



Protect

The Right to International Protection

Media Framings of Migrants and Protection Seekers.
Actors, Networks, Discourses and Global Cleavages



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Media Framings of Migrants and Protection Seekers. Actors, Networks, Discourses and Global Cleavages

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1. Introduction

Our research is aimed at exploring the way in which the topics of migration and refugees are reported, presented and discussed in traditional and social media. The study seeks to identify and analyze the dominant discourses and narratives that exist in the public sphere regarding these topics, as well as their relationship to broader concepts such as globalism, regionalism, nationalism, and nativism.

In addition, the research has a specific focus on understanding how the right to international protection for refugees is perceived and recognized, and how the Global Compacts on Migration and Refugees are received around the world. The study also aims to assess the ways in which the introduction of the Global Compacts has affected discourse around these issues.

The research scope is not limited to a single country or region; rather, it aims to understand how migration and refugee discourse is shaped in different languages and national contexts. One specific focus is on the convergence of discourse on the European migration crisis in traditional and social media.

To achieve these objectives, the study examines the media coverage of migration-related issues in nine EU member states. It analyzes the presence and prominence of migration-related topics in both traditional and social media and compares the vocabulary and framing of these topics with that used in critical migration studies. The study also identifies specificities and differences between media vocabularies used in reporting on the most prominent migrant events from 2015 to 2022, and on (im)migrants versus refugees in different contexts.

Finally, the study seeks to inform strategies for more effective communication of important issues and highlights the potential impact of media on shaping public opinion. By understanding the dominant discourses and narratives on migration and refugees in traditional and social media, the research team hopes to provide insight into how these issues can be communicated more effectively in the public sphere. Therefore, one of the main research questions addressed in WP7 was:

To what extent does hybridization between traditional and social media lead to a convergence of the discourse on the European migration crisis on both types of media?

This question is operationalized with the following sub-questions:

- *What are the distinct characteristics of traditional and social media discourses on migration and asylum?*
- *Are there any differences in the migration discourse across different languages and national contexts, and if so, what might explain these differences?*

The research on media coverage of migration has revealed biased and distorted representations of migrants that perpetuate negative stereotypes and misconceptions. Besides the already mentioned common frames, the conceptions of refugees and migrants are shaped by news values such as relevance, proximity, and emotional impact, which continue to guide editorial decisions; algorithms playing an increasing role. Political cleavages, on the other hand, can diffuse into the news, with news framing both reflecting and constructing such cleavages. New media tends to mirror more extreme views, while editor-controlled media suppresses them. The

distinction between "migrant" and "refugee" serves as a litmus test for media framings related to migration.

The conflation of the terms "migrant" and "refugee" in media coverage of migration can lead to confusion and misperceptions about the nature and causes of migration, the legal and policy issues involved, and the specific protection needs of refugees. This phenomenon finds its roots in the quest for control by European states, and the terms "migrant" and "refugee" have different implications for governments' obligation to help refugees, their readiness to act, their policy options, and their room for maneuver regarding foreigners' entry and movements in their territory. The conflation of international protection with migration in policy is discernible in EU policy, and it threatens the very permanence of the right to protection from persecution. Similarly, the dilution of the conceptual boundary between "refugee" and "migrant" in public opinion leads to the weakening of public support for international protection.

The research in WP7 examined the (dis)similarity of reporting on migration-related issues in traditional and new media in terms of the presence and prominence of migration-related topics in the media of five EU Member States: France, Germany, Italy, Slovenia, and UK during the so called European migration crisis in 2015 and Ukrainian crisis in 2022, and framing them in different "cleavage systems" in order to find out what the basic tendencies are in migration reporting and whether we are witnessing any increase in content similarity or diversification of news about migration. The second main research questions was:

How does the use of the term "migrant" in the media align with policy objectives related to limiting refugee and asylum seeker inflows?

It included the following sub-questions:

- *How has the designation of refugees as migrants changed over time, and what factors have influenced this change?*
- *What are the most frequently associated words with the concepts of refugees and migrants, and how do they differ between two analyzed periods?*
- *What frames are used in news coverage of refugees and migrants, and how do these frames shape public discourse and perception of these groups?*
- *To what extent are refugees and migrants used interchangeably in media coverage, and what are the implications of this interchangeability?*

Our research further focuses on how groups like political parties, NGOs, and government agencies use social media to get attention and influence the public. Therefore, first of all, we identified in the structural communication gaps that leave some policy actors outside the reach of the UN and EU and the most central policy actors (Policy Actors or PA's) who are able to fill the structural gaps and control the communication flows in the Twitter networks. With a more focused look at the European migration discourse, we investigated, whether, the more PA's interact with each other on social media, the more attention they receive from a wider audience. Peer networks can be useful for organizations involved in the same policy field (i.e. PA's) to build trust and help share resources, making it easier for groups to get their message out. When these groups are more connected and active on social media, they get more attention and can have a bigger impact on public opinion. While some recent studies focus on NGOs' networks with their peers and find them crucial to gather the attention of a broad audience and set specific issues on the public agenda (e.g. Saffer et al., 2019), to the best of our knowledge, there is only one other study that examines the networking strategy between different types of PAs other than NGOs (Stier et al., 2018). Previous research on the connection strategy of organizations is often not going beyond PAs' relationships with their publics and often neglects the impact of PAs' role in their peer networks on the attention they receive from a larger crowd on social media. While it identified the salience and polarization of the migration issue in the

political and media discourse, there is still a lack of understanding of the network-based mechanisms of attention on this issue, particularly in the European discourse on migration and asylum. Furthermore, network-based metrics are often overlooked in studying attention on social media. Most studies utilize surveys or content analyses to investigate how organizations build relationships with their publics and often omit relations between them. What remains unexplained and where the contribution of our research lies, is above all the question:

What is the relationship between the communication strategy of PAs on Twitter and their peer relations in the European migration and asylum policy field?

We investigated the problem by addressing the following specific questions:

- *Which structural communication gaps are there in the networks of important actors in the field of refugee and asylum policy such as the EU and UN?*
- *Does popularity among peers serve as a proxy for a wider audience for PAs on Twitter?*
- *How does PA's centrality in the network of peers and similarity to their peers affect the attention they receive from a wider audience?*

To better understand the impact of media reporting on migration and refugees, we investigated the extent to which scientific findings from migration research are present in the media discourse. We compared conceptual changes and trends in discourses about migrants and refugees in traditional and new media with the vocabulary of critical migration studies, and identified peculiarities and differences between media vocabularies that were used in the reporting of the most prominent migrant events in the period from 2015 to 2022, and between vocabularies in reporting on (im)migrants compared to reporting on refugees in different contexts.

While both systems aim to promote positive epistemic outcomes, they differ significantly in how they achieve this goal. In the scientific system, ideas are tested through rigorous research, peer-review, and the scientific method to determine what is considered true. In the media, the process of reporting on a topic is influenced by various social practices, procedures, institutions, and patterns of influence. This can lead to biased reporting, where the media prioritizes certain topics or ideas over others.

1.1. The relevance to gaps in the state of the art

The investigation of convergence of discourses on the European migration crisis in traditional and social media is important because it can provide insights into how different sources of information can influence public opinion and shape societal attitudes towards a particular issue. The European migration crisis has been a controversial and polarizing issue in many countries and has received significant media coverage from various outlets, including traditional media sources such as newspapers, television, and radio, as well as social media platforms. By analyzing the discourse on the issue in both types of media, researchers can gain valuable insights into the role each type of media plays in shaping public opinion and potentially inform strategies for more effective communication of important issues.

In addition, understanding the convergence of discourse between traditional and social media can also provide insights into the ways in which different media sources interact and influence each other. For example, traditional media may adopt narratives from social media, or social media may be influenced by coverage in traditional media. This can have significant implications for the quality and accuracy of information that is distributed to the public, and may inform strategies for improving the reliability and credibility of media coverage.

Overall, investigating the convergence of discourse on the European migration crisis between traditional and social media is important for understanding the ways in which media

shapes public opinion, and for improving the quality and accuracy of information dissemination on important issues. Despite the growing body of research on media reporting of migration-related issues, cross-national comparisons of traditional and social media are still scarce. Furthermore, research on digital discourses related to migration is limited, making it difficult to determine whether the hybridization of media leads to convergence of content in social and traditional media.

In terms of framing the migration crisis, common frames used in the discourse include settlement/redistribution of asylum seekers, criminality risk, economic burden, humanitarianism, victimization, securitization, and labor market integration. Other frames may emphasize the otherness of immigrants, security threats, exploitation of social programs, and anti-immigrant hate speech. While this research has been mostly conducted on traditional media outlets, our research work compares traditional and social media in nine languages over a longer period to observe the effects of the European refugee crisis.

Overall, exploring the convergence of discourse on the European migration crisis between traditional and social media is essential to understanding how media shape public opinion and improving the quality and accuracy of information dissemination on important issues. While research on migration discourses is growing, research on migration-related digital discourses is limited, and it is unclear whether media hybridization leads to a convergence of content in social and traditional media. In addition, the influence of media reporting on the extremity of attitudes towards immigrants and the mutual relations of the media within hybridized media systems on the polarization and coordination of opinions towards immigrants are also under-researched areas.

1.2. Media and the Global Compacts on Refugees and Migration

Media research is relevant for discovering ways of better aligning the Global Compacts on Refugees and Migration with human rights and the right to international protection in several ways. Firstly, media coverage can shape public opinion and influence policy decisions regarding migration and refugees, which can impact the implementation of the Global Compacts. Understanding how the media portrays these issues can help to identify gaps and areas where more work is needed to align policy decisions with human rights and international protection.

Secondly, media research can provide insights into how migration and refugees are framed and portrayed in different countries and media outlets. This can help to identify common themes and areas where more attention is needed to align media coverage with human rights and international protection. For example, if media coverage tends to focus on the negative aspects of migration and refugees, there may be a need for more positive stories that highlight the contributions and resilience of these populations.

Finally, the research undertaken can help to identify best practices and strategies for communicating about migration and refugees in a way that aligns with human rights and international protection either when advocacy groups like political parties, NGOs, and government agencies use social media to get attention and influence the public. By understanding how media framing and reporting can impact public perceptions and policy decisions, it is possible to develop strategies for communicating more effectively and accurately about these issues.

In summary, media research can provide important insights into how migration and refugees are portrayed in the media, how this can impact policy decisions and public perceptions, and what strategies can be used to communicate more effectively about these issues in a way that aligns with human rights and international protection.

2. Main findings

2.1. Summary of findings and their interlinkages

The study aimed to investigate the extent to which hybridization between traditional and social media leads to a convergence of discourse on the European migration crisis on both types of media. The study identified three dimensions for comparing the two media types: scope, function, and curation.

- Traditional media retains a national scope and a Nation-statist cleavage, while social media has a transnational scope and emphasizes Regionalists. EU Politics is the most prevalent topic in social media, followed by Global Politics, whereas these two themes are only secondary in traditional media.
- The distinct functions of the two media domains are supported by the study's results, with traditional media focusing on factual reporting, and social media allowing more space for opinion and commentary on Limits (to migration) and Humanitarian (views).
- The study also finds polarization, with traditional media showing a clear division between Nation-statists and Regionalists, while social media has Globalists and Nation-statists as the two cleavages that take first and second positions.
- National variation across the nine different language clusters is low, and the results are generally consistent across these clusters. However, some national contexts displayed idiosyncratic properties, such as Poland, which had a less prominent regional cleavage and a unique content pattern due to the country's opposition to the EU's common migration and asylum policy and a skeptical public opinion towards non-European refugees and migrants.
- In conclusion, traditional and social media retain their distinct characteristics in terms of scope and function when discussing the European migration crisis, but the third dimension, curation type, showed the highest degree of convergence.
- In general, journalistic coverage of migration focuses primarily on visible events or “facts” and their actors that can be visualized, rather than on conceptual issues and problem solving. Thus, it is not surprising that the most news about migration occurs during mass and/or politically important events, such as: first and second migration-refugee wave to Europe (October 2015 and January 2016), Trump’s Muslim immigration ban (January 2017), Taliban retaking power in Afghanistan (August 2021), Belarusian-Polish border crisis (September 2021), and Russian aggression in Ukraine in the spring of 2022.
- The adoption of both migration compacts was low in the national media and had mediocre impact on public discourses on migration generally. However, our analysis showed a relatively large amount of attention paid by the media in Slovenia to the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration of November 2018. However, the reason for this was not the content of the Compact, but the fact that the Compact was discussed in the Slovenian parliament, and the Slovenian right-wing media took this discussion as a cue for a series of comments directed against migrants, presented as coming massively and illegally to Slovenia.
- Designation of refugees as migrants was more frequent during the period of the European migrant and refugee crisis, indicating a relativization of their legal status and the presence of an anti-migration discourse. The associated frames and discourses and their potential impact on the legal status and perception of refugees were further investigated by studying the usage of the terms "migrants" and "refugees" in media coverage, specifically in the context of the European migrant and refugee crisis and the beginning of the Ukraine crisis.

- A significant semantic similarity between refugees and migrants is found in the first period, while at the beginning of the Ukraine crisis, the framing of the international military conflict with terms of denoting (military attacks) can be interpreted as a strong refugee victimization frame.
- The coverage of migrants in the second period is more diverse, including frames denoting global causes of migration and the "climate crisis" frame.
- The central frames identified in the news articles about migrants and refugees correspond to the cleavage theory-inspired typology, including nation-statist, regionalist, globalist, nativist, othering, and localization frames.
- The use of the term "migrant" in the media is associated with the policy objective of limiting refugee and asylum seeker inflows.

Advocacy organizations should consider the following in order to improve the understanding of international protection of refugees and/or to improve the perception of refugees / migrants by maximizing the impact of their online communication efforts:

- Many global inter-state organizations, global NGOs and global activist groups are outside of the reach of the EU and UN on Twitter, which means not able to effectively reach many organizations interested in refugee protection issues and thus may not be able to influence the views of important players.
- Within the reach of their networks, UN and EU institutions have a high degree of control over communication flows and reach many important policy actors.
- The success of political actors' communication strategy on Twitter is however highly associated with their peer relations, i.e., other PAs with claims in the same policy field.
- PAs who are popular within peer networks receive considerably more attention from a broad public, and their popularity among peers may serve as a proxy for a wider audience.
- Highly active PAs receive less attention from the general audience, and this effect is amplified for more prominent PAs. Therefore, PAs need to produce quality content that is shared among their peers, not just be active on Twitter.
- Being retweeted by an ideologically diverse set of PAs increases attention from a wider audience.
- Nationalist PAs receive considerably more attention than other groups.
- PAs seeking to maximize the effect of their online communication efforts should be aware of activities of other organizations in the same policy field, maintain ties to actors who are ideologically as diverse as possible, and communicate shared values in a similar fashion like other actors in their policy subsystem.
- Reaching out to other peers alone does not help to gather users' interest, and it may even lead to less attention from the Twittersphere, in particular for PAs who already tweet a lot.
- Attention on social media is an intermediate goal of PAs, with the ultimate objective of promoting their causes and building stronger social ties.

The study also aimed to find out whether there is increasing content similarity or diversification of migration-related news in five selected countries during the periods of the strongest waves of the European migration crisis and the adoption of international agreements for their (political) solution, and to explore the impact of empirical contextualizations and theoretical conceptualizations on media coverage of migration. The key findings are:

- Empirical contextualizations have a more significant impact on media coverage of migration than theoretical conceptualizations.

- Conceptual innovations in migration research are only weakly present in media coverage of migration around the world.
- Reporting on migration is situated primarily in a national political context, echoing its key issues at the time.
- Journalistic coverage of migration focuses primarily on visible events or “facts” and their actors that can be visualized, rather than on conceptual issues and problem solving.
- The use of the term “migrant” is more common in the media than the use of the word “refugee”.
- The distinction between “refugees” and “immigrants” also reflects national linguistic peculiarities.
- The terms "migrant" and "refugee" are often used interchangeably in journalistic discourse.
- The most news about migration occurs during mass and/or politically important events.
- The media coverage of "refugees" from Ukraine is different from the media coverage of "migrants" coming to the European Union from non-European countries that are geographically and culturally further away from the EU than Ukraine.

2.2. Conceptual contributions

The presented research introduces a novel conceptual framework that draws upon the cleavage theory to understand the ideological tensions and the struggle for control over territorial borders in the media discourse on migrant-related issues. The cleavage theory suggests that societies are divided into competing groups based on various cleavages, such as socio-economic, cultural, and political differences. The presented typology provides a useful lens for analyzing the media discourse on migrant-related issues and understanding the different ideological perspectives and values that underlie it. The typology offers a framework for identifying and analyzing the different ways in which media outlets frame and communicate about these issues, as well as the underlying assumptions and values that inform these frames.

Additionally, the presented research contributes not only to the conceptual understanding of the cleavage theory-inspired typology of ideological tensions in the media discourse on migrant-related issues, but also serves as a case study for trans-national/Europeanized discourses and a contribution to the field of hybrid media systems. The study sheds light on the ways in which the media and communication systems in the European context shape the representation of different ideological groups and their respective frames.

Part of our research is based on the distinction between two conceptions related to the research of the epistemic field: *conceptualization*, which is an epistemic process in which the research concepts are defined and specified, and *contextualization*, which is the (re)emergence of a given concept in a new (different) social context or a new empirical or experiential environment. Reconceptualization refers to the process in which the meaning of concepts changes when (or because) they come into “collision” with new theoretical insights or when they are extracted from one disciplinary framework and inserted into another. As a result, the definitions of concepts may also change. Reconceptualization can also occur as a result of de- and re-contextualization, i.e. the (re)emergence of a given concept in a new (different) social context.

Our study was an opportunity to exemplify the relationship between *theoretical (re)conceptualization* and *empirical contextualization* in the media, based on the assumption about reconceptualizations of migration in public discourse and the media as a reflection of theoretical reconceptualizations and recontextualizations. The study shows that empirical contextualizations have a more significant impact on media coverage of migration than theoretical conceptualizations. Theoretical reconceptualizations generated in the study of migration do not have a significant impact on the way migration is reported in the media, but

other (news) factors or values arising from specific social contexts are more important. Migration is a case in point to demonstrate that reconceptualization is not only a matter of new scientific perspectives, but also of changes in popular understanding. Such changes are particularly evident in popular and political ideas about why and how migration occurs and with what consequences, which are spread by the mass media and, more recently, social networks.

2.3. Empirical contributions

Big data analysis provides significant empirical contributions to cross-national comparisons by offering a wealth of information that was previously difficult to obtain. By collecting, storing, and analyzing massive amounts of data from various sources, we were able to conduct comparisons between the migration related coverage in different national and linguistic contexts. For example, Event Registry contains 1,669,748 news articles mentioning refugees and published by the world media in the 7 year period (between 1st January 2015 and 31st December 2022).

Combined with the entity detection tool Wikifier, which recognizes people, concepts and locations, we were allowed to identify long term patterns and trends (that would otherwise present a too extensive workload or may have been overlooked in traditional approaches to cross-national comparisons) which provided insights into complex social phenomena that would otherwise remain hidden. Overall, big data analysis has enhanced the scope and depth of cross-national comparisons and has the potential to continue to contribute to our understanding of (not only) migration related processes in the future.

Our findings contribute to the understanding of political polarization in the discourse on migration and asylum. They show that traditional media and social media logics are not the same, but finds that national variation across countries is low. This points to the existence of a transnational European Public Sphere, where the same issues are discussed at the same times. This is further confirmed by the concentration of media attention at specific event.

Furthermore, we find that theoretical conceptualizations that have become important in the academic context, do not appear significantly in the media discourse. This indicates, that academic innovations do not reach the general public and ultimately may be limited in the impact that they have.

Lastly, we have contributed to the understanding of how policy actors, who are dependent on the attention they receive from the public for building trust and acceptance of their policies, receive attention from the Twittersphere. Connections to others involved in the same field are crucial in order to build relationships with trust and acceptance. While their ultimate goal may be (offline) connections to other policy actors to actively influence policy and public opinion, we show that connections to their peers on Twitter, influence the attention they receive in the discourse on migration and asylum. How different channels influence and moderate the attention an organization receives, and whether it results in more collaboration, acceptance of policy decisions or mobilization of supporters should also be explored in further research.

3. Conclusion

3.1. Contributions to the improvement of international refugee protection

The study provides insight into national variations in the coverage of refugee issues, which can help policymakers and humanitarian organizations better understand the unique challenges and opportunities in each national context, and tailor their strategies accordingly. The findings of the study can be used to improve international refugee protection in several ways:

- Our research provides a better understanding of the discourse on the European migration crisis, which can inform policymakers and humanitarian organizations in their efforts to improve refugee protection.

- It also shows that social media is a platform where the Europeanization of the migration discourse takes place, suggesting that social media can be used as a tool for spreading information and raising awareness about refugee protection issues.
- We identified some effective communication strategies for advocacy groups and organizations involved in refugee protection that utilize social media, which could potentially be applied to improve their outreach and impact.
- We highlight the importance of the curation of content in traditional and social media, which can inform media organizations on how to provide more balanced and accurate coverage of refugee issues, and avoid contributing to polarization on the topic.
- The study provides evidence that traditional media has adapted to the economy of attention, which can inform media organizations on how to better engage their audiences in refugee protection issues.
- By accurately distinguishing between refugees and migrants in their reporting, the media can help to educate the public about the different legal statuses and needs of these groups. This can in turn contribute to more informed public debate and policy-making on refugee protection, as well as greater public support for providing assistance and protection to refugees.
- Furthermore, accurate and nuanced reporting can help to counter negative stereotypes and misconceptions about refugees and migrants, such as the idea that they are a burden on society or a threat to national security. By presenting refugees as individuals who have fled persecution and are seeking protection, rather than as a faceless mass of "migrants," the media can help to foster empathy and understanding among the public, and promote more compassionate and effective responses to the refugee crisis.

3.2. Does media help improve the current protection system?

In both traditional and social media, the two Global Compacts have a low presence, and do not enjoy specific coverage. Journalists do not refer to these documents in a consistent way and their content is rarely analyzed. This is reinforced by the relative absence of expert voices from the media discourse. Academics and other specialists on the Global Compacts rarely figure in the news coverage of the topic of migration. In the social media analysis, European institutions are marginal in the networks of actors debating migration. Overall, this raises the issue of accurate representation of these legal texts as well as of perceived awareness of citizens of such texts setting the guidelines for the international protection of refugees and migrants.

We also find that the media coverage tends to conflate the terms “migrant”, “refugee” and “asylum seeker”, with the effect of blurring the distinctions otherwise pointed out in the Global Compact. This may affect media audiences’ perceptions of legitimacy claims by refugees and asylum seekers.

3.3. Suggestions for future research

Migration has jumped to the top of the news agenda in the past decade as the media reports the largest mass movement of people around the world in recent history. Research has not kept up with these major changes and has remained limited to occasional case studies, mostly focused only on media content. In order to overcome this unenviable situation, the research on media coverage of migration needs to be broadened and deepened by focusing on a systematic investigation of the entire epistemic chain in which the media are key knowledge conveyors and mediators.

The relationship between conceptualization and contextualization of migration-related concepts needs to be examined more closely to uncover the ways in which power and political interests shape knowledge production, public perception, and understanding of migration-related phenomena and concepts. Specifically, news gatekeeping practices, algorithmic

targeting of news to users, and public debates in social media should be examined in their integrated context in order to discover key avenues of conceptual and perceptual influence. Similarly, analysis of the commissioning and implementation of migration research are needed to determine whether (re)conceptualizations and (re)contextualizations in knowledge production on migration-related issues are limited to determining the appropriate means to achieve an externally given goal, or whether they involve a discussion of these goals themselves. i.e., to what degree is the production of knowledge instrumental and/or reflexive.

Our research stopped just as a new wave of refugees, pushed out of Ukraine by Russia's war of invasion, was taking form. Future research should expand to include the media coverage of Ukrainian refugees and asylum seekers, and to probe the possible difference between the coverage to Intra-European refugees compared to the one given to non-European ones.

For a more in-depth understanding of the results presented here, please refer to the research working papers and academic articles listed below. They will be available at:

[Publications - PROTECT The Right to International Protection \(uib.no\)](#)

- Dutceac Segesten A. and Farjam M. (2022) A content and frame analysis of the social media discourse on refugees and migrants, in the context of the United Nations and the European Union, 2015-2019. PROTECT Working Paper series. DOI: <https://zenodo.org/record/6483599>
- Farjam M., Dutceac Segesten A., Schmitt S. and Mance B. (2023) Hybrid media? A comparison of traditional and social media migration-related content along scope, function and curation. PROTECT Working Paper series. Soon to be available.
- Heiberger R.H., Schmitt S., Sicakkan H.G. and Van Wolleghem P.G. (2022) Do Policy Actors Influence Political Communication on Refugee Protection in Social Media? A Comparison of the UNHCR and the EU on Twitter. PROTECT Working Paper series. DOI: <https://zenodo.org/record/6483940>
- Heiberger R.H. and Sicakkan H.G. (2022) Between Europeanism and Nativism: Exploring a Cleavage Model of European Public Sphere on Social Media. PROTECT Working Paper series. DOI: <https://zenodo.org/record/6483971>
- Mance B., Splichal S., Sicakkan H.G. and Van Wolleghem P.G. (2023) Frames and Cleavages in Media Coverage of Migration. PROTECT Working Paper series. Soon to be available.
- Mance B. and Splichal S. (2023) Refugees or (im)migrants: (re)conceptualizing and (re)contextualizing migration in the media. PROTECT Working Paper series. Soon to be available.
- Sicakkan H.G. and Heiberger R.H. (2022) Between Europeanism and Nativism: Exploring a Cleavage Model of European Public Sphere in Social Media. *Javnost - The Public*, Vol. 29(3), pp. 231-249, DOI: 10.1080/13183222.2022.2067724