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Victims or Attackers? Deconstructing the Mediatic Image of Migrants at the Romanian-Serbian-Hungarian Border with the Use of Multidimensional Instruments

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Abstract: *This study innovates the way in which digital ethnography techniques can be applied in the analysis of complex phenomena, in this case the wave of migrants and refugees at the border between Romania, Serbia, Hungary and Ukraine, in the last two years (2021 - 2022). Thus, we regard this paper as an example of multidimensional education for both students and practitioners of media studies that struggle to address broad, transdisciplinary topics. The present research aims to present a multidimensional approach of the manner in which journalistic materials portray people who have arrived at the border between the three states in their attempt to travel further to the countries of Western Europe. Our methods consist of non-participatory content analysis on some communication products in the mass media from Great Britain and Romania, sentiment analysis and critique of professional practice. We used digital ethnography to reveal interesting data for a comparative analysis of the way different types of migrants are portrayed in British and Romanian media. The comparative analysis was conducted by using data provided by Dchipher Analytics and ZeList Monitor, ensuring a high degree of confidence in the results.*

Keywords: *multidimensional education, migrants, refugees, border, mass media, digital ethnography, framing.*

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Introduction

Migration has been a complex and constant phenomenon in human history, and a constant challenging theme for media specialists. Also, successful integration of immigrants into a new society has become a major focus for policymakers and students: for the first category there are debates about which policies most effectively facilitate immigrant integration, and in academia there is a strong discourse about why some immigrant groups integrate while others do not (Harder et al., 2018, National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, and Committee on Population, 2016). In these last years, there have been several waves of people moving outside their home territories, especially towards Europe and the United States of America. This movement to places that promise a better life produces important effects both on the communities where migrants arrive, and on the route to their destination. In this case, we deal with large-scale movements that come to the attention of government institutions and humanitarian organisations and gain a special interest from the mass media, which has always thrived in the crises that rise in various places of the world. We believe that the way in which the mass media reflects the phenomenon of migration must be carefully analysed, due to their major contribution to shaping public opinion, and their many influences in society (Bachmann, Eisenegger & Ingenhoff, 2022). Low-quality communication products, and, more specifically, errors occurring on the information route can lead to a distortion of the perception of migrants and their behaviour. Therefore, the subject of migration is truly complex and requires several angles of approach. In this context, the present research uses the tools of multidimensional education to provide a more complete picture of the construction and deconstruction of the image of refugees and migrants at the borders of Europe as it is reflected in mass media and social media. It is at the same time a useful working model in the training of students and young researchers.

The social and political context

The phenomenon of migration, both external and internal, increased in the summer of 2022, after the states decided to almost completely remove the restrictions on combating the spread of the COVID-19 epidemic, generated by the SARS-CoV-2 virus (González-Leonardo et al., 2022). According to data provided by The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), at the end of 2021 more than 89 million people in the world had been forced to leave their homes, of which 21 million were

refugees. At the end of 2022, more than one hundred million people were predicted to be displaced for various reasons, the number of refugees being again very high (UNHCR, 2022). Migration can be internal, within a country, or external migration, across multiple borders. The phenomenon of migration is important when the number of people is high enough to attract attention (Fransen & de Haas, 2022). This becomes a news topic and the manner of presentation is proved to be central to the image residents have of newcomers to their community (Konings & Notten, 2021; Kostopoulos & Mylonas, 2022; Polynczuk-Alenius & Hartikainen, 2022).

In reporting on migration, journalists collect their data using common instruments such as field observations of reporters, interviewing the people involved, and information provided by various institutions, organisations or companies (Szabo, 2018, p. 65).

As stated earlier, there are two types of in-comers at the borders of Romania, Hungary, and Serbia, depending on the cause of their fleeing: migrants and refugees. In order to understand the differences between migrants and refugees, it is important to understand their religious backgrounds: a good part of migrants are of non-Christian religion: Islam or African cultures, which is a key to understanding the lack of adherence to moral-religious values in the countries of migration (McClain et al., 2022). They come from very different countries and territories and from different social and moral cultures. On the other hand, refugees are mostly Christians that adhere to European moral, cultural and social values. They come from a relatively compact and homogeneous social environment, such as, for example, post-Maidan Ukraine. Maidan or Euromaidan is a popular movement that took place in Ukraine at the end of 2013 and the beginning of 2014, for the establishment of the principles of democracy, the fight against corruption and the orientation of the country towards Europe. It implicitly meant leaving Russia's sphere of influence, which led, in the first phase, to the annexation of the Crimean Peninsula (Shevsky, 2022). Refugees are among the most vulnerable immigrant groups facing significant obstacles in their social and economic integration as they arrive with a disadvantage, having lower language proficiency and less locally applicable human capital compared to economic migrants (Aksoy et al., 2023, Marten et al., 2019).

Rising fences and its effects on migration in Eastern European countries

In the period we analysed the migration phenomenon, the increase in the flow of migrants could be observed both at the border between Serbia and Romania and at the border between Romania and Hungary. The phenomenon of external migration through Serbia had reached high levels before the pandemic, especially in 2015 and 2016, the intended destinations being mainly the developed countries of Western Europe (Baya, 2020). During those years, travellers on the main roads in Greece, North Macedonia and Serbia could see larger or smaller groups of migrants, modestly dressed and carrying little luggage, heading towards the Hungarian border, hoping to enter the Schengen Area to then he moved to Austria, Germany, Holland and other countries with a solid economy and a permissive social system. In 2015, the images with a strong emotional impact from the Keleti train station, in the centre of the Hungarian capital Budapest, which later became a meeting point and refugee camp, showed the extent of a phenomenon that seemed unstoppable to the entire world. (Abikova & Piotrowicz, 2021). Later on, Hungary raised a wire fence on the border with Serbia, so that fewer and fewer people without legal documents could enter the country. This way, migrants were forced to find another route that allowed them to avoid the fence, this time through Romania. Here, the regrouping takes place especially in Timişoara (a city with over 300,000 inhabitants, located in the west of Romania, 70 kilometres away from the border with Serbia) and Arad (city with over 150,000 inhabitants, 50 kilometres away from the border with Hungary) , in an attempt to move further to Hungary or other West European countries. Other fences were built on other borders - between Greece and Turkey, Poland and Belarus, Baltic countries and Russia -, but the media impact was not the same.

In the last months of 2022, the topic of illegal migrants appeared intensively in the Romanian mass media, as the discussions regarding Romania's accession to the Schengen area were intensifying, as this measure would have allowed citizens from member countries to circulate without border control. Austria's representatives objected to the extension by alleging the large number of people who arrived illegally in Romania and Bulgaria (75,000), of which very few were registered. The dispute was quite intense, with ongoing arguments, an opportunity for the Romanian media to get involved in the debates. More or less correct information has circulated, especially regarding the issue of responsibility on the matter, Austria

considering the Romanian and Bulgarian authorities guilty for the large number of illegal migrants who crossed the borders, reaching as far as Vienna.

The political discourse has put illegal immigration at the centre of the debate and portrayed it as a dangerous phenomenon, which can determine emotional detachment towards the people in transit as they become dehumanised masses, seen as a common source of danger and sometimes aggressiveness (Dadusc & Mudu, 2022). In this case, it became obvious that the fear of migrants was used as a tool to tackle domestic or foreign policy issues, look for culprits and not solutions to the humanitarian crisis caused by thousands of people in transit.

Methodology

We chose to undergo both qualitative and quantitative methods in our research and used specific data collection techniques. The qualitative method we used was digital ethnography, which represents the application of ethnographic methods and techniques in researching the online behaviour of individuals and groups. The concept of digital ethnography has appeared once digital platforms became mainstream and have since been theoretically approached by an important number of researchers: Markus (1995); Mason (1999); Miller & Slater (2000), Amit (2001); Schlecker & Hirsch (2001); Pink (2007; 2012). Among the research carried out with direct application to digital media, the following stand out: Ardévol & Gómez-Cruz (2014); Pink et al. (2015); Kaur-Gill & Dutta (2017). Some of the researchers refer to this method as netnography (Kozinets, 2016). However, it should be noted that netnography is more interested in the behaviour of consumers, and the method is more focused on marketing processes (Tavakoli & Wijesinghe, 2019), while digital ethnography aims to analyse the behaviour of users with all its characteristics, without aiming to influence them.

From all the techniques proposed by digital ethnography, we chose the content analysis of online mass media content as being the most suitable for our research. The technique is non-participatory, as the researchers did not in any way influence the way the information was collected, the writing of the news and its publication by the journalists, and this ensures greater accuracy of the primary data found and used in this study. We also used content analysis in researching and analysing information issued by the Border Police or other institutions, in order to highlight the similarities and differences between institutional and mass media messages.

As far as quantitative data collection and interpretation are concerned we used two specialised online platforms, namely ZeList and Dcipher. Zelist Monitor is a monitoring and measurement system that

currently includes the largest database of online media (8000 publications) and social media in Romania, which provides users with demographic and geographic data, visibility assessments, reports and analysis.

Dcipher Analytics is an online platform that provides automated tools to collect, filter and interpret unstructured online content based on specific searches based on keywords, message types and/or communication channels.

We used two different instruments so that we could understand the evolution of media content both in Romania and Great Britain, in the same period of time.

Research results

According to our research, from 2021 until 2022, mass media did not make serious efforts in covering migration as far as original content is concerned - journalists seem to have preferred to take over the information issued by the authorities, with very few field trips and scarce discussions with those involved, especially with the people in transit. This shows a certain "fatigue" of the media and authorities to address this topic. Whether during 2020, the topic of migration was overshadowed by the Covid-19 pandemic, which seriously diminished the wave of migrant arrivals, in the spring of 2021, after many restrictions having been eliminated, the subject returned to media's attention, as the migration flow heavily intensified.

But the peak of the media interest was reached in February 2022, when the war in Ukraine broke out, with tens of thousands of people crossing the borders daily. Journalists became very active, original content emerged with numerous articles from the field and interviews with refugees. This high level of media interest started to constantly fade from April, and towards the end of 2022, the issue of Ukrainian refugees became sporadic both in the Romanian and British media.

In order to assess the interest of Romanian online media in topics related to migrants and refugees, we used Zelist Monitor to measure the frequency of different keywords in the online media content and social media posts, in the last two years. Thus, we took as the search period the year 2021 and the first 11 months of the year 2022 and analysed the frequency of the terms "migrant" and "refugee". The term "migrant" appeared in 2021 for 23953 times, of which 17523 occurrences were in the press. On television, there were 204 materials in which this term was in the title, on the radio there were 67 appearances, and on social media the term was found 6158 times. The trend was constant in 2022, when, in the first 11

months of the year, there were 17,474 appearances in the press, 619 on television, 96 on radio and 5,448 on social media.

As far as the term "refugee" is concerned, it appeared 17998 times in 2021, of which 11921 appearances were in press articles, 128 on television, 48 on radio and 5901 on social media. The numbers increased tenfold in the first 11 months of 2022, when the term "refugee" appeared in a total of 179,508 times, the most appearances being in the press - 112,185, then on television - 1,471, followed by radio - 609 and social media - 65243.

The increase in the number of media appearances was strong starting with February 2022, which coincided with the start of the conflict in Ukraine and the arrival of waves of migrants at the Romanian border. Also, the sentiment analysis provided by Zelist Monitor showed a significant growth of positive articles in the first weeks of March 2022.

As far as the interest of British media towards migration at Eastern European borders is concerned, we used Dcipher to analyse 1000 press articles filtered by the terms: "migrants, refugees, Hungary", "migrants, refugees, Serbia", "migrants, refugees, Romania" and published anytime between January 2021 and November 2022.

According to the analysis of the titles of these articles provided by Dcipher, it can be seen that most of the content approaches the subject of migrants from a political perspective, either in relation to the military conflict in Ukraine, or to the pressures put on the rest of the European countries. Most of the articles focus on the wave of migrants in the context of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine and highlight the problems that arose after building the "fence" that limited their access to the West.

Besides analysing the texts themselves, we also chose to analyse the automatically generated word map of these articles (see figure 1 below), for several reasons, related to the advantages of such an approach: just as groups of interpersonal connections can help explain some social phenomena, in the same way, understanding patterns of connections between words can help identify their meaning in a more complex way, by highlighting dominant trends in press materials that address a certain topic in a certain period of time. (Bail, 2016).



Figure 1: Wordmap of the content published by the British Media on migration, form 2021 until 2022, provided by Dcipher Analytics

The frequency of the terms used in titles and the textual networks generated by them suggest the preponderance of a discourse loaded with a sensationalism with a negative rhetoric, characterised either by the presence of alarmist, conflicting terms or by the over-dramatization of current events or facts (Bader & Sîrb, 2021). The style of the titles is characteristic to online media, distant from the classical rigours of journalistic titles (brevity, clarity, non-ambiguous and informative) and are closer to the language of advertising: are oriented towards attracting attention, arousing curiosity, provoking emotion, emphasising urgency and calls to action (Bader & Sîrb, 2019).

Our content analysis revealed three major trends in the media content related to migration:

1. The politicisation of information - by reference to the leaders of the countries concerned or interested in this phenomenon (Orban, Macron, Putin);
2. The dramatising of content - by using emotionally charged terms;
3. The alarming of the audience - by invoking uncertainties or potential dangers regarding the evolution of the migration wave in European countries.

Furthermore, we used the sentiment analysis of the online articles that were the subject of our research, provided by the two platforms used - ZeList Monitor and Dcipher - to identify the attitude of the media in Romania and Great Britain, respectively, towards the subject of migrants. We attempted to find an answer to the following questions:

a) Are they presented as victims or as attackers?

b) Are there differences in perception influenced by the socio-political context of the publication of these articles?

c) Are there differences in representation influenced by the migrants' countries of origin?

From an academic research perspective, sentiment analysis involves an automated, highly complex process of natural language processing and text analysis, through tools that use artificial intelligence, to systematically identify, extract, quantify and study affective states and subjective information. (Hamborg & Donnay, 2021). Sentiment analysis is an increasingly popular tool in the research of online media discourse, especially to identify the level of media subjectivity, on the one hand, and the degree of influence of public opinion, on the other. (Samuels & McGonical, 2020).

The sentiment analysis generated by Dcipher (see figure 2 below) indicates a dominance of articles with a negative tone - twice as many as neutral and three times as many as positive. Negative articles often focus on the issue of fences erected to stop the waves of immigrants, but also various incidents at the borders or the collateral victims of the increase of migrants on the Hungarian, Serbian and Romanian borders.

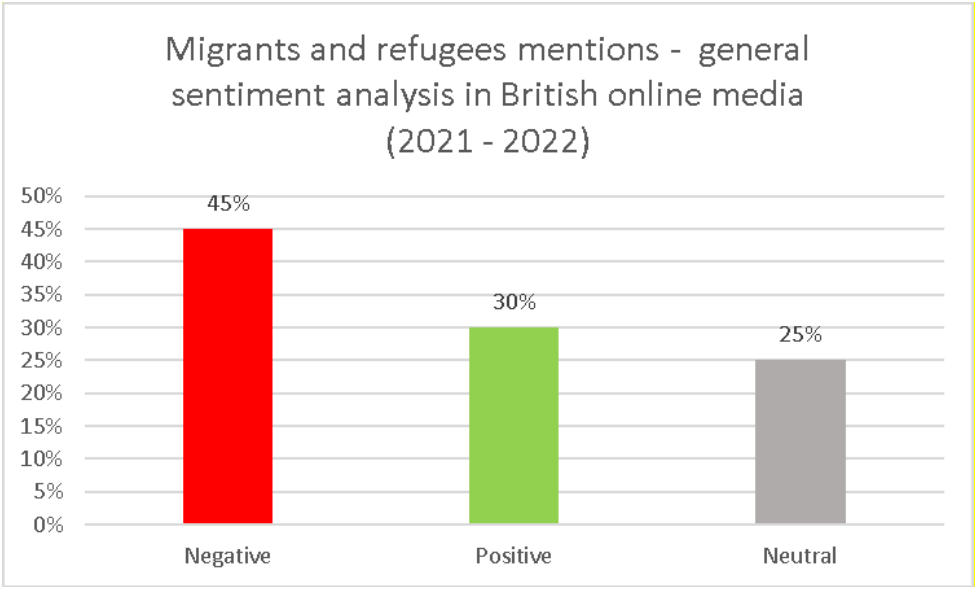


Figure 2: Sentiment analysis of articles addressing the presence of migrants at the border with Hungary, Serbia & Romania published in the British press - dcipher.com

Conversely, articles that have a positive sentiment score mainly deal with humanitarian actions organised for the Ukrainian refugees. In this case, migrants are portrayed as victims rather than as aggressors.

As for the neutral materials, which are more numerous than those with a positive attitude, they are informative reports on the evolution of the migration phenomenon in this part of Europe.

Moving forward to the attitude expressed in the Romanian media on the subject of refugees, as it can be seen in the figures 3 and 4, there is a major difference of approach after the outbreak of the conflict in Ukraine and throughout 2022. As far as the subject of migrants is concerned, in general, the fluctuations of attitude were smaller, but even in this case, there can be observed a tendency towards a more positive attitude of press materials.

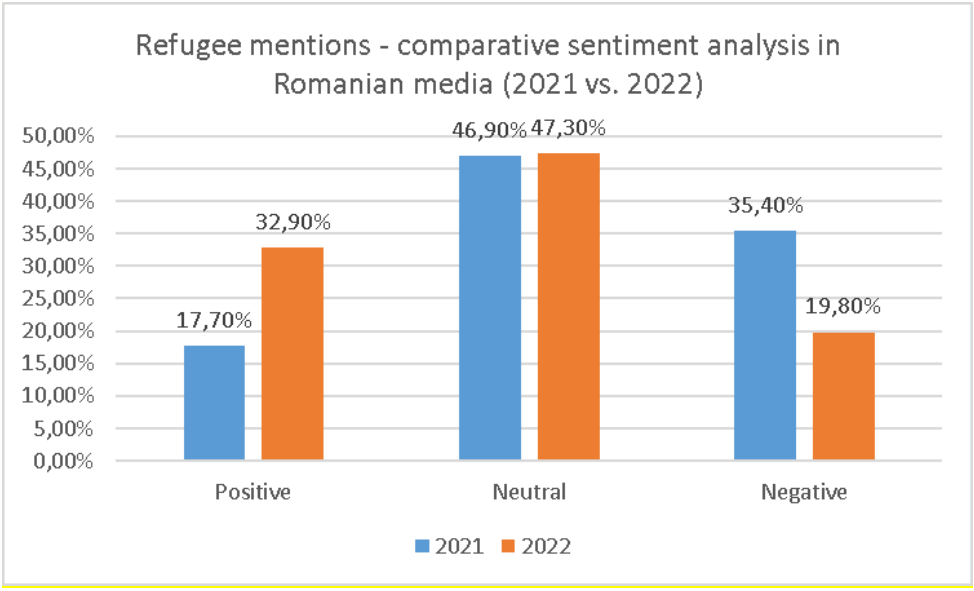


Figure 3: Comparative sentiment analysis of articles addressing migrants at the border with Hungary, Serbia & Romania published in the Romanian media - Zelist Monitor

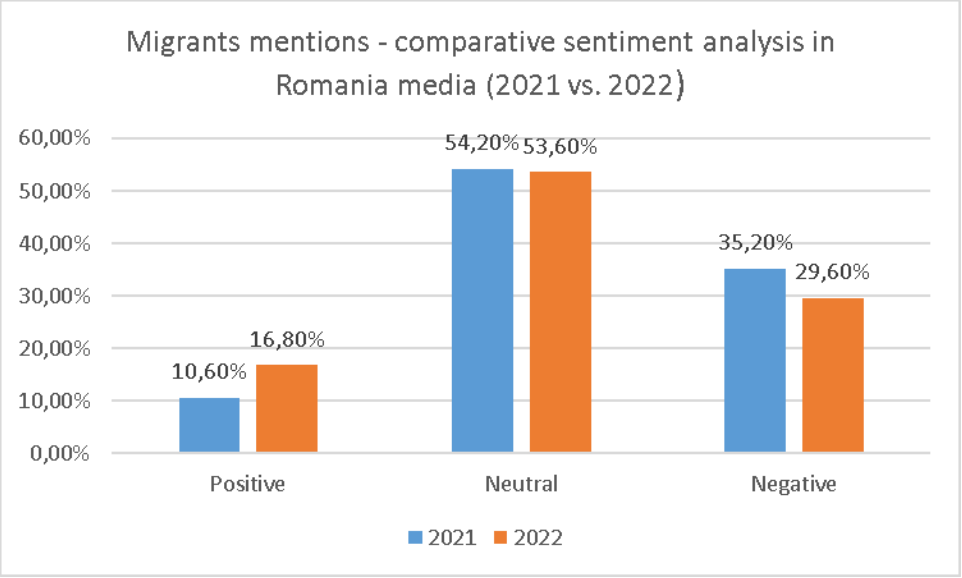


Figure 4: Comparative sentiment analysis of articles addressing migrants at the border with Hungary, Serbia & Romania published in the Romanian media - Zelist Monitor

A professional challenge - media framing migrants: from indifference to compassion and fear

The media's attitude towards migrants reflects the way the local population relates to this category of people, in an emotional convergence that shares both **fears** (of the migrant considered dangerous), **indifference**, but also aspects of **compassion**, understanding and support. The analysis which we carried out indicates that in both British and Romanian media there is a difference of approach of migrants and refugees. There is clearly a wave of sympathy towards the Ukrainian refugees. Conversely, the attitude towards people from more distant areas (Asia or Africa) is obviously more reserved. While Ukrainians are perceived as "close", as "Europeans", culturally and socially similar, the others are perceived rather through differentiations considered to be incompatible and exceeding the degree of an acceptable diversity. This explains the high interaction of reporters with Ukrainian refugees and the distance from Afro-Asian migrants.

Journalists use framing to portray migrants or refugees, a technique through which only a few defining characteristics are retained and the emphasis is placed not as much on *what* is being communicated, but more on *how* this is done. (Cacciatore et al., 2016). The framing method is also used by the media when conveying messages sent by authorities or

politicians in relation to the migration policy (Heidenreich et al., 2022). When there are very few identifiers, the media content becomes almost neutral in terms of placing migrants in the above mentioned categories, but their profile becomes quite unclear. Under these conditions, the reader experiences a certain degree of dissatisfaction and confusion, being forced to fill in the missing elements either from imagination or with previously acquired knowledge on the subject. A good media content is created according to the classic formula: maximum information in minimum words. If there are too few elements, the meaning of the story is lost, and if there are too many, with unnecessary digressions and explanations, the reader gets tired, irritated and loses track of things.

Our analysis revealed that the media tries to impose its own vision regarding migrants, either by neglecting them and their needs, or emphasising on negative aspects (the imagological projection of the attacker) by insisting on elements that may cause panic among the general population. The aspect is not new and has been noticed by other researchers in other areas of the world (Walsh & Hill, 2022). Less often, they focus on the struggles that migrants are facing. Sometimes, journalists approach the subject of cultural and social diversity related to migration, but without a profound analysis of the topic. More scarcely, the issue is presented from an economical point of view that perceives migrants as a labour force. As commonly accepted, the public adheres easier to ideas that confirm their previous beliefs and has reservations about new ones (Lindgren et al., 2022), and this is also confirmed by the way in which the image of migrants at the Serbian-Romanian-Hungarian borders is portrayed. When addressing the issue of migrants and refugees, journalists resort to two practical solutions: 1) the almost identical reproduction of information provided by official institutions. In this case, it is obvious that the initiative of public communication does not belong to the media organisations, but is a reaction to something coming from the outside; 2) the content provided by institutions in public relations materials is used in wider journalistic products. This approach is also a reaction to an exterior initiative, but at least ensures the public access to some kind of additional information. Of course, the articles created at the initiative of reporters are much more interesting and comprehensive, but their number in the Romanian mass media is very low. The results of this research show that less than 10% fall into this category. This type of content is more frequent in the British media, at around 30% of the articles, whereas a high number of pieces (over 50%) use information both provided by institutions and collected directly by reporters.

The present research also revealed the fact that there are some specific publications that are mainly oriented towards the presentation of the difficult conditions in which migrants find themselves. The content analysis of the communication products indicated that people in transit complain of a lack of material means (money and goods such as clothes or shoes), that they do not have shelters with minimal equipment to survive, often being forced to live under the open sky or in tents and other improvised shelters. They also claim inadequate treatment from the Romanian state authorities, especially the Border Police agents, who would refuse to accept their asylum applications, send them back to Serbia after a summary procedure, destroy their phones, search them or even commit acts of violent behaviour. It should be noted that these complaints are made through non-governmental organisations, so not directly from the source, which makes them almost impossible to confirm, since there is no evidence, and they miss an official point of view of the incriminated institutions.

There is also another worrying aspect that emerges from our content analysis of Romanian and British media and is also supported by other research: migration is accompanied by an extensive criminal phenomenon, but its dimensions are still difficult to assess and quantify (Okoye, 2022). There are individuals and groups that take advantage of migrants' desire to reach a Western or Northern European state by charging them for various illegal services, such as unauthorised border crossing, guiding services, transport and accommodation. Romanian and British authorities have already opened a few criminal cases on this matter that are still on going, as human trafficking networks are well organised and benefit from the latest technology (phones, GPS systems, radar detectors, scanners on police frequencies) in the attempt of hiding their deeds(Szabo, 2021).

One of the most publicised events of the kind has been the discovery, on October 23, 2019, of 39 dead migrants in a refrigerated truck in Essex, near London. The migrants were of Vietnamese origin and died suffocated by heat and lack of air. They were all victims of an international network of human traffickers, including Romanians, each of the victims having paid significant sums of money to reach Great Britain. Several members of the network were caught and convicted, but one of them, Marius Mihai Drăghici, managed to hide for more than two years. He was detected in Bucharest, in August 2022. The case thus returned to the attention of the media, which followed the extradition procedure to Great Britain. It was an opportunity to bring back this event to the public attention and also emphasise on the dangers of illegal migration. Although the articles on this subject that have been published in the Romanian and British media

are mainly informative, the emotional involvement is obvious if we consider the proportions of the tragedy.

Another case that came to the attention of journalists, public opinion and relevant institutions was the conflict that occurred in the afternoon of April 19, 2021 in a group of migrants of Asian origin, located near the central train station in Timişoara. Two people were stabbed and one of them died in the hospital. There have been numerous accounts of this bloody incident, with statements from police representatives, but also from the hospital where the victims were rushed to. The journalists also reported on the fears of the residents and the general feeling of public insecurity. Police efforts have been focused on investigating the facts and finding the perpetrator, who has disappeared. The victim and perpetrator were identified as Afghans in transit to the West. After a week, the author of the crime was identified, but he was no longer in the country, therefore he had to be brought from Greece to Timisoara to be tried. The emergence of such unfortunate cases and their public debate in the media has led to an even greater reluctance of the local population towards migrants, not only in Romania (Wigger et al., 2022).

Conclusions

The purpose of this research was to see how the tools of multidimensional education can be used in media studies with positive results in approaching complex, broad phenomena such as migration. We tried to use a multidimensional research approach, by combining digital ethnography, sentiment analysis and keyword-based content analysis in order to reveal the complexity of social phenomena that have strong cultural and political implications.

The first conclusion that emerges from this research is that the mass media in western Romania looks at the migrants arriving in the area without differentiating significantly between those who come from conflict zones where their lives are endangered, and those who fled their home countries for economic reasons, in search of a better life. Migrants' movements were made in small groups, by a few people who usually crossed the borders illegally (land or sea borders), and this exposed them to being victims of criminal groups, carters, and human traffickers. Being mostly illegal, migration had neither the support of the authorities (quite the opposite, as is the situation with the fences), nor of the native population, as new institutions were created to manage the situation (Léonard & Kaunert, 2022). In the case of refugees, we are talking about a legal migration, as war refugees, in large, disorganised groups, appearing as migration waves at the borders, but being accepted and

even supported not only by public authorities, but especially by the local population, who tried to help them either spontaneously or through organised forms such as NGOs or other public initiatives.

Once they arrived in the targeted Eastern European countries (in our case Romania, Serbia, Hungary), migrants' main objective was to move further, often without asking for residency or other legal forms. It was a migration whose fundamental purpose was to build a future for individuals and families. On the other hand, for many of the refugees, the purpose of leaving the country was not anchored in the future, but determined by the horror of the war they fled. Most of them did not intend to build a future in Western Europe, but to find a refuge until they are able to return to Ukraine. The differences are also of demographic nature: due to the difficulties of their journey, the majority of the migrants were young and middle-aged men who were to bring their families to safety, while the vast majority of the refugees were women and children, hence the fragility of these people, but also the compassion that aroused among the natives.

The second conclusion shows us that the attitude expressed by the media is mostly neutrally negative, schematic, without additional efforts to understand and with little context information. At the same time, journalists show a different attitude towards refugees and migrants, especially in Romania. Journalistic content on Ukrainian refugees is almost entirely favourable, emphasising the extent of their suffering and their need for help from the citizens, the Romanian authorities and the international community. Migrants, on the other hand, especially those coming from remote areas of the world at Romania's borders, are presented in a neutral or negative manner. The difference is caused by the reasons for their presence in Romania. Ukrainians are refugees fleeing war, while people from Asia or Africa are migrants in transit to the West in search for better living conditions, without their lives being in imminent danger in their country of origin. Cultural and religious differences are also relevant, distant migrants being themselves a challenge for the native population, hence the retained or even rejecting attitude toward muslim migrants all across Europe, including Great Britain (Helbling et al., 2022).

The third conclusion is that the vast majority of the media content only comes down to the delivering messages provided by public institutions, mainly the Border Police, without any additional research. Media organisations follow merely how the authorities relate to refugees and migrants, particularly through the lens of law enforcement. The legal rules are favourable to refugees, who have practically free passage, especially if they come with documents on them. As far as migrants are concerned,

reporters project a negative image by presenting those attempts to cross the borders of Romania and other European states that are fraudulent, especially in the absence of documents and through places that are not intended for human trafficking. Without field trips and careful fact-checking and documenting each individual case, the real picture, especially regarding migrants, risks being distorted (Lindgren et al., 2022). It is important that the information checking regards both personal reports of people in transit and information provided by the official institutions.

Last, but not least, another conclusion of our study is that journalists would need additional training in terms of approaching the subject of migration. The training should be done by communication specialists from different areas, i.e. representatives of organisations that deal with people in these special situations, representatives of state institutions that manage this social phenomenon, as well as media professionals with experience in dealing with difficult topics.

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