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Addressing Xenophobia
Representations of Migration and the Role of the Media

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Batoul Ahmad, 30-years-old, taught Syrian and French literature at the University of Damascus before she arrived to Germany in 2015. She was granted asylum the following year and engaged in intensive study of German and computer literacy. Two years later and she has found a job working for the German government as an office manager. Germany’s Federal Employment Agency predicts the economy is on course to create 650,000 new jobs this year, 100,000 of which will be taken up by people who came to the country as refugees.

“We have this fear, the work here is so much harder than the work in our country,” says Ahmad, “it is something that you have to face with confidence.”


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Summary

Commissioned by the United Nations University – Institute on Globalization, Culture and Mobility (UNU-GCM), this report addresses xenophobia through a consideration of representations of migration and the role of the media. First, this report asks: what is the role played by the media in disseminating and shaping perceptions of migration? To answer this question, three particular dimensions of media reporting on migration are examined: its impact on public opinion, the factors by which it is shaped, and the criteria that determine the respectful or prejudicial character of depictions of migrants by newsmakers. It is shown that media reporting on migration affects how the public learns about migration, forms political judgments, and takes electoral decisions; it is itself influenced by several factors: broad changes in the media industry, economic and contextual conditions, new-organizations related characteristics and newsmakers’ everyday decision-making capacity. Taking note of these elements on the constitution and impact of media reporting on migration, newsmakers need to consider five specific criteria that determine the ethical or prejudicial character of representations of migrants: the (in)visibility of groups in news coverage, the themes addressed, the accuracy of the information provided, the words and discursive techniques used to describe migrants, and the images and pictures employed to document migration stories. Second, this report asks: what rules and norms currently frame media reporting on migration and specifically address xenophobia? It is shown that although the notion of a fair, impartial and respectful representation of migrants by newsmakers is now entrenched in media regulation, many organizations still have not adopted specific professional guidelines that address reporting on migration. Existing regulation on the matter constitutes only a minor fraction of general rules surrounding media activities, and no monitoring of their implementation has been undertaken. The same holds for projects undertaken to support ethical reporting on migration. Third, in the light of the fundamental role played by the media in shaping public opinion on migration and the limits of existing responses to promote ethical journalism, this report asks: what can still be done to ensure the inclusion of all migrants through media practices? It is argued that scholars, newsmakers, media organizations, media regulators, policy-makers and United Nations entities all have a key role to play in ensuring ethical reporting on migration while safeguarding the values of independent and fair journalism.
1. Introduction

The media play a critical role in shaping and responding to the opportunities and challenges offered by migration and diversity. By filtering news stories and determining how they should be told, they create narratives that influence public opinion and impact electoral outcomes. Value-laden pejorative and stereotypical migration coverage tends to foster xenophobic sentiments, increase the support of anti-immigrant parties and alter migrant groups’ integration experiences. Conversely, fair, precise, impartial and respectful representations of migrants raise civic awareness and enable citizens to take well-informed political decisions. To this extent, the media represent an important actor in the ethical governance of migration.

In a tense political climate marked by Islamophobia, fear spread by terrorism, and the rise of anti-immigrant parties, migrants are especially prone to acts of hatred and intolerance. For Secretary General of the United Nations António Guterres, “in times of insecurity, communities that look different become convenient scapegoats. We must resist cynical efforts to divide communities and portray neighbors as ‘the other.’” As societies become more plural, the media have the potential to encourage cohesion and counter negative attitudes toward human mobility.

This report addresses xenophobia through a consideration of representations of migration and the role of the media. It seeks to answer three main questions. First, what is the role played by the media in disseminating and shaping perceptions of migrants? In particular, what effects does migration media coverage have on public opinion? By what factors is it influenced? Can we identify dominant trends or patterns in the ways that the media depict migrants and what factors determine these? Second, what rules and norms currently frame media reporting on migration and specifically address xenophobia? Third, what can still be done to ensure the inclusion of all migrants through media practices and more broadly, to leverage inclusive policymaking on international migration?

This report aims to support international policymakers in their efforts to work towards a global compact on safe, orderly and regular migration and a global compact on refugees. Following the adoption of the New York Declaration on September 19th, 2016 by the Member States of the United Nations, a two-year process was set in motion to prepare these compacts, that are to be adopted in 2018. During the first phase (April-November 2017) of the process,
UN agencies have initiated consultations with key migration stakeholders, including civil societies, the private sector, the development community and academia. However, no formal consultation has been engaged with global media, despite their central role in disseminating information about migration, shaping the public’s policy preferences and ultimately influencing inter-social relations between migrant groups and host societies.

Addressing xenophobia to ensure the human rights and the inclusion of all migrants remains a pressing concern in the global migration agenda. It supports the general goal of the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda to “leave no one behind.” It also complements the UN’s Together campaign, which seeks to counter racism and guarantee the respect, safety, and dignity of all migrants.

Global media are multifaceted. Recent changes in the media industry, such as the shift from print to web media and the rising importance of social media, have blurred the lines of traditional means of communication. In this report, the media are defined as the newsmakers providing information on economic social, cultural or political reality in broadcasting, publishing and the internet. Newsmakers comprehend a broad set of actors, including news firms (business executives), news organizations (journalists), sponsors and advertisers.

Taking note of the variations in media reporting on migration across countries and between media organizations, this report argues that despite current initiatives to resist xenophobic representations of migrants in the media, more actions need to be taken to ensure ethical reporting on migration while safeguarding the values of independent and fair journalism.

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2. Representations of Migration in the Media

To develop policy recommendations that foster ethical and responsible journalistic practices, a detailed examination of contemporary media reporting on migration is necessary. This section examines empirical evidence on three dimensions of media reporting on migration: its impact on public opinion (section 2.1), the factors by which it is shaped (section 2.2), and the criteria that determine the respectful or prejudicial character of depictions of migrants by journalists (section 2.3).

2.1. Effects on Public Opinion

Migration media coverage has considerable consequences on public opinion. It affects how the public learns about migration and migrant groups (i.e. its knowledge), forms political judgments and takes electoral decisions.

First and foremost, as a source of information on economic, social, cultural and political reality, the media influences how the public learns about migration. By emphasizing some issues while excluding others, newsmakers determine what information is accessible in the public’s mind. Facts frequently or recently stated about global migration create an immediate set of considerations that consumers can easily retrieve from their memory. Given that individuals rely on this immediate set of considerations rather than on their entire knowledge repertoire when queried about specific issues, media cues are particularly important in shaping what audiences know about migration.

Second, the media also have an important impact on how the public forms political judgments. On the one hand, by paying attention to a set of issues and not others, the media determine what audiences finds the most important. Dunaway, Branton and Abrajano (2010) show that as media coverage of migration issues increases in the United States, the public is more likely to rank migration as the “most important problem” facing the country. On the other hand, the manner in which the media frame different issues affects the public’s judgments and opinions about such issues. News that emphasize jobs and resources tend to foster an economic understanding of migration issues while the ones focusing on human rights or personal responsibility trigger ethical considerations. More particularly, news conveying unfavorable depictions of migrants tend to reinforce individuals’ pre-existing ethnic or racial stereotypes. For instance, value-laden media coverage confounding Islam, Islamic radicalism and jihadism and associating Muslims with security threats strongly increases negative perceptions of Islam.

Over 2,420 people interviewed in a report on Western media representations of Muslims commissioned by the Kuwaiti government, almost half mentioned that TV documentaries had a very strong or strong impact on their perceptions of Arab Muslims; 41% mentioned the same about TV and 36% about newspaper coverage.

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6. Given that most print media are archived, accessible for wide time zones, and easier to codes by researchers than images, a majority of studies examining media reporting on migration focus on printed media. However, whenever possible, evidence applying to other sectors of the media industry is explored.
Third, in addition to influencing the public’s knowledge and political opinion on migration issues, the media shape the public’s political behavior, a fact that has important implications for policy-makers. Evidence shows that the media impacts individuals’ political participation as well as their voting intentions. Regarding political participation, the media constitute a sphere where migrant groups can participate in a country’s public and political life, where they can have a voice, make claims, advance counter-narratives, develop counter-arguments on and foster debate about migration issues. Web-based media, in particular, offer a forum for political discussions. In an analysis of cyber-media in North Korea, Ji and Jung (2014) find that much of public debates about migrants, minorities, multiculturalism and related government policies occur on such platforms. In particular, active foreigners use these mediums of communication to diversify prevailing negative discourses about migrants. Regarding people’s voting intention, several studies show that an increase in the frequency of migration-related news tends to boost the support for anti-immigrant parties, even when checking the effects of unemployment rates, the level of immigration and political leadership. Vliegenthart, Boomgaarden amd Van Spanje (2012) test this relation in the context of anti-immigrant parties in Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany from 1990 to 2010 and show that visibility of anti-immigrant parties and their leaders in the news had a strong impact on their success in each country.

Figure 1. Effects of Migration Media Coverage on Public Opinion

The threefold influence of migration media coverage on public opinion stresses the importance of ensuring ethical representations of migration and migrants in the media. If media reporting on migration can shape political opinions, increase the support of anti-immigrant parties, and hence alter migrant groups’ integration experiences, it means that newsmakers have considerable power. The next two sections further explore media reporting on migration by investigating the factors by which they are shaped and the criteria that influence the respectful or prejudicial character of depictions of migrants by journalists.
2.2. Factors Shaping Media Reporting on Migration

Many factors shape media reporting on migration, whether they are due to broad changes in the media industry, to economic and contextual factors, to news organizations-related characteristics such as geographic location or language of information, or to newsmakers’ everyday decision-making capacity.

Since the rise of the internet in the late 1980s, the media industry has faced significant changes that have disrupted traditional news coverage. The diversification of mediums of information with the boost of digital, mobile and social media, the progressive shift of printed media to web content, the proliferation of fake news shared on social media, the increasing reliance on freelancers with diverse backgrounds and the expansion of ‘infotainment’ blurring the lines between knowledge and advertisement are among the major developments to which newsmakers had to adapt over the last decades. A study conducted by the London School of Economics reveals that pressures associated with the fast flow of information delivered on online and social media led many news organizations across Europe to report on the migrant crisis of 2015-2016 without a good understanding of its context and background and without taking the time to train their staff on the sensitive issues involved.

Besides being affected by changes in the environment of the media industry, reporting on migration is also highly influenced by economic and contextual factors. The impact of economic variables on media coverage is largely evidenced by economic theories of news, which rely on two set of assumptions. The first relates to the behavior of media organizations: they respond to economic incentives, they are cognizant of audiences’ preferences, and they adapt news coverage to these preferences. The second concerns media consumers, who mostly consult information sources that cater to their views.

The first assumption is supported by empirical evidence to the extent that market forces, such as government spending, unemployment, competition and inflation indeed influence the types of issues reported in the news and the frequency of appearance of these issues. For instance, organizations under a high level of market competition tend to issue less substantive political information than the ones under a low level of market competition. When unemployment rates increase, newspapers are also more likely to produce liberal information, while when inflation rates are high, they are more likely to publish conservative news stories.

The second assumption is also confirmed: news organizations select which topics to cover and how much attention they deserve in the prospect to appeal to specific audiences and to maximize their profit. Market competition, which constrains news organizations to attract new audiences, tends to induce a decrease in the quality of news, as consumers favor lower quality news stories. For Hamilton (2004), the five traditional ‘W’ (i.e. What? Who? Where? When? Why?) that shape news content have been replaced by the “5Ws of the information marketplace:” “Who cares about a particular piece of information? What are they willing to pay to find it, or what are others willing to pay to reach them? Where can media outlets or

8. Lee (2013) defines liberal news stories as the ones arguing that the government is responsible for social problems, such as education, welfare, race or health care, or that it should be more active in resolving these issues. Conservative news stories, in contrast, argue that individuals and private organizations are responsible for social issues, or that unlike the government, they should be more active in resolving these issues.
Various contextual factors, add to economic conditions in driving the ways news organizations report on migration issues. There exist important variations in migration media coverage between countries, whether in patterns of sources’ selection, topics of focus, themes in coverage or proposed solutions. This can be due to varying political traditions, to contrasting journalistic practices as defined in national journalistic conventions, or to different events punctuating daily news such as electoral campaigns or the number of migrants admitted in countries. For instance, in the period 2014-2015, Swedish newspapers tended to depict migrants in a favorable manner and to focus on humanitarian themes, despite a significant representation of the far-right Swedish party and a low proportion of NGO sources. In contrast, during the same period, British newspapers predominantly fostered anti-immigrant views and supported Fortress Europe approaches, although these ideas were contrasted by the migrant-friendly coverage of the Guardian and the Daily Mirror.

Contextual factors do not only explain differences between countries, they also justify important disparities within national media systems. Media with different political allegiances (i.e. left, right or center) are more or less polarized and report on migration in distinct ways. In Spain, Italy and Sweden, for instance, media reporting on migration tends “to use the same language, report on the same themes and feature the same explanations and responses.”

In addition to the variables identified so far (i.e., changes in the media industry, economic conditions and contextual factors), news organizations-related characteristics also influence media reporting on migration. The language in which information is provided impacts the substance and volume of migration news coverage. In the United States, Spanish-language newspapers generate a larger – and more favorable – coverage of immigration than English-language ones. Spatial distance from a border with immigrant sending countries is also influential. Printed media from states along the U.S.-Mexico border in the United States tend to issue a higher volume of articles on migration than the ones in nonborder states. They also depict migrants in more negative terms than printed media in nonborder states.

Finally, substantial evidence supports the idea that newsmakers’ everyday decisions highly impact migration media coverage. Newsmakers do not simply mirror reality: they select, filter and hence confer importance to certain events. They determine how important these events are, when they are important, and how the public perceives them. A heightened coverage

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10. Agenda-setting theory, developed in 1972 by Maxwell McCombs and Donald L. Shaw, was the first to posit that the media is able to determine the salience of topics on the public agenda by (i) selecting the issues covered in the news and (ii) leading the public opinion to believe that these issues are more important than others. Mc Combs and Shaw’s seminal study gave rise to many subsequent studies confirming the assumptions of agenda-setting theory (Iyengar and Kinder, 1987; Baumgartner and Jones, 1995; Dunaway, Brandon and Abrajano, 2010; Guo, Tien Vu and McCombs, 2012). However, recent research has criticized this approach for considering audiences as passive in the selection of media sources, and as unable to control whether they believe that what they read or see is true or not (Scheufele, 2000). Besides, other important variables than the media have also been shown to highly influence public opinion on migration, such as the presence or absence of immigrant communities among individuals’ acquaintances (Cornelius, 1982; Tolbert and Hero, 2001) or individual-level characteristics such as economic outlook, age, gender, education, partisanship and ideology (Citrin, Reingold, and Green, 1990; Hood and Morris, 1997; Burns and Gimpel, 2000).
of migration increases public perception of its importance, and the frames used to depict migrants impact the ways the public perceives and forms judgments on migration issues.

2.3. Depictions of Migrants

While the previous sub-section lays out the variables that impact the ways newsmakers report on migration-related issues, this sub-section presents the criteria that determine the respectful or prejudicial character of depictions of migrants. Five main factors are influential: the (in)visibility of groups in news coverage, the themes addressed, the accuracy of the information provided, the words and discursive techniques used to describe migrants, and finally, the images and pictures employed to document migration stories.

Fully understanding discrimination in media reporting starts with paying as much attention to what is lacking from news coverage as to what is actually covered. Indeed, the visibility of migrants and minorities in the media is an important factor to consider while assessing the fairness of media reporting on migration. In general, the numerical presence of a migrant group within a country does not influence its visibility in news coverage. For instance, the proportion of network television news concerning the Latinos in the U.S. is much lower than the actual percentage of the Latino population. Similarly, the news coverage of Vietnamese and Indian immigrant communities in prominent cities of the United States and Canada depends more on national opportunity structures and immigrants’ incorporation in the country than on their demographic importance. Overall, offering diverse and representational coverage of migrant groups within each country influences the quality of media reporting on migration.

Regarding the themes addressed, humanitarianism, rescue operations, trafficking, national security, welfare state, health system, unemployment, national identity and border control are common in migration media coverage. Although there is great variation in how media organizations report on migration, an important part of coverage associates migrants with particular forms of crime abuse, and describe them in a sensational manner. For instance, a majority of crime stories feature non-White individuals, who are usually described in a less favorable manner than White people and presented in terms of their race/ethnicity. However, there also exist important differences between countries in the main themes addressed by the media. Analyzing the coverage of the migrant crisis in the European Union in 2014-2015, Berry et al. (2015) show that humanitarian is more often mentioned in Italian newspapers (50.6% of all themes covered in migration-related news) than in Swedish (47.1%), British (37.3%), German (37.1%) or Spanish newspapers (32.5%). The threat posed by migration in terms of national security is also more often discussed in Italian coverage (10.1%) than in the British (8.5%) and German one (4.8%). Effects of migrants on welfare and health systems is an important theme in the U.K., as it appears in 18.3% of articles, while post-arrival integration is an important concern in Germany (19.7% of articles) and countries’ political and policy responses is prevalent in Spain (69.7% of articles). In general, unilateral migration coverage focusing on the economic and cultural downsides of immigrants’ admission within states fails

11. Bloemraad, de Graauw and Hamlin (2015) analyze the content of printed newspapers in San Jose, Boston, Vancouver and Toronto from 1985 to 2005. National opportunity structures refer to discursive and institutional contexts relating to immigrants’ admission and integration. For instance, Canada adopted multiculturalism as an official policy while the U.S. favors a certain laissez-faire. Immigrants’ incorporation relates to the relative importance granted to refugee, family and economic migrants.
to highlight the complexity and opportunities of migration. Alternative themes can explore migrants’ reasons to migrate, everyday living-conditions or contributions to host societies.

Besides the themes addressed in news coverage, the type of information provided also affects representations of migrants. When disclosing partial, out of context or inaccurate, information, newsmakers mislead audiences about the reality of migration. In 2015, the Bulgarian politician Vassil Marinov stated that the monthly allowance granted to refugees was 1100 level (€550), an amount higher than the average monthly salary. This statement, although it was unverified, was disseminated by the media. A month later, the Segal Daily newspaper proved that it was untrue. The nature of the news delivered is itself highly impacted by the sources that journalists select. Men from migrant communities tend to be more often cited than women. Politicians, official figures and the police also constitute the most cited sources in media coverage of migrants, while refugees and migrants are less often solicited. Berry et al. (2015) show that domestic politicians are prominent sources in printed newspapers in the U.K. (20.4%), Germany (32.8%) and Italy (31.4%), while the voice of migrant groups are more muted (10.4% of all source appearances in the U.K compared to 9.3% both in Germany and Italy). However, these national tendencies do not reflect differences between newspapers within a same country. For example, in the U.K., migrants (27.5% of all source appearances) are more often mentioned as sources than politicians (13.9%) in the Daily Mail, while domestic politicians appear more often than migrants in the Guardian, the Telegraph, the Daily Mail and the Sun.

Finally, the words used to qualify immigrants and asylum seekers and the images selected to document their journey are key in shaping their representations. In particular, homogenizing words that tend to represent a group of individuals as uniform, pejorative statements that ascribe negative qualities to groups, and stereotypes that convey fixed and over-simplified images of migrants, convey negative and unfair representations of migrants. For instance, in South Africa, the tabloid The Daily Sun tends to depict Zimbabweans as “bogus asylum-seekers, sellers of stolen goods, robbers, illegal farm workers and killers,” Zairians as “dealers” and Ghanaians as “crooks.” A content analysis of European media reporting on Islam and Muslims between 2000 and 2010 also reveals that although there exists a wide variation in tone and type of coverage, Muslims are “generally portrayed in stereotypical terms, and Islam [are] seen as a threat to security.” In the same way that words impact how audiences perceive refugees and migrants, images can send various messages about their journey. For example, pictures showing asylum seekers scrambling over barbed wire fences to enter into a new host country can send a message of illegality and desperation.
Figure 2. Depictions of Migrants in the Media

Visibility / Invisibility of Migrants in News Stories

Type of Information
- Accurate / Inaccurate
- Complete / Partial
- Out of context / In context

Themes Addressed
- Welfare State
- Unemployment
- National Identity
- Border Control
- Journey of Immigration
- Immigrants and Asylum Seeker’s Everyday Living Conditions

Vocabulary

Images and Pictures
3. Promoting Ethical Representations of Migration: Existing Responses

With the increase in the number of migrants worldwide, ethical journalism is essential to guarantee the freedom of expression of all, educate the public about intercultural issues, and disseminate inclusive narratives about migration. According to the Ethical Journalism Network director of communications and campaigns, Tom Law, “there [is] a consensus that migration reporting is one of the biggest challenges facing the news media and will be for years to come. It is essential that media rise to challenge of covering migration and put ethics at the center of their coverage.” There exist a wide range of norms and practices framing media reporting on migration, including media regulation, professional trainings, conferences, workshops and sensitization campaigns. Section 5.1. reviews the core concepts of media regulation on migration, while section 5.2. surveys existing projects launched to promote ethical representations of refugees and migrants in the media.

3.1. Media Regulation on Migration

Media regulation constitutes the primary source of professional guidelines about migration coverage, although only a few countries have a comprehensive media regulatory framework, well-known by the public and implemented by journalists in a transparent way. Media regulation relates to the rules, procedures and norms compelling media organizations to achieve specific policy goals such as information quality, pluralism, competition or the protection of individuals’ privacy. It can take several forms, including laws, financial incentives, professional licenses, informal agreements by publishers, codes of ethics (also called codes of practice or codes of conduct), and technical and administrative codes.

Key international texts condemning discrimination, racism and hate speech have paved the way of media regulation on migration. In 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations established that every individual was entitled to inalienable rights and freedoms “without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status” (article 2). Similarly, the European Convention on Human Rights signed by the Council of Europe in 1953 denounced all acts of discrimination on grounds such as race, colour language, religion or political opinion (article 14). The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination adopted by the United Nations in 1965 can be said to have taken a step in addressing the responsibility of the media by incriminating “all dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority or hatred, incitement to racial discrimination, as well as acts of violence or incitement to such acts against any race or group of persons of another colour or ethnic group” (article 4.a.). In the same way, the UNESCO Mass Media Declaration (1978) invited the media to “contribute to promoting human rights, in particular by giving

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12. The number of international migrants (i.e. individuals living in a different country than the one where they were born) reached 244 million in 2015, including 20 million refugees. This represents a 41 per cent increase compared to 2000 (Sustainable Development Goals, 2016).
expression to oppressed peoples who struggle against [...] all forms of racial discrimination and oppression and who are unable to make their voices heard within their own territories". Media regulation on the specific issue of migration is more recent. In 2001, the declaration adopted at the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance was one of the first official documents to note the contribution of certain media “to the spread of xenophobic and racist sentiments among the public,” through the promotion of “false images and negative stereotypes of vulnerable individuals or groups of individuals, particularly of migrants and refugees" (article 89).

Media regulation on migration mostly consists of scattered texts and practices, and constitutes a minor fraction of general rules surrounding media activities. Among the international codes of media ethics compiled by the Accountable Journalism database, 188 discuss the issues of race, ethnicity, racism, discrimination and hate speech while only 12 specifically relate to migrants, refugees and illegal immigrants (see Annex 1).

It is notable that despite the global threat of Islamophobia and hatred targeting Muslims, only two codes of ethics of the Accountable Journalism database specifically address media reporting on Islam. The United Arab Emirates Journalists Association state that that the media should not offend or desecrate Islam by any form, as it is a fundamental component of the United Arab Emirates’ culture and values. The reporting guidelines of the Australian Press Council also stress the importance of carefully considering the linking of words with religious connotations, in particular ‘Islam,’ ‘Islamic,’ and ‘Muslim,’ to terrorist groups. Although these links may be accurate, they can convey the idea that Muslims as a whole are responsible for the actions of a radical minority. As such, they need to be used with precaution. The guidelines especially suggest to avoid headlines that include the words ‘Muslim terror,’ and ‘Islamic bomb attack’ in order to avoid the automatic link between religious beliefs and acts of terror.

The regulation of media activities seems, overall, to contradict the right of the media to freedom of expression. Over-regulation may indeed threaten the independence, heterogeneity and originality of the media. In the same way, the responsibility of journalists to protect the public against stigmatization and racism can challenge their duty to report or reflect on all types of perspectives. However, freedom of expression is a reciprocal right that should foster tolerance and understanding among individuals. To this extent, ethical standards that seek to eradicate xenophobic, unilateral and stereotypical statements do not restrain journalists’ autonomy. Instead, they engender a space where everyone’s voices can be heard.

Besides addressing themes of independence, impartiality, accountability and humanity, which are considered as the cornerstones of ethical journalism, media regulation on migration focuses on six major ideas summarized below.

1. **Accuracy**: Media regulation on migration encourages journalists to provide reliable and precise information. For instance, in the Charter of Rome (2008), the National Council of Journalists’ Association calls for condemning “inaccurate, simplified or distorted information as regards asylum seekers, refugees, victims of trafficking and migrants".

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13. A research by key words was carried out in the Accountable Journalism database to find these results. The following key words were entered in the database search bar to obtain the first result: “race OR ethic OR ethnicity OR racism OR discrimination OR hate speech.” All documents including the words “immigrant,” “immigration,” “migrant,” “migration,” “forced migrant,” “forced migration,” “refugee,” “asylum seeker,” and “illegal immigrant” were reviewed to obtain the second result.
(article b). This standard can be achieved by always checking politicians and public figures’ statements, by asking experts to provide contextual information or by specifying what facts cannot be verified.\textsuperscript{lviii}

2. **Stereotypes**: Many codes of ethics insist on the necessity to avoid stereotyped, partial and unilateral representations of migrants. For example, journalists can mention migrants’ nationality, country of origin, ethnicity, skin color, religion or race only when strictly necessary.\textsuperscript{lix} In particular, guidelines highlight the need to account for the diversity inherent to each migrant group. As specified in the recommendations of the General Association of Professional Journalists of Belgium (1994), this can be achieved by stating that “what was said in general terms is not necessarily valid for all […] or that all immigrants are not of the same opinion”\textsuperscript{lx} (article 2.1.).

3. **Us/them distinction**: Media regulation on migration argues that the media should not represent refugees and migrants in a binary opposition with host societies. Indeed, phrases like ‘our country,’ ‘our nation,’ ‘our culture’ or ‘our traditions’ tend to sharpen divisions rather than reduce them. It is more relevant, for instance, to write “immigrants must learn French” rather than ‘immigrants must learn our language’\textsuperscript{lxi} (article 2.2.).

4. **Terminology**: A common rule addressed by media regulation on migration is the clear distinction to be made between asylum seekers, refugees, irregular migrants, economic workers and victims of trafficking. The Charter of Rome (2008) and the Australian Press Council Advisory Guidelines (2009), among others, provide clear definitions of these terms.

5. **Tone of coverage**: Media reporting on migration also focuses on the necessity for journalists, to avoid value-laden words such as ‘invasion,’ ‘flood’ or ‘chaos’ when referring to migration, and to favor neutral terms such as ‘undocumented’ over ‘illegal’ when mentioning unauthorized migrants.\textsuperscript{lxii} The BBC has for example banned the terms “illegal migrants” from their internal ethical codes.\textsuperscript{lxiii}

6. **Protecting the identity of refugees and migrants**: Several codes of ethics invite journalists to inform migrants (whether economic migrants, refugees, asylum seekers or victims of trafficking) who put themselves in a vulnerable position by agreeing to share their stories about the potential consequences of revealing their identity. Some may want complete anonymity while others may accept that parts of their identity are revealed and not others. As stated by the Empowering Children in the Media organization, “journalists must demonstrate extreme care to ensure their reporting does not cause further harm, trauma, distress, humiliation, embarrassment, grief or expose [migrant groups] to danger.”\textsuperscript{lxiv}

On September 22, 2016, the Ethical Journalism Network, an organization of journalists, editors, press owners and media support groups that promote high ethical standards in journalism, launched new guidelines for migration reporting at the Jakarta World Forum for Media Development.\textsuperscript{lxv} Five principles are proposed to media organizations reporting on migration: (1) remain fair, transparent, accurate, impartial and inclusive, (2) know the law, (3) show humanity, (4) speak for all and (5) challenge hate.\textsuperscript{lxv}

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The notion of a fair, impartial and respectful representation of migrants by journalists is now entrenched in some international codes of media ethics, while many media organizations, associations of journalists, press councils and sectors of the industry still have not adopted specific regulation on media reporting on migration. Moreover, no international monitoring of the implementation of existing dispositions on migration has been undertaken at this day. Although complaints from the public can reveal breaches in the ways journalists follow media regulation, very few grievances about alleged discrimination are sent to press councils.

3.2. Projects Promoting Ethical Representations of Migration

Besides regulation, many projects guide media reporting on migration. A broad range of organizations, unions of journalists, registered charities, international organizations or universities, create, support or implement activities that aim at providing analysis on migration coverage, at countering xenophobia and at promoting ethical representations of migration (see Annex 2). For instance, ‘Reporting on Migration and Refugees Training Workshops for E.U. Journalists,’ which is organized by the Ethical Journalism Network, help journalists to improve their skills while reporting on vulnerable groups. The ‘Media Migration Award for Journalistic Excellence’ also rewards journalists whose work reflects the complexity, challenges and opportunities of migration in the Euro-Mediterranean region. To defy discrimination towards Muslims, the project ‘Countering Islamophobia Through the Development of Best Practice in the Use of Counter-Narratives in EU Members States’ seeks to assess prevailing narratives of Muslim hatred in the media, to identify counter-narratives, and to compare their effects. However, initiatives supporting media reporting on migration remain highly disparate, and there exist little cooperation and dialogue between them. Moreover, as for media regulation on migration, there is no monitoring of the implementation of existing projects nor assessment of their impact. Recommendations to overcome these limits are provided in section 4.3.
4. Moving Forward: Conclusion and Recommendations to Foster Ethical Representations of Migration

4.1. Concluding Remarks
Addressing xenophobia constitutes a priority in the global migration agenda. This report has shown that newsmakers play a key role in both conveying and countering xenophobic representations of migrants, and as such, have the power to support policy-makers in responding to the opportunities and challenges offered by migration and diversity. Considering the central role of the media and the limits of existing responses to the condemnation of xenophobia in news stories, the next sub-sections assess what steps can be undertaken to ensure the inclusion of all migrants through media practices.

4.2. Proposals for Scholars
Scholars from a variety of disciplines, ranging from migration studies, communication studies, sociology and political science, have a key role to play in highlighting the function of the media in disseminating representations of migration and migrants. They provide the methodological, empirical, theoretical and normative tools to assess the relative importance of the media compared to other factors in shaping public opinion on migration, to identify the various factors that shape reporting on migration and to understand what in depictions of migrants reinforce or counter xenophobic prejudices. Scholars comparing media practices on migration are encouraged to:

1. Pursue their efforts in monitoring migration coverage in printed newspapers, on TV, on the radio and on social media in order to increase the accessibility of data available for research;
2. Think about systematic ways to assess what migrant groups receive the most attention, what themes are most often addressed and what vocabulary is most often used so as to identify dominant trends in media reporting on migration and support the reflection on ethical / detrimental reporting practices with empirical evidence;
3. Design an analytical grid of the definitions and measurement of ‘xenophobic,’ ‘discriminatory,’ ‘racist,’ ‘negative,’ ‘ethical,’ ‘positive’ or ‘responsible’ representations of migration and migrants across studies in order to more easily compare or contrast their results;
4. Refine the analysis of the relative impact of the media in shaping public opinion on migration in comparison with other variables (e.g. economic conditions, the presence/absence of migrant communities among individuals’ relations, personal characteristics such as education, partisanship and ideology) in order to better understand the role of the media;
5. Find ways to compare the relative importance of factors shaping media reporting on migration, such as changes in the media industry, economic and contextual factors, news organizations-related characteristics or newsmakers’ everyday decision-making capacity, rather than focusing on each of these variables separately.

4.3. Proposals for Newsmakers

It has been shown that newsmakers hold great power in affecting how the public learns about migration and migrant groups, forms political judgments and takes electoral decisions. In contemporary media, newsmakers are not only comprised of journalists but any individual providing information in printed media, on TV, the radio, and the internet. This includes freelancers and the public publishing or sharing information on social media. Given the diversity and the size of their audiences, newsmakers reporting on migration should:

6. Draw a distinction between categories of migrants, including economic migrants, asylum seekers, refugees, victims of trafficking and unauthorized migrants, when these are clearly identifiable, in order to avoid confusion and raise awareness on the international legal obligations that come with these terms;

7. Use neutral words such as ‘undocumented’ rather than ‘illegal’ when referring to unauthorized migrants to avoid criminalizing their status;

8. Ensure a diverse and representational coverage of migrant groups within each country so as to offer a voice to a wide array of migrants and inform the public about the composition of the migrant population of their country;

9. Diversify sources of information cited in news coverage by offering more space to migrants and individuals working directly with migrant groups;

10. Inform migrants who agree to share their stories and as such, put themselves in a vulnerable position, about the potential consequences of revealing their identity in news stories and grant anonymity to the ones the most at risk so as to avoid potential consequences from other individuals in host societies or their country of origin;

11. Systematically ascertain the information provided by external sources, especially sources with high political interests;

12. Keep exploring stories relating to migrants’ migration journey, everyday living conditions, skills or contributions to host societies rather than focusing on migrants’ arrival or border crossing and on the impact of migrant groups’ admissions on countries’ employment level, security conditions and national identity;

13. Avoid value-laden, stereotyped, pejorative and homogenizing vocabulary to represent refugees and migrants in the news;

14. Explain statistics on migrants’ admissions and integration in order to avoid misinterpretations and ensuing discrimination; for instance, the number of migrants admitted in a country in a given year could be presented as percentages of the total population rather than absolute numbers and it could be compared to other countries to provide background;

15. Carefully select pictures of refugees and migrants and reflect on the messages that these pictures convey; for instance, a picture showing asylum seekers crossing barbed fences may evoke transgression or desperation.
4.4. Proposals for Media Organizations

Media organizations, whether specialized in printed news, broadcasting or web content, can set clear objectives as to their role in countering xenophobia towards migrants, the principles and values they wish to adhere to, and the type of information that they seek to convey. Media organizations are encouraged to:

16. Organize internal discussions on potential ways to counter xenophobia against migrants;
17. Assess existing practices in the training of current and future newsmakers that raise awareness on multiculturalism and xenophobia towards migrants and if deemed necessary, develop partnerships to design new training activities;
18. Appoint journalists or freelancers with a good knowledge of the international refugee regime and the causes and consequences of migration to cover migration-related news;
19. Defend migrants’ access to employment in journalistic and media management professions to ensure newsroom diversity;
20. Engage in international co-productions between sending, receiving and transit countries to enhance understanding of intercultural issues and raise awareness on migrants’ journey.

4.5. Proposals for Media Regulators

Media regulators, which include press councils, unions of journalists, sectors of the media industry and policy-makers, can play a constructive role in defining and reinforcing ethical standards on representations of migration in the news. Media regulators should:

21. Clearly identify and define reporting practices on migration considered as xenophobic on the one hand, and as ethical and responsible on the other, and discuss them with journalists;
22. Make existing migration reporting guidelines more accessible to journalists and the public;
23. Assess how effectively journalists implement media regulation on migration by adjudicating, for instance, on the complaints sent by the public to press councils regarding discriminatory migration coverage;
24. Systematically include reporting guidelines on migration and migrant groups in codes of ethics, codes of practice or codes of conduct;
25. Develop specific reporting guidelines on Islamophobia and hatred toward Muslims;
26. Share ideas and experiences on migration reporting guidelines across countries to assess the feasibility and the relevance of adopting more uniform rules;
27. Survey existing projects – whether undertaken by unions of journalists, registered charities, international organizations, universities or other types of organizations, that aim at providing analysis on migration coverage, countering xenophobia and promoting ethical representations of migration, monitor their implementation and assess their impact.
4.6. Proposals for Policy-Makers

Policy-makers at different levels of governance have the responsibility to safeguard free speech for all while protecting journalistic independence. They are encouraged to:

28. Support media organizations directed by ethnic and minority groups, especially when they raise awareness about the situation of migrants;

29. Grant funding to organizations that analyze media reporting on migration and that encourage the development of ethical journalistic practices towards migrants, such as conferences, workshops, training activities and sensitization campaigns;

30. Educate the public on different forms of discrimination towards migrants on the one hand, and on the ways to access, use, analyze and assess the media on the other.

4.7. Proposals for United Nations Entities

The United Nations is committed to guaranteeing the dignity of all migrants and countering any form of xenophobia. These values are central to the global compact on safe, orderly and regular migration and the global compact on refugees that are to be adopted in 2018. They are also key in the Together campaign which seeks to counter racism and promotes the respect and safety of migrants, as well as in the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda dedicated to ‘leave no one behind.’ United Nations entities are encouraged to:

31. Include the media in the preparatory process on the global compact on safe, orderly and regular migration and the global compact on refugees and more particularly, consult journalists, representatives of media organizations, media regulators, and the communication services of organizations closely working with migrant groups to discuss the role that the media can play in countering xenophobic representations of migration;

32. Facilitate dialogue between UN officials, Member States’ policy-makers and media practitioners on the ways they can leverage responsible policymaking on international migration.
Annex 1. Migration Reporting Guidelines

The table below lists international codes of media ethics that provide migration reporting guidelines. A research by key words was carried out in the Accountable Journalism database, which compiles media codes of ethics around the world. The words “immigrant,” “immigration,” “migrant,” “migration,” “forced migration,” “forced migrant,” “refugee,” “asylum seeker” and “illegal immigrant,” entered in the search bar of the database, generated these results.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Organization type</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>URL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Special Broadcasting Service Codes of Practice</td>
<td>Special Broadcasting Service</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Sector of the industry (broadcasting)</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td><a href="https://accountablejournalism.org/ethics-codes/Australia-SBS">https://accountablejournalism.org/ethics-codes/Australia-SBS</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUJ race reporting guidelines</td>
<td>National Union of Journalists</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>Union</td>
<td>United Kingdom and Ireland</td>
<td><a href="https://accountablejournalism.org/ethics-codes/nuj-race-reporting-guidelines">https://accountablejournalism.org/ethics-codes/nuj-race-reporting-guidelines</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>Guidelines on Accuracy and Balance</td>
<td>Broadcasters of Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Sector of the industry (broadcasting)</td>
<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td><a href="https://accountablejournalism.org/ethics-codes/guidelines-on-accuracy-and-balance">https://accountablejournalism.org/ethics-codes/guidelines-on-accuracy-and-balance</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Annex 2. Examples of Projects Providing Analysis of Migration Media Reporting and/or Promoting Ethical Representations of Migration

The table below lists projects undertaken by a broad range of organizations to collect data and provide analysis on migration media reporting, to counter xenophobia, racism and discrimination and/or to promote an ethical, fair and balanced coverage of migration. Far from being comprehensive, given the disparate nature of the information on such projects, this table provides examples of the types of initiatives aiming at addressing representations of migration in the media.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project Name</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Project Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Leading Organization(s)</th>
<th>Organization Type</th>
<th>Area of Application</th>
<th>URL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CIVIS Media Prize for Integration and Cultural Diversity in Europe</td>
<td>To award programs on radio, film, television and the internet which handle the themes of migration, integration and cultural diversity in an outstanding fashion</td>
<td>Award</td>
<td>Launched in 1988, ongoing since then</td>
<td>CIVIS Media Foundation</td>
<td>International media network and monitoring center for migration, integration and cultural diversity</td>
<td>Europe</td>
<td><a href="https://www.civismedia.eu/1/">https://www.civismedia.eu/1/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugees, Asylum-Seekers and the Media (RAM)</td>
<td>To examine the consequences of inaccurate and sensational coverage of asylum-seekers, refugees, Roma and other ‘non-settled’ groups, to promote best practices in media coverage, to assist refugee groups in their media relations and to offer advice to victims of discriminatory reporting</td>
<td>Publications, training for journalists, guidance, communication activities</td>
<td>1999-2005</td>
<td>MediaWise</td>
<td>Registered charity composed of, among others, journalists and media lawyers</td>
<td>International</td>
<td><a href="http://www.ramproject.org.uk/">http://www.ramproject.org.uk/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugee Week Scottish Media Awards</td>
<td>To highlight positive and influential reporting (including photography) about asylum and refugee-related issues within the Scottish media</td>
<td>Award</td>
<td>Launched in 2004, ongoing since then</td>
<td>Oxfam, Scottish Refugee Council, British Red Cross and National Union of Journalists of Scotland</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td><a href="http://www.scottishrefugeecouncil.org.uk/news_and_events/news/3088_refugee_festival_scotland_media_awards_2017_-_call_for_entries">http://www.scottishrefugeecouncil.org.uk/news_and_events/news/3088_refugee_festival_scotland_media_awards_2017_-_call_for_entries</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Network of Exiled Journalists</td>
<td>To help asylum seeking and refugee journalists who have fled to the U.K. to escape persecution because of their media work and to promote press freedom around the world</td>
<td>Support group</td>
<td>Launched in 2005, ongoing since then</td>
<td>National Union of Journalists (NUJ)</td>
<td>Union of journalists</td>
<td>U.K.</td>
<td><a href="http://nejonline.net/about.html">http://nejonline.net/about.html</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reporting Asylum and Refugee Issues</td>
<td>To develop a guide with definitions of migrant groups, and to provide a list of useful resources and information on accurate, fair and balanced reporting on asylum and refugee issues</td>
<td>Publication</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>MediaWise, with the support of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)</td>
<td>Registered charity composed of, among others, journalists and media lawyers</td>
<td>International</td>
<td><a href="http://www.mediawise.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/ReportingAsylumleaflet20081.pdf">http://www.mediawise.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/ReportingAsylumleaflet20081.pdf</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migration Observatory, Migration in the Media</td>
<td>To conduct analysis of coverage of migration in Britain’s national newspapers</td>
<td>Research</td>
<td>Launched in 2011, ongoing since then</td>
<td>University of Oxford</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td><a href="http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/projects/migration-in-the-media/">http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/projects/migration-in-the-media/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalition of Positive Messengers to Counter Online Hate Speech</td>
<td>To counter hate speech – particularly online hate speech – against migrants, refugees and asylum seekers</td>
<td>Research, creation of coalitions from state and non-state actors to counter hate speech, training for partners, sensitization campaigns, conference</td>
<td>Launched in 2015, ongoing since then</td>
<td>Sofia Development Association (Bulgaria), Libera, Università di Lingue e Comunicazione IULM – IUL and Associazione FORMA, Azione (Italy), the Languages Company (United Kingdom), Center for Peace (Croatia), People in Need (Czech Republic), Asociația Divers (Romania), and Municipality of Agii Anargiri-Kamatero (Greece)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Bulgaria, Italy, United Kingdom, Czech Republic, Romania, Croatia and Greece</td>
<td><a href="http://www.azione.com/the-project-coalition-of-positive-messengers-to-counter-online-hate-speech/?lang=en">http://www.azione.com/the-project-coalition-of-positive-messengers-to-counter-online-hate-speech/?lang=en</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Against Hate</td>
<td>To counter hate speech and discrimination targeting migrants in the media, both on and offline, by promoting ethical standards, while maintaining respect for freedom of expression</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Launched in 2016, ongoing since then</td>
<td>European Federation of Journalists (EFJ)</td>
<td>Association of journalists</td>
<td>Europe</td>
<td><a href="http://europeanjournalists.org/mediaagainsthate/about/">http://europeanjournalists.org/mediaagainsthate/about/</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>Reporting on Migration and Refugees Training Workshops for EU Journalists</td>
<td>To improve the skills of journalists from EU countries reporting on migrants, refugees and other vulnerable groups</td>
<td>Workshop</td>
<td>September 2017</td>
<td>Ethical Journalism Network</td>
<td>Registered charity, composed of a coalition of more than 60 groups of journalists, editors, press owners and media support groups</td>
<td>Europe</td>
<td><a href="http://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/reporting-migration-refugees-training-workshop-eu-journalists">http://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/reporting-migration-refugees-training-workshop-eu-journalists</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global Media Competition on Labour Migration</td>
<td>To recognize exemplary media coverage on labour migration</td>
<td>Competition</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
<td>United Nations specialized agency</td>
<td>International</td>
<td><a href="http://opportunitydesk.org/2017/08/03/ilo-competition-on-labour-migration/">http://opportunitydesk.org/2017/08/03/ilo-competition-on-labour-migration/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Countering Islamophobia through the Development of Best Practice in the Use of Counter-Narratives in EU Member States</td>
<td>To provide the first comprehensive comparative study of the use of counter-narratives to Muslim hatred; this will involve assessing prevailing narratives of Muslim hatred, identifying counter-narratives, and comparing their operation and outcomes</td>
<td>Research</td>
<td>January 2017 - December 2018</td>
<td>University of Leeds (U.K.), Islamic Human Rights Commission (U.K.), University of Liege (Belgium), University of Coimbra (Portugal), and American College of Greece Charles University (Czech Republic)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>U.K., Belgium, Portugal, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Greece, France, and Germany</td>
<td><a href="http://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/projects/11864-countering-islamophobia-through-the-development-of-counter-narratives">http://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/projects/11864-countering-islamophobia-through-the-development-of-counter-narratives</a></td>
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</tbody>
</table>


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Endnotes


xv. Ibid.
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xxxviii. Ethical Journalism Network, 2015, p. 21

xxxix. Hess, 1981; Sigal, 1973


lxi. Ibid.

lxii. Ibid.

lxiii. Ibid.


