The Narrative of Lampedusa
Mediated mobilities reflected in social structures
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Abstract

In the mediated narrative about Lampedusa as a destination, the tourist’s mobility is indicating consumption. The recommendation of a boat ride off Lampedusa's coast to best experience/consume Lampedusa's beauty, stands in great contrast to the boat rides in the narrative of the mobility of the migrant/refugee. This research is investigating the mediation and mobility processes working in the narrative of Lampedusa's social structures as a destination for the two human mobility categories the Tourist and the Migrant/Refugee. Mediated material concerning the two categories of human mobility, the tourist and the migrant/refugee has been collected on the Internet. Material from two tourist destination communication platforms is illustrating the mobility of the tourist and the narrative of Lampedusa as a tourist destination. While material from two humanitarian-aid communication platforms serve to illustrate the narrative of the mobility of the migrant/refugee and of the humanitarian crisis at the destination and its surrounding waters. In order to a get fuller understanding of the mediated narrative of Lampedusa I have added articles from English and Italian speaking online news channels. The included material is selected following a non-probability, purposive sampling method. The result of the study demonstrates that by maintaining the meditated narrative of the tourist as a consumer, the mobility of the tourist is weakening the mobility of the migrant/refugee. And the narrative of Lampedusa is reinforcing the social power structures of the tourist from the Global North and the migrant/refugee from the Global South, as a representation of the political and moral consensus of postcolonialism.

Keywords: Narrative, Mediation, Mobility, Tourist, Migrant, Refugee, Lampedusa
# Contents

1. Introduction ................................................................................................................................................. 3
   1.1. Mobility in a global perspective ............................................................................................................. 3
   1.2. The story of the Tourist and the Migrant/Refugee .................................................................................. 4
   1.3 Previous Research ..................................................................................................................................... 5
   1.4 Presentation of Purpose and Research Questions .................................................................................... 7

2. Theoretical Framework ..................................................................................................................................... 9
   2.1. Connecting mediation to the creation of social processes ...................................................................... 9
   2.2. Two categories of human mobility, the Migrant/Refugee and the Tourist ............................................. 10
   2.3. A Postcolonial perspective ..................................................................................................................... 12

3. Research Method .............................................................................................................................................. 13
   3.1. Selection and Representation .................................................................................................................. 13
   3.2. Internet in Qualitative Research ............................................................................................................ 15
   3.3. Case study ................................................................................................................................................ 16
   3.4. Narrative analysis ..................................................................................................................................... 16
      3.4.1. Visual Narrative Inquiry .................................................................................................................... 18
   3.5. Alternative methods and Critics ............................................................................................................. 18
   3.6. Working conditions ................................................................................................................................. 19

4. Lampedusa and the Tourist .......................................................................................................................... 20
   4.1. The tourist destination Lampedusa ......................................................................................................... 20
      4.1.1. Summary of findings ......................................................................................................................... 21

5. Lampedusa and the Migrant/Refugee .......................................................................................................... 23
   5.1. The (real) situation at the Mediterranean border of Italy ....................................................................... 23
   5.2. The Lampedusa waters ............................................................................................................................ 25
   5.3. Summary of findings ................................................................................................................................ 26

6. Lampedusa in the News .................................................................................................................................. 27
   6.1. Tourists and Refugees/Migrants at Lampedusa in the News .................................................................... 27
      6.1.1. Summary of Findings ....................................................................................................................... 30
   6.2. Refugees and Tourists at Lampedusa in the News .................................................................................... 31
      6.2.1. The beginning ...................................................................................................................................... 31
      6.2.2. The middle .......................................................................................................................................... 34
      6.2.3. Lampedusa Today .............................................................................................................................. 37
      6.2.4. Summary of Findings ....................................................................................................................... 39
7. Result - The mediated narrative of Lampedusa and its consequences ............................................. 41

7.1 The link between (im)mobility, social status and structures, and its social, political and economic impact on the social structures ............................................................................................................ 41

7.2. Conclusion – traces of postcolonialism in the narrative of mediated mobilities ......................... 43

7.2.1. The mobility at Lampedusa in a bigger perspective ................................................................................. 43

8. References ................................................................................................................................................. 45

8.1. Printed Sources ....................................................................................................................................... 45

8.2. Electronical sources: ................................................................................................................................. 49
1. Introduction

1.1. Mobility in a global perspective

The meaning of mobility can be seen as one of the most important forces ordering emotional and social lives. The individual can even be compared to a carrier, or a product, of the mobility practices in which s/he is involved (Gössling and Stavrinidi, 2016: 723-724). This global flow of people creates an increasing penetration of information and images making it into the collective consciousness of people across the world, emerging through print, visual and online media. During the past couple of decades the world have witnessed a mix of new and familiar kinds of mobility in the forms of the movement of people (human mobility), social network and relations (social mobility), trade and capital (economic mobility), and information and images (symbolic mobility) (Ilcan, 2013:3). In this research I will mainly focus on human mobility, even if all four categories are somewhat dependent on each other and therefore hard to study separately.

The beginning of this millennium holds promise of being both the “Century of Tourism” and the “Century of the Refugee”, never before have so many refugees and tourists been crossing international borders (Russell, 2003). The escalating global popularity of mobility bring millions of people travelling for work and pleasure, but also people who flee war, famine, and persecution, people who become displaced refugees, migrants, and immigrants. An escalating intensification of migration and border controls around the world is inhibiting the travel of particular groups while simultaneously fostering dynamic enactments that challenge border and citizenship practices for others (Ilcan, 2013: 3). The social order of today’s global society is increasingly affected by different kinds of mobilities, two of them being tourists and refugees. This flow of people produce a ‘networked’ patterning of economic and social life, even for those who remain “at home” (Lury, 1997). Therefore mobilities cannot be studied without attention to necessary moorings that configure and enable mobilities (Hannam, Sheller & Urry, 2006:2-3). And the movement of some depends upon the immobility of others (Adey, 2006: 83, 86). Recognizing that mobility is seen in multiple ways allows us to talk about power in mobility in an expanded way, and enhance our ability to understand mobile lives, politics and cities (Jensen, 2011: 256, 258).
1.2. The story of the Tourist and the Migrant/Refugee

The wealthy Tourist from the Global North and the utterly disenfranchised Refugee from the Global South meet in the same geographical space of Lampedusa writes Pugliese (2010: 105). The island Lampedusa is Italy's most southern point in the Mediterranean and is together with the neighboring island Linosa forming an Italian “commune” with 6 299 registered inhabitants on a surface of 25.83 km² which makes up a population density of 243.86 habitants per km² (comune.lampedusaelinosa, 2017).

The year 2011 Campesi (2011) states that Lampedusa has become a prominent symbol of the Europe immigration crisis (Campesi, 2011:1). And during the last couple of years the public attention and media coverage of deaths and struggles at the European borders has been high. As migrants keep dying “en route” to refuge in Europe, the emphasis of the EU conversation about the ‘migration crisis’ has shifted from a humanitarian crisis to a migration management crisis (Garelli and Tazzioli, 2016:2). At the same time, Lampedusa is said to be one of the most beautiful and popular tourism destinations in Europe (VisitSicily, 2015; italia.it, 2017b; Giuffrida, 2015), though the tourism industry is said to have been declining, and the main reason given for this decline is the arrivals of refugees and/or migrants (la Repubblica, 2011; Della Rocca, 2016; Kirby, 2016). Narrative analysis can be explained as “talk” organized around a consequential event. The teller of the story takes a listener into a past time of “world” and recapitulates what happened then to make a, often moral, point (Riessman 1993:3). In this study, with the study case of Lampedusa, the “talk” will be represented by news articles and communication material organized around the consequential event of an influx of migrants/refugees at Lampedusa which is said to have consequential effects on the tourist destination.

This is where the power of media becomes important, since according to Couldry (2013) media has the ability to focus population’s attention in particular directions based on common sites of social and political knowledge, thereby direct the reference points available for everyday talk. By doing this, mediation works on social, economic and political levels of society, building inequalities into this very process. Here, the concept of category is a key mechanism whereby certain types of ordered practice reproduce power by enacting and embodying categories that serve to mark and divide up the world in particular ways (Couldry, 2013: xiv- xxxv, 13-14, 52). I therefore find it interesting and meaningful to investigate the mediated narrative of Lampedusa as a destination of two mobility categories.

Before digging any deeper into the narrative of Lampedusa I want to clarify the categories of human mobility I wish to investigate; The tourist – a visitor (domestic,  

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1 This classification of the countries of the world will be used in this research due to the United Nations Development Program’s classification of “Global South” and “Global North” which adopts a broad development approach and uses the Human Development Index (HDI) as the criterion for distinguishing countries based on health (life expectancy at birth), educational aspects (mean and expected years of schooling) and income.
inbound or outbound) classifies as a tourist (or overnight visitor), if his/her trip includes an overnight stay, or as a same-day visitor (or excursionist) otherwise (World Tourism Organisation, 2014:12). The Migrant/Immigrant – has no precis definition, these terms are often interchangeable, although immigrant could imply a more permanent residence in a, for the individual, foreign country. The Refugee – often an ethnically or nationally defined group, granted refugee status by a state or an international organization, and recognized and inscribed in international law, prior to their arrival in another country. Individuals may also be granted refugee status after a certain period of seeking asylum (Samers, 2010: 324-326). Since the media material included in this research are referring to the individuals arriving at Lampedusa in the boats looking for a new place of temporal or permanent residence, as both refugees and migrants I will do the same in my own comments and analysis of the narrative.

Considering the distinct geographical difference in the point of departure of the Tourist and the Migrant/Refugee arriving to Lampedusa, I believe it is possible to connect the mediated narrative of the island concerning the two mobility categories to postcolonialism. According to Young (2016) postcolonialism is identified as a political and moral consensus of the legacy and impact the history of colonialism has on contemporary global social and cultural structures. And until today the entire world operates within the economic system primarily developed and controlled by the Global North, and it is the continued dominance of political, economic, military and cultural power that gives the history of colonialism a continuing significance (Young, 2016). And by this connection make it possible to apply the analysis of the effects of the mediated mobility categories at Lampedusa to other destinations in a similar situation.

1.3 Previous Research

Systematic analyses evaluating how conceptual and empirical elements of research integrate into analytical frameworks for knowledge production are still at an embryonic stage in mobility studies (D’Andrea, Ciolfi & Gray, 2011: 151, 155). History, mobility history and migration studies among other fields utilize fairly conventional qualitative research methods, ranging from archival research and textual analysis, oral histories. The danger is that ‘mobile methods’ only enable the researcher to travel with their research participants/subjects, without developing an understanding or knowledge of their experiences. An example is to draw a distinction between mobilities and moorings, but rarely look at both at the same time (Hannam, Sheller, and Urry 2006; Merriman, 2014: 177, 182). In an attempt to contribute to the gap in mobility studies, this study has a strong connection to the specific location of Lampedusa and its narrative in the mediated empirical material. In my opinion the narrative analysis of the destination Lampedusa in the mediated content about the two human mobility categories, tourists and migrants/refugees, will contribute to a deeper understanding of the context around the experiences of mobility of the two groups.

Mobilities have been studied from a global and a local perspective, in relation to moorings and immobilities, and its effect on social, political and economic levels of
society have been confirmed (Sheller and Urry 2006, Urry 2007; Hyndman, 2000; Adey, 2010). That mobility can result in new relations of power, visions of social justice, practices of belonging and displacement that distinguish a diverse range of diasporic, migrant, and citizenship relations and conflicts has also been stated (Ilcan, 2013:9). Previous mobility studies have identified parallels between the impacts of tourists and refugees on host countries, and the major advantage to consider these similarities as a possibility to learn common lessons for planning and development (Russell, 2003: 840-841, 843). Islands has been identified as sites increasingly strategically important within new mobility systems, opening up a way to connect to different kinds of studies in financial, bio-medical mobility, as well as migrant and tourism mobilities (Gill, et.al, 2011: 309, 313). And that mobility helps shape and defines social identities through corporeal travel, physical movement of objects, and imaginative, virtual and communicative travel (Gössling and Stavrinidi, 2016: 723-724). With this study I wish to build on to this knowledge by using mobility theory to identify the characteristics of the Tourist and the Migrant/Refugee as two specific categories of mobility, and to apply these two categories in the narrative analysis of the mediated material of Lampedusa.

In early 2000, Lampedusa had already become the destination for migrants and asylum seekers from Africa. In early 2011, about 19,000 migrants arrived from Tunisia and Libya alone, it was more than 3 times the population of the island (Dolidze, 2011: 123-124, 143). According to Campesi (2011) this was the year of the breaking point, when the flow of migrants landing on Italian shores in Lampedusa took a spike, the so-called Arab Spring knocked down the balance on which the Euro-Mediterranean border-control regime was built on over the years (Campesi, 2011:1). The European politicians has since then focused on Italian and Greek islands as hotspots, to enforce full identification and border-posts of first deportation. The Lampedusa hotspot was the first of the eleven along the Greek and Italian frontline of the European Union (EU), and became a preemptive frontier, simultaneously delaying and/or stopping migrants from claiming asylum at Europe’s southern borders (Garelli and Tazzioli, 2016:1). Lampedusa in connection to the human mobility category of the migrant/refugee has been in the focus of academic research before; though by adding the perspective of the tourist mobility as well as the mediated narrative of the island collected in online material I wish to bring new light to the previously researched issue.

Mediation connected to hierarchies social structure has been explained and studied by Chouliaraki (2010; 2015) mostly by theories of the mediated distant suffering. Dayan (2013) refers to Silverstone’s theory of ‘proper distance’, permitting us to share the position of the mediated Other, explaining how mediation works between socially constructed and geographical distances (Dayan 2013:165-169). Thus, instead of looking at the hierarchies of the tourist and the migrant/refugee at Lampedusa through the perspective of the reader’s ability to relate to the mediated “other” I have in this research chosen to use socially oriented media theory. Explained by Couldry (2013) as theory focusing on the social processes that media constitute and enable, with this type
of theory I hope to be able to connect the mediation processes of inequalities in social structures, to the social, political and economic processes built into the mobility theory.

1.4 Presentation of Purpose and Research Questions

I have chosen to perform a narrative analysis of online mediated content of two categories of human mobility, the Tourist and the Migrant/Refugees. The division of categories is important since, as Couldry (2013: 13-14) put it, to get a crucial insight into why the social world, in spite of its massive complexity, still appears to us as a common world.

I have chosen the Mediterranean island Lampedusa as a case study due to the specific characteristics of the island and in order to have a geographical limitation to my investigation. In order to illustrate the development of sequence and consequences of the destination narrative I have also set a historical limitation to the study by researching articles from the year 2011, marked as turning point in terms of amount of arrivals of Migrants/Refugees to Lampedusa (Campesi, 2011; McMahon, 2011; Chalabi, 2013; Lambert, 2011), until this year 2017. I have been collecting empirical material online, published by tourist and humanitarian-aid communication platforms and news channels reporting of tourist and migrant/refugee mobility at Lampedusa, following a non-probability, purposive sampling method presented by Setia (2016). I aim to interpret the case in my study into a more abstract meaning in a greater context, reading social structure into the narrative of the mediated mobilities located at Lampedusa. Then, in an attempt for generalizability of my research, I will connect the results of this analysis back to the theory of Postcolonialism, putting the analysis of the mediated mobilities into a historical context.

The material collected from the tourist destination communication platforms serves to illustrate the mobility of the tourist from the tourism promotion perspective as well as the narrative of Lampedusa as a tourist destination. While the material from the humanitarian-aid communication platforms serves to illustrate the narrative of the mobility of the migrant/refugee as well as the narrative of the humanitarian crisis at the destination and its surrounding waters. In order to get fuller understanding of the mediated narrative of Lampedusa concerning the tourist and the migrant/refugee I have added articles from English and Italian speaking online news channels.

The purpose of this study is to understand the mediation and mobility processes working in the narrative of Lampedusa’s social structures as a destination for the two human mobility categories the Tourist and the Migrant/Refugee

This purpose will be investigated by analysis of the mediated narrative in the collected articles through Couldry’s (2013) three principles emerging from the approach to media theory through social theory, the principle of non-linearity, of analyzing media as practice, and the materiality of representations. And via the mobility theories explained by Comaroff and Comaroff (2002), Adey (2010), Ilcan (2013) and Massey (1991:1994) I search a deeper understanding for the workings of the two human
mobility categories, the Tourist’s and the Migrant’s/Refugee’s, effect on each other and in the social, political and economic structures of society. One obvious differentiation between the Tourist and the Migrant/Refugee at Lampedusa is connected to postcolonial theory which will be mentioned, but the focus of the study remains on mediation and mobility theories in order to keep a theoretical limitation. To be able to answer the purpose of this study the following research questions will be investigated:

In what ways is the mediated narrative of the Tourist and the Migrant/Refugee as two categories of human mobility demonstrating the link between mobility, limited mobility, immobility, travel and social status and structures at Lampedusa?

In what ways can the mediated narrative of the Tourist and the Migrant/Refugee mobilities at the destination Lampedusa be understood to have social, political and economic impact on the social structures of the two groups?

In what ways can traces of postcolonialism be found in the narrative of the Tourist and Migrant/Refugee narrative of the destination Lampedusa?
2. Theoretical Framework

I order to be able to meet the purpose of my research I first need to show how mediation theory connects to social theory, to demonstrate how in the process of mediation, media have social, economic and political consequences. Then I will identify the characteristics of the mobility of the Tourist and of the Migrant/Refugee, and how mobility always seem to be involved with other types of mobility, immobility and the formation of social structures in society. Towards the end of the chapter I will also point out some of the basic thoughts behind postcolonialism to be able to bring in this perspective into the analyze of my collected empirical material.

2.1. Connecting mediation to the creation of social processes

Media as a term is ambiguous, but fundamentally it refers to the institutional dimensions of communication, and digital media is only the latest phase of media contribution to modernity, though the most complex. Media literally change the scale on which we can speak of societies, but it is also building inequalities into this very process, above all inequalities of visibility. In the process of mediation, media have social, economic and political consequences, and the globalization process masks considerable complexity (Couldry, 2013: xiv- xxxv; Urry, 2007). As mobility, processes of mediation has global consequences, also both phenomenon includes processes that are building inequalities, leaving some parts of the world’s population out of it beneficial ratio, excluded. One way to look at media theory, Couldry (2013) suggests, is turned towards sociology and social theory. This foregrounds how media is put to use in, and help shape, social life and how meanings circulated though media have social consequences. This type of media theory lacks a ready name, and is referred to as; socially oriented media theory: that is, theory focusing on the social processes that media constitute and enable (Couldry, 2013:xx).

Though there can be no ‘pure’ theory of media, since media are always particular, historically embedded ways of communication information and meaning, Couldry’s (2013) theory is based on three principles that emerge from the approach to media theory and social theory;

First; the principle of non-linearity, contradictions, tensions and ambiguities affect media’s social workings at all scales. A sociological account of media must therefore balance two registers: how power is sustained across space, cutting though the complexities of the individual point of view; and how everyday encounters with, and through, media feel to each of us, informing our strategies within the world. The second principle is that media research must analyze media as practice, on-going. The world is not a text but a vast weaving together of particular practices and resources, including practices of making and interpreting texts. The third principle is the materiality of representations. Representations are a material site for the result of social and political struggle, a site where power always has been involved. To fully grasp this concept in
relation to media is difficult: because the role of media institutions is to tell us ‘what there is’ or ‘what is new’, covering over its daily entanglement in that site of power. Media focus populations’ attention in a particular direction based on common sites of social and political knowledge. Media institutions are embedded in the central focus of modern societies in this digital media era. It is essential to deconstruct the apparently neutral media ‘order’ of contemporary societies (Couldry, 2013: xvi -xxxvii).

Even if research shows that people do not blindly believe the reality media is picturing, Couldry (2013) emphasizes production the social agenda of which the world gets presented and so narrows the reference points available for everyday talk. Media can help create new social norms, detached from formal social memberships and fine-tuned into the narrative necessities of media production (Couldry, 2013:52). That is why, the mediated narrative of the two mobility categories, tourist and refugee, becomes important in a bigger aspect than just in the case of Lampedusa. According to Couldry (2013) the concept of category is a key mechanism whereby ordered practice reproduces power by enacting and embodying categories that serve to mark and divide up the world in particular ways. By understanding the work of categories, we get a crucial insight into why social world, in spite of its massive complexity, still appears to us as a common world. This approach to power does not rely on static notions of social order, but focuses instead is on the open-ended processes of ordering what various institutions, including media, set to work in spite of contemporary societies’ actual value-plurality because of the actual lack of and fully achieved social order. Categories, all categories, are both things and structured contents which, as representations, do work in ordering the social world (Couldry, 2013:13-14). Such as the tourist and the migrant/refugee are categories of human mobility.

2.2. Two categories of human mobility, the Migrant/Refugee and the Tourist

Development and displacement are strongly connected and an important area of development studies takes place in the relation between development and mobility, and development may even stimulate and provoke mobility itself (Adey, 2010: 114-115). Issues related to mobility are at center of the governing discussions globally and controversies rage from modes of belonging to border security measures, from gender, race, and class matters to governance and international trade, and from immigration policies to human, citizenship, and migrant rights (Ilcan, 2013:3).

One kind of mobility seems to always involve another type of mobility, or even immobility. Mobility can include engagement with a landscape, or be deployed as a label to make sense of an act of transgression, it may be engaged as a way to govern, or used as an analytical concept (Adey, 2010: 18-19). Geographer and cultural theorist Tim Cresswell (2001, 2006) states that mobility without meaning is simply movement, therefore mobility is a kind of movement charged with meaning. According to Comaroff and Comaroff (2002) mobility is involved in the formation of social structures in society; different kind of mobility holds different value, during different epochs of history. They claim sedentarism has shaded certain migrants with certain stereotypes, creating ideas
of "nightmare citizens" whose "rootlessness" sucks the morale and economic value from a geographical area (Comaroff and Comaroff 2002, 789).

Other figures created by mobility are the flâneur, and the tourist. To be a flâneur indicate the visual and sensorial consumption of a particular city, and like the flâneur the tourist has been constructed as a similar mobile consumer. The life of a tourist has come to stand for a certain sort of modern existence, the tourist and the holiday may well dignify a personal letting go of everyday life in order to consume the place (Adey, 2010: 66, 67, 68). Mobility is involved with immobility which relates to the concepts of the human mobility categories of the tourist and the migrant/refugee, two groups navigating the social structures under very different circumstances. One group is free to move almost all over the world, and are also almost everywhere warmly welcomed. While the other group is more commonly met with suspicion and a much higher degree of rules and regulations that restrict their possibility to move as freely.

Ideologically charged mobility politics and policies often fail to assume that mobilities are incredibly uneven and differentiated, and politics of mobility flows though power geometrics creating relational impacts of who and what other mobilities our mobilities effect. Different kinds of mobility can weaken the leverage of the already weak and thereby undermine the power of others (Massey 1991: 150-151; Massey, 1994, 148; Adey, 2010: 87, 91-92). A very obvious factor controlling a person's access to mobility is "citizenship". Adey (2010) states that citizenship equals the negotiation and management of mobility and the passport is both a tool to monitor and manage it by the state, while it allows citizens to prove their identity and claim the rights of travel. The complexity of mobility in the context of EU is that mobility is the base of the very idea of the Union, yet there is a tension involved in granting freedom of mobility for some people (citizens, tourists, business people) made possible through the organized exclusion of others. The excluded are left with the option to move around as illegal "aliens", migrants, or refugees, underscored by political decision making and ideological meanings, motility is particular ways of relations of society and power (Adey, 2010: 105, 109, 131). Identification makes a crucial component of human mobility, differentiating the "global citizen/tourist" from the "illegal alien/migrant/refugee", a process underscored and empowered by political and ideological forces.

An escalating intensification of migration and border controls is restraining the travel of particular groups while simultaneously fostering dynamic enactments of border and citizenship practices for others. Predicting global flows of commodities and transactions, including the tourism industry, have made mobility part of a borderless business world. The extent and form of knowledge of the "global flows" often permit a legitimization and authorization of the production of classifications between people and places. Making those who are marginal to this knowledge, such as colonized populations, displaced people, and "risky" citizens, face increasingly new injustices corresponding to the concentration and dispersion of power in multiple sites and though institutional practices across the world. There are many sites of increasing concern in the regard of
the endless sites of emergencies that materialize as refugee camps forms and as massive displacement of populations emerges. As these forms of mobility and immobility continue to materialize, refugee camps are gated sites to keep vulnerable refugees alive and to "park and guard all kinds of undesirable populations" (Ilcan, 2013:4-6).

2.3. A Postcolonial perspective

Considering that, according to Pugliese (2010:105), at Lampedusa the Tourist comes from the Global North while the Refugee comes from the Global South I believe a postcolonial perspective could be helpful in bringing a deeper understanding of the workings the two human mobility categories in the creation of social structures.

The term "postcolonialism" frequently offers a challenge to colonialism, but does not constitute a single program of resistance; it is somewhat broad in scope and can be considered a bit vague (Hiddleston, 2009:1-3). Thus I will relate to the term as described by Young (2016); postcolonialism is identified as a political and moral consensus of the legacy and impact of the history of colonialism has on contemporary global social and cultural structures. And in addition, a reconsideration of this history, particularly from the perspectives of those who suffered its effects, together with the defining of its contemporary social and cultural impact. It presupposes that the history of European expansion and the occupation of most of the global landmass between 1492 and 1945, mark a process that was both specific and problematic. Some critics claim colonialism to be merely the unfortunate accident of modernity. With the only problem being the Global Norths mistake of interpret a technological advance for power and the right to take a cultural superiority. However, it can also be said that colonialism was extraordinary in many ways. In its global dimension, and the globalization of the imperial power of the Global North, which obliged whole nations to follow the same general economic path. Until today the entire world operates within the economic system primarily developed and controlled by the Global North. And it is the continued dominance in terms of political, economic, military and cultural power that gives this history a continuing significance. Political liberation did not bring economic liberation – and without economic liberation, there can be no political liberation (Young, 2016:4-6).

Processes of media are historically embedded, and categories of mobility change value throughout history, thereby both phenomenon's are creating, but are also partly created by, social structures particular for a certain time. Therefore the characters created by different kinds of mobility or by mediation will change in different societies over time. Making it hard to draw any generalizable conclusions for the exact effects of mobility on social structures, however, mobility and immobility depend on each other. One group's possibility to move freely may depend on other's difficulty, or even impossibility, to move in the same way. And these categories of mobility are documented in media. To investigate the relationship between different mobility categories further I have chosen to perform a narrative analysis of mediated material of two categories of human mobility, the tourist and the migrant/refugee at the destination Lampedusa.
3. Research Method

In order to meet the purpose of this study; to understand the mediation and mobility processes working in the narrative of Lampedusa’s social structures as a destination for the two human mobility categories the Tourist and the Migrant/Refugee, I have chosen to perform a qualitative narrative analysis of online communication material concerning tourists and migrants/refugees at Lampedusa.

3.1. Selection and Representation

In this research I have been collecting empirical material online, published by tourism and humanitarian-aid communication platforms and news channels. Setia, (2016) presents two essential types of sampling methods: probability sampling – based on chance of events (such as random numbers, flipping a coin etc.); and non-probability sampling – based on researcher’s choice (ex. accessible & available population). It is important that the sampling method matches the research question, for instance, the researcher may want to understand an issue in greater detail for one particular population rather than worry about the ‘generalizability’ of these results. The non-probability, purposive sampling method is often used in qualitative studies since it allows the researcher to select the subjects purposively to answer the specific research questions (Setia, 2016). And it is the method that has been used also in this study.

The articles included in my research are chosen based on the following:

The tourist destination communication sites - I began my research with choosing one regional and one national online tourism promotion platform. None of the organizations are working with promotion of Lampedusa only, but they both have dedicated sections on their websites for the island. None of the organizations are doing direct profits on the commercialization of the destination, but simply engaging in destination marketing (italia.it, 2017e; VisitSicily, 2015). These two were chosen to in order to include the narrative of the mobility of the tourist from the destination communication perspective. And to illustrate how the regional and the national tourism destination organizations narrate the island as a tourist destination. The organizations that I found online dedicated to promote Lampedusa only were either not updated or did not have enough information available. I purposely looked for organizations that were not selling anything except the story of the island as a tourist destination.

The humanitarian-aid communication sites – “SOS MEDITERRANEE” was chosen due to the organizations direct connection to the aid-work in the area surrounding Lampedusa, a connection which was assumed to be reflected in their communication material, posted in a kind of blog format on their website. The second platform chosen was a blog called “MigrantSicily”, a collaboration between Borderline Sicilia ONLUS and Borderline Europe e.V. (migrantsicily, 2017b), which was chosen due to the mission stated by the two organizations behind the blog; to defend the rights of migrants by conducting documentation, information and research (MigrantSicily, 2012a), and to
create a public awareness of the deadly consequences of present migration policy (MigrantSicily, 2012b). None of these organizations are dedicated only to Lampedusa and I have purposely looked for articles concerning the geographical area of the island and the surrounding waters. I believe these two sources will assist to make a sufficient understanding of the situation from a humanitarian-aid perspective in the area. They were also chosen due to the significant amount of available material, since both sites are frequently maintained, and MigrantSicily have material stored from 2011, the year which represent the start of my study.

News items concerning Tourists and Migrants/Refugees - As I began my research I read a great sample of news items concerning Lampedusa from the year 2011 until 2017. I focused on English and Italian speaking media since these are the two languages I manage well enough to study. And because I wanted to add two different perspectives, the national, Italian one, and a more international, English speaking, perspective. Looking at articles only concerning tourists and migrants/refugees at Lampedusa I got a sample of thousands of articles for each news channel. Due to the time limitation of this degree project, and since I wanted to go through the material in a deep and thorough way, without having any technical analytical tool at hand, I chose a smaller sample out of these thousands. All articles are published between 2011 and 2017 and concern the mobility of tourists and/or migrants/refugees in the geographical area of Lampedusa and its surrounding waters. All together 8 articles from 2 different English speaking news channels (The Guardian and BBC News) and 7 articles from 2 different Italian speaking news channels (Corriere della Sera and la Repubblica). In this research I will refer to the news sources as news channels since they are a variation of strong online presence, prints and broadcasting. The articles vary in format, from chronicles to reportages; this is to get a fuller picture of the narrative of the specific topic.

The two English speaking news channels included in this research are “The Guardian” and “BBC News”. According to Alexa (2017a), an amazon.com company specialized in advanced checking and listing website traffic, The Guardian and BBC is number 4 and 5 on the list ranking “top 500 sites on the web” under the category “News” \(^2\) (Alexa, 2017b). Looking at the same category including only European numbers The Guardian ends up on the 7th place and BBC is on 3rd. I have relied on these numbers as an indicator for the importance of the news channels in terms of an international scope. The two Italian news channels included in this research “Corriere della Sera” and “la Repubblica” are the two biggest national newspapers in Italy (fieg.it, 2015) according to “Federazione Italiana editori giornali” (the federation of Italian journal publishers) (fieg.it, 2017). And finally, to get a bigger representation of articles concerning Lampedusa I had to include regional branches of the news channels “Corriere della Sera”  

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\(^2\) The sites in the top sites lists are ordered by their 1 month Alexa traffic rank. The 1 month rank is calculated using a combination of average daily visitors and page views over the past month. The site with the highest combination of visitors and page views is ranked #1, in the world.
and “la Repubblica”. For the last one the local news reporting goes under the same heading (repubblica.it, 2017). But for Corriere Della Sera the branch reporting of the Southern regions of Italy is called “Corriere del Mezzogiorno” (corriere.it, 2017).

Veal (2011) stresses the importance of representation to not be ignored within qualitative research, although qualitative methods do not involve statistical calculations that require prescribed levels of precision (Veal, 2011; 369). I have chosen articles from 2011 until 2017, since according to Campesi, 2011; McMahon, 2011; Chalabi, 2013; Lambert, 2011, the Arabic Spring 2011 is described as a breaking point for when the flow of migrants landing on Italian shores in Lampedusa took a spike. During my research of articles I was interested to explore wider social processes and digital platforms that connect the narrative activity of institutional settings with broader networks of exchange. To examine the particularities of the case, I did not only investigate the story told by the journalists or tourist and humanitarian-aid agencies but I also looked at in what context the text was published. I paid attention to the time in relation to each other the different mobility narratives were told, and how the destination and local people were described.

3.2. Internet in Qualitative Research

In this qualitative study I have relied on empirical material from sources online. Markham (2012) argues that the relationship of the internet to the research project depends on how the internet is defined. In this research I have used the internet as a tool for collecting, sorting, and analyzing the information gathered. As part of a deductive research, I am aiming for the gathered data to help me form a conclusion in relation to the previously outlined mobility, mediation and postcolonial theory. According to Markham (2012) people use multiple media simultaneously, which can be asynchronous or synchronous; one-to-one, one-to-many, or many-to-many; anonymous or not anonymous. I wish to analyze the internet as means of communication one-to-many, treating the news channels and communication platforms as “one” source reaching out to a bigger kind of audience.

Markham (2012) states that the ethical guidelines and diversity of methodological choices, vary and researchers must explore and define research ethics within their own integral framework. As I will stay in Italy during my research I aim to get familiar with the country codes, and a comprehensive understanding of the organizations and the local life of the destination I will investigate. One critical point regarding ethics in this study is that the initial intentions of the authors and organizations responsible for publishing the material I will use is unknown to me, though in some cases it might be quite straightforward. Another question of ethics regards permission, the publishers and authors will not be asked for permission for me to use their texts in this research, however, I will only use public texts.
3.3. Case study

According to Yin (2009) a case study involves an empirical investigation which demonstrates a contemporary phenomenon in the context of real life during a longer period of time, a method especially convenient when the limitation between phenomenon and context is blurry (Yin, 2009). The case of my study, the geographical location of Lampedusa is researched through the narrative built by two mediated categories of human mobility. Though, this study will not be a pure case study since I did not have the possibility to dedicate my full attention to this research during a longer period, neither is this study a pure empirical research since I have chosen a deductive approach.

According to Donmoyer (2012), in qualitative research a study's generalizability is redefined to a question of a commonsense term. Why knowledge of a single or limited number of cases will be useful to people who operate in other, potentially different situations, the answer is often that reading qualitative accounts of radically different cases could produce enriched cognitive schema and that these schema would allow for a kind of intellectual generalization even when settings are radically different (Donmoyer, 2012). In my research I have made the assumption that the case of Lampedusa is fruitful to look at in order to get an idea of, or reach an understanding of, the situation of destinations in similar situations. However, I do not believe I have reached a complete generalizable result, for this to be possible I believe many more articles need to be studied in a much closer manner, during a longer amount of time.

Different views on case studies are provided by naturalism, positivism and constructivism. Constructivists see empirical efforts of doing case studies as a contribution and check to a theoretical discourse. The focus is on narrowing the gap between concrete observations and abstract meanings using interpretive techniques (Blatter, 2012). Ontological and epistemological approaches within the constructivist paradigm neglect the external objective reality independent of individuals. Instead, each individual constructs knowledge and experience through social interaction (Costantino, 2012). I aim to interpret the case in my study into a more abstract meaning of the large picture, with help of the narrative analysis and the theories described in previous chapter, reading social structure into the narrative of the mediated mobilities located at the case of my study Lampedusa. I believe that with the naturalist and the positivist methods I would risk underestimating the surrounding influences. I also find it interesting that constructivist qualitative research allows investigating and understanding a phenomenon from the perspective of those experiencing it, in this case represented by the tourism actors and the refugee aid communication agencies.

3.4. Narrative analysis

Narrative analysis can be explained as “talk” organized around a consequential event. The teller of an event takes a listener into a past time of “world” and recapitulates what happened to make a, often moral, point. Narrative is a term with many meanings, often exchangeable with the term “story” (Riessman, 2012:2-3), storytelling as a
research method invites to recognize how particular forms of discourse are ordered as narratives. Some critics of narrative methods argue that sociologists should be story-analysts rather than storytellers (Gough, 2012). There is a disagreement between different perspectives of narrative analysis approach, and analysis of data is only one component of the broader field of narrative inquiry. Common for all types are that the analysis allows an interpretation of texts as consequential for later action. Methods are often case centered, and the cases varies from individuals, identity groups, communities, organizations, or even nations, and include interpretations of different kinds of texts—oral, written, and visual (Riessman, 2012:2). This research’s case, the island Lampedusa, will be studied with a focus on written texts, but also with attention to some visual material complementing the texts. I believe the destination Lampedusa to have a narrative meaningful for both the tourist and the migrant/refugee. And it is in the gap between the different kinds of mediated narrative about human mobility at the same geographical space I find the interest for my research.

Nations and governments construct preferred narratives about their history, and so do social movements, organizations, scientists, other professionals, ethnic/racial groups, and individuals. What collects such diverse texts under the name of “narrative” is sequence and consequence: events are selected, organized, connected, and evaluated as meaningful for a particular audience (Hinchman and Hinchman, 1997). I have selected a couple of articles to be a part of this study in order to illustrate the development of the sequence and consequences of the destination narrative which I believe to be meaningful for the tourist and the migrant/refugee. Riessman (2012) states that in social science narrative is referring to texts that at several levels overlap - stories told by participants (interpretive stories), interpretations of an investigator based on interviews and fieldwork observation (a story about stories), and the interpretive narrative a reader constructs after engaging with the participant’s and investigator’s narratives. Analytical work with visual materials pushes the elusive boundaries of narrative definition further (Riessman, 2012).

Riessman (2012) claims that narrative analysts interrogate intention and language; how and why events are storied, not simply the content to which language refers. Narrative analysts ask the following questions: For whom was the story constructed and for what purpose? How is it composed? What cultural resources does it draw on or take for granted? What storehouse of cultural plots does it call up? What does the story accomplish? Are there gaps and inconsistencies that might suggest preferred, alternative, or counter narratives? (Riessman 2012:2-3, Riessman 1993:4).

The application of narrative approaches risk to decontextualize stories by ignoring historical, interactional and institutional factors (Riessman, 2012), which is another reason as to why I kept the dates of the articles. To create some kind of historical context, even if the time span of my research is short in the context of human mobility at Lampedusa, I hope to keep an interactional factor by looking at the mobility narrative from multiple perspective, and the institutional factor will be represented by the humanitarian-aid and tourism communication organizations/initiatives. Though it is
true that I have chosen to focus on a rather short period of time in history, and a small sample of the material I found on the topic. Also there are more actors and institutions involved in the narratives I study, but to make some kind of limitation to the filed I have narrowed it down to the ones presented.

3.4.1. Visual Narrative Inquiry

Visual narrative inquiry is an intentional, reflective, active human process in which researchers and participants explore and make meaning of experience both visually and narratively. It builds on a view of study of experience as story and as a way of thinking about experience. Visual narrative inquiry adds a layer of meaning so that photographs and visuals become ways of living and telling one’s stories of experience (Bach, 2012:2). In a modified way I would like to apply the Visual Narrative Inquiry to the images included in the communication material in this study. Not all the articles include images, but I feel the study would not be complete if I did not pay attention to the visual perspective of the narrative of my research. I will focus on the experience of the photographs presented together with the text as a reader.

Since a photograph holds no steady or fixed meaning images become vulnerable resulting in pervasive ethical issues in visual narrative research. In any story told, multiple selves speak, and these selves are temporal productions residing in both the present and a continuously reconstructed past. The past, present, and future, contained in stories, can be seen as productions or creations that may intersect and overlap in nonlinear, unfolding, and enfolding ways (Bach, 2012:4-5).

3.5. Alternative methods and Critics

I initially intended to balance the narrative analysis with email interviews with actors in the tourism industry and the humanitarian-aid agencies at the location of Lampedusa. However I did not receive a sufficient amount of replies for the research I was planning. I believe that it was due to lack of personal contact with the local actors that I experienced such difficulties. For another time I will make sure I have the necessary connections before making the decision for such a research design. This time, I chose to go deeper into my narrative analysis and add more dimensions to it than I first planned, and I have added more news items from a bigger variety of sources. I also added a visual narrative inquiry research method to include the photos in the articles to the analysis in an attempt to deepen my understanding of the narrative.

Textual Analysis (Lockyer, 2012), Content Analysis (Julien, 2012), and Narrative Inquiry (Clandinin & Cain, 2012), are all alternative methods that I considered for this research. Though, in this research I was more interested in the story created by the texts then to bring out a deep understanding of already documented data, as the Textual Analysis seemed to allow (Lockyer, 2012). And none of Textual Analysis (Lockyer, 2012) or Content Analysis (Julien, 2012) seemed to cover the importance of the narrative that I wanted to capture in relation to the destination Lampedusa. I saw many advantages of
empathizing the researchers own impact in a study which the Narrative Inquiry (Clandinin & Cain, 2012) allowed, thus it seemed more sufficient for research involving interviews or conversations. I hope to be able to take my own experiences and influences under consideration also without fully applying the narrative inquiry. I believe the awareness of my own prejudices has helped me to continuously question the conclusions and associations I made. There are a lot of things I could have done differently in this study, I could for example have done the collection of news items over a longer period of time, and compared the media communication before and after the Arabic Spring 2011. And I think this would have made an equally interesting study, perhaps it is a method for another time.

3.6. Working conditions

During the time of my research I have been located in Italy, though I have not been able to visit Lampedusa which was my initial plan. Due to work and other obligations the trip was not manageable. I believe that this might have limited my understanding of the narrative I am analyzing and therefore the result of the study. However, I believe that the formulation of the purpose of my study takes away the need of a personal experience of the island by bringing the attention to the mediated narrative of mobility. I also hope that my own, both academic and professional, experience of the tourism industry, and the experience of living and working in Italy has helped me to bring perspective and depth to my analysis.

Last time I came to spend a longer time in Italy was in fact spring 2011, and it was then I first got to know about the situation at Lampedusa, though also then from a distance since I was studying and working in Florence, in the more northern parts of Italy. Some of my friends were involved in a volunteer organization and I got introduced to a group of people that had arrived as refugees at Lampedusa. I was at the moment in the middle of my Tourism Studies and I got deeply fascinated and concerned with the difference in the terms and condition of human mobility. Perhaps this meeting also influenced me now, to not conduct interviews or telling the story from the perspective of the refugees at Lampedusa, since I believe I lack experience and knowledge within the field of humanitarian-aid and/ or physiological care. However, I understand that the choice of not taking in the voice of the migrant/refugee in my empirical material can be criticized for giving the study a complete European perspective, especially as I am studying a matter concerning many outside the borders of the European Union.
4. Lampedusa and the Tourist

In this section I have collected online communication material from one national (Italia.it) and one regional (VisitSicily.info) destination marketing platform. Italia.it is produced by the ENIT (the Italian National Tourist Board) and MiBACT (the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism), and aims to promote the brand Italy in the tourism sector and to collect and spread tourist information through the Internet. The website is available in English, Italian, Spanish, French, German, Russian and Czech (italia.it, 2017a). Regione Siciliana, the department of Tourism, Sport and Entertainment in the Italian region of Sicily produces the website VisitSicily.info, with the aim to promote tourism in Sicily, and its surrounding islands, and it is available in English and Italian (VisitSicily, 2015).

4.1. The tourist destination Lampedusa

“A piece of paradise? Here it is! (ibid)”

The picture published with the text at the VisitSicily (2015) site is showing a piece of an empty beach, blue sky and clear water, fitting the narrative of the holiday destination. The narrative in the material collected from VisitSicily.info and Italia.it is organized around the event of a holiday at Lampedusa, the tourist is invited to enjoy, relax and experience the island, by seeing, feeling and tasting its characteristics.

The island is a source of continual discovery, with welcoming smiling people (italia.it, 2017b). Lampedusa offers its guests; crystal clear waters, beautiful landscape, a tropical fauna, fishes that are a rarity in the Mediterranean sea, and beaches which often appear in the top of website reviews (italia.it, 2017b, VisitSicily, 2015). The town center of Lampedusa will give the tourist all entertainment desired, like “trattoire” along the seaside, accommodations, and car rentals. It is recommended to rent a “motorino” (motor-scooter) to discover the island in the best way, and to go on the small roads between “le cale” (the beaches) of white sand or rocks. In the restaurants there is no end to the delicious options: “sgombro, trancio di pescespada, calamari alla griglia, dentice, cernia, il sapore del mare nel piatto” (VisitSicily, 2015) (all southern Italian specialties).
The attention in the texts is directed towards the beauty of Lampedusa’s beaches, nature and wildlife, unique features said to be a consequence of the location of the island, which is referred to as;


It is assumed that the potential visitor at Lampedusa is searching both stillness and activity, and will fall in love with the island;

There are sites ideal for those who search isolation, and with the 12 beaches there is always a beautiful choice available. The intense blue of the sea and the sky, the white of the houses and the churches, and the yellow of the weed colored by the sun will make sure that the experience of Lampedusa goes straight to you heart (VisitSicily, 2015). As it is the last trace of Italian terrain before the African coast, Lampedusa is claimed to be one of the most-frequented destinations of sun-worshippers, scuba divers and nature lovers. Containing environmental characteristics of two continents, it is, after all, only 70 miles from Tunisia, and 109 miles from Sicily. A boat ride off Lampedusa’s coast is the best way to appreciate its full beauty. For scuba divers a rather easy reached attraction is the underwater statue Madonna del Mare, 46 feet deep, or if you are more of a land lover, walk the trails that run up to the island’s foremost peaks. Be sure to visit Isola dei Conigli (Rabbit Island), located only 328 feet from the Lampedusa coast. It is a protected nature reserve given its loggerhead sea turtle population that lays its eggs there. During the summer it is recommended to attend one of the many celebrations happening on the island’s beaches, including bonfires, barbecues, musical performances, and taste the fish cous cous which provides a mix of African and Sicilian flavors (italia.it, d, 2017). The marvelous island of Lampedusa is easily reachable by airplane from all over Italy in only a bit over an hour flight (VisitSicily, 2015).

The preferred narrative is without a doubt the tranquil holiday island, full of beautiful thing and views to be easily discovered. The text is clearly directed towards the European tourist due to the languages the websites are available on. My interpretation of the consequential action is the desire to visit the island, therefore book/buy a holiday at the destination. The VisitSicily website is updated 2015, while the italia.it does not have this information available.

4.1.1. Summary of findings

In the mediated narrative about Lampedusa as a tourist destination we only get the beautiful side of the story. We are only informed about the smiling people, and the geographical closeness to Africa is solely mentioned in the context of the characteristics in nature and food it has brought to Lampedusa. This can be seen as a sign of media building inequalities of visibility into this very process, described by Couldry (2013). The story presented in the above section matches the expected value for the tourist, who in turn is of value for the destination. The focus to beauty also reinforces the notion about media working to target the attention of populations in particular directions, also
suggested by Couldry (2013), creating a narrative of a socially accepted agenda for the mobility category of the tourist.

References to Adey’s (2010) theory about mobility being involved with immobility, and also about the tourist as a consumer can be found in the narrative of Lampedusa as a tourist destination. The tourist as a category of human mobility is involved with the immobility of the “smiling people” as the hosting population, but also in terms of the landscape and the wildlife, that are supposed to be fixed, located at the island for the tourists to experience. The experience is represented as the meaning of the tourists movement to the island, the tourist is supposed to consume the island as an experience. Like the suggested boat ride off the coast to best way to appreciate Lampedusa’s beauty, a claim that is intensely dependent and entangled with the specifics of the conditions concerning the mobility of the tourist. This part of the tourist narrative in comparison to the narrative of the boat rides concerning the mobility of the migrant/refugee gives us a hit of the way categories of mobility can contribute to social structures.
5. Lampedusa and the Migrant/Refugee

In the material in the below section, collected from MigrantSicily and Sos Mediterranee, I have purposely chosen articles written by representatives from the organizations and not from the migrants/refugees themselves. The articles are all media communications in forms of blog posts, press releases or website material/articles.

The “MigrantSicily” blog is a project which monitors the situation at the Mediterranean border of Italy, offering the intervention in response to the everyday emergency migration politics of the Italian government concerning the flux of refugees from the Maghreb region and Libya (MigrantSicily, 2017a). Sos Mediterranee is operating in the sea area between Sicily, Lampedusa and Libya, in close collaboration with the Maritime Rescue Coordination Centre. The crew onboard is formed by a Search and Rescue (SAR) Team and a medical team from the partner organization "Doctors without Borders". The humanitarian organization is independent of any political party and religious ideology, having as a motto the respect for human rights. The organization describes the dramatic increase of boats in distress and the insufficiency of existing rescue measures as the reason for its existence. With the rescue ship AQUARIUS they have been active in the Mediterranean from February 2016 with relief operations (Sosmediterranee, 2017a).

5.1. The (real) situation at the Mediterranean border of Italy

The blog MigrantSicily (2017a) has a special tab for updates regarding Lampedusa, the narrative of the island under this tab is organized around the arrival of migrants and how badly the situation has been handled, or not handled, by local, national and international authorities.

Giacomo Sferlazzo, “a Lampedusan”, posts “A Letter from Lampedusa” 24.09.2011; for some time, there has been a continuous degradation of the life in the Refugee Centre on Lampedusa, one reason being a lack of transfers from Lampedusa to the rest of Italy. Yet everyone pretended nothing was going on, the most important thing was that the tourists did not see the migrants wandering around the streets. The island is desperately missing state presence, threats and corruption is a part of daily life that no one likes to talk about. The only value that unites the Lampedusans is the summer season and the islander’s ability to make money. Yet, the world and history shows that there is more to the situation than the mere saving of the tourist season, beyond the limited vision of small businesses. Still there are those who say throw them (the migrants) back in the sea as they are all delinquents (Sferlazzo, 2011).

Until this point the narrative has the preferred meaning for the local Lampedusan to see beyond the self-interest, and the moral point of the story is for the islander to realize what is really important, which is not the tourism industry.

Sferlazzo (2011) continues claiming that the violence may be seen as a way to resolve the questions that politics does not know or want to address. When migrants at
Lampedusa are being locked up under inhumane conditions and forced to protest with violence, having no other way for their voice to be heard. The immature Lampedusan is then lead into the government’s trap of more restricted migrant regulations. Those in power always try to find a way to divide humanity, often by using fear and ignorance, of which, Lampedusa is yet another example (Sferlazzo, 2011).

In the end the story turn towards blaming the increasing violence of the Lampedusans, and also of the migrants, on the government, reiterating that it is actually part of their plan to divide the people on the island. The text draws on the cultural resources of “us” and “them”; “us” are the Lampedusans who needs to save the tourism business; “them”, the Tunisians/migrants who are preferred hidden from the publics, and specifically the tourist’s, gaze. An alternative narrative seems to be hidden in Sferlazzo (2011) own reasoning as a different kind of Lampedusan, who does not believe in the violence and division of people, who realizes the solution to the problem is not to kill the migrants.

A post from 04.02.2015 is called “The Border Returns to Lampedusa”. The previous operation “Mare Nostrum” run by the Italian Navy, was able to bring more people straight to Sicily or mainland Italy. However, due to financial cut backs from the EU, a new rescue mission called “Triton” (coordinated by the EU initiative Frontex) was initiated, bringing the importance for understanding migratory movements in the Mediterranean Sea back to Lampedusa. The United Nations pointed out that 1.600 people have died in the seas around Lampedusa since June 2014. This has a big effect on the life on the island, as well as the silence regarding the continuum of arriving migrants. The Lampedusan border location expands or shrinks, depending on what the public wants to see writes Schadewaldt (2015).

“Securing borders only means convicting people who already live under tragic conditions and at the margins of humanity. That, what is often claimed with ease about the presence of terrorists on the boats, stands in harsh contrast to what we observe here. The people who come to Europe to commit acts of terror use different, much safer routes. They are unlikely to set off on this dangerous journey on a boat. This fear-mongering could be used to legitimize European states’ future decisions” (ibid).

This narrative seems to have the purpose to shed light on the weight on Lampedusa caused by the European migration politics, and also on the true meaning of the claim of terrorist among the migrants arriving on the boats to Lampedusa. It is possible to distinguish a parallel narrative of what the “public wants to see” and the said “reality”. A problem that no one talks about as it does not exist; therefore, the border location of Lampedusa expands and shrinks depending on what the public want to see. The narrative is depicting a reality where international European forces use the fear of terrorists as a reason to secure their borders from people living on the outside, on the margins of humanity. As a confirmation of what Sferlazzo (2011) claimed 4 years earlier, an attempt of those in power to divide humanity.
5.2. The Lampedusa waters

On the website of Sos Mediterranee, under the tab which collects all news and press releases, I found as the very first post: “START OF THE CROWDFUNDING CAMPAIGN "A BOAT FOR REFUGEES" from the 12.09.2015:

“This year already 3.000 people died or went missing during their flight across the Mediterranean Sea. The European initiative SOS MEDITERRANEE wants to act now and starts its campaign to finance a first rescue ship for the Mediterranean Sea. The ship will operate between Libya and Sicily / Lampedusa to rescue refugees in distress”  
(Sosmediterranee, 2015).

In this first post, the situation in the waters around Lampedusa is narrated as urgent - we have to act now or more people will die. There is no other option but to save the people in distress at sea.

On the 07.03.2016 Jean-Paul Mari writes about the “First Rescue at Sea”; at 6 a.m. the crew gets a call from Rome’s maritime coordination center about two dinghies in distress at sea off the Libyan cost. Half an hour later, the location of the dinghies is reached; the boats were starting to fill with water as they were tossed around by the waves. First, the crew sends a speedboat to estimate the situation on the dinghy, count the number of migrants, comfort them and hand out life jackets, then the transfer of people from one boat to another starts. Immediately, they are welcomed by doctors, their soaked clothes are taken off them and substituted by dry clothes and blankets, and something to drink is handed out. They stay calm, assessing the situation. Some of them keep uttering “Thank you, thank you”, others remain silent. They speak English or French, and come from Gambia, Senegal and Mali (sosmediterranee, 2016b).

The story about the rescue crew as a savior or hero is clearly narrated. The people in the dinghies are on the other side helpless victims of the sea, slowly sinking into its deep. The hero does everything right, the rescue team know exactly what to do, and the rescued are thankful.

“"What's the point of building such flimsy vessels?" wonders a sailor [...] After only six hours it is already damaged and its passengers severely weakened. But the smugglers could not care less about the refugees' safety; they're here to ship their packages across the sea and collect their money (Sosmediterranee, 2016b).”

At 8.20 a.m., the first operation is completed. On the bridge of the rescue vessel, the captain is waiting for instructions. A second dinghy is in distress in the sea somewhere close by (ibid).

The preferred narrative is simple, the smuggler is the bad guy, and the story is organized around the hero, with the moral obligation to save the refugees, who smugglers sent out to die at sea. The refugee is not only narrated as a victim of the
smuggler, but also as package, a commodity exchangeable for money. And towards the end of the article, we get assured that this narrative is not the only one of its sort. The crew of heroes has been practicing their rescue skills to save many more helpless victims at sea. The story we are not told here is the victim’s destiny after the rescue.

5.3. Summary of findings

In the process of mediation, the media has social, economic and political consequences (Couldry, 2013; Urry, 2007). This becomes visible in the narrative of Lampedusa; for example, is the migrant/refugee completely absent from the tourist destination narrative in the previous chapter. And in this chapter we get to understand that the locals put their own interest of earning money out of the tourist, over the migrant’s right to even live. Moreover, the water around Lampedusa is a narrated as dangerous sea, but only for the migrants. In the previous chapter, the narrative of the sea around Lampedusa is connected to beauty of the island, which reinforces the idea of inequalities of media processes as well as the two categories of human mobility. The narrative is also portraying media as a force to focus people’s attentions in particular directions, a theory explained by Couldry (2013). The risk to receive terrorists among the refugees is claimed to be told to make the reader aware of a common site of social and political knowledge of fear and, therefore, urge to close the borders. This, together with the narrative of the rescue worker as a hero and the refugee as a victim is further adding on to another common base of knowledge of “us – inside/included” and “them – the excluded and possible dangerous”.

In this narrative, both human mobility categories, the tourist and the refugee, are mentioned. The categories are described to affect each other in several ways in the narrative about Lampedusa. As described by Massey (1991; 1994) and Adey (2010), politics of mobility flows through power geometrics creating relational impacts of “who” and “what” other mobilities get affected by our mobility. In the narrative of Lampedusa the tourist’s presence is claimed to affect the migrant/refugee in a negative way, since the local tourism business wants to hide the migrants, or prefer their non-existence. The narrative is suggesting that the government prefers to picture the refugee as violent, making the refugee fall into the trap of being an unwanted citizen, a phenomenon also described by Adey (2010). However, the narrative in this section is also gives the image of the migrant/refugee as a victim, and explains the feelings of frustration behind possible violent actions.

In order to broaden the mediated narrative of Lampedusa concerning the tourist and the migrant/refugee, beyond the communication material from the involved actions at the destination I have added articles from English and Italian speaking online news channels.
6. Lampedusa in the News

The collected online news articles in this section are divided in two sections depending of the mobility category in focus of the narrative of the article. This is done in order follow the previous outlined pattern of treating the narrative of the two categories separately, as well as to easier apply the narrative in the articles to the purpose of the study. To sort out the mediated narrative of each category and each category’s link between mobility, limited mobility, immobility, travel and social status and structures at Lampedusa. And what social, political and economic impacts on the social structures on the island the two groups have.

6.1. Tourists and Refugees/Migrants at Lampedusa in the News

In the following section I have collected a sample of news articles concerning tourists at Lampedusa. However, as I am interested in two categories of mobility, tourists and migrants/refugees, in the scope of this research, I have chosen to include a majority of articles concerning both categories.

"Immigration: Assessor at Lampedusa; tourism in crisis when flights for Easter are canceled". On 21.03.2011 it is reported from Palermo for “la Repubblica” that the cancellations of flights for Lampedusa that started over the Easter holiday will have a big economic impact on the island. It seems like the island will lose about 800 000 tourists for the summer season of 2011 which corresponds to over 50 million euro. It was the Councilor for Tourism at the Economic Development of Lampedusa, Peter Busetta, who set off the alarm; he requests that other Italian regions also welcome migrants, as it is necessary to bring Lampedusa and Linosa back to a normal situation (la Repubblica, 2011a).

"We are not prepared to turn the island into an outpost for immigrants [...] We want to do our part, and we certainly do not close the door to these desperate people" (ibid)

This text tells a story about a tourist destination calling for help, the tourism business are already seeing what is waiting for the next season by the cancellation of flights, which is narrated as a direct effect of immigration.

"Jellyfish surge in Mediterranean threatens environment – and tourists". In this article from the 03.06.2013 it is reported about one of the most toxic species of jellyfish, the so-called mauve stinger, threatening not only the biodiversity. At least 150,000 people are treated for jellyfish stings around the Mediterranean each summer, as global warming and overfishing clear the way for the jellyfishes to prosper (Tremlett, 2013).

"There are now beaches on the island of Lampedusa, which receives 300,000 tourists a year, where people can only swim for a week in the summer" (ibid).
Global warming, overfishing and human intervention are all reasons behind the development, as predators disappear, population surges are happening with greater frequency. This also has huge socio-economic impact on the tourist areas which are losing millions of euros (ibid).

The purpose of the narrative seems to be to inform about the environmental changes that lead to socio-economic losses in the tourism industry. Neglecting that the tourism itself might be one of the reasons to global warming, overfishing and human invention in the area, listed as reasons behind the development. The narrative also neglects other people that might get injured from the dangerous jellyfishes in the waters around Lampedusa, for example our other human mobility category, the refugees. It is also interesting that 2 years earlier it is reported by la Repubblica (2011a) that the amount of tourists expected to arrive that season was 800 000, resulting in a narrative of a loss of 500 000 summer tourists in only two years.

“**Lampedusa is dreaming, about not only disembarks: about the island as a peal for tourism**". 30.07.2015, there is no invasion of migrants, no emergency, and no danger at Lampedusa. The men, women fleeing war and arriving on the small island are brought on a bus, the reception center for identification and finally accompanied to expulsion. All with maximal discretion and without the tourists realizing what is going on. Lampedusa is one the most beautiful islands of the world, every year attracting thousands of tourists, two visitors at Lampedusa from the North of Italy certify:

“In the north we are speaking bad about Lampedusa, it is associated with the arrivals of migrants. We do not speak about its beauty, which is a shame…”(Giuffrida, 2015).

The picture is showing a beach from a distance, the people at the shore and in the water looks like small dots, and together with the text I would say the picture is displaying tranquility, there is no sign of action or drama. Again, the benefit of keeping the migrant or refugee out of sight for the tourist at Lampedusa is highlighted, and in this narrative as something positive. The narrative let us know that the decrease of tourist arrivals reported in the article from 2011, have left a bad rumor of Lampedusa 4 years later, but without reason.

“**Drowned world: welcome to Europe’s first undersea sculpture museum.** On the seabed off the coast of Lanzarote, British artist Jason deCaires Taylor has created a series of underwater artworks” (Smillie, 2016).
On the 02.02.2016 the “The Raft of Lampedusa” (see image above) is presented in The Guardian, carrying 13 passengers towards an unknown future. It is not meant as a tribute or a memorial, but serves as a reminder of our passivity, and our collective responsibility. The sea is suggested to represent a museum littered with artefacts and remnants, contained for decades or centuries for a new generation to explore (ibid).

This narrative plays on the cultural plot of the situation at Lampedusa, of refugees dying at sea on their way to the island in rubber dinghies. The moral point being; we are not doing enough for the people who are downing at sea and we are all responsible. I believe the story was conducted to bring awareness of the artwork, and its purpose. The narrative is being directed toward those who may have the interest and/or the possibility to go see the artwork at the bottom of the sea.

"Why tourists are shunning a beautiful Italian island”. 13.02.2016, the sunny Italian Mediterranean island is an ideal holiday destination but it's hardly a selling point, according to a local man working as a skipper, that Lampedusa is a migrant hotspot. Another man, a hotel owner, closes a call from a potential visitor who told he would like to book for next spring, but his wife is a bit concerned they might bump into a corpse when they go swimming. The business has went down 50% in a year and the hotel owner blames the management, he says the island has become militarized and that it is impossible to go anywhere without seeing uniforms, guns and bullet-proof vests (Kirby, 2016).

“"Those poor refugees are locked in as if they’re in a concentration camp," replies the hotel owner. And what that says to tourists is, 'Welcome back to fascism’” (ibid).

The new state of the island is claimed to welcome a new kind of socially-aware visitor who feel solidarity with the migrant’s plight, the problem then is that this group does not have enough money to boost the islands economy back on track (ibid).
This narrative of Lampedusa, published 5 years after the emotional “a letter form Lampedusa”, has another tone, but in a similar way the arrival of migrants is narrated to be blamed for the loss of tourists according to the local. Though this time the blame has shifted to the bad management, the heavy presence of the police, and maybe also the loss of many lives at sea, but not the migrants themselves are given as reasons for the tourist decline. We also get to hear about two types of tourist characters, one that prefers to stay away due to the fear of corpses in the water around Lampedusa, the other choosing Lampedusa as a destination precisely because of the migrant’s presence, though the latter is said to be less wanted due to its financial capacity.

“Disembarks sets off the alarm for tourist “risking to end like Lampedusa””. On the 14.03.2016, it was reported of a meeting between politicians of the Apulian region in the South of the Italian main land, they were discussing to set up a network of reception facilities as a preventive action. Though at the moment there was no alarm of an increased arrival of refugees. Francesco Caizzi, the Federal President of Puglia stated:

"we do not want to wait for the worst to happen: our intelligence must try to prevent it, otherwise the consequences in the tourism sector will be very heavy. [...] The tourist sector suffers much of certain influences. One thing is certain: large migratory events would be very bad for us, just look at what happened in Lampedusa, where tourism has collapsed since the island has become a landing place for thousands of migrants" (Della Rocca, 2016).

The Picture is showing three older people from their back, they are facing a ship entering, or docked at, what looks like a pier. The ship is crowded with people. Together with the narrative of the text I understand that three men are witnessing a ship of rescued refugees arriving to a harbor in the Apulian region. The text is narrating Lampedusa as a bad example, it draws on the conclusion of “large migratory events” are bad for tourism business.

6.1.1. Summary of Findings

Also in this narrative, collected from English and Italian speaking news channels, are the social, economic and political consequences of the mediation process, described by Couldry (2013), visible. For example is the tourist strongly related to the economy, and the loss of this type of mobility is directly transferred to loss of income in hard currency. While the migrant/refugee in the narrative, is directly connected to the loss of tourists, and therefore loss of income. This narrative also plays on the common site of social and political knowledge, as tourists at Lampedusa equals business which is positive and loss of business is negative. Connecting back to Couldry (2013:13-14) and
the concept of category as a key mechanism to understand workings of power, the two categories of human mobility are clearly structures in a hierarchal order in the society represented at Lampedusa. The presence of one affects the other wish has a value for the local life on a political, economic and social level.

Nothing is even mentioned of tourists being one of the possible causes of the negative changes of the environment in the narrative of the article Even if the mobility category of the tourist is involved in human invention of the environment, as well as global warming (from the emissions of means of transportations involved in the tourist activities) affecting the increasing population of jellyfishes in the Mediterranean around Lampedusa. , which I believe also indicates the social, political and economic position of the tourist in the area. Investigating the narrative about the tourist’s mobility further it is also connected to the visual consumption of a statue representing a rubber dinghy with refugees at the bottom of the sea. Not only does Lampedusa appear in the name of the artwork adding to the narrative of Lampedusa in distress of sinking boats and drowning refugees, but the mere act of scuba diving tourists looking at a sculpture of a boat with refugees at the bottom of the sea, is by itself charged with the different values of the two mobility categories. Connecting to Ilcans (2013;4-6) notion of the legitimization and authorization of the production of classifications between people and places, the artist is in some way creating tourism business by reenacting the distress of the refugees at the bottom of the sea.

6.2. Refugees and Tourists at Lampedusa in the News

Below I have collected a sample of news articles mainly focusing on the reporting of migrant/refugee arrivals at Lampedusa. Though, also in this section articles concerning the narrative of the tourist is purposely included. No articles are told from the refugee perspective but can include quotes from interviews from the perspective of a migrant/refugee.

6.2.1. The beginning

“Italy is failing north Africa’s refugees”

![North African migrants wait to board a ship for transfer after they arrive in Lampedusa, Italy. Photograph: Ettore Ferrari/EPA” (McMahon, 2011).](image)

This article published the 06.04.2011, states that the dramatic political changes of the Arab spring and the civil war in Libya have dominated British headlines for the last
few months. Leading to the crisis emerging at Lampedusa, where thousands of Tunisians and Libyans fleeing North Africa are arriving, is left in the shadows (ibid).

The picture is taken from the side showing a line of young men sitting on the ground, many with a worried expression on their faces. The narrative is letting us know that these men are part of a crisis emerging on the small Mediterranean island, happening in the shadows of the same political changes and war that is causing them to move.

“Likening the crisis to a "human tsunami" engulfing the country, Silvio Berlusconi has offered deportation as the only resolution, promising to get the migrants out of the way and life on Lampedusa back to normal in a matter of days” (McMahon, 2011).

For the past two decades Italy has been equating the presence of foreigners to increased crime and insecurity, calling for a step up of internal security measures and deportation of undocumented migrants. However, the request has remained tied by European Union legislation, stating that applications for asylum in the EU must be processed in the country of arrival, even though thousands of migrants were attempting to reach relatives in France. In order to reinforce the temporary nature of their presence, migrants are housed in camps far from Italian society to await their deportation orders. While NGOs complain about the disastrous conditions of the migration centers, the interior minister promises increased surveillance and police presence. Making the humanitarian response resemble a military-security mission, designed to ensure the foreigners are kept separate and sent away as quickly as possible (ibid).

In this narrative Lampedusa is placed in a bigger perspective, it seems like the intention is to demonstrate the Italian government’s inability to manage a humanitarian response, as they are, and have always been, looking at migrants as a problem to be erased and removed from the Italian society. The narrative in its full context seem to say that while the British media is looking away, towards the conflicts in Northern Africa, the people who are fleeing that very situation are being mistreated by the Italian government.

“Lampedusa, fear in the night when the boat hit the rocks”. Published on the 08.05.2011, this article is reporting about a team of Coast Guard divers that saved 528 lives. The current situation at the island requires considerable commitment of volunteers and militaries, and it is getting critical. An expression of gratitude from the President of the Republic is quoted in the article;

"I would like to express my sincere admiration for the police and the volunteers who have saved hundreds of African refugees,

3 The Italian Prime minister at the time
men, women and children [...] We are together under this desperate conditions near Lampedusa. These days boats are leaving Libya to meet the danger of getting shipwrecked and death on the initiative of unscrupulous criminal traffickers without feeling of responsibility. Italy is demonstrating its solidarity and spirit of hospitality: now it is Europe’s turn to make the government of Libya become aware of its responsibilities” (la Reubblica, 2011b).

About 1400 migrants has arrived to Lampedusa the last couple of hours. The embarkation operation of the next boat is already happening on the pier of Cala Pisana. But it is going slowly because of the need to first identify the refugees who will be deployed to the centers for asylum seekers throughout Italy (ibid).

The picture is showing a man wearing the jacket of the Red Cross and a black knit cap, in his arms he holds a small child wrapped in clothes and what looks like a small golden rescue blanket. The narrative is organized around the subject of a rescue event where the police and the volunteers jumped in to the waters to save “the Africans” put at sea by criminals; again we meet the narrative of the hero, the bad guy and the victim, who all are involved in the creation of the particular narrative of the island. The Italian government seems to desire a united narrative of their nation, we, Italy, are taking our responsibility, when it seems like in fact Lampedusa is taking on the bigger part.

“Italy’s Lampedusa left in crisis after Arab Spring”. On the 14.06.2011, it is reported that as a consequence of the collapse of the Tunisian regime, and the Libyan conflict, the agreements with the EU to control the flow of migrants were broken and thousands of migrants are setting off to seek a better life overseas. The UN estimates that this year alone (2011) around 1,500 have died trying to make the crossing. For those that do make it, Lampedusa is their first port of call. When the weather is good the island has seen the arrival of up to 10 boats a day bringing in over 1,000 migrants. Previously, migrants have quickly been transported to detention centers on the mainland Italy, but this time the centers became full within a couple of weeks and a backlog built up on Lampedusa (Lambert, 2011).

Lampedusa’s population survives on the annual influx of wealthy tourists from Italy and abroad, Stella Migliosini a local jewelry shop owner is quoted;

“As a port in the Mediterranean, Lampedusa has always been a transit point for immigrants - we’ve always been welcoming, giving them what we can, blankets, food. But what we’ve seen this year is very different” (ibid).

On the picture a man is gazing over his glasses as he holds another man on the shoulder, pointing at the other directing with the free arm. It looks like he, with the light
blue jacket, is trying to direct the others. This narrative gives me the impression that the situation at Lampedusa, concerning migrants/refugees, is deeply rooted in history and also affected by political policies far beyond the scope of the political power of the island. There is a historical continuity to the narrative, as human mobility is said to always been a part of the island, though to what degree seems to depend on the political situation between the EU and the country of departure.

Lambert, (2011) states that when hundreds of immigrants took up residence in the handful of bars and cafes in town, some Lampedusans went around providing clothes and other necessities, while many others began a series of passionate demonstrations. Demanding the Italian government and the EU to immediately remove the migrants, or at least get them out of sight. The mayor states his worries about the image of Lampedusa show on TV to the world, and the importance of the world to see not only images of migrants, but also see Lampedusa as a beautiful tourist destination. The mayor does not want the humanitarian crisis destroy the island. Paola la Rosa, a local Lampedusan lawyer is quoted;

“Europe and the West got really enthusiastic about revolutionary movements seeking freedom in Arab countries," [...] "But one of the freedoms these people want is the freedom to move, the freedom to seek a better life elsewhere. The West doesn’t like that so much. They want them to be free, but at home” (Lambert, 2011).

The narrative of Lampedusa is again reflecting two sides of the island. One that is concerned about the survival of the tourist destination, and one side concerned with the humanitarian crisis of the migrants/refugees. The narrative also tells us about the importance for the economic survival of the island to not only be connected to the humanitarian crisis, and thereby risk destroying the image of the tourist destination. The last quote by the lawyer tells about an irony in the spectator’s enthusiasm over an event only as long as it does not affect the spectator’s own reality or sphere, which seems to be most central point of the narrative of Lampedusa. An island who ended up in the front line of at least one of the effects of the event

6.2.2. The middle

“Lampedusa: in row, naked and in the cold. The difference chock the migrants”. The article published the 18.12.2013, concerns footage of newly arrived migrants undressed, all together in one big room, standing and waiting in a row for disinfection against scabies. The short movie was taken and broadcasted by the migrants themselves via a mobile phone. The chocking sequences were reviled only two months after a tragedy that caused more than 500 deaths, right in front of the coast of Lampedusa, a tragedy that aroused tears and promises. The short film is only showing one occasion, but the treatment it is happening on a weekly basis according to one of the migrants. The Lampedusa Mayor said that this model of hospitality, which Lampedusa and Italy is shamefully demonstrating in the footage, has to change. Members of the government are also quoted in the article condemning what had happened and promising to punish the
liable accordingly. Amnesty International asked for urgent clarifications from the Italian Government;

“Migrants arriving in Italy, like any other country, require an appropriate medical examination in their own interest and in the interest of the receiving country. Nevertheless, the privacy and dignity of migrants must be respected and no migrant should be required or imposed to undress in public” (Sciacca, 2013).

The cooperative managing the reception center at Lampedusa replied that there was a lack of staff and adequate spaces that caused the event seen on the recording (ibid).

This narrative of Lampedusa has the intention to reveal the truth about the treatments of the migrants/refugees at Lampedusa, but also to inform that Lampedusa, and Italy is not supporting such treatments. The narrative does however legitimize an appropriate medical exam, accomplishing a differentiation between the migrants/refugee and other types of human mobility categories, who do not have to go through such exams to enter the island.

“More than 2,000 migrants from Libya rescued by Italian coastguard

![Migrants wait to disembark from a tug boat after being rescued in the Mediterranean. [...]Photograph: Francesco Malavolta/AP” (The Guardian, 2015a).](image)

On 16.02.2015 it is written in The Guardian that the Italian coastguard launched a massive operation in which 2,164 migrants were saved from a dozen boats between Lampedusa and the Libyan coast. The emergency rescue happened on the same day Italy declared they would evacuate staff from its embassy in Libya and suspend all operations in order to highlight the worsening security situation and increased violence in the country (ibid).

Over 3,200 people have died while attempting to reach Italy by boat from North Africa the previous year. The United Nations has described the sea crossing as the most dangerous route in the world. The deaths are underscored by the limited means and scope of Triton (The EU-run mission which had taken over from the Italian navy’s Mare Nostrum) search and rescue operation. Italy decided to scale back rescue missions after EU refused to share the running costs of around nine million euros a month. Even
though there has been a surge of arriving Libya has sunk deeper into chaos. Italian Defense Minister Roberta Pinotti said in an interview that the risk of jihadists arriving in Italy on boats carrying immigrants from Libya “could not be ruled out” as a response to Italy’s retreat in Libya (ibid).

This narrative informs us two years after the Arabic Spring that the state in Libya had still not calmed down, making Italy finally retreat from the country as a response to the increased violence. As Italy also decided to scale back on rescue operations, it seems like they wish to completely withdraw from any kind of commitment with Libya, making it possible to presage a political angle to the Lampedusan migrant/refugee mobility narrative. The narrative lets us know there are many factors involved in making the waters around Lampedusa dangerous, another one of them being economical. By adding the comment regarding the potential threat of jihadist arriving among the people in the boats justifies the back scaling of the rescue operations by casting suspicion over immigrants from Libya in general. Using the exact argument described as “fear-mongering” (Schadewaldt, 2015) on the MigrantSicily blog only 12 days earlier.

“Lampedusa migrant centre conditions ‘desperate’ after rescues”. On the 17.02.2015 it is reported that the conditions at a migrant reception center on Lampedusa are getting worse. More than 1,000 people are housed at the center, four times its actual capacity. Yet another “influx” of about 2,700 migrants in only a couple of days has added even more pressure. The situation is also intensified due to supplies of food and other essentials running low (bbc.com, 2015).

“There has also been debate over whether European search and rescue efforts are adequate [...] Last week, the UNHCR said better lifesaving provisions were urgently needed to avoid further tragedies. [...] But other European countries, including the UK, said a rescue service could encourage more migrants to make the journey” (ibid).

This narrative continues on the story about Lampedusa getting overcrowded of migrants/refugees, this time contributing to the worsening state of the reception centers. And as the centers were reported already in 2013 (Sciacca, 2013) to have inhumane conditions due to a lack of staff and adequate spaces, it does not seem to have improved much two years later when the center hold people four times its actual capacity. In addition we are again reminded of the order of the world since the narrative is giving the risk of encouraging more desperate people to take one of the world’s most dangerous routes is given as a reason to not provide better life saving operations.

“Lampedusa, “Get us out of this prison”. Over 70 refugees have been hunger striking in protest against the identification controls and the “hotspot system”. Sleeping outside at the town square in the center of Lampedusa, asking to leave the island where they have been stuck for months, writes Giacomo Zandonini on the 07.05.2016. The migrants are trying the get the attention of the Lampedusans, a population who are used to give small gestures of hospitality to the guests of the island, from wifi-connections to improvised language lessons. The protesting migrants are claiming that according to the
relocation procedure provided by the EU Migration Agenda, a transfer to other European countries should be possible. The main reason for the protest is the identification via fingerprints (Zandonini, 2016).

Abdi, a twenty-year-old Ethiopian, who arrived at the island in January after having crossed South Sudan, Sudan and Libya, has, like everyone present on the square, refused to leave his fingerprints (ibid).

“And now I am stuck here, without documents, without rights” (ibid).

While the refugees are preparing for the night, less than one kilometer away, two motorboats of the Coast Guard are embarking 121 persons who will be brought straight to the hotspot, the fourth arrival in twenty-four hours. The coordinator of Doctors without Borders, participating in the rescue mission, declares that he is worried since he knows that people took the dangerous journey because they had no other way to reach safety, and what is awaiting them now is;

“an unexpected bureaucracy which put compulsory chains for those who came looking for freedom” (ibid).

The hotspot is contributing to the narrative of Lampedusa as an institution of controlling and holding back people who are in the right of freedom, people who have sacrificed their lives to feel safe. But in this narrative we are also informed about a new side of the migrant/refugee, who is peacefully claiming their rights, not only being depicted as a victim. Though the notion of the continuity of the helpless, faceless refugee is reinforced again towards the end, over 100 new arrivals, with the hope of freedom where others have it, but there seems to be none for this particular group.

6.2.3. Lampedusa Today

“Boy found clinging to debris sole survivor as dozens feared dead in Mediterranean

On 29.03.2017 this article was published in The Guardian, informing of a 16-year-old Gambian boy that was found in the sea and transferred on an Italian Coast Guard ship to Lampedusa. He had informed rescuers that they were 147 people departing from Libya a couple of days earlier. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimates so far this year nearly 600 migrants have died trying to reach Italy from North Africa, compared to 4,600 deaths last year. And migrant arrivals to Italy are up more than 50% this year on the same period of last year (ibid).

On the picture there are many people on the boat to the left, they all seem to have orange life wests on. There are only four people on the boat to the right, two dressed in white and two in black, they seem to be wearing some kind of mask covering the lower part of the face, the mouth and nose. It is a picture of a rescue mission. The narrative informs us that the event captured in the picture is only one occasion out of many. Lampedusa is mentioned as the first halt for the only survivor from this times event, leaving 146 dead people in the water around the island, 600 people in total in 3 months, over 5 000 in 2 years. The article is adding to Lampedusa’s narrative as a destination for people how experiences traumas of distress at sea.

“Migrants, Sos Mediterranée: "We are saving lives, we are not accomplices of the traffickers" The humanitarian organization responds to the doubts raised by a public prosecutor in Catania: The activities of the Aquarius ship financed by private donations” (Ruta, 2017).

The article published the 31.03.2017 in la Repubblica, states that Sos Mediterranee, the humanitarian organization operating in the waters between Sicily and Lampedusa, rejects the accusations directed towards their activity. The co-founder and Vice-President of SOS Mediterranee, Sophie Beau claims that they have no form of collaboration with the people who are involved with the departing operations of migrants on the Libya cost (ibid).

“"In one year we have gained the experience and the data needed to understand how, when and where to go to retrieve refugees, also bearing in mind that it is crucial to get there as soon as possible. [...] Ten to fifteen hours is what has been demonstrated to be the maximum amount of time a person under this type of conditions can survive in in the sea” (ibid).

In a bit over a year the ship Aquarius has saved about 11 000 individuals. The operations are financed for 99% by private donations from about 13 800 persons (ibid).

This narrative about the rescue operations in the waters around Lampedusa adds yet another layer to the already complex story regarding the human mobility categories at the island. There a lot of money involved also in the rescue operation side of the story making it possible to benefit on the situation in the Lampedusan waters even from the European side of the border.
6.2.4. Summary of Findings

Media literally change the scale on which we can speak of societies (Couldry, 2013; Urry, 2007). Via media we are informed of the narrative about the two human mobility categories, the tourist and the migrant/refugee at Lampedusa. But buy portraying the two mobility categories in different ways in that narrative media is also building inequalities of these two groups in the process of mediation, resulting in social, economic and political consequences. There are many examples in the text; I will now bring up a couple. Social consequences of the mediation of the tourist and the migrant/refugee are that they end up on two very different levels in the narrated society of Lampedusa. The migrant is considered as someone to hide from the tourist, since the tourist is narrated as someone who does not even want to see the migrant. The mediated narrative about Lampedusa tells us that the migrant/refugee crisis makes the island sink deeper into an economic crisis with the loss of tourists. On a political level are the attempts to amend the regulations for the mobility of the migrant/refugee as direct response to the loss of tourists as a source of income. Another political aspect connected to the mobility of the migrant/refugee is the two narrated characters of the migrant/refugee as a potential terrorist and as a helpless victim seems to be twisting the national Italian and international European migration agenda, making new rules and regulations in an attempt to manage and control the human mobility category.

A perfect example of development leading to displacement, a link suggested by Adey (2010:114-115) is the narrative of how the chain of revolutions in North Africa, referred to as the Arabic Spring, created the “human tsunami”, to use Mr Berlusconi’s words, at Lampedusa’s coast. Adey (2010:114-115) suggests that development may even stimulate and provoke mobility itself, which is reflected in the mediated narrative of the migrant who is looking for freedom and a better future in Europe. Also the issues of mobility are easy to trace in the narrative in the above collected articles, as we are informed about political rules and regulations, as well as economical restrictions causing thousands of deaths in the waters outside of Lampedusa, but also causing a backlog of migrants at the island, who get forced to live under inhumane circumstances. Also the ideologically charged mobility politics and policies which often fail to assume that mobilities are incredibly uneven and differentiated explained by Massey (1991; 1994) and Adey (2010), are reflected in the narrative of Lampedusa by the impossibility of the migrants to reach their relatives in France due to EU legislation, and Italy’s request for deportation of undocumented migrants being tied due to the same legislation is a perfect example of the complexity of mobility in the context of EU described by Adey (2010); free mobility built to work only on the exclusion of others.

The stereotype of the migrant described by Comaroff and Comaroff (2002: 789) as a "nightmare citizens" whose “rootlessness” sucks the morale and economic value from a geographical area is partly confirmed in the narrative about Lampedusa by the negative effect the mere presence of the migrant has on the tourism business. However, also the human mobility category of the tourist has a direct negative effect on the mobility of the migrant/refugee confirming the theory of one kind of mobility weaken
the leverage of the already weak and thereby undermine the power of others (Massey 1991: 150-151; Massey, 1994, 148; Adey, 2010: 87, 91- 92).

The narrative in this section clearly demonstrates the escalating intensification of migration and border controls, restraining the travel of particular groups as described by Ilcan (2013:4- 6). The mobility of the tourists is highly demanded, to the degree that there is regional and national communication material directed only towards promoting the mobility of the tourist at the destination Lampedusa. Taking into consideration that the languages the tourist destination promotion sites are available in European languages only and that the refugees originates mainly from African counties I would like to make a small referral to the postcolonial theory presented by Young (2016). Pointing out the possible legacy and impact the history of colonialism has on contemporary global social and cultural structures, in this case the effects of the mediated narrative of the tourist and the migrant/refugee on the social structures at Lampedusa. By portraying the tourist as a consumer I see a clear connection to the economic system primarily developed and controlled by the Global North, which in turn is working on the social structures of the mobility categories. Without economic liberation, there can be no political liberation according to Young (2016), therefore the migrants/refugees does not find the freedom they are looking for when arriving to the border of Europe.

In addition Ilcan (2013) suggests that colonized populations, displaced peoples, and "risky" citizens, can face increasingly new injustices corresponding to the concentration and dispersion of power in multiple sites and though institutional practices across the world (Ilcan, 2013:4- 6). Such as the Lampedusa hotspot for example, narrated as an institution of removing people's right to mobility. In a similar way do the multiple narratives regarding the inhumane conditions of the migrant/refugee reception centers recall Ilcan's (2013) description of the refugee camp as a site to keep vulnerable refugees alive and to "park and guard all kinds of undesirable populations" (Ilcan, 2013:4- 6).
7. Result

- The mediated narrative of Lampedusa and its consequences

In this section I aim to develop the discussions from the previous chapters by applying the findings to the socially oriented media theory presented by Couldry (2013). This, to accomplish a deeper understanding of this research’s purpose and the research questions concerning the social, political and economic impact of the social structures at Lampedusa. As well as the connection between mobility, limited mobility, immobility, travel, created by the mediated narrative of the two mobility categories, the tourist and the migrant/refugee at Lampedusa. And finally also discuss what possible traces of postcolonialism that can be found in the narrative of the mobilities at the island.

7.1 The link between (im)mobility, social status and structures, and its social, political and economic impact on the social structures

As a final analysis of the collected narratives of the communication material of the tourism destination and the humanitarian-aid operations plus the news articles concerning tourist and migrant/refugee mobility at Lampedusa, I will connect the findings back to Couldry's (2013) three principles emerging from the approach to media theory through social theory.

First; the principle of non-linearity, the narrative of refugees/migrants and tourists at Lampedusa is full of contradictions since it is such a complex story. Involving many components, from a local, to a national and an international level and raging from an individual to a constitutional level. Tensions and ambiguities is well visible the mediated narrative of Lampedusa, the arrivals of migrants/refugee is said to effect the local society creating a division of people wanting to contribute to the aid-work, and/or protesting for more restrictive migration regulations. Similar tensions and ambiguities are also illustrated in the narrative on Italian national politics level and on European Union level. Through the narrative of Lampedusa the migrant/refugee is being maintained as an unwanted guest or victim, never in control over their own destiny, and empowering the institution of the humanitarian-aid organization as the hero. In a way the narrative is even justifying the degrading treatment of the migrant/refugee in the reception centers by narrating a humanitarian organization such as Amnesty in favor for the forced medical exams, while the tourist is invited to enjoy everything the island has to offer. In this way, though the action of a travel to Lampedusa, the power relation of the mobility of the tourist and limited (im)mobility of the migrant/refugee is sustained. Though in the narrative about Lampedusa as a tourist destination, the exact features of the tourist actually visiting the island is never told, however we do get a clear image of the tourist that is requested by the locals and the tourism destination promotion platforms, The Consumer. While the migrant/refugee is narrated as a victim in need of help, or as an unwanted visitor.

The second principle is that media research must analyze media as practice, ongoing. The articles are not just texts but stories displaying and creating social structures.
The narrative of Lampedusa shifts back and forward. From shredding light over a tourism business in economic crisis in 2011, to a narrative of blooming tourism business with migrants/refugees out of sight from the tourist gaze 2015, back to the crisis 2016. And a narrative of the migrant/refugee as a violent protester 2011, and then as a victim of the sea, of the smuggler, the country of origin, the EU politics, dying and then getting rescued, but only to be kept under inhumane conditions, and refused human rights. I also wish to mention that I do understand that it is not only the workings of the categories of mobility and the mediation processes that affect the social structures of the tourist and the migrant/refugee on an island like Lampedusa. One of the other processes I believe are at work on the island lies within the scope of postcolonialism Reflecting not only the historical perspective of European colonialism in Africa, but also affecting the power structures of the two mobilities in the present state. One obvious connection is the difference in value of the citizenship and identification process. Due to Schengen the European tourist is allowed to almost move freely over nation borders when holding some kind of identification. While the migrant/refugee is forced to fingerprint identification, which very process blocks them from crossing another border, leading to immobility. Also, the tourism destination promotion websites are available in only European languages, directed towards the tourist to consume the island, while the refugees are said to be mainly from African countries, fleeing from their place of origin. The level of mobility, limited mobility, immobility, in the case of Lampedusa thereby seems to be a practice though the power structures connected to the historical event of colonialism. And not only connected to the social structures created by the category of the tourist and the migrant/refugee.

The third principle is the materiality of representations. Representations are a material site for the result of social and political struggle, a site where power always has been involved. Despite the contradictions in the narrative of Lampedusa presented in the two previous principles. The narratives follow a pattern; the destination Lampedusa is a story of social and political struggle, connected to the arrival of migrants/refugees, represented as the continuous problem without solution. Masked by the reporting’s of the migrants/refugees dangerous journeys over the Mediterranean. I believe the narrative analysis is able to uncover only one available story, consistent though the years and different kind of media, concerning the two human mobility categories at the island of Lampedusa. The story about the unwanted, victimized migrant/refugee who is blamed for the decline of tourism business at the island, the mobility of the migrant/refugee is narrated to have a negative effect on the narrative of the tourism destination Lampedusa. At the same time the human mobility category of the tourist is weakening the migrant/refugee, even further, as the human mobility of the migrant/refugee appears as one of the main reasons for the economic loss.
7.2. Conclusion

– traces of postcolonialism in the narrative of mediated mobilities

The type of mobility that the tourist and the migrant/refugee are involved in shapes the social structure in which they are navigating. In this reality, where mediation and mobility orders social structures, the mechanism of categories becomes an important mark to divide up the world in particular ways. So that, in spite of the massive complexity of the global social world, where the mediated material seems to report on neutral categories of human mobility, there is an appearance of order. The two categories of human mobility in the center of this study, the tourist and the migrant/refugee, are categories constantly mediated. And in the process of mediation the public's attention is focused in particular directions built on common sites of social and political knowledge. Such as the common idea of the continued political, economic, military and cultural dominance of the Global North as suggested by postcolonialism, the legacy of the history of colonialism has impact on contemporary global social and cultural structures. And the economic system primarily developed and controlled by the Global North as a heritage from the colonialism, and by maintaining the meditated narrative of the tourist as a consumer. Bringing economic capital to a destination such as Lampedusa, the political, social and economic dominance is kept in the Global North. And given that the migrant/refugee is coming from the Global South, the mobility of the tourist is thereby weakening the mobility of the migrant/refugee even further.

Since processes of media are historically embedded, and categories of mobility change value throughout history, the mediated narrative of the tourist and the migrant/refugee will change over time. Making it hard to draw any generalizable conclusions for the exact effects of the mediation of these categories of mobility on social structures, however, different kinds of mobility depend on, and affect each other. Thereby the relation between the tourist and the migrant/refugee in relation the theory of postcolonialism make it possible to apply this study to destinations in similar situations in this time of history.

7.2.1. The mobility at Lampedusa in a bigger perspective

I believe that the result of this study is possible to contribute to an understanding of mediation and mobility processes working in the narrative of also other destinations with similar geographical and historical characteristics. I also think that the result contributes to increased knowledge for how postcolonialism can work the two mobility categories of the tourist and the migrant/refugee at a destination like Lampedusa. And thereby contribute to an understanding of the effect of mediation of a European tourist destination as it becomes destination also for migrants/refugees. And the ways both mediation and mobility can build inequalities into its processes contributing to the development of a destination in a certain direction.

With the limitations in my own knowledge and of this research in mind I would like to suggest an idea for future development for Lampedusa as a destination for both tourist and migrants/refugees as suggested by Russell (2003). No matter how far away
the two types of mobilities seem to be, there are parallels between the impacts of they have on the host countries and regions. And there is a major advantage in considering the similarities in the impact of tourists and migrants/refugees for planning and development of a destination (Russell, 2003: 840-841, 843). One suggestion is the “The Vienna hotel where refugees welcome the guests” (The Guardian 2015b), though I do realize the conditions for a similar initiative at Lampedusa are a world away. But I do think a different kind of tourist, someone that care for the migrant/refugee is definitely preferable for targeting of future tourist destination promotion.

During my study of this particular subject I have grown a deeper interest for the inequalities of categories of human mobilities. And I believe there is a lot within the subject of the mediation of mobility that would be interesting for further research. For example I would suggest a further exploration of the three other categories described by (Ilcan, 2013:3), the social, economic, symbolic mobility in relation to the human mobility category, and connecting to Couldry's (2010) mediation theory turned towards social theory. I believe this perspective could bring even more light to the levels of social structures built into the processes of mobility and deepen the understanding of communication for development.
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46


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