reports some initiatives such as petitions to put a stop to the support to the refugee population because part of the Portuguese population wants the support to unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees to stop.

9 CONCLUSIONS

I cannot claim to know the true scope of the representations of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees in the Portuguese media because I have only looked into two newspapers and from there I chose five articles, yet I can claim that from the chosen articles that there are three major discourses used to represent unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees which are the victim discourse, the support discourse and the security discourse. The representations of young migrants in these five articles are based in the following dichotomies: victims and survivors, security seekers and causes of insecurity, individuals worth supporting and individuals who had enough support. Regarding the security discourse the unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees are represented as security seekers because some of them leave their country in order to find security. At the same time the security discourse presents that the Portuguese population feels unsafe with their entrance in the country as unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees are often connected to terrorist activities. When it comes to the victim discourse, both unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees are represented as fragile individuals that must be taken care of but on the other side they are also represented as survivors that are made stronger by their difficult journeys. The representations provided by the media's use of the support discourse are of individuals that are worth helping yet some of the Portuguese population are said to feel that there are too many benefits offered to both unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees and that as a result there is a lack of help provided to Portuguese people.

One aspect in the media coverage of the asylum issue in Portugal, is the significant presence of narratives of the refugees and unaccompanied asylum seeking minors themselves telling about their life stories, their present condition and their future. Regarding the interviews where the unaccompanied asylum seeking minors voice their own experiences it is apparent that they are portrayed by the authors of the articles as vulnerable individuals but empowered by their own personal experiences and hardships. Regarding the representation of these minors there is also the negative side regarding their disappearances. According to the CPR president, these disappearances generate feelings of lack of abilities to shelter them in a more efficient form on behalf of the institutions that take them in. There is some concern showed when relating the disappearances with human trafficking. Yet these disappearances can also be related to the decision to move to find better conditions than the ones given to them by the Portuguese government. This decision is taken by the young migrants as the media represents them as active agents on their own personal journeys. The professionals such as the CPR president speak directly and are made accountable for such affirmations.

It is possible to conclude through these discourses that there are different representations of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and these reach the Portuguese population through the media. There are different ideas conveyed and it is necessary to scrutinize what these ideas consist of, as this influences both the perspectives and political struggles of the reader. As I have said before, the discourses used by the media can be applied in different ways such as to, for example, portray them as victims looking for security but it can also portray them as being associated with terrorist activities. From all the chosen articles only one (Article V), portrayed feelings of insecurity from the Portuguese population catalysed by the entrance of the young migrants in the country. The rest of the articles advocated that these populations are just humans in search of a new life and looking for help to do so and this way it is possible to conclude that at least in these two Portuguese newspapers the views are rather homogenous.

Josefsson (2017) claims that the media represents unnacompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees as passive subjects that lack agency to influence their fates (Josefsson, 2017, p. 24). During article I, the young migrants are also represented as passive agents as they were forced to leave their homes because of the military forces. Yet, the opposite also happens during articles III and IV, where unacompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees are represented as being active agents because they choose to leave the centres that take them in. Another example of the representation of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees is in article III. In this article the young migrants are said to decide to pay smugglers to bring them to Europe illegaly. There is a dichotomy present as well when it comes to agency because the young migrants can be represented in the same article as being both passive and active in their journeys. According to Silverman (2015), Portugal was not as desiriable as other countries because of its geographic location and this can be seen in articles such as II and III where the young migrants decided to continue their journeys to other countries.

What Mumba-Martiskainen, (2016) describes as attempts by the population of the host country not to take unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees is also visible in article V. Some of the Portuguese population take initiatives such as demonstrations against young migrants in order to protect themselves against threats such as terrorism or simply to avoid that more unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees receive benefits upon arrival in Portugal.

Finally, there are several representations of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors and refugees in the Portuguese media, yet the ones whose discourse is stronger, in the five chosen

articles, are the of young migrants as security seekers, victims that are worth being supported and that are mostly active agents in their journeys.

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