



IPRPD

International Journal of Arts, Humanities & Social Science

ISSN 2693-2547 (Print), 2693-2555 (Online)

Volume 01; Issue no 05: October 15, 2020

Naming people on the move according to the political agenda: a study of Belgian media

Valérie Mistiaen¹

¹ Faculty of Letter, Translation and Communication / Center for Research in Information and Communication Sciences (ReSIC), Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB), Belgium, Email: vmistiae@ulb.ac.be

Received: 01/09/2020

Accepted for Publication: 15/09/2020

Published: 15/10/2020

Abstract

The aim of this article is to study the different denominations used to name people on the move in the Belgian French- and Dutch-speaking press. Denominations are the main condition for social phenomena to exist as they rely on discourse and not on material reality (Kaufmann, 2006). According to Siblot (2001) naming social phenomena is always a choice and depends on the point of view taken by the speaker. The so-called “refugee crisis” has received huge media attention in Belgium (De Cleen et al., 2017) but, contrary to other European countries, there is no Belgian coverage of the situation. Indeed, the Belgian media landscape is divided amongst a Dutch-, French- and a much smaller German-speaking communities, all of which harbour different journalistic traditions (Raeymaeckers and Heinderyckx, 2018: 14). For these reasons, Belgium is an excellent case study to observe the divergences between the linguistic repertoire of denominations referencing people in the two main linguistic communities. To explore this, an exhaustive corpus composed of press articles was collected between 2015 and 2017 in both French- and Dutch-speaking communities of Belgium. For each community, the tabloid and the broadsheet with the largest circulation were analyzed. The analysis combines Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics, as they complement one another. At first, the repertoire of common nouns in each corpus seems similar but differences lie in the frequency of denominations used to qualify people on the move and also in the collocations that construct their meaning. In both corpora, the word refugee is strongly collocated with status and administrative terms. One important finding lies in the difference in frequencies of the word migrant, which is used less often in the Dutch-speaking corpus than in the French-speaking one. This article also gives special attention to relatively new terms, such as trans migrant, transit migrant and newcomer.

Keywords: Migration, Denominations, Corpus linguistics, Discourse analysis, Newspapers.

Introduction

Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak (1997) conceptualize language as a form of “social practice” which is called *discourse*. They argue that not only do social relations determine discourses but also that they, i.e., social relations, are reflected in discourses. Studying the context of language and the underlying agenda of discourses is of crucial importance as “in discourse people can be legitimizing (or delegitimizing) particular power relations without being conscious of doing so” (Fairclough, 2001: 33). This paper contributes to the understanding of how denominations participate in the construction of social issues, such as immigration.

As they rely on discourse and not on material reality (Kaufmann, 2006; Searle, 1995), denominations are the main condition for social phenomena to exist. According to Siblot, naming

social phenomena depends on the point of view taken by the speaker and is always a choice commanded by societal or generic needs which may vary according to languages and cultures. It helps “not only to design and categorize, but also to perceive the world”¹ (Siblot 2001: 195).

The constituent features of the categorizations are capitalized in the denominations; some of these [...] are selected and updated after operations to adjust the meaning during the discourse. It is the repetition of these discursive updates that gives meaning to the constituted category and transforms use into customs [...] (Siblot, 2001: 195–196).

These discursive updates enrich and develop the semantic content of a term. Because denominations “endorse language practices” (Siblot, 2001: 195–196), this research focuses on how denominations regarding people on the move, in the context of the “refugee crisis” of 2015–2017, are influenced by the context and, in addition, how this context (repeated segments, context, etc.) changes the sense of the denomination.

The so-called “refugee crisis” has, as in Belgium, received huge media attention in many European countries (e.g. De Cleen et al., 2017; De Cock et al., 2018; Rea et al., 2019: 12). Nonetheless, there is no Belgian coverage of the situation. Indeed, the Belgian media landscape is divided amongst a Dutch-, French- and a much smaller German-speaking community, all of which harbour different journalistic traditions (Jacobs and Tobback, 2013: 408; Raeymaeckers and Heinderyckx, 2018: 14). In Belgium, asylum is a federal matter while integration is a regional one (Adam and Jacobs, 2014: 67–69). Both linguistic communities “are not exposed to the same media coverage and, on the whole, to the same discourses and images about migration” (Mistiaen et al., forthcoming). As a consequence, “there is no such thing as a unified Belgian debate” about these matters (De Cleen et al., 2017: 26). There are two different public spheres in which different discourses have evolved. For these reasons, Belgium is an excellent case study to probe this issue. In particular, the question asked is if the social issues of the “refugee crisis” are constructed differently in Belgian French- and Dutch-speaking media via the choice of denominations used?

A large set of denominations exist in the lexis to refer to people on the move, some follow legal definitions (*refugee, asylum seeker*), other come from the common lexis (*migrant, immigrant...*) and are charged with the context in which they were used in the past (see, for example, how the word *immigrant* was negatively charged in France in the 1980’s in Bonnafous, 1991). To describe new realities, it is not unusual to observe the creation of new words (for example *migrant in transit*) nor to avoid the connotations that another denomination could carry (e.g. the emergence of the word *sans-papiers* (“undocumented”) in Akin, 2018). Sometimes these words are neologisms (*nieuwkomer* – “newcomer”) or totally new word constructions (*primo-arrivant* – “newcomer”).

Even if all these words have their own unique meaning, the use of *migrant* and *refugee* as near synonyms by French journalists has been observed (Calabrese and Mistiaen, 2017). Baker and his team studied the terms *Immigrant, Migrant, Asylum seeker and Refugee* in a 140-million-word corpus composed of British news articles and concluded that they all share the same “consistent collocates” (Baker et al., 2008; Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008), thus meaning that they are often used as synonyms in news articles.

Nevertheless, denominations are of importance as the way people on the move are named not only affects the issue of their asylum procedure (Van Neste-Gottignies and Mistiaen, 2019) but also the way we perceive them, especially when their image is spread throughout the media. “Choosing and using a specific term to describe a category of individuals can have substantial impact on how we perceive them and could possibly contribute to the process of their (ongoing) dehumanization” (de Massol de Rebetz, 2018). Since the declaration of the online editor from Al-Jazeera English, Barry Malone, on the 20th of August 2015 in favour of using “refugee” in lieu of “migrant”, which, according to him, dehumanized the people who had been labelled under this denomination (Calabrese and Mistiaen, 2017), the usage of the word *migrant* has been strongly discussed in European media (Calabrese, 2018). Indeed, “our earlier conceptions of *immigrant* and *migrant* no longer suffice. The word *immigrant* evokes images of permanent rupture, of the uprooted,

the abandonment of old patterns and the painful learning of a new language and culture” (Schiller et al, 1992: 1).

As “thinking differently requires speaking differently” (Lakoff, 2014: xiii), this article will investigate how denominations to name people on the move are used and conceptualized in two linguistic communities within the same country. Due to the construction of the federalism and because of cultural inheritance, the two main linguistic communities not only harbour different journalistic traditions (Jacobs and Tobback, 2013: 408; Raeymaeckers and Heinderyckx, 2018: 14) but also political agendas (Adam and Jaccobs, 2014). The French-speaking community of Brussels acts according to a “laissez-faire assimilationist immigrant integration policy” (Adam, 2013: 9), Flanders opts for a more interventionist policy while the Walloon Region “does not clearly define[s] the policy frame wherein [...] [the] integration centers [...] function” (*ibid.*: 10). In general, Flanders privileges the local level of government and, thus, more policy developments occur at that level, while the French-speaking community of Belgium remains attached to federal institutions. This creates an “asymmetrical” federation (*ibid.*: 13).

The first part of the paper, based on literature review, outlines the hypotheses, the second details the corpus and methodology. Then the results of the analysis are presented before moving to the conclusion.

1. Hypotheses

Previous studies show that denominations to name people on the move might vary according to, amongst others, different media outlets, countries or journalistic cultures (e.g.: Baker et al., 2008; Calabrese and Mistiaen, 2017). Our research investigates the main differences between the French- and the Dutch-speaking media coverage of the “refugee crisis” in terms of actor denominations.

- **H1:** Because political agendas (Adam and Jaccobs, 2014; Mistiaen et al., forthcoming) and journalist traditions (Jacobs and Tobback, 2013: 408; Raeymaeckers and Heinderyckx, 2018: 14) diverge, the media of the two linguistic communities do not use the same linguistic repertoire of denominations to name people on the move, except for the three most common denominations (*refugee*, *migrant* and *asylum seeker*). If the term *refugee* is more or less equally mentioned in both French- and Dutch-speaking media, the second term most often mentioned differs.
- **H2:** Because federal politicians responsible for migration policy are all (native) Dutch-speakers, the Belgian Dutch-speaking media adopted the terms *transmigrant* (or *transitmigrant*) quicker than the Belgian French-speaking press. The Dutch-language media reflects the political use of these terms.
- **H3:** Whereas migration policy is determined at the federal level, integration policies are regional. According to Ilke Adam (2013: 2), this “offers explanatory insight into how immigrant integration policy frames diverge in Flemish and Francophone Belgium”. As integration policy has existed for much longer in Dutch-speaking Belgium, the Belgian Dutch-speaking media mentions the term newcomers (*Nieuwkomers* in Dutch and *primo-arrivant* in French) more often than the Belgian French-speaking press.

These hypotheses will be the basis for further research investigating the extent to which the meaning of the same denominations differs in the Belgian French- and Dutch-speaking media coverage of the “refugee crisis”.

2. Corpus and method

In order to test the hypotheses, this research focuses on broadsheet and popular news outlets with the largest circulation in each linguistic community: *De Standaard* and *Het Laatste Nieuws* for the Dutch-Speaking Corpus (DSC), *Le Soir* and *La Dernière Heure* for the French-Speaking Corpus (FSC). A lexical query with the lemmas *migrant** and/or *refugee** was conducted in the database GoPress and an exhaustive corpus was collected. The latter spans from March 2015 (prior to the first media hype focused on “massive arrivals” of refugees in Europe) to July 2017 (when the number of arrivals

decreased). In total it counts 6,417,230 words and 14,006 articles and is included as a part of my PhD thesis.

Newspaper	Words	Articles
French-speaking	3,544,747	7098
<i>Le Soir</i> (Broadsheet)	2,784,236	4812
<i>La Dernière Heure</i> (Tabloid)	760,511	2286
Dutch-speaking	2,872,483	6908
<i>De Standaard</i> (Broadsheet)	1,002,779	1837
<i>Het Laatste Nieuws</i> (Tabloid)	1,869,704	5071
Total	6,417,230	14,006

Table 1. Corpus description

Since the year 2000, the Belgian newspaper market (de Bens, 2007: 75–81) is characterized by a high degree of concentration and, as in many European countries, a decline of readership due to young people reading fewer newspapers than previous generations. This has reduced advertising revenues. Traditionally, Belgium had had “a political opinion press but as a result of mergers the newspapers have become more independent from political pressures” (*ibid.*: 75). Even if a tendency to use tabloid strategies has been observed in order to gain readership, today the majority of the newspapers are center-oriented.

For the period under study, there are slightly more Flemish newspapers articles (6908) than francophone ones (7098). Moreover, *Het Laatste Nieuws*, the Dutch-speaking tabloid, has many more articles compared to the Flemish broadsheet, *De Standaard*. Whereas, in the French-speaking press we observe the opposite: the broadsheet (*Le Soir*) has more articles than the tabloid (*La Dernière Heure*). Because of this imbalance, all statistics were calculated in relative values.

The corpus was processed with the lexicometric software Hyperbase. In order to verify the above-mentioned hypothesis, different lexical tools were used: the keyword list, collocates, the concordance tool, distribution tool, theme distribution and correlate graphs. As Hyperbase does not allow processing of non-parallel multilingual corpora, the different statistical tools were run separately, as recommended in Hermand (2015). As social issues are naturally of a complex nature, a multidisciplinary approach is needed to analyse them (Van Dijk, 1993: 252). For this study, the methodology is a mix of Corpus Linguistics (CL) and Discourse Analysis (DA)². If DA provides the concepts and theoretical framework to analyse discourse, using a

corpus linguistics methodology allows for a higher degree of objectivity—that is, it enables the researcher to approach the texts (relatively) free from any preconceived notions regarding their linguistic or semantic/pragmatic content. When the starting point is keyword analysis, the analyst is presented with a list of words/clusters which will then be examined in (expanded) concordances for their patterning and contextual use (Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008: 7).

The first hypothesis is mainly tested through CL tools while the second and the third hypotheses are explored with the help of CL and DA, including historical and political contexts in which the words trans migrant and newcomer appear.

3. Results

3.1. Corpus overview

In order to have an overview of the denominations present in the corpus, a “correlate graph” composed of all the nouns mentioned in both corpora was generated. Both linguistic corpora are quite similar, and, in fact, the lexical fields composed of nouns show a comparable distribution. A lexical (or semantic) field enables to organise words into a system which shows their relationship to one another. As a consequence, the lexical fields found in the corpus organise the content of it into “categories”.

The FSC presents a distribution of the usual lexical fields linked to migration. The top five lexical fields of the FSC are related to the following topics:

- The lexical field of *migration*: *authority, camp, hundred, thousand, influx, controls, boat, smuggler, Iraq...*
- The lexical field of *refuge*: *victim, conflict, violence, threat, death, freedom, body, women, child, man, police, justice, chance...*
- The lexical field of *asylum*: *reception, center, welcoming, foreigner, protection...*
- The lexical field of *integration*: *language, work, condition, economy, experience, service, activity, associations, housing...*
- The lexical field of *politics*: *citizen, minister, crisis, opposition, responsibility, minister, solidarity, country, decision, return, repatriation, reality, cause, problem...*

According to this distribution, it seems that *refugee* and *migrant* are not, in fact, overlapping terms as previously noted in other studies (see, for example, Baker et al., 2008). Nevertheless, this does not mean that each occurrence of these two words is used according to its legal nor dictionary definition. It only means that they may be more likely to be collocated with the above-mentioned words.

The DSC presents similar characteristics. Two other lexical fields emerged from the graph: “family”, which contains “humanizing words relate to actual human beings, such as “human”, “child”, “son”, “life”, or “woman”” (Galyga et al., 2019: 21) and what we have named as the lexical field “hope”, encompassing words, such as *world, live, escape, future*. The presence of the first field (“family”) could be explained by the fact that Flemish politics consider integration policies more. Nevertheless, previous content analysis has shown that there was no significant difference in the number of individuals mentioned in the French- or Dutch-speaking press (De Cock et al., 2018: 319).

3.2. People denominations

To study denominations more precisely, a list in both corpora, respectively, was generated. All possible denominations to name people on the move that occurred more than 10 times in each corpus were kept. Language divergences require different methodologies when composing the respective list. For the FSC, the lemmatized forms in the keywords list were sorted. For the DSC, the wordlist (generated by forms) was first analysed, then each grammatical form of each denomination included in the list was searched for in absolute value with the distribution tool and the “ET” code to cumulate the various flexions. If the word had an adjective and a noun value, the general tendencies were first studied with the help of the concordance tool to identify which form was the most common. From this analysis, it was observed that words such as “Iraqi”, “Syrian”, “Afghan”, “Eritrean”, “Moroccan” and “Christian” were mostly used with an adjective value in French and with a nominal value in Dutch, and vice versa for words such as “illegal”. Only those words with a nominal value were kept on the list. Table 2 presents the occurrences of each denomination in both languages (in relative values).

Denomination (lemma)	French-speaking newspapers	Dutch-speaking newspapers
	Relative value (10^{-4})	Relative value (10^{-4})
Refugee	27.92	48.889
Migrant	19.683	7.21
Person	12.974	2.096
Man	8.051	9.81
Child	7.036	13.326
People	6.33	29.424
Asylum seeker	5.439	14.402
Foreigner	5.526	0.627

Family	5.611	3.753
Woman	5.425	6.973
Victim	2.502	1.838
Candidate	2.404	
Girl	1.918	1.737
Father	1.856	1.779
Community	1.758	0.195
Body	1.563	0.606
Mother	1.453	1.932
Minor	0.979	1.323
Boat refugee		0.825
Illegal	0.818	
Individual	0.719	
Refugee candidate	0.699	0.146
War refugee		0.675
Allophone		0.696
National	0.556	
Resident	0.542	
Boy	0.508	1.716
Adult	0.485	0.592
Newly arrived (<i>primo-arrivant</i>)	0.463	
Without document	0.449	0.219
Youth	0.446	
Baby	0.429	
Unaccompanied Minor	0.403	0.696
<i>Transmigrant</i>	0.206	0.339
Beneficiary/recipient	0.386	
Allochthone		0.362
Passenger	0.375	0.219
Transit migrant	0.09	0.334
Child refugee		0.324
Occupier	0.31	
Stateless	0.31	0.303
Immigrant	0.092	0.383
Homeless person	0.099	0.543
Dead body	0.26	
Survivor	0.257	0.16
Newcomer (Nouvel arrivant/nieuwkomer)	0.346	1.838
Fortune hunter		0.16
Undocumented migrant	0.152	0.205
Travelers	0.121	0.104
Occupant	0.11	
Shipwreck sailor	0.067	0.188
Profiteer	0.048	0.122
Asylum seeker candidate		0.097
Returnee		0.091
Labour migrant		0.07
Guest worker		0.07
Grandchild		0.038

Table 2. People denomination in FSC and DSC

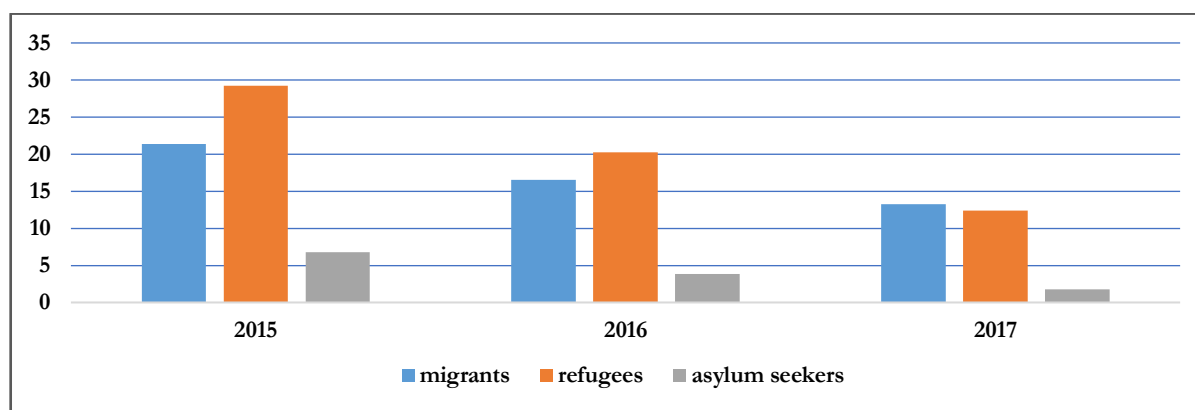
More than 60 different denominations to name people on the move were found in our corpus. Of course some denominations (such as “Person”, “People”, “Father”, “Mother”, “Child”, “Victim”, “Minor”, “Man”, “Woman”, “Girl”, “Boy”, “Occupant”, “Travelers”, “Baby”...) may encompass many more persons than only people on the move, this will be more deeply researched in a later study.

3.2.1. The most common *denominations of the corpus: (im)migrants, refugees and asylum seekers*

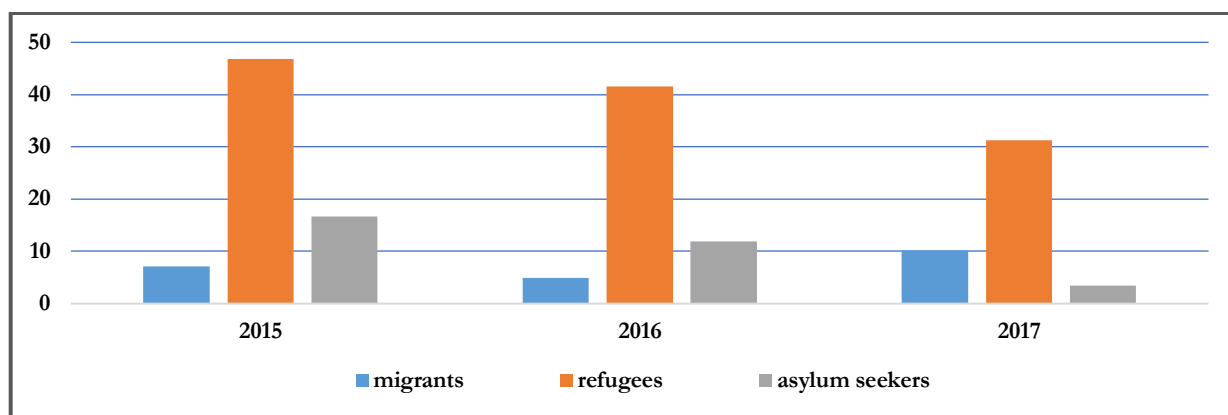
The term *refugee* is the most mentioned word in both corpora. However, this legal term is mentioned 1.6 time more often in the DSC than in the French-speaking one. What is particularly noteworthy is the place of *migrant* in the DSC, which is much lower than in the FSC. To be precise, it is used twice as much as in the DSC. Nevertheless, the term *immigrant* is mentioned more often in the DSC, but the difference is less substantial than for the term *migrant*. Comparing the other classic terms used to name the individuals of the migratory crisis, the table shows that *asylum seeker* and *unaccompanied minor* are mentioned much more in the DSC. These terms that occur a lot in the DSC are actually more accurate as they correspond to a legal category of people; whereas, the French-language newspapers under study seem to use fuzzier words to name these individuals (*migrant* or *foreigner* which is mentioned five times more than in the DSC).

Moreover, a long list of terms (such as *boat refugee*, *allophone*, *war refugee*, *child refugee*, *fortune hunter*, *returnee*, *foreign-born*) mentioned in the DSC are absent from the FSC. The absence of these terms in French is also due to noun construction in the language. The Dutch language, as other Germanic languages, can concatenate two or more words to mean the same as their sum, in other words: a compound noun, whereas in French this kind of association results in multi-word expressions, such as *réfugié de guerre* (“war refugee”).

The words mentioned most often in both corpora (*migrants*, *refugees* and *asylum seekers*) have evolved similarly. As the DSC is not lemmatized, comparing the results was based on an analysis of the most typical word form occurrences, i.e. the masculine plural. When comparing the two graphs below, we observe that the mentions of the words *refugees* and *asylum seekers* clearly diminished from 2015 to 2017. One possible explanation for this is that, at the same period of time, the number of asylum seekers also diminished in Belgium³. Between 2015 and 2016 we observed a diminution in the usage of the word *migrants* in both corpora. In previous research conducted on French newspapers *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro*, the occurrences of the *lemma* *refugee* and a diminution in the mentions of *migrant* was observed after Al-Jazeera’s late 2015 decision to stop using the term *migrant* (Calabrese and Mistiaen, 2017). This could be one of the explanations for this diminution. Nevertheless, in the DSC the occurrences of the word *migrants* rose again in 2017. As previously mentioned, the word *migrant* is less often used in the DSC than in the FSC.



Graph 1. Distribution (relative values) of “migrants”, “refugees” and “asylum seekers” in the FSC



Graph 2. Distribution (relative values) of “migrants”, “refugees” and “asylum seekers” in the DSC

To evaluate whether the terms are used similarly in both corpora, the co-occurrences of these three terms were studied. In the DSC, the lemma *refugee* is mainly collocated with “OCMW” (local public welfare center), “welcome”, “recognized”, “stay”, “status”, “housing” and “Stateless”. The lemma *migrant* is linked to “Italy”, “economic”, “Libya”, “coast guard”, “sea”, “border” and “Calais”. *Asylum seeker* is associated with “welcoming”, “Fedasil” (Belgian Federal Agency for Reception of Asylum seekers), “places”, “extra”, “reception center”, “municipality” and “number”.

In the FSC, *refugees* are mainly “Syrians” who are located in “Lebanon” or in “Turkey”. They benefit from a “status” given by the General “Commissioner” for Refugees and Stateless Person (CGVS). They are “welcome” and deal with the “HCR” (High Commissioner for Refugees). *Migrants* are “rescued” in the “Mediterranean Sea”. They are located in “Calais”, in “Greece”, in “Libya” or in “Italy” and are managed by the “IOM” (International Organization for Migration). *Asylum seeker* is firstly collocated with the lemma “place” (in “centers”), then with “Theo” and “Francken” (Flemish nationalist N-VA politician), the State “Secretary” for Asylum, Migration and Administrative simplification at that time. Francken runs the Foreign “Office” and has much to say on the policies of “Fedasil”.

In fact, this corresponds to quite a similar distribution of meaning between these three terms:

- Refugees are recognized, they have a status that allows them to be welcomed and to find accommodation in Belgium. In the FSC, special attention seems to be paid to the nationality of these people and to the two host countries which have welcomed the most Syrians. National and international organisations are also much more collocated with *refugee* in the FSC while *refugee* in the DSC is strongly collocated with local welfare centers (OCMW).
- *Migrants* mainly come for economic reasons, travel from Libya to Italy via the Mediterranean Sea, meet coast guards and cross borders.
- *Asylum seekers* are received by the Foreign Office and are placed in reception centers managed by Fedasil. In the DSC, we observe a particular focus on the need for “extra places” in reception centers and reactions that this triggers in municipalities.

The lemma *refugee* is the most mentioned term in both corpora, followed by *migrant* in the FSC and by *asylum seeker* in the DSC. These three most mentioned terms share many collocates, so it is very likely that their meanings are equivalent in both corpora. This also highlights the usual distinction made between the “genuine refugee” who deserves to be welcomed and the “economic migrant” who is viewed as being a “bogus refugee” (Akoka, 2011; Holmes and Castañeda, 2016).

3.2.2. Less common denominations used to name people on the move

Table 2 indicates that the DSC counted few occurrences of economic terms, such as “labour migrant” or “guest worker”. Even if, at this stage, the precise co-text of these words is unknown, the aim is

better understand and clarify the way these terms have been used. Remarkably, we also found the expression *sans-papiers* (“undocumented”) written in French in the DSC, even though a translation, *mensen zonder papieren*, exists in Dutch. This term, created by activists (Akin, 2018), “avoids the denunciatory connotation of “illegal” (“clandestine” in French) which has the added disadvantage of perpetuating a classic confusion between clandestine work and clandestine presence on the territory” (Siméant, 1998: 439). Another unexpected element of the corpus is the word *profiteer*. It occurs in both languages but even more so in the DSC. Looking closely, it actually occurs only in broadsheets but not in tabloids. In both corpora, the word *profiteers* is mainly used to distinguish the respective public from refugees, who may be viewed as enjoying the social welfare system. In the DSC, the term also appears in political quotes opposing Bart De Wever (N-VA) who is against Christian Democrats and Liberal politicians that defend the stance that newcomers also enrich the country. As seen in a previous study on Belgian French-speaking public broadcasting and commercial television (Mistiaen, forthcoming), this could be done either for clarification or to offer a larger understanding of the situation.

This confirms the first hypothesis (H1) which suggested that the press of the two linguistic communities mainly uses *refugee*, *migrant* or *asylum seekers* to name people on the move. Nonetheless, after these three, the linguistic repertoire of each community diverges and, sometimes, the meaning carried by the context of the same word might also diverge (as is the case for *profiteer*). Of course, further research is needed to analyse other terms featured in the wordlist and their usage (such as *dead body*, *victim* and also *person*, *people*, *child*, *man*, *woman*, *father*, *mother*...).

3.2.2.1. Trans migrant and transit migrant

Relatively new terms (at least in Belgium at the time of publication) such as *transmigrant* or *transmigrant* also appear in the corpus. As expected in the second hypothesis, these terms are more often mentioned in the DSC (H2). When *transmigrant* and *transit migrant* (*transmigrant* and *migrant en/de transit* in French) are grouped, we count 95 occurrences in the DSC and 40 in the FSC (respectively 0.331 and 0.113 in relative values). As acknowledged by researcher de Massol de Rebetz (2018),

in recent years (2015 - 2018), the term *transmigrant* or *transit migrant* became part of the common vocabulary used by politicians and media when talking about matters of migration and border control. Since 2017, both terms are considered as synonymous by the dictionary Van Dale, which is the leading dictionary for the Dutch language [in Belgium].

In Dutch, *transit migrant* is defined as a synonym of *transmigrant* by the Van Dale dictionary, but some people defend the idea that the term *transmigrant* defines people “in transition”, thus referring to transgenders. Here, in this corpus, it has been assumed, and, thereby, checked with the concordance tool, that it was used as a synonym for *transit migrant*. According to Flemish dictionaries, the term *transmigrant* has two definitions. In its broadest sense it means a “migrant who is temporarily staying in another country on their way to their country of destination” (*Van Dale*) and in Belgium (or at least in Flanders): “a migrant or illegal migrant from Africa and Asia who wishes to go to the UK and stays on the Belgian or the French northern coast in the meantime” (online *Vlaams Wordenboek*). For some reason, this word has not appeared in any French-speaking dictionaries (yet), but the usage seems to lean toward the expression *migrant en/de transit*. *Transmigrant* is mentioned only eight times in the FSC and in five of these occurrences, the word is followed (in brackets) by “migrants en transit” or as explained later in the same article (“to name persons without document who are crossing Belgium and have the intention to go on with their travel”, *La Dernière Heure*, 2017). In both corpora, the term is more often mentioned in 2016 (only very few occurrences in 2015: 8 in the DSC and 1 in the FSC).

However, according to VRT’s (Flemish Public Broadcasting) journalist Ruud Hendrickx the word is not new. It was used in the first article of the Law of The Netherlands on the 31st of December 1936 (p. 1) and denotes

persons, not residing in The Netherlands, who travel across The Netherlands to a country outside Europe [...] for the purpose of settlement and (or) acquisition of means of subsistence, including their family members, who accompany or follow them⁴.

In the 1990's, *transmigrant* was also used in the USA for migrants who experienced “transnationalism” by developing and maintaining “multiple relations -familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political- that span borders” (Schiller et al., 1992: 1). According to researcher Mieke Schrooten, a *transmigrant* is someone who migrates more than once: (s)he leaves his or her origin country to another one where (s)he establishes herself/himself before moving to another country (Schrooten et al, 2015: 9–10). French anthropologist and sociologist Alain Tarrus studies changes that occur in space and time during the migratory journey. For him, a *transmigrant* is a migrant who discovers otherness through professional collaborations at border crossings (Tarrus, 2000). This concept is, thus, mainly economic.

In Belgium, according to the French-speaking Public Broadcasting (RTBF), no one spoke of “transmigration” before September 2015, and the word is always linked to a police operation or a declaration of Jan Jambon (N-VA), the Minister of Interior at that time. Ruud Henderickx noted that on the 27th October 2015, Jan Jambon coined the term *transmigrant* for the first time on Dutch-speaking public radio while the RTBF has the first time that he used the term on the 15th of March 2016 in a response to a set of parliamentary questions in the Home Affairs Committee at the Parliamentary Chamber (“We have [...] the transmigration crisis”, Leherte, 2018). The word was then officially written into the National Security Plan 2016-2019 on the 7th of June 2016. In December 2016, the term was also mentioned by the Public prosecutor of East-Flanders. Since then, the term has regularly been used in official reports and in the Flemish media (Claes, 2018) and discussions about its usage are everywhere in the Flemish media⁵. It seems that it was only in January 2018 that the word crossed the linguistic border and became common in the French-speaking media. Moreover, on the 21st of January 2018, the word appeared in the title of a Dutch-language Belga press release relating a police evacuation of Maximilian Park in Brussels. All of the Flemish press agencies used it without modification whereas the French-speaking press was more careful and waited until the end of the month to mention the term coming from the translated press release. Unfortunately, the corpus under study stops in July 2017, which does not allow us to analyse the impact of this Belga press dispatch.

As reported by freelance journalist, Sven De Potter, the word *transmigrant* has quickly, and sneakily, crept into the Flemish language. At the RTBF, the information director, Jean-Pierre Jacqmin, informed the chief redactors that the word “*transmigrant* is a communicational choice of the government” and, as a consequence, the media should be careful not to absorb it or, at the very least, to explain its context and who uses it (Leherte, 2018). According to some journalists, civil society associations and scholars, the term *transmigrant* tends to dehumanize, thus reducing human people to a statistical category (De Potter, 2018) and underlining the difference between “voluntary” and “involuntary” migration. The former being more likely to create hate reactions, while the person who migrates involuntarily, i.e. forced to leave their country, generates compassion and support (Verkuyten et al., 2018: 904). Ann Lamon (2019) studied the frame in which the word *transmigrant* was mentioned in the Flemish press and social media and she concluded that the usage of the word contributes to dehumanizing the person categorized under this denomination. According to Loïc Fraiture, Secretary of the far-left French-speaking party, Theo Francken's cabinet insists on the usage of this term to avoid the need to protect people who could possibly ask for asylum in Belgium and, thereby, justifying the hard policy put in place. “[...] One could argue that this almost clinical term might have been chosen and instrumentalized to serve a certain political agenda given the governmental priority to fight against irregular migration” (de Massol de Rebetz, 2018).

Another interesting pattern emerges when we look at the type of newspaper. Indeed, in both corpora, tabloids quote these terms more often. In the FSC, *Le Soir* (broadsheet) does not mention the term *transmigrant*, we only read it in *La Dernière Heure* (tabloid). In the DSC, *transmigrant* and *transitmigrant* are used twice as much by *Het Laatste Nieuws* (tabloid) than by *De Standard* (broadsheet). Finally, it is interesting to note that in French two different expressions coexist: migrant en transit

(“in transit”) and migrant de transit (“of transit”). Migrant de transit never appears in the French-speaking broadsheet *Le Soir* and seems to be used less in common language (More results on Google for “migrants in transit” and “Migrants of transit” is officially used by the bilingual Myria (Federal Migration Center) while “migrants in transit” is used by active NGO’s in Belgium such as Ciré and Caritas International).

The second hypothesis (H2) is thus confirmed as the Dutch-speaking press not only adopted the term *transmigrant* (or *transitmigrant*) quicker but also uses it much more often than the French-speaking press. Moreover, it has been showed that Jan Jambon (Dutch-speaking politician of the N-VA) was the first person to officially coin it. The two Public broadcasters from each linguistic community do not agree on the first time the term was used as the first time was in Flemish language without a follow-up translation (in October 2015 at the VRT, Public Flemish radio) while the second was used in a bilingual context (at the Home Affairs Committee in March 2016). As previously studied, this also underlines the fact that Belgium experiences two different public spheres (Mistiaen et al., forthcoming).

3.2.2.2. Nieuwkomer (newcomer) and primo-arrivant (newly arrived/newcomer) in the Belgian context

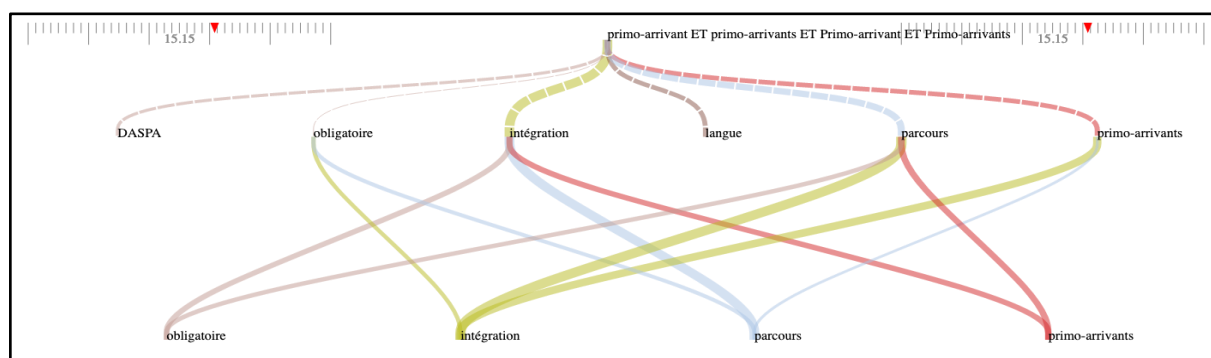
Nieuwkomers and primo-arrivants were grouped under the same subheading because they are often used as translations of each other. It seems that these terms were first proposed in Europe to categorize migrants who had arrived after the 30-year, post-war boom (1945-1975). Later, *primo-arrivant* was redefined to group people who migrate for economic and political reasons (CBAI-CRAcs, 2016: 8).

Some sources argue that the neologism comes from the “Communication of the Commission on Immigration, Integration and Employment” published by the Commission of European Communities on the 3rd of June 2003. Nonetheless, after scanning the French version of the text, no primo-arrivant was found. In the Dutch version, *Nieuwkomers* occurred three times (and twice in the English version) in reference to policies which had been implemented in The Netherland (already since 2002) and in Sweden. Instead, in the French version the following synonyms are used: *immigrés récents*, nouveaux immigrants, immigrants *nouvellement arrivés* (“newly arrived immigrants”), nouveaux arrivants (“new comers”) and the opposite *anciens arrivés* (“old comers”). Even if the first time the term was exactly used cannot be attested, it is evident that the meaning is still unclear with various realities and criteria according to European countries (Siréas asbl, 2010).

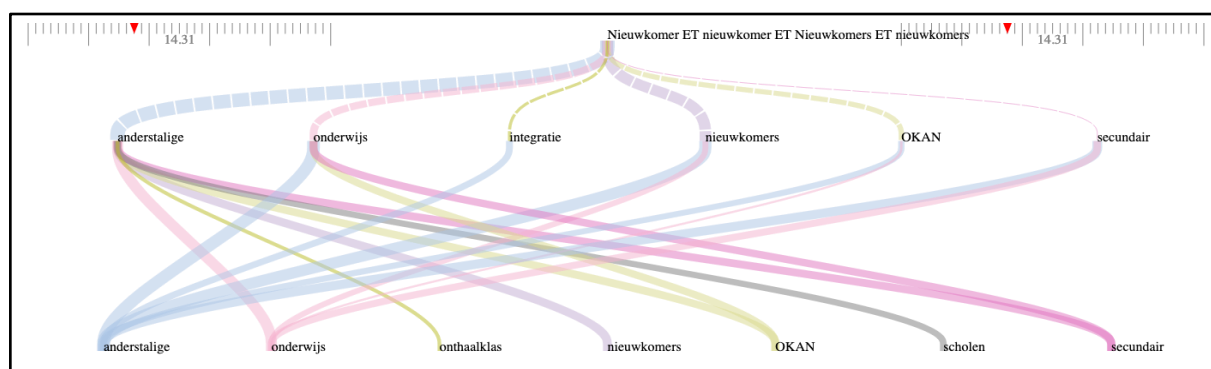
The Ciré found at least ten different definitions of the term primo-arrivant, of which two common features emerged, i.e. a necessary geographical displacement and a relative length of the stay (Ciré, 2007: 28). Other examples of this plethora of definitions and realities are the main co-occurents of the term. For example, the Belgian French-speaking office for Birth and Childhood (ONE) speaks of mères primo-arrivantes (“newcomer mothers”) while the French Community of Belgium speaks of élèves primo-arrivants (“newcomer pupils”), and the Flemish education uses *anderstalige Nieuwkomers* (“allophone newcomers”). Such as for the term *transmigrant*, if the definitions of these terms appear in dictionaries, they are absent from the list of key migration terms published by the IOM⁷.

In Belgium, the terms are linked to integration policies which are managed by the three regional governmental bodies, respectively, and which all define the term differently. French-speaking Brussels and Walloon decree (respectively on the 18th July 2013⁸ and the 27th of March 2014⁹) define the “newcomer” as “any foreign person over 18 years of age who has been living in Belgium for less than three years and who has a residence permit for more than three months and is registered at the aliens’ register of a Walloon or Brussels municipality”. Citizens of a Member State of the European Union, the European Economic Area, Switzerland and their family members are excluded from the Walloon decree, whereas they are considered as newcomers in the French-speaking Brussels decree. In the Flemish decree of the 7th of May 2013, a newcomer is defined as any foreign person aged 18 and over who comes to settle in Flanders or Brussels on a long-term basis or a person of Belgian nationality born outside of Belgium or a person with at least one of whose parents was not born in Belgium.

In practice in Belgium, as illustrated in the corpus, these neologisms are mainly linked with language learning and education. Indeed, the Flemish education defines “allophone newcomers” as “children of young people who have not lived in Belgium for a long time and cannot correctly speak Dutch. This includes various groups of people [such as]: refugees’ and asylum seekers’ children [...]”¹¹. Actually, in both sub corpora, the term co-occurs with “integration” (*intégration*) and “language” characteristics (*anderstalige* (“allophone”) in the DSC; *langue* (“language”) in the FSC) as well as “education” (OKAN (*Onthaalklassen voor Anderstalige Nieuwkomers*)/*onthaalklas*, *onderwijs* and *secundair* in the DSC; DASPA (*Dispositif d’Accueil des Primo-Arrivants*) in the FSC). While in Flanders it is mainly collocated with education, the FSC also underlines the “compulsory” (*obligatoire*) “process” (*parcours*) of integration with the help of BAPA (Bureau d’Accueil pour Primo-Arrivants). It seems clear that in Belgium, in both linguistic communities, *primo-arrivants* and *Nieuwkomers* refer to a newly arrived person who takes part in the integration process and learns the language (and culture).



Graph 3. Theme distribution of the lemma *primo-arrivant*, FSC



Graph 4. Theme distribution of the lemma *nieuwkomer*, DS

Although the integration procedure in Flanders for newcomers has been mandatory since 2016, but has, in fact, existed since 2003, it is more recent in Wallonia, where it existed in 2014 and became mandatory in 2016. In addition, in Brussels it existed in 2013 and became mandatory in 2016. This explains why in the FSC the lemma is mentioned more around the time of the discussions concerning the creation of an integration process (in 2015; 0.96 in relative values) and, then again, at the moment it became compulsory (2016; 0.44 in relative values). In 2017, the discussions in the FSC accused the mandatory integration process of “assimilation”. Nevertheless, in the DSC the opposite trend is observable. Indeed, the occurrences of the lemma increases over the years. In the year 2016, the project van Wim Caeyers (Public Welfare President of Mol), which assigns a godmother/godfather to a refugee, took a large part of the coverage, while in 2017 it is the similar “buddy’s project” from the Tienen Municipal Council for the Development of Community Life which took up a large place in the Dutch-speaking newspapers.

This partially confirms the last hypothesis (H3) as in both sub corpora the term is linked to the integration procedure and it seems to come from political decrees. As hypothesized, the DSC presents more occurrences of the lemma “newcomer” than the FSC (00.346 in the FSC for 01.838 in the DSC; relative values, see Table 2). Nevertheless, the occurrences decrease in the FSC and increase in the DSC whereas it was expected that it would generate more discussions in the FSC. Instead it has been shown that it still generates discussions in the DSC.

Conclusion

This paper explored how media denominations used to name people vary between the Belgian Dutch- and French-speaking press. A corpus composed of 14,006 articles of broadsheet and tabloid news media with the largest circulation in each linguistic community were analysed with Corpus Linguistic (CL) tools and Discourse Analysis (DA). CL tools, such as the concordancer and the specificity index, allowed the main characteristics of the corpus to be featured. Patterns observed were then analysed more closely with the help of DA.

Three hypotheses were tested. The first hypothesis (H1: because political agendas and journalistic traditions diverge the media of the two linguistic communities do not use the same linguistic repertoire of denominations, except for the three most common denominations) is confirmed as, after the most common lemmas (*refugee*, *migrant* and *asylum seeker*), the linguistic repertoire varies in each community. Moreover, *migrant* is less mentioned in the DSC, which instead favours *asylum seeker*. Furthermore, the DSC presents a list of words that are never even mentioned in the FSC (such as *allophone*, *allochthone*, *war refugee*, *child refugee*, *fortune hunter*, *returnee*, etc.) while only one term from the FSC was not found in the DSC (*beneficiary*). This can be explained by the way nouns are built in both languages (the Dutch language can concatenate two or more words to mean the same as their sum whereas in French this kind of association results in multi-word expressions), but the use of a specific term can also work to clarify, as much as possible, the situation of the individual. As Flanders has applied a more interventionist (and assimilationist) migratory politics. There is a need for new words to categorise people entering the country and integrating into Flemish life. Of course, further research is needed to confirm this. In other respects, the three most mentioned terms in both corpus share (almost) the same collocates. As a result, each “category” of people was depicted similarly in both corpora, underling the well-known caricature of the refugee who has to be welcomed and must obtain a status, whereas asylum seekers are to be found in reception centers dealing with administration and procedures. Finally, as in many other studies, the migrant carries an economic connotation who transits via the Mediterranean Sea to Italy and (illegally) across borders.

The second hypothesis (H2) was also confirmed as the occurrences of the term *transmigrant* (or *transitmigrant*) were more prevalent and appear earlier in the DSC. It has been confirmed that the term, in its Belgian context, comes from the Flemish nationalist N-VA political party and it was first officially coined by Jan Jambon, Minister of the Interior. As a consequence, the Belgian Dutch-speaking media reflects the political use of these terms, the Dutch-language media adopt it quicker than the Belgian French-speaking press. Indeed, three politicians holding a key position in the government, and who freely express their views on Belgian migration policy, are members of the Flemish nationalist N-VA party (Mistiaen, 2019). According to some researchers and the information director of the RTBF, this “dehumanizing” term is voluntarily used by the government as a means of avoiding having to aid people transiting through Belgium to the UK. The term first appeared in Flemish media almost one year before by their French-speaking counterparts. Discussions over the term are more numerous in the Dutch-speaking media and cover a larger set of positions (some being positive) while the French-speaking media seem to agree on the negative connotations carried by the term.

Nevertheless, the last hypothesis (H3) has shown that a term (here “newcomer”) can also have the same meaning in both linguistic communities as it has mainly shared the same co-occurents in both sub corpora even though it is, as expected, more often mentioned in the Dutch-speaking corpus. Indeed, “newcomer” is linked to the integration process and language learning which had been implemented much earlier in Flanders (2003) than in French-speaking Belgium (2014).

This once again shows that Belgium operates on two different levels in terms of understanding of federal migration policies and implementation of regional integration policies. It seems that Belgium is separated by a transparent linguistic border that results in two perceptions of migration policies and public life influenced by the media. As argued by researcher Ilke Adam (2013: 16), a higher degree of interventionism in Flanders is used as a “nation-building tool” and helps to legitimise the demand of Flanders for more autonomy.

End Notes

¹ All translation are ours.

² Under the label DA we consider French Discourse Analysis as well as Critical Discourse Analysis, two theoretical frameworks belonging to the same family as they share a common origin in Foucault's and Bakhtin's writings. Even if they developed a different set of concepts, they still remain perfectly compatible and particularly complementary.

³ The Office of the Commissioner General for Refugees and Stateless Persons (CGRS) in Belgium observes a peak in asylum seeker applications in 2015, 2016 and 2017. However, the latest count reveals more resettlement and relocation refugees. More information available at: <http://www.cgra.be/en> (Accessed 20/01/20).

⁴ Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden (1936) Retrieved from: <http://resources.huylens.knaw.nl/> (Accessed 21/01/20).

⁵ Henderickx, R. (29 January 2018). Trans(it)migranten. Retrieved from: <https://vrtaal.net/nieuws/transitmigranten>. Redactie. Wat is dat juist een 'transmigrant'? En hoeveel zijn er in België? Retrieved from: <https://www.hln.be/nieuws/> (Accessed 21/01/20).

⁶ Roelant, G. (2017). Francken creëert zelf beeld van transitmigranten. Bruzzwebsite, Retrieved from: <https://www.bruzz.be/samenleving/francken-creert-zelf-beeld-van-transitmigranten-2017-08-11> (Accessed 21/01/20).

⁷ IOM key migration terms, Retrieved from: <https://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms> (Accessed 22/01/20).

⁸ French Community Commission. Decree relating to the reception process for newcomers to the Brussels-Capital Region. Retrieved from: http://www.ejustice.just.fgov.be/cgi_loi/loi_a1.pl?&language=fr&cn=2013071838&caller=image_a1&fromtab=loi (Accessed 22/01/20).

⁹ Walloon Code of social action and health related to the integration of foreigners or persons of foreign origin. Retrieved from: <https://wallex.wallonie.be/contents/acts/0/795/1.html?doc=27778&rev=29155-19331> (Accessed 24/01/20).

¹⁰ Flemish Community (2013). Decree on the Flemish integration and integration policy. Retrieved from: <https://codex.vlaanderen.be/Portals/Codex/documenten/1023121.html#H1061537> (Accessed 24/01/20).

¹¹ Flanders education and training. Allophone newcomers. Retrieved from: <https://onderwijs.vlaanderen.be/nl/anderstalige-nieuwkomers> (Accessed 20/01/20).

Works Citation

- Adam, I. (2013). Immigrant Integration Policies of the Belgian Regions: Sub-state Nationalism and Policy Divergence after Devolution, *Regional & Federal Studies*, DOI:10.1080/13597566.2013.789024
- Adam, I. and Jacobs, D. (2014). Divided on immigration, two models for integration. The multilevel governance of immigration and integration in Belgium. In: E. Hepburn and R. Zapata-Barrero (Eds). *The Politics of Immigration in Multi-Level States*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 65–85.
- Akin, S. (2018). Sans-papiers: une dénomination fédératrice et intégrative In: L. Calabrese and M. Veinard (Eds). *Penser les mots, dire la migration*. Louvain-La-Neuve: Academia-L'Harmattan, 196–199.
- Akoka, K. (2011). L'archétype rêvé du réfugié, *Plein droit* 90, 13–16.
- Baker P., Gabrielatos C., Khosravini M., Krzyzanowski M., McEnery T. and Wodak R. (2008). A useful methodological synergy? Combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to examine discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. *Discourse Society* 19, 273–306.
- Bonnafous, S. (1991). L'immigration prise aux mots. *Les immigrés dans la presse au tournant des années*, 80. Paris: Kimé.
- Calabrese, L. (2018). Faut-il dire migrant ou réfugié? *Débat lexico-sémantique autour d'un problème public*. *Langages*, (2), 105–124.
- Calabrese, L. and Mistiaen, V. (2017). Naming displaced people: new patterns in media discourse? *Diacritica* 31(3), 211–235.
- CBAI-CRAcs (2016). *Parcours d'accueil pour primo-arrivants, Rapport annuel*. Retrieved from: <http://www.cbai.be/page/80/>.
- Claes, T. (1 March 2018). *Van mensen en (transit)migranten*. Retrieved from: <https://www.mo.be/wereldblog/van-mensen-en-transitmigranten> (Accessed 19/01/20).
- Ciré (2007). *L'accueil des primo-arrivants en Région de Bruxelles-Capitale*. Retrieved from: <https://www.cire.be/l-accueil-des-primo-arrivants-en-region-de-bruxelles-capitale-une-etude-du-cire/> (Accessed 18/01/20).
- de Bens, E. (2007). The Belgian media landscape. In: G. Terzis (Ed.) *European Media Governance: National and Regional Dimensions*, 73–82.
- De Cleen, B., Zienkowski, J., Smets, K., Dekie, A. and Vandevordt, R. (2017). Constructing the 'refugee crisis' in Flanders. Continuities and adaptations of discourses on asylum and migration. In: M. Barlai, B. Fähnrich, C. Griessler and M. Rhomberg (Eds.) *The migrant crisis: European perspectives and national discourses*. Berlin: LIT Verlag, 59–78.
- De Cock, R., Mertens, S., Sundin, E., Lams, L., Mistiaen, V., Joris, W., and d'Haenens, L. (2018). Refugees in the news: Comparing Belgian and Swedish newspaper coverage of the European refugee situation during summer 2015. *Communications*, 43(3), 301–323.
- de Massol de Rebetz, R. (2018). *Transmigrant: One Word to Hide Them All*. Retrieved from: <https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/research-subject-groups/centre-criminology/centreborder-criminologies/blog/2018/12/transmigrant-one> (Accessed 21/01/20).
- De Potter, S. (2018). *Transmigrant* haalt de ziel uit de vluchteling en herleidt de mens tot een koud statistiekwoord. Retrieved from: <https://www.demorgen.be/meningen/transmigrant-haalt-de-ziel-uit-de-vluchteling-en-herleidt-de-mens-tot-een-koud-statistiekwoord~b72cf89a/> (Accessed 21/01/20).
- Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and power*. Pearson Education.
- Fairclough, N. and Wodak, R. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis. In T. van Dijk (Ed). *Discourse as Social Interaction*. *Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction* 2, 258–284.
- Gabrielatos, C. and Baker, P. (2008). Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding. A corpus Analysis of Discursive Constructions of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press, 1996-2005. *Journal of English Linguistics* 36(1), 5–38.

- Galyga, S., Eberl, J. M., Lind, F., Heidenreich, T., Boomgaarden, H. G., Jiménez, B. H. and Berganza, R. (2019). Language Use and Migration: Discursive Representations of Migrants in European Media in Times of Crisis. Working paper.
- Hermant, M.-H. (2015). Retrieved from: https://www.shs-conferences.org/articles/shsconf/pdf/2015/07/shsconf_icodoc2015_01009.pdf (Accessed 19/01/20).
- Holmes, S. and Castañeda, H. (2016). Representing the “European refugee crisis” in Germany and beyond: Deservingness and difference, life and death. *American Ethnologist* 43(1), 12–24.
- Jacobs, G. and Tobback, E. (2013). Is language a news value in Belgium? *Journalism Studies*, 14:3, 407–422, DOI: 10.1080/1461670X.2012.699345
- Kaufmann L. (2006). Les voies de la déférence. Sur la nature des concepts sociopolitiques. *Langage et société* 117, 89–115.
- Lakoff, G. (2014). *The all new don't think of an elephant! Know your values and frame the debate.* Vermont: Chelsea Green Publishing.
- Lamon, A. (2019). Dehumanisatieframe van de *transmigrant*. Retrieved from: <https://www.dewereldmorgen.be/artikel/2019/06/13/transmigrant-onder/> (Accessed 23/01/20).
- Leherte, O. (2018). *Transmigrant: un mot qui fait son chemin*. Retrieved from: https://www.rtb.be/info/inside/detail_transmigrant-un-mot-qui-fait-son-chemin?id=10078922 (Accessed 23/01/20).
- Mistiaen, V. (2019). Depiction of Immigration in Television News: Public and Commercial Broadcasters—a Comparison. In L. d’Haenens, F. Heindryckx and W. Joris (Eds). *Image of Immigrants and Refugees: Public Debate, Media and Policy Agenda.* (39–56). Leuven: Leuven University Press.
- Mistiaen, V. (forthcoming). Modalités discursives sur l’immigration à la télévision belge : Comparaison de onze séquences traitant des migrations produites par la télévision publique et commerciale. EMILA.
- Mistiaen, V., Calabrese, L. and De Cleen, B. (forthcoming). The representation of the migrant crisis in the Belgian media. Localised coverage of an international issue. In Fabian, A.-M. (Ed.) *Discourse on refugees and migrants in the press coverage of European countries - a contrastive approach*, Berlin: Springer Nature/J.B. Metzler.
- Raeymaeckers, K. and Heindryckx, F. (2018). Belgium: Divided Along Language Lines. In T. Eberwein, S. Fengler, and M. Karmasin (Eds). *The European Handbook of Media Accountability*. London and New York: Routledge, 14–23.
- Rea, A., Martiniello, M., Mazzola, A. and Meuleman, B. (2019). *The Refugee Reception Crisis in Europe. Polarized Opinions and Mobilizations*, Brussels: Éditions de l’Université de Bruxelles.
- Schiller, N. G., Basch, L. and Blanc-Szanton, C. (1992). Transnationalism: A new analytic framework for understanding migration. *Annals of the New York academy of sciences*, 645(1), 1–24.
- Schrooten, M., Withaekx, S., Geldof, D. and Lavent, M. (2015). *Transmigratie: hulp verlenen in een wereld van superdiversiteit*. Leuven: Acco.
- Searle, J. (1995). *The Construction of Social Reality*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Siblot P. (2001). De la dénomination à la nomination. *Cahiers de praxématique [En ligne]*, 36, document 8. Retrieved from: <http://praxematique.revues.org/368>; DOI: 10.4000/praxematique.368. §
- Siméant, J. (1998). *La cause des sans-papiers*. Paris: Presses de Sciences po [Doctoral Thesis].
- Siréas asbl - Service International de Recherche, d’Éducation et d’Action Sociale asbl (2010). *Quel type d’intégration par la langue pour les primo-arrivants en Belgique ?* Retrieved from: www.sireas.be/publications/analyse2010/2010-01int.pdf (Accessed 23/01/20).
- Tarrius, A. (2000). *Les nouveaux cosmopolitismes. Mobilités, Identités, Territoires*. La Tour d’Aigues: Edition de l’Aube.
- van Dijk, T. (1993). Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis, *Discourse & Society* 4(2), 249–283. London: Sage.

- Van Neste-Gottignies, A. and Mistiaen, V. (2019). Communication practices in asylum seekers reception centres: from information precarity to voluntary return. *ESSACHESS–Journal for Communication Studies*, 12(1 (23)), 121–142.
- Verkuyten, M., Mepham, K. and Kros, M. (2018). Public attitudes towards support for migrants: the importance of perceived voluntary and involuntary migration. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 41:5, 901–918, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2017.1367021