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A Human Tragedy or a Statistic? Media Framing of Greece's Deadliest Migrant Shipwreck in the Dark Waters of Pylos

Panagiota (Naya) Kalfeli, Christina Angeli, Christos Frangonikolopoulos*

Abstract

The world has been suffering a series of crises, some of which have been related to migration and refugee issues. Public opinion regarding migration and asylum-seeking has been greatly influenced by the media. In light of the above, the objective of this study is to examine how the Greek media covered the June 2023 migrant shipwreck off the Greek coast of Pylos, which has been labeled as one of the deadliest migrant shipwrecks in the Mediterranean. The study was based on data from a quantitative content analysis and a sample of news stories from the online versions of five Greek news media outlets (EfSyn, Ta Nea, Kathimerini, Proto Thema, and Eleftheros Typos), representing diverse political spaces. A broader set of criteria for content analysis was used, including absence of refugee and migrant voice in media content, dehumanization, absence of solutions, and context, among many others. The findings revealed a more subtle anti-migration narrative that lays all the responsibility on illicit smuggling networks and emphasizes the need for more stringent regulations with the aim to discourage migration.

Keywords: media; framing, peace journalism, refugees, migrants, shipwreck, Pylos, Greece.

Introduction

Early on June 14, 2023, a "rusted" fishing vessel named *Adriana* sank off the coast of Greece while transporting, from Libya to Italy, hundreds of desperate migrants and asylum seekers, primarily from Pakistan, Syria, and Egypt. Before the ship sank, an estimated 750 people were on board. Of the people on board, 104 were saved alive during the subsequent rescue operation, while the remaining 82 were found dead. Numerous additional people still missing. Among them, there were a lot of women and children who were detained below deck and had limited chances to survive.

Following the Pylos wreck, migration rose to the top of the political agenda in Greece and in Europe. The migrant boat disaster off the coast of Greece was named as "the worst tragedy ever" in the Mediterranean Sea by European Commissioner for Home Affairs, Ylva Johansson. In remembrance of the victims, the Greek government proclaimed three days of national mourning. Nevertheless, there were serious concerns about the Hellenic Coast Guard's response to the fishing boat. The Greek government, according to critics, ought to have taken action sooner to prevent the

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ship from capsizing. Greek officials responded that they were aware of the boat's presence, but the people on board declined help offers. Overall, the Pylos shipwreck sparked outrage all over Greece and the EU on inadequate migration policies.

At the same time, the Pylos migrant shipwreck evoked memories of the Lampedusa disaster, which occurred precisely ten years ago and in which 366 persons lost their lives when a ship carrying about 500 people from Ghana, Somalia, and Eritrea sank a few hundred meters off the coast of Lampedusa, a small island in southern Italy. As is frequently the case following events of this kind, trafficking organizations were largely held accountable for exploiting people's desperate attempts to go to Europe (Dines et al., 2015).

Similar to what happened with the Lampedusa wreck in the past (Dines et al., 2015), the tragedy at Pylos was briefly brought, due to the size of human loss, to the forefront of European political discourse and international media attention. Within this context, this paper employs framing and peace journalism and uses a quantitative content analysis of 447 news pieces published in June 2023 in five online Greek media outlets, to examine how refugees and migrants are portrayed in the media during a humanitarian emergency, such as a migrant shipwreck. The term "framing" in this article describes the way in which the Greek media outlets under examination have used a certain interpretive lens -that of peace or conflict journalism- in their reporting. Furthermore, peace journalism theory (Galtung, 2006) and the corresponding peace journalism model for the analysis of mediated representations of migration (Kalfeli et al., 2022b) offer a broader research perspective by looking at underreported news story elements like the voice of vulnerable groups and non-elite discourses.

Media Framing of Refugees and Migrants

News stories on migration issues are portrayed fragmentarily rather than in a continuous flow (Youngblood, 2017). That is, each time refugees and migrants are involved in some kind of illegal activity, enter a country without documents, or have a boat capsize in the sea, the news spotlights momentarily turn on, but this interest disappears when the circumstances are 'normal'. But in doing so, the audience comes to associate migration with hardship, danger, and conflict.

A wide number of international studies on how migration and asylum-seeking are portrayed in the media and on social media have revealed certain common patterns (Aldamen, 2023). These studies have taken place in a number of countries, including the US, France, Belgium, and Norway. Most significantly, refugees and migrants have been seen as "enemies at the gate", attempting to penetrate Western countries, and migration has typically been characterized as a threat to public health and security (Esses et al., 2013; Kalfeli et al., 2022a; Kim et al., 2011; Thorbjornsrud, 2015; Van Gorp, 2005). Moreover, migration has been portrayed by the media as a problem that

continuously incites conflict between different social groups, political parties, or even states (Eberl et al., 2018; Kalfeli et al., 2022b). As a result, migration has been characterized mostly negatively and as a cause of conflict.

Unsurprisingly, news regarding migrant shipwrecks and deaths makes up a large portion of the media narrative concerning arrivals on European gates. However, not much research has been done in this field. In the few studies that have truly examined this topic, the media's ambivalent portrayal of migrant shipwrecks is evident (Benert & Beier 2016; Mancini et al., 2021; Zerback, et al., 2020). Mediterranean migrants are seen in this light as both threats and victims who must be "saved," making the journey into a matter of life and death. For example, in the case of Lampedusa, which serves as a model for how migrants' shipwrecks are portrayed in the media (Giubilaro, 2018), migrants and refugees were defined, portrayed, or framed as either invaders or victims.

Furthermore, apart from threat and victim narratives, media portrayals of migrant boat disasters exhibit certain distinct features (Moreno-Lax, 2018). For instance, the media frequently reports the number of victims first, followed -sometimes in a dramatic way- by the fact that these people are dead. The dehumanizing narrative is further reinforced by visual framing techniques, such as photographs shot from above -possibly from a helicopter- that present dead bodies floating on the surface of the blue sea (Giubilaro, 2018). By using object metaphors, many media sources refer to smuggling as "business" or "commerce" referring to the trafficked as "currency", "shipments" or "cargo" and "objects to manipulate" (Montagut & Moragas-Fernández, 2020). Meanwhile, smugglers are referred to as "machines" (Gregoriou et al., 2022).

Despite the fact that media are often unaware of the nationality of those individuals, many media outlets label them as migrants without much thought. The term "migrant" connotes, across all languages, that the person who is migrating made on its own the decision to migrate overseas in order to improve their financial situation (Benert & Beier, 2016). This might lead to a victim-blaming effect (Gregoriou et al., 2022). In conclusion, even though there is some acknowledgement that these people may be "legitimate" victims, media outlets frequently suggest that they caused their own misfortune, largely ignoring the systemic factors that drive migration and the risk of victimization associated with migration (Gregoriou et al., 2022).

A Peace Journalism Lens on Media Coverage of Migration

In light of this, this study investigates how the Pylos migrant shipwreck was portrayed in Greek media outlets, transcending the traditional "threat and victim" dichotomy. It does this by utilizing peace journalism and framing theory. More specifically, a frame is described in this study as the underlying organizational concept that provides strategies for identifying, explaining, and understanding a specific issue (the migrant shipwreck in this case). Stated differently, a frame

provides guidance or recommendations to the recipient for how to understand the message in light of the idea it expresses (Van Gorp, 2005).

Within this context, Lynch and McGoldrick (2005), by drawing on Entman's (1993) understanding of framing, established that peace journalism is, in fact, a "frame" that proposes a problem's definition, causes, moral assessment, and suggested course of action for resolving it. The term "framing" in this article describes how the five Greek media outlets that were the subject of the study highlighted certain aspects of the migrant boat accident while ignoring others, used particular language, made contextual connections, and cited particular sources. This gave the readers the opportunity to read about the Pylos wreck while also viewing it from a certain perspective, such as through the lens of peace or conflict journalism.

Born out of criticism of war and conflict reporting, peace journalism emerged in the 1960s. Galtung and Ruge (1965) argued that conventional war and crisis reporting follows certain norms that are rarely questioned. The media regularly focuses on official sources, such as politicians, members of the military forces, and law enforcement officers, under a conflict journalism style, but what about the voices of common people and marginalized communities? Conflict journalism frequently focuses on the visible aspects of wars and crises (e.g. the dead and the injured), but what about their causes, the conditions leading up to them, the consequences they have on people, and possible solutions? While conflict journalism focuses on the things that divide different groups (us vs. them), what about stories that highlight the areas in which various sides can agree (Galtung 1998, 2006)? Peace journalism was suggested by Galtung as an alternative to conventional war reporting.

Studies of peace journalism throughout several decades concentrated on how the media reported on acts of open violence and conflict (Lee & Maslog, 2005). Recent studies (McMahon & Chow-White, 2011; Shaw et al., 2011; Tivona, 2011), however, have expanded the study of peace journalism beyond wartime contexts and examined its applicability to issues of gender, religion, migration and human rights. The scope of peace journalism has been broadened by Kalfeli et al. (2022b) to specifically address diversity and migration.

In particular, Kalfeli et al. (2022b) developed a new paradigm of peace journalism based on Galtung's initial classification of peace journalism and war journalism (1998) for the investigation of media portrayals of migration. Because of the proactive nature of Galtung's (1969) definition of "positive peace", which is the absence of both direct and indirect violence or, alternately, the absence of social injustice and inequality (Kalfeli, 2022b), the theory of peace journalism was applied in a non-war setting. Since it also aims to explore the less studied -both positive and negative- aspects of news coverage, such as voice (of refugees/migrants), focus on human stories, benefits of migration, political conflict or solutions, and human stories, the new model is thought

to offer researchers a useful analytical tool for the examination of a multilayered representation of migration.

This study largely relies on the model created by Kalfeli et al. (2022b) to achieve its current objectives because it uses the majority (12 out of 16) of the original schema's peace and conflict indicators. At the same time, based on a thorough pilot content analysis of a representative sample of news reports, parts of the original model's indicators are either eliminated or broadened to meet the current framework of the migrant shipwreck in Pylos. In light of this, the current study seeks to answer the following main research questions:

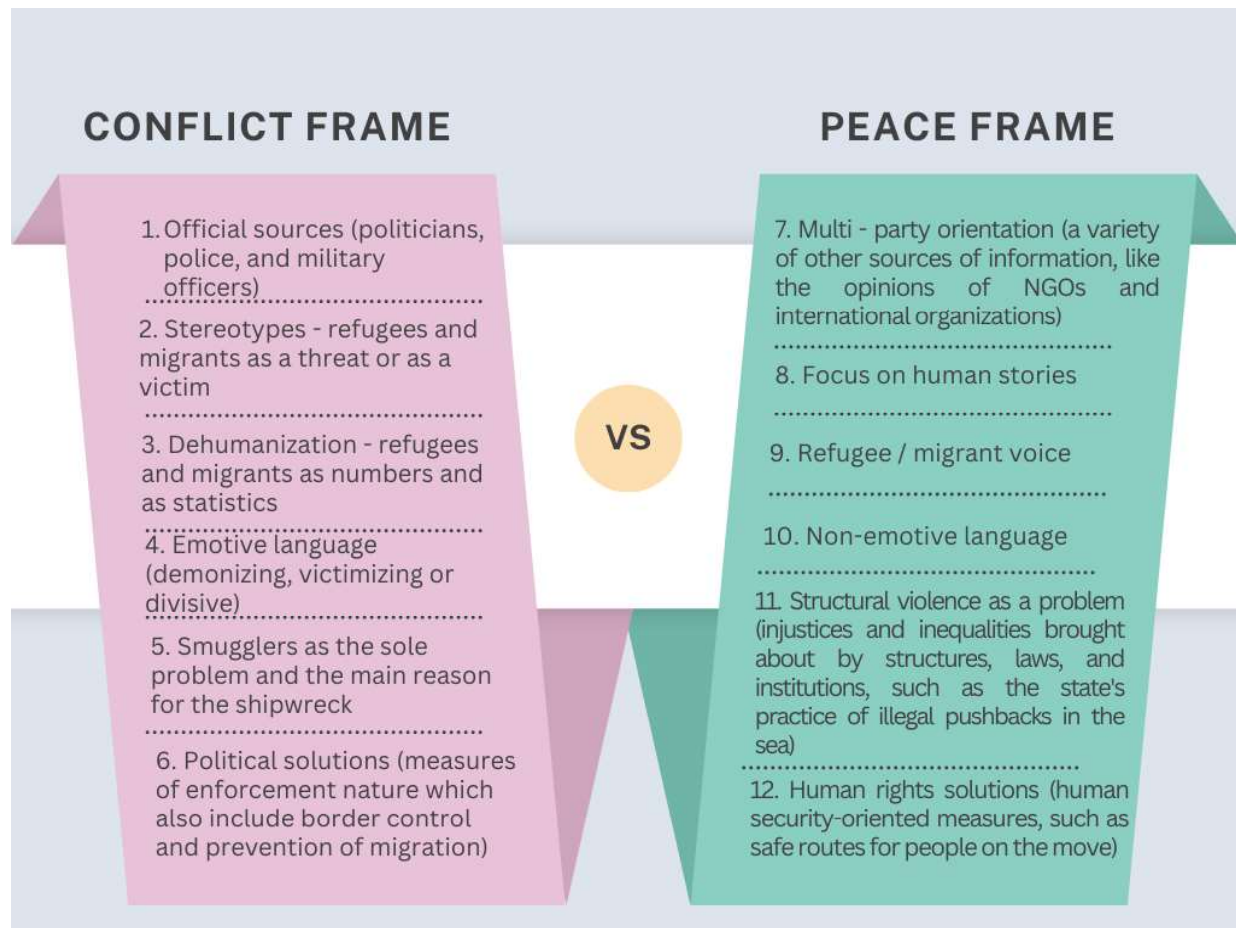
RQ1: How is migration portrayed in the Greek media outlets under study, considering the boat shipwreck in Pylos, one of the deadliest migrant disasters in the Mediterranean in recent years, using a peace and conflict journalism theoretical perspective?

RQ2: Among the several media outlets, what are the most consistent indicators of a conflict or a peace frame in terms of frequency?

Method

Based on an online content analysis of 447 news stories from five Greek news media outlets, this study aims to provide light on the migrant shipwreck that happened early on June 14, 2023, off the coast of Pylos, in southern Greece. In particular, news articles were gathered from the websites of five newspapers: EfSyn (progressive, left-wing), Ta Nea (center), Kathimerini (center-right), Proto Thema (right-wing populist) and Eleftheros Typos (right-wing). Two factors were taken into consideration when selecting the media outlets: first, their ranking rates (some, like Ta Nea, Kathimerini, and Proto Thema, were among the most popular when the study began in June 2023), according to SCImago Media Rankings (SMR); and second, their ideological leanings in order to represent the current political landscape in Greece, which is marked by a conservative right-wing government and a range of fragmented extreme right-wing, center-left, and left political spaces. Opinion pieces, news reports, and feature stories were all included in the individual story analysis unit. News items were coded from June 14, 2023, to June 20, 2023.

A codebook with twelve (12) indicators for content analysis was made using the theory of peace journalism, the relevant model on media framing of migration created by Kalfeli et al. (2022b), and a thorough pilot content analysis of a representative sample of news articles. The 12 indicators are used to look into different aspects of how the Pylos wreck was portrayed in the media, with six indicators used for a conflict frame and six indicators for a peace frame. In summary, the indicators encompass the following topics: language, official sources, international organizations and NGOs, refugee and migrant voice, threat/victim stereotyped framing, solutions, human stories, approach, and so on.

Table 1: Indicators of a conflict and a peace frame

Using the 12 coding categories presented in Table 1, a score of one (yes) or zero (no) was recorded for each indicator that was discovered in the news article. In terms of inter-coder agreement and reliability, 45 news items (10% from each media outlet) out of a total of 447 news items were coded by two independent coders who had received the required training. A percentage-agreement method was used to determine the agreement of the coding results and, in particular, the proportion of news stories on which the coders agreed out of the total number of news stories. To do so, we collected data from the two coders (the ratings from each coder for a set of items), we determined agreement (whether the two coders had given the same rating - Yes or No - for each item), calculated total agreements and computed percentage agreement. According to this measurement, coders' average percentage agreement ranged from 84% to 92%. Moreover, inter-coder reliability was calculated for each variable using Cohen's kappa, a measure that accounts for chance agreement, and ranged from .789 to .818, with .75+ indicating acceptable agreement beyond chance, according to Neuendorf (2002). Disagreements were resolved through discussion. Once the coding of the news stories and the reliability check were completed, we used the statistical package SPSS version 28.0 for Windows to proceed with the analysis. Descriptive statistics were

used to analyze the data, calculate frequencies for each coding category and make comparisons between different media outlets. Chi-square tests were done to assess the differences between categorical variables. The $P < 0.05$ was considered to be statistically significant.

Findings

The section that follows provides an overview of the study's main findings. The most prominent indicators of a conflict and a peace frame, as well as the differences and similarities among the many media outlets, are also emphasized in this context.

In the case under review, refugees and migrants are presented, in the vast majority of publications, that is, in 386 (86,4%) of news stories, as victims of the shipwreck, as bodies at risk. This is in contrast to the past, when refugees and migrants were frequently portrayed as a threat to the host society -for example, as invaders and as a threat to public safety and health (Kalfeli et al., 2022a). The magnitude of the disaster and the fact that numerous women and children were among the hundreds of individuals who drowned off the coast of southern Greece help to explain this change in media coverage. In addition, it might also have to do with the fact that the Hellenic Coast Guard and Greek authorities were heavily criticized for not doing enough to save the lives of the people aboard the boat that sank in June 2023. The following excerpts from Proto Thema and Eleftheros Typos demonstrate how the victim framing approach is strengthened by the language used, as a significant percentage of news stories use emotive vocabulary and terms like "hell" and "wet grave" among others, to describe the sea in which the wreck occurred:

Shipwreck in Pylos: The Mediterranean Sea is a "watery grave" - Around 600 migrants on board the boat that sank in international waters off Pylos (Proto Thema, 14/6/23)

Shipwreck in Pylos: Journey to hell with the "Mother of Martyrs" - The tragic irony of the fishing boat's name (Eleftheros Typos, 16/6/23)

As indicated by Table 2, 351 (78,5%) news items cited official sources (political elites, the Hellenic Coastguard). Because of this and the fact that official sources predominated in the media, criticism of the Greek government for not acting sooner to save the migrants was obscured. Rather, in nearly half of the news stories (48,8%), a large portion of the blame for the shipwreck was placed on the smugglers, as is usually the case after such incidents (Mancini et al., 2021), focusing on how criminal networks take advantage of desperate people on the move to increase their profitable business. A small number of news reports among them suggested that the migrants and refugees on board made on their own the decision to relocate overseas, which therefore added to their own suffering. This victim-blaming approach has also been noted in the past by Gregoriou et al. (2022).

Shipwreck in Pylos: The Mediterranean at the mercy of smugglers - "Turnover" of millions, a hundred deaths (Proto Thema, 15/6/23)

Table 2: Indicators of conflict frames in order of frequency of appearance

Conflict Frame Indicators	Indicators	Frequency of appearance (% of appearance in the news stories)
	Refugees and migrants as numbers and statistics	380 (85%)
	Refugees and migrants as a threat or as a victim As a threat As a victim	393 (88%) 7 (1.6%) 386 (86.4%)
	Official Sources	351 (78.5%)
	Emotional language	342 (76.5%)
	Political solutions	274 (61.3%)
	Smugglers as the sole problem	218 (48.8%)

Table 3: Indicators of peace frames in order of frequency of appearance

Peace Frame Indicators	Indicators	Frequency of appearance (% of appearance in the news stories)
	Structural violence as a problem	154 (34.5%)
	Non-emotional language	105 (23.5%)
	Multi-party orientation	103 (23%)
	Refugee / migrant voice	79 (17.7%)
	Focus on human stories	67 (15%)
	Human rights solutions	65 (14.5%)

It is also crucial to emphasize that these examples show us how, in one way or another, the identification of a problem also reveals the solutions that are used to address it. For instance, dismantling trafficking networks and limiting or stopping migrant departures are the primary solutions portrayed when the primary problem identified is migrant smuggling. Conversely, human rights law-based solutions -such as the necessity of creating safe pathways for migrants and refugees, for instance- were hardly presented (found in just 14.50% of the news articles, as seen in Table 3).

Furthermore, the assistance and treatment given to the survivors during the Hellenic Coast Guard's rescue operation following the capsizing of the boat and their relocation to a camp outside Athens were overemphasized. This is consistent with the findings of Giubilaro (2018) regarding the visual frames of search and rescue operations throughout the Mediterranean Sea, arguing that they replicate the narratives of humanitarianism and securitarianism associated with them. This strategy is discussed in more detail below [in the Discussion section].

“The shipwreck brings to the fore once again, in the most tragic way, the need to dismantle the global human trafficking networks which place migrants’ lives in danger” [the Migration Ministry] said (Kathimerini, 14/6/23).

Coast Guard: Rescued 80 migrants off Pylos, in international waters (Proto Thema, 14/6/23)

Variations and commonalities among the different media outlets

Research results highlight significant variations and similarities in the way that the Pylos shipwreck was portrayed in the different media outlets. For example, content research revealed that the emergence of conflict or peace indicators is influenced by political affiliation (left or right). More precisely, in categories that conveyed a more salient pro- or anti-migrant attitude, significant differences were observed between media outlets with opposing political perspectives.

A Chi-Square analysis was performed to test the differences between media outlets for each variable. The level of significance was set at 0.05. The Chi-Square analysis of the frequency of appearance of each variable in the different media outlets showed that there is a statistically significant relationship of the 0.05 level in three categories: i) smugglers as the primary cause of the shipwreck in Pylos (p-value <.001), ii) structural violence as a problem (p-value <.001) and iii) focus on political solutions (rather than human rights solutions) (p-value <.001), that is, categories that express a more pronounced pro- or anti-migrant sentiment.

For instance, Eleftheros Typos (in 67.5% of its news stories) and Proto Thema (in 60% of its news stories) presented migrant smuggling as the primary cause of the shipwreck in Pylos. However, this percentage was significantly lower in the case of the left-wing EfSyn (19.5%) (Figure 1). Similarly, structural violence - that is, violence brought about by state structures, such as poor practices or coast guard delays - is presented in 15.6%% of the news stories of Eleftheros Typos, despite the Hellenic Coast Guard receiving harsh criticism from international organizations for acting too late. This indicator was, however, considerably more apparent in the left-wing Efsyn (in 76.8% of its news pieces) (Figure 2).

The Coast Guard knew hours before that the fishing boat was rocking dangerously (EfSyn, 19/6/23).

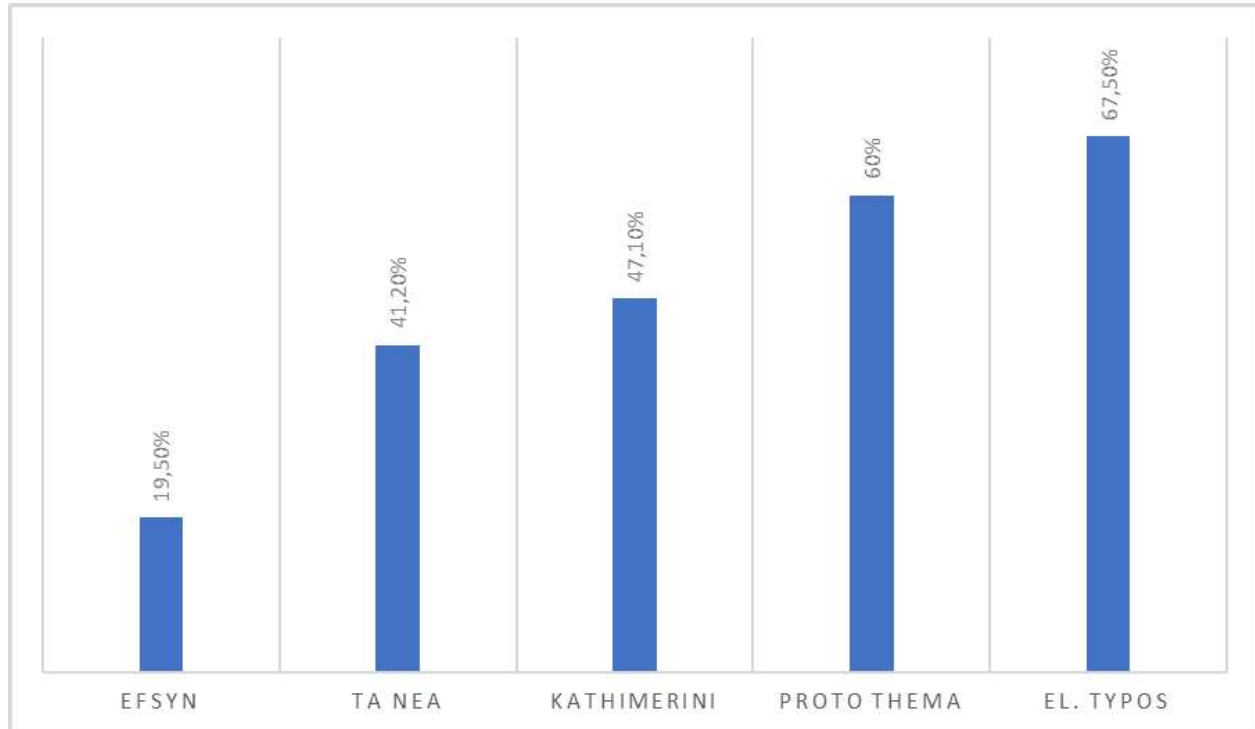


Figure 1: Smugglers as the primary cause for the migrant shipwreck in Pylos

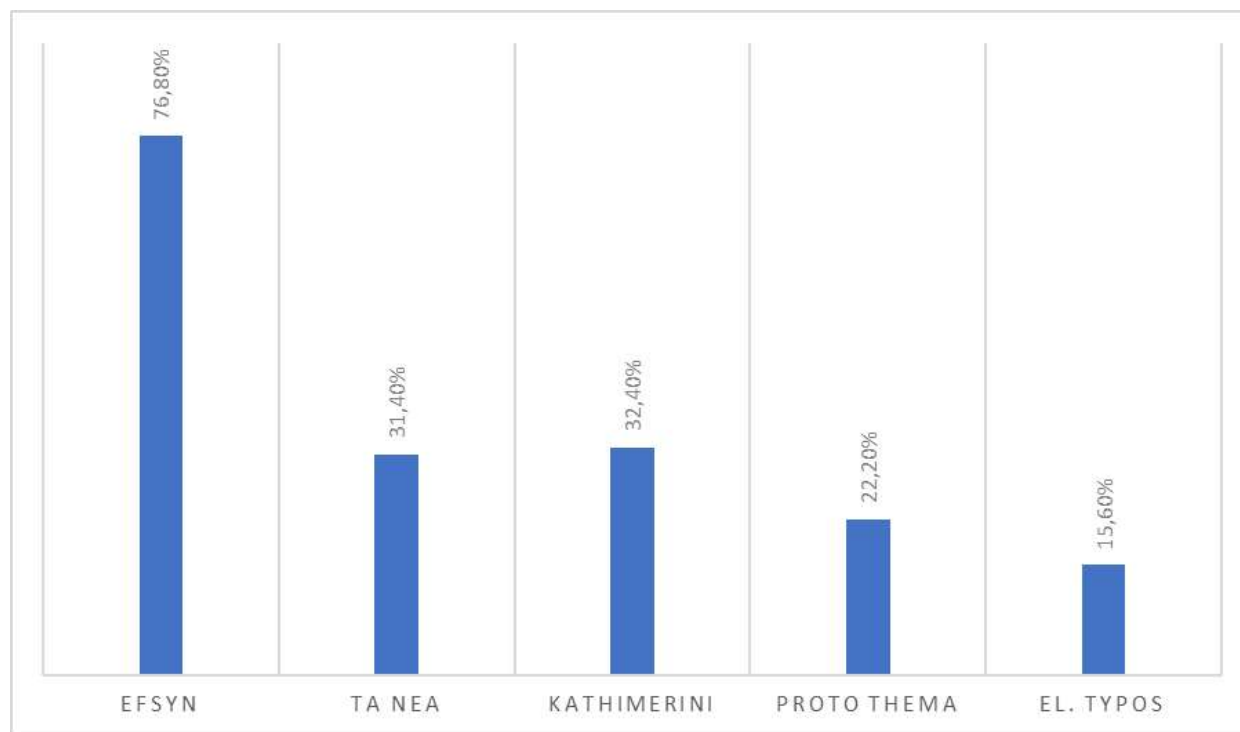


Figure 2: Structural violence as a problem for the migrant shipwreck in Pylos

At the same time, political solutions that mainly focused on combating smuggling and preventing migrant departures [instead of also discussing safe routes for refugees and migrants] are highlighted in most media outlets, mainly through the discourse of official sources (e.g., in 78.2% of the news stories of Eleftheros Typos). This percentage was much lower in the case of the left-wing EfSyn (34.1%) (Figure 3).

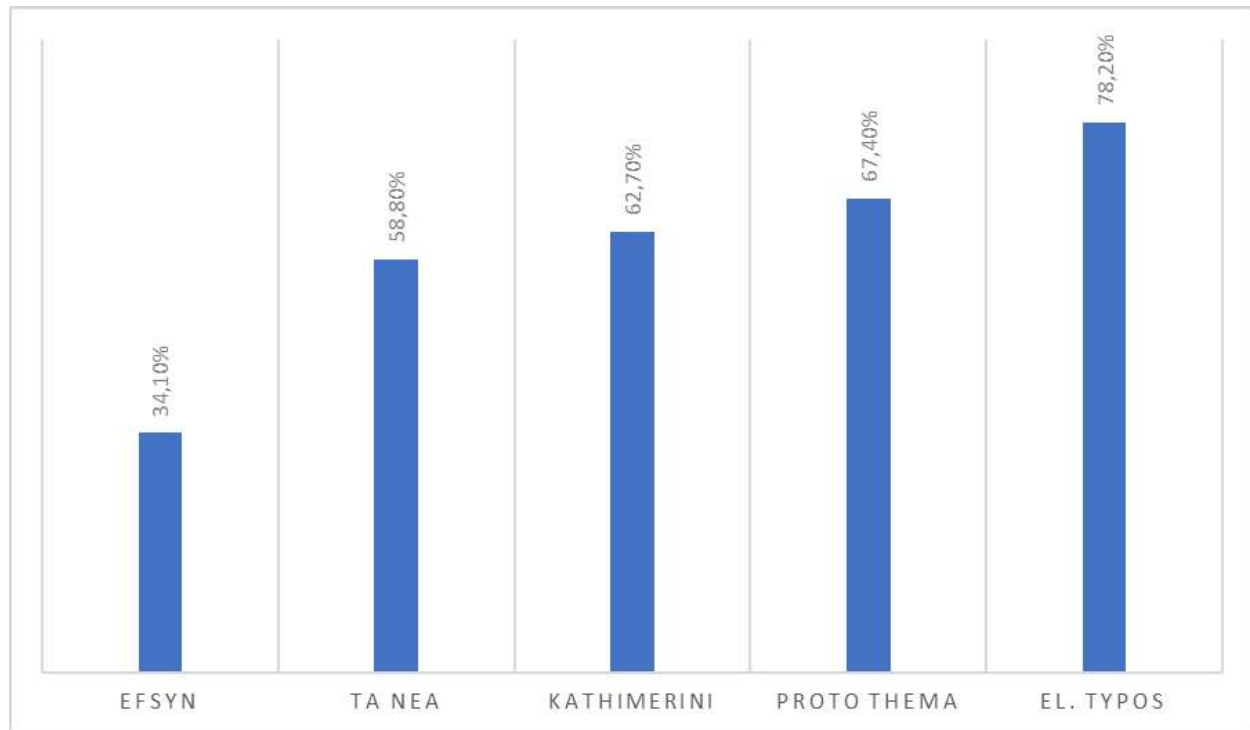


Figure 3: Focus on political solutions

Moreover, similar to our previous findings (Kalfeli et al., 2022a, 2022b), research results on the Pylos' wreck revealed important similarities in news coverage between different media outlets, chief among them being the absence of refugee and migrant voice (present only in 17.7% of all news stories on average, including the left-leaning EfSyn (in which it appeared in 18.3% of the news stories). Similarly, human stories are rarely told (appearing in only 15% of news stories), despite the fact that refugees and migrants are frequently portrayed as numbers and as a mass. At the same time, official sources appear in an average of 78.5% of news stories across all media channels (in 76.8% of the news stories of Efsyn and 82.4% of Kathimerini), with politicians and coast guard personnel usually being the sole sources of information included in a news article. Furthermore, human rights-based solutions—like safe passageways for migrants and refugees—are mentioned in only 14.5% of news items on average. This suggests that some issues are rarely addressed by the media, regardless of the political viewpoint of the media outlet, resulting in an inadequate and simplistic coverage.

Discussion and Conclusions

This study examined the news coverage that five Greek media outlets provided on the Pylos boat wreck, one of the deadliest migrant shipwrecks in the Mediterranean Sea. By providing insights on the rarely researched topic of media framing of migrant shipwrecks - despite the fact that shipwrecks have claimed thousands of lives of refugees and migrants in recent years - the article adds to the body of earlier literature. Moreover, by using a peace journalism theoretical approach (Galtung 1998; 2006) and the corresponding model for the analysis of mediated representations of migration (Kalfeli et al., 2022b), it offers a more nuanced and multilayered analysis touching on the less explored, positive and negative aspects of media portrayals of refugees and migrants in Greece.

The way that the Pylos migrant wreck has been portrayed in the media differs somewhat from how migration has been portrayed in the past. For example, when we compare these results to the dominant narrative that emerged in March 2020 during the cross-border crisis in Evros, where migrants and refugees were portrayed as invaders (Kalfeli et al., 2022a), we discover that in the case that is being reviewed and in the vast majority of publications, migrants and refugees are portrayed as victims - people who are in danger, abused, and the targets of smugglers' crimes. This partial shift in viewpoint can be explained by the size of the migrant boat disaster and the fact that many women and children were among the hundreds of individuals who died off the coast of southern Greece. It could also be the result of harsh criticism directed at Greek authorities and the Hellenic Coast Guard for their perceived failure to take adequate action to rescue the lives of those on board the boat that sank in June 2023. However, even when they are viewed as victims rather than perpetrators, migrants and refugees are nonetheless dehumanized because they are usually portrayed as a faceless mass of individuals without identity, voice, or emotions.

Most crucially, smugglers were portrayed as the sole responsible for the wreck, as is frequently the case following similar incidents (Mancini et al., 2021). They were accused of exploiting people making desperate efforts to enter Europe. Furthermore, according to certain news sources, the migrants and refugees on board chose on their own to relocate abroad, which resulted in personal suffering - a point that Gregoriou et al. (2022) also highlighted.

Due to their reliance on the discourse of official sources, the media under study was unable to highlight the variety of problems related to migration at this particular period. During a time when several NGOs and international organizations (ECRE, 2022; Amnesty International, 2022) accused Greece of engaging in unlawful pushbacks, just one-third of news stories mentioned discrimination and inequality brought about by state structures and practices (such as illegal pushbacks at sea). Rather, and as migrant smuggling in often presented as the main and sole problem, the main solution that was presented was to dismantle trafficking networks and restrict migrant departures.

On the other hand, human rights law-based remedies, including safe routes for refugees and migrants, were hardly represented.

One of the study's most intriguing findings in media discourse was what has been called "humanitarian securitization", an approach also detected by previous works (Aradau, 2004; Cusumano & Bell, 2021; Moreno-Lax, 2018; Parker et al., 2022; Watson, 2011). It takes on a humanitarian "coat" to defend the importance of safeguarding people on the move from dishonest traffickers, but it also employs this language of compassion to push for more stringent policies to stop migration. This is especially significant because it exposes a more nuanced and challenging to identify anti-migration narrative. On the surface, this rhetoric appears to care about refugees and migrants, eliminating illegal, cruel smuggling networks of all responsibility. However, rather than offering safe routes to Europe, it highlights the need for stricter regulations in an effort to deter migration.

Meanwhile, the content analysis turned up some interesting representational parallels. In accordance with our previous studies (Kalfeli et al., 2022a, 2022b), certain aspects of representation are repeated independent of the political stance of the media outlet. For instance, even in the media that takes a more pro-migrant stance, the voice of migrants and refugees is mostly absent. In a similar vein, non-official sources - that is, international organizations, non-governmental organizations, and experts - are not as frequently given a voice when discussing the reasons behind the problem or potential solutions, not to mention that border security takes precedence above human security. Simultaneously, despite the fact that migrants and refugees are frequently shown as a mass and as numbers, journalists rarely focus on the uniqueness of the migrant, their personal narrative, their experience, their trauma, and their emotion.

As pointed out, we are now facing an increasingly evasive anti-migration rhetoric that lays full responsibility at migrant smuggling networks and highlights harsher migration policies to discourage migration. At this point, it is important, of course, to note that high level of militarization of the EU external border controls has contributed to the securitization of European and Greek migration policy and discourse. This reduces the attention given to humanitarian issues related to irregular migration.

Conflicts, violence, poverty, and climate change will all continue and most likely worsen in the years to come (Dimitriadi, 2020). The developed world, including Greece, will continue to face migration-related issues. In order to timely lay the foundation for societal conversation on migration, the media will continue to play a critical role in this environment. Media professionals should work to increase their understanding of and training in diversity-related topics, broaden their journalistic practices to include non-elite sources, and refine their methods so that they can identify the more nuanced, elusive anti-migration narratives of our changing times in order to improve inclusive media coverage of refugees and migrants.

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