



# The Migration Conference 2021 Selected Papers

Compiled by  
Ibrahim Sirkeci

  
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derece etkilenmişlerdir.

Çalışma gurubunuzdan elde edilen bulgular çerçevesinde uzaktan eğitimin yürütüldüğü bu süreçte yabancı uyruklu öğrencilerin;

- Eğitim teknolojilerine ulaşamama/sahip olmama durumu, onların uzaktan eğitime katılımını sınırlandırmıştır.
- Akademik başarısı iyi olan yabancı uyruklu öğrenciler, uzaktan eğitim uzamasına bağlı olarak (bu eğitim modelin verimsiz bulunması, devam mecburiyetinin olmayışı, öğrenciler mağdur olmasın diye ilk dönemde -2019-2020 bahar dönemi- yüksek notların verilmesi gibi) süreç içerisinde eğitimden kopmuşlar ya da ayrılmışlardır.
- Genç/ergen erkek öğrenciler hane bütçesine katkı amaçlı ekonomik aktiviteye yönelmişler, kızlarda ev içi işlerle meşgul olmayı tercih etmişlerdir.
- Türkçe dil öğrenimini yavaşlatmıştır.
- Türk öğrencilerle olan temas zayıflatmış ve sosyalleşme kanalları değişmiştir.

Bu sonuçlar çerçevesinde son olarak şunlar söylenebilir: Eğitime ara verme, eğitimden kopma ya da uzaklaşma, yabancı uyruklu öğrencilerin yaşadıkları topluma uyum sağlamaları açısından bir risk oluşturacaktır. Bu risk ilerleyen zamanlarda, yabancılaşma, akabinde toplumsal dışlanma ve marjinalleşmeyle sonuçlanabilecek toplumsal süreçlere zemin oluşturabilecektir. Olağan dışı dönemlerde de olsa, eğitim çağındaki bireyleri eğitim dairesi içerisinde tutmanın alternatif yollarının aranması önem arz etmektedir. Bu durum eğitimde fırsat eşitliği kapsamında tüm öğrenciler için aynı geçerlidir. Azınlık olarak yaşayan toplulukların, çoğunluk toplum içerisindeki süreklilikleri, genç nesillerinin eğitim sistemine entegre olabilmeleriyle doğru orantılıdır.

#### Kaynakça

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## ANTI-IMMIGRANT NARRATIVES IN TIMES OF REAL CRISIS. AN AUTOMATED CONTENT ANALYSIS OF ITALIAN POLITICAL COMMUNICATION ON SOCIAL MEDIA

Anita Gottlob and Luca Serafini

*In this paper, we explore how the narrative on immigration changes when society is threatened by 'real' risks, i.e., during the COVID-19 health crisis. We compared the salience and engagement of posts published on Facebook between December 2019 and November 2020 by politicians and by the Italian news media; post selection used a dictionary related to immigration. Along with prior research on anti-immigration narratives, we also operationalized risk narratives on immigration by constructing a second dictionary for post selection. Our findings suggest that the political discourse and risk narratives on immigration decreased during times of 'tangible crisis' for right-wing populist parties and news media.*

### Introduction

The strongest discourses against immigration are linked to widely accepted social myths in media and public sentiment portraying immigrants, and irregular migrants, as a threat to nations in general, or as a challenge over resource competition, personal safety, or social values (Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017). Far right and right-wing populist (RWP) parties operates by fuelling this uncertainty by exaggerating possible risks of immigration to host nations, while promising their voters a resolution from this uncertainty, thereby portraying themselves as the sole representatives of ordinary people's interests in opposition with political issues which threaten national identities (e.g., immigration) (Gründl & Aichholzer, 2020; Heinisch, 2019; Heisbourg, 2015).

In this context, social media has been found to be particularly suitable to the communication of populist actors, as it relies on a direct communication to voters without institutional mediation (Ernst et al., 2017; Gerbaudo, 2014). Furthermore, misperceptions on immigration can be further amplified: algorithms of platforms such as Google and Facebook filter content for audiences based on the principle of "personalization" (Pariser, 2011). The selective exposure, enhanced by the filtering mechanisms of the algorithms, and the consequent formation of "echo chambers" (Sunstein, 2017), determine a progressive polarization of the positions within niches that are not communicating with each other.

In this paper, we explore how the representation of migrants and the discussion on the topic of migration can change in political communication and online news media, when the host-society is occupied with managing 'real' risks, such as that of Covid-19. Specifically, we aim to understand whether the communication on migration from far right and populist parties, such as the Lega and Fratelli d'Italia, and the 5 Star movement (Mosca & Tronconi, 2019; Rodujin, 2019) changes (in terms of salience and risk language) on social media, during times of 'tangible crisis'.

### Literature review

In public and political discourse, the topic of migration is often referred to as a crisis (e.g., the 'refugee crisis of 2015') as well as the COVID-19 pandemic of 2021. Crises are defined in scientific literature

as ‘exceptional events that may interrupt journalistic routines and create opportunities for newly emerging aspects and interpretation of an issue’ (Horsti, 2008). The discursive construction of a crisis is highly linked to the concept of risk (Hier & Greenberg, 2002). A vast body of literature shows that the public concern over immigration is often influenced by mediated accounts of migrants and refugees as a risk to society, regardless of statistical accuracy (De Rosa et al., 2021; Caricati, 2018; Sniderman et al., 2004). In this work, we consider risks associated to migration as a ‘constructed’ or perceived risk (Slovic, 2004).

In contrast, the risk stemming from the COVID-19 pandemic is mediated in more concrete terms, as statistics of daily new hospitalizations and deaths are available and visible. Consequentially, for our analysis, we identified two distinct periods in which the number of cases of COVID-19 was particularly high in comparison to other periods in Italy. We labelled these two periods ‘waves of tangible crises’, to represent two periods in which presumably the risk stemming from COVID-19 was strongly perceived (and real) by the Italian population.

### Data and Methods

We performed an automated content analysis based on a dictionary approach, to compare the salience and engagement on posts related to migration by Italian media and politicians on Facebook during the first and second wave of COVID-19 infections in Italy over a period of almost 12 months, from December 1st, 2019, to the 15th of November 2020. Here, we compared our observations between the above-mentioned ‘waves of tangible crises’, of high infections rates to pre-and post-wave periods (of low infection rates). Our sample included a total of 276.809 posts of four Facebook pages of media outlets, and 71.875 posts on eight Facebook pages of political parties.

In a second step, we operationalized risk-related terms on migration by constructing a ‘risk- and threat dictionary’ in line with prior research on anti-immigration narratives in the media and on social media (Maltone-Bonnenfant, 2011; Milkowska-Samul, 2018). We also performed a manual content analysis to cross-validate for false negatives, and to see in what context these terms were used. Finally, we measured how engagement levels on the analysed posts by political leaders and mainstream media sites online developed over time.

### Results and Discussion

The findings indicate that on average, during the two periods of high COVID-19 infection rates (tangible crisis), posts on migration by far right and populists’ politicians decrease by a remarkable amount (first wave: -35% for LEGA, -28% for FDI and -82% for M5S. Second wave: -34% for LEGA, -31% for FDI and -65% for M5S) compared to periods of lower infection rates (see figure 1). A similar trend is visible for engagement levels of online users with the same pages, suggesting that the political discourse on migration as well as the exposure to the topic for Facebook Italian users decreased during those periods. In contrast, center-left parties exhibit much less variation during all phases. Therefore, the narrative of these parties on the issue of migration does not seem to be affected by the COVID crisis. The trend of right and far-right newspapers mirrors that of right-wing politicians, with significant drops (albeit less marked than those of politicians) both in the number of posts and engagement during the first and second wave, and a strong rise between these two phases, when the number of COVID-19 cases in Italy had dropped (see figure 2).

Results also show a decreasing trend in risk-related migration posts and engagement activity relative to all migration-related narratives is visible during both waves for all the analyzed posts, with a subsequent increasing trend after the first lockdown phase. In the manual analysis, we observed that as expected, left-wing politicians cited/paraphrased risk-related terms to criticize anti-immigration claims and

opinions of far-right politicians condemning way.

Figure 1.

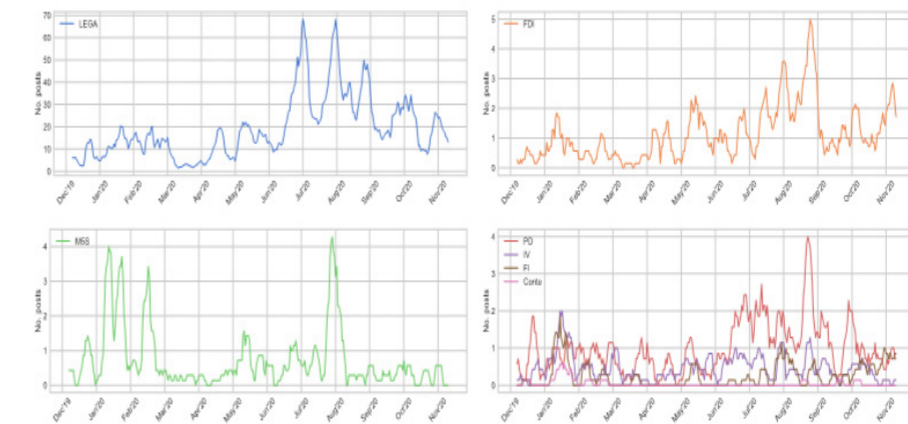
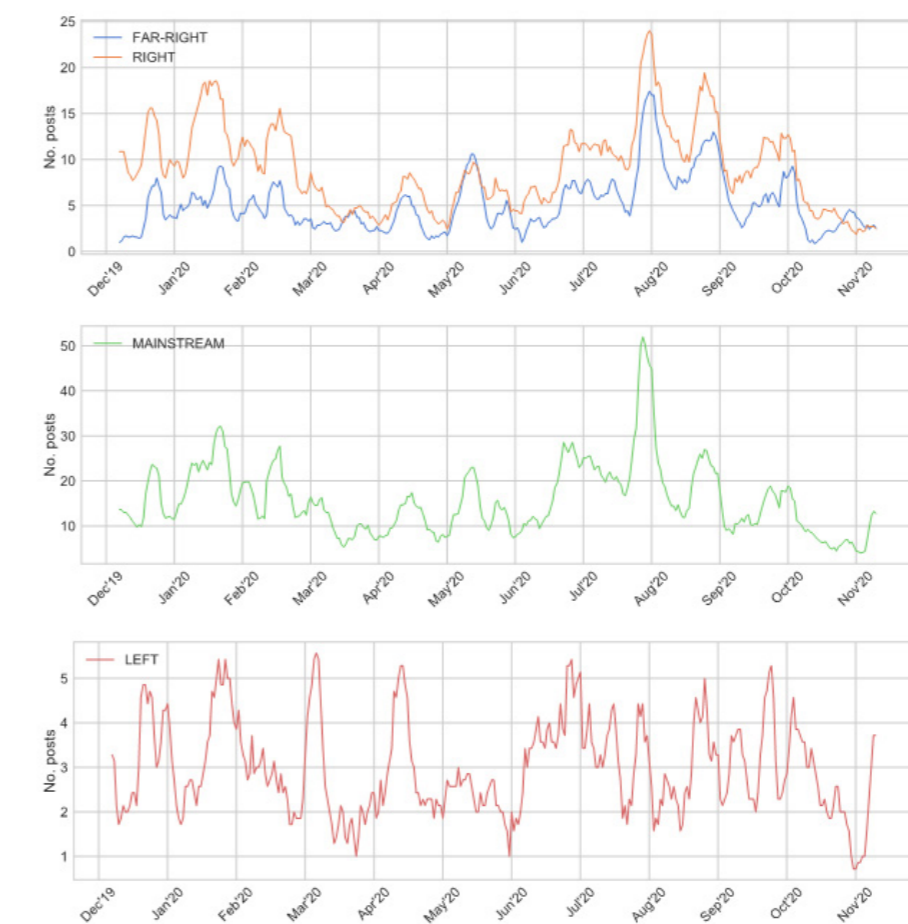


Figure 2.



Notably, during the first wave, the Italian government proposed a law for the regularization of 600,000 immigrants, which was then approved in May 2020. Under normal conditions, such a law would have raised a wave of protests from right-wing parties and would have produced a spike in immigration-related posts. Subsequently, towards the end of the first wave up until August 2020, the salience of the migration topic, as well as migration posts including risk and threat terms, increased by a considerable amount in RWP politicians. During this period, in Italy the virus had almost disappeared, with an average of 100-200 daily infections (unlike many other European countries where infections were more numerous). Therefore, we postulate that when the virus was no longer an "internal" threat to the country, the narrative of the virus as an "external threat" brought by immigrants regained strength, similarly to what happened in the period preceding the first wave. For example, in the months between May and August 2020, there were cases of migrants tested positive to COVID-19 who arrived in Italy on NGO ships: right-wing leaders such as Matteo Salvini and Giorgia Meloni posted on these events almost daily and stressed that there was a concrete danger of NGOs and boats with immigrants bringing the virus back to Italy.

Altogether, the findings suggest that, in the short-term, the political discourse on migration as well as the exposure to the topic for Facebook Italian users decreased in times of tangible crisis. Crucially, this happened also at a time when key policies regarding immigration and regularization of migrants were discussed and decided by the Italian government, receiving unexpectedly low reactions.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, considering the implications that the infodemic, misinformation and conspiracy theories surrounding COVID-19 on social media has for trust in governing institutions (Boberg et al., 2020), decreased focus on anti-immigration narratives within RWP rhetoric might be replaced by other characteristic features of populist communication (for details on populist communication see Aalberg et al., 2018). For instance, a recent study by Eberl, Huber & Greussing (2020) shows that the COVID-19 pandemic provides fertile ground for populists' opposition to scientific and political elites. An interesting question for further research would thus be to investigate whether in times of tangible crises, anti-immigration narratives in RWP rhetoric observed in our results are replaced by antagonism to scientific and political elites.

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