

**Migrant
Representation
in EU
Media
october 2022**

Index

Index	2
Introduction	3
2. Existing information	3
3. Construction of archetypes	5
4. Case study. Comparison between Baynana and El País	13
5. European Press Comparison	15
6. Conclusions	18
Bibliography	20

1. Introduction

This part of the project aims to understand the representative framework of the narrative on migrants and refugees in the European media. The actions that have been carried out are framed in a mapping and gap analysis that has as deliverable a library of existing research and initiatives on media representation of marginalized communities.

The steps followed to achieve the objectives consisted of two phases. The first phase, called existing information, consisted of collecting, filtering and analyzing existing information on the representation of migrants and refugees in the European press. The second phase of the research focused on the construction of archetypes on the representation of migrants and refugees in the European press.

2. Existing information

In order to initiate this research, it was considered necessary to conduct a literature review on the representation of migrants and refugees in the European press.

Once the literature review had been completed and the theoretical framework of the research had been established, a search for news items in the European press was carried out. To this end, a filter of key search words was elaborated using internet engines. The selection of keywords was made on the basis of the previously consulted bibliography. Subsequently, both academic search engines - web of science (WOS), Scopus, Dialnet, Google scholar - and news search portals - Google News, Gopher and TweetMeNews - were identified. The information obtained in the search stage was generated by means of a table of contents which clearly shows: source of information, keywords, date of publication, authors, brief description and link. A total of 123 news items were analyzed in six languages - Spanish, English, Arabic, French, Italian, German and French - filtered by the following keywords:

- Unaccompanied Minors
- Migration
- Refugees
- Boat
- Small boat
- Border
- Migrant women
- Integration
- Migratory route
- Fence
- Inequality
- Violence
- Terrorism
- Crime
- Paperless

- Heroes
- Camps
- Strollers
- Islamo-gauchisme

Once the search for information had been completed, the most relevant sections were filtered in order to construct the archetypes on the representation of migrants and refugees in the European press. A total of 47 news items were used to create the archetypes. See complete database at:

https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1AcDG1zBLhFVAdGsbGgmQ1i3dZ_xmgxjr/edit?usp=sharing&ouid=100733991435905796909&rtpof=true&sd=true

In addition, in this first phase, interviews were conducted with experts in the research topics who had previously carried out research. The aim of this complementary technique is to systematize the information. To this end, a database was created of the experts who were interviewed, indicating a short biography with their area of specialization. The purpose of these interviews is to extract information from people who are knowledgeable in this area of research.

Seven in-depth interviews were conducted with experts from different areas and with different profiles, as shown in the table. The sample of people interviewed took into consideration the representativeness of gender, race and geographical area. See the database:

<https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1ieQeKILZbDIOEubJjfRCxsok0BOavvgL/edit#gid=795681114>

Areas of expertise	Profiles
Migration	University teaching staff
Communication	Activist
Sociology	Social researchers
Social Psychology	Film direction
Visual communication	
Political Science	
Islamophobia	
Representation of Muslim people	
Visual representation	

Source: own elaboration based on research data.

The interviews with experts revolved around open questions about their scientific view of the representation of migrants and refugees in the European press, the archetypes they

identified and the search for specialized bibliography on the subject matter of the research. The number of bibliographical references was limited to the 35 most significant and closest references to the object of the research. These references were used, together with the news items, for the construction of the archetypes in the second phase of this research.

With the bibliographic references, a virtual library was created in Open Access with the bibliography filtered by the experts where the scientific articles can be found and a text file with the correct citation of the articles. See library:

<https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1gOuOjDhQ4JF6RCt8Zk1dtBKodT7MAX7u?usp=sharing>

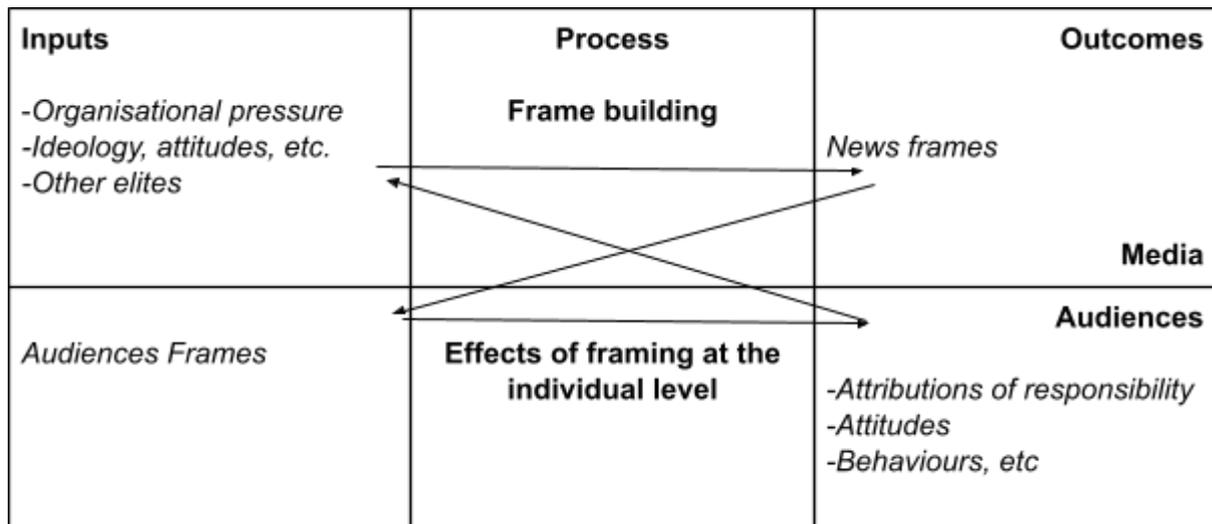
3. Construction of archetypes

The second phase of the research consisted of the construction of archetypes on the representation of migrants and refugees in the European press. The information with which these archetypes were constructed is derived from the first phase of the research, together with the process of reflection and pooling of the porCausa Foundation team, which includes European journalists, migrants and refugees.

Framing theory is appropriate for the construction of archetypes in this research. Specifically, McCombs and Shaw (1972) identify three clearly defined stages. The first is the creation of the frames (frame building), the second is the establishment of the frames (frame setting) and the third stage is the results or consequences of the framing process (consequence).

These stages include the moment in which the media construct and transmit information in the form of media frames based on multiple factors such as journalistic practices or the editorial lines of the media, but also the ideology and cognitions of the journalists themselves; to the generation and modulation of audience frames, which will help audience members to formulate conclusions and make decisions on the basis of the frames received, again influencing, in a feedback process, the framing stage, since media professionals are also members of the general audience with their own cognitive frames. This cyclical framing system proposed by Scheufele (2004) - see figure 1 - also suggests the different dimensions and stages on which research based on this theory can focus.

Figure 1: Scheufele's framing process models



Source: Prepared by Palacios (2015) based on Scheufele (2004).

Applied to migration, until the 1960s there was no research on the media representation of ethnic and social minorities. The first research was conducted only in the United States, and based on the five main ethnic groups existing in the US, i.e. Whites, Latinos, Blacks, Asians and Native Americans. i.e. White, Latino, Black, Asian and Native. It was not until the 1990s that research on involuntary immigrants and refugees was introduced. In the case of Europe, research on media portrayals of migration focused on the Muslim population, where most migration-related news stories alluded to negative developments such as crime, illegal arrivals and the threat they pose to the society of origin.

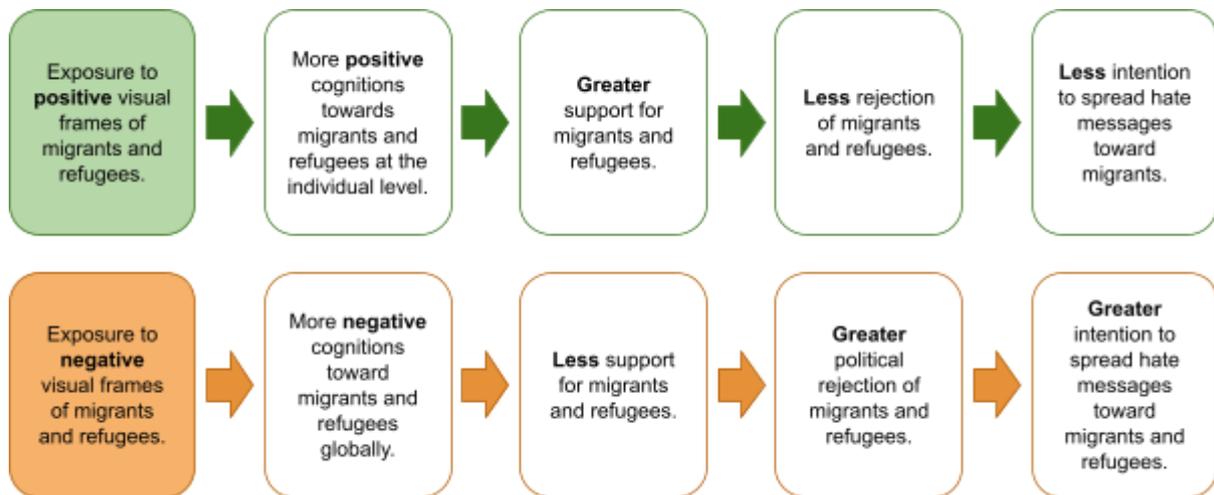
An example of this is the case of the photograph of Aylan Kurdi where, depending on the media and the socio-cultural environment, a different interpretation was made. In the case of CNN, more humanized visual frames of the refugee crisis were used after the international publication of the image of the Syrian child, showing the suffering of the migrants up close. In contrast, Der Spiegel decided to decrease the presence of refugees in its visual coverage, while increasing the presence of law enforcement officers, conveying the perception of threat and the need for law and control.



Source: Own elaboration based on Amorós (2022).

This logic observed in the case of Aylan responds to the effects that archetypes generate on the society receiving information. Thus, if society is exposed to positive visual frames about migration, there is greater support for the migrant population and less intention to spread

hate messages about migrants and refugees. Conversely, exposure to negative frames has consequences for society as it increases rejection of migrants and refugees and thus a greater intention to spread hate messages.



Source: Own elaboration based on Amorós (2022).

Seven archetypes were detected in the European press regarding the representation of migrants and refugees. Of these seven archetypes, four were merged on the basis of two variables: a) the high volume of news, i.e. the frequency of the news; and b) the high media impact of the news on society. A paradigmatic example of this selection of archetypes is the limitation of the hero archetype. The hero archetype has a high media impact, i.e. the news is retained in the reader's consciousness for a prolonged period of time. However, there is not a high volume of news about this archetype. Therefore, it was decided not to count it as an archetype in its own right and to work with the everyday archetype.

The four archetypes of how migrants and refugees are perceived in the European press are: a) normalization, b) victimization, c) burden, and, d) threat. First, the frames of burden and threat encourage the objectification, objectification and dehumanization of migrants and refugees. These two frames foster, on the one hand, increased feelings of fear and concern in receiving societies; and, on the other hand, prejudice and attitudes of rejection and hatred. Specifically, the burden frame is associated with economic notions. Thus, it refers to how migration is an economic burden for the state or that it generates labor competitiveness with local and/or autochthonous citizenship. The threat framework refers to security issues. In this framework, migrants are represented as potential criminals or terrorists. In turn, they are represented as a cultural and identity threat to the country (symbolic burden), which is clarified when Arab migrants are represented as a threat to Western and/or democratic values.

In contrast, victimizing and normalizing frames generate empathy and positive emotions. These frames are not confirmed to have positive effects on citizenship; moreover, victimizing frames tend to dehumanize. The victimization frame is the most studied, the migrant is portrayed as vulnerable, innocent and martyred. Thus, the feeling conveyed by this frame is one of sadness. On the other hand, the normalization frame is the archetype that most humanizes migrants. The representation of migrants and refugees in this frame is the image of integration into the host society. Migrants are depicted as people who lead a normal life executing daily tasks such as working and/or having fun.

Image 1: Frames of representation in European press reports



Normalization frame Der Spiegel (2017)



Victimization frame Reuters (2014)



Burden frame El Mundo (2016)



Threat frame La Repubblica (2014)

In the frames of normalization and victimization, not many migrants appear, almost always one person or two at most, and they are close-ups. In contrast, in the frames of burden and threat, the images accompanying the news usually show a multitude of migrants or refugees. These images increase the power of the representation of archetypes.

Image 2. Representation frames in news stories



At the level of the news narrative, some news excerpts classified by the four archetypes are shown in table 1.

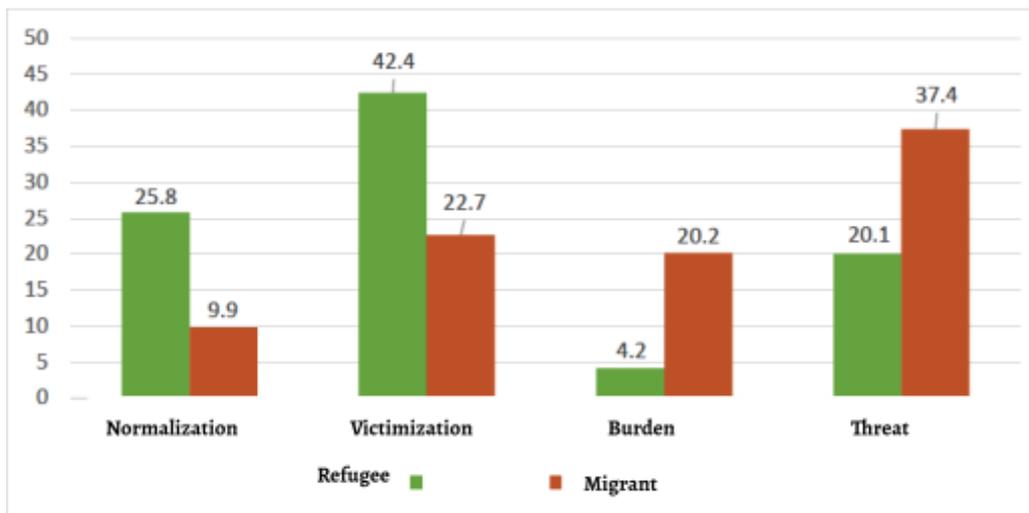
Table 1: News fragments by frame of representation

Normalization	Victimization
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● "Foreigners make our nation stronger with their work and talents" ● "Anyone should have the right to settle in another country" ● "Cultural diversity makes our country a better country" ● "Foreign people deserve the same rights as others" ● "Thanks to immigrant labor, the country is moving forward" ● "is moving forward" ● "It is necessary to develop new immigration policies that promote freedom, social rights and equality" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● "People who migrate usually do so because they have no other choice". ● "Refugees come from situations of conflict and misery" ● "We must denounce the mistreatment of migrants and/or refugees" ● "It is necessary to have compassion and solidarity with the migrants and refugees who are already suffering misery and exclusion" ● "Migrants and/or refugees have gone through all kinds of suffering to reach our country"
Burden	Threat
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● "The migrants and/or refugees receive more aid and payments than the citizens of our country" ● "Migrants and/or refugees take away our jobs" ● "Migrants and/or refugees live at the expense of the taxes paid by the citizens of our country" ● "Because of migrants and/or refugees, the quality of education and health care is worsening" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● "Migrants and/or refugees are a threat to the security of the country" ● "Migrants and/or refugees are aggressive and violent" ● "Migrants and/or refugees are criminals and terrorists" ● "Migrants and/or refugees threaten the peace and tranquility of the West" ● "The culture and religion of migrants and / or refugees are a threat to our principles and social rights and equality"

Source: Own elaboration based on Amorós (2022).

The representation of migrants and refugees is different in the European press. To test these archetypes, an analysis was carried out on social networks, specifically on Twitter, where 1,300 tweets containing messages with the word refugee (412 tweets) and the word migrant (888 tweets) were analyzed. Cross-referencing these data with the different frames, she observes that in the case of migrants, the most repeated frames are victimization and normalization, which a priori are positive archetypes. However, in the case of migrants, the most repeated frames are threat and burden, both with negative connotations. The differentiation between the two - migrants and refugees - by European society responds, to a large extent, to the representation of both in the European press.

Chart 1: Percentage of representative frames in migrants and refugees

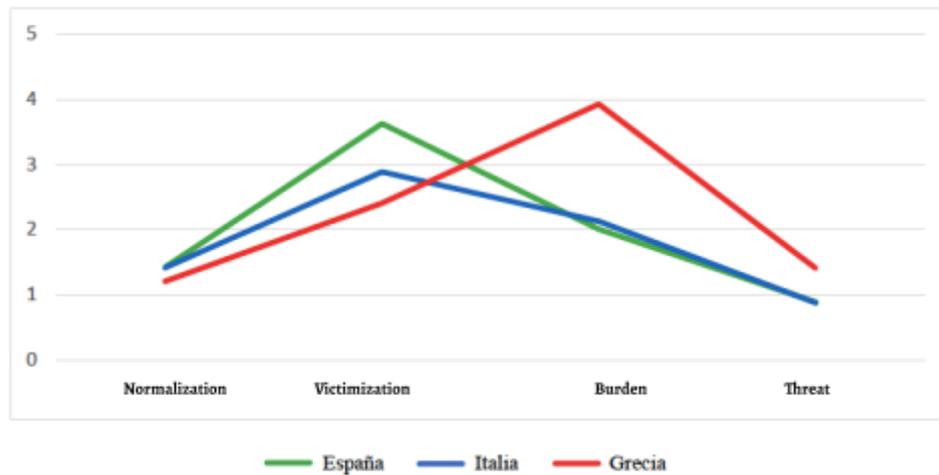


Source: Own elaboration based on Amorós (2022).

An analysis of the press in the different European countries shows that the Austrian, Czech and Slovak media portray refugees as a threat to the security and economy of the country. In the case of the Spanish press, solidarity towards refugees is shown in the context of victimization. However, there is an increase in the threat frame. The Italian and Greek media represent migration under the frames of burden and threat, especially the Greek press represents migration as a problem or threat to society. Finally, the press in Central and Eastern Europe mostly portrays migration as a threat to the security and economy of the country.

Three European countries have been taken as examples for this research: Spain, Italy and Greece. The justification for this decision focuses on the fact that, being border countries for the entry of migrants -mainly migrants- and refugees, the archetypes are more visible both in society and in the press. The results -see the graph- show that in the Greek press the most frequent frame is that of burden, unlike in the case of Italy and Spain, where the frame of victimization predominates. In the case of Spain, non-negative frames such as normalization and victimization are significantly higher than in the case of Italy and Greece. It is precisely in the case of the Greek press where the negative frames are hegemonic, with very high figures - in relation to the other two countries - for the frames of burden and threat.

Chart 2. Use of representative frameworks in Spain, Italy and Greece

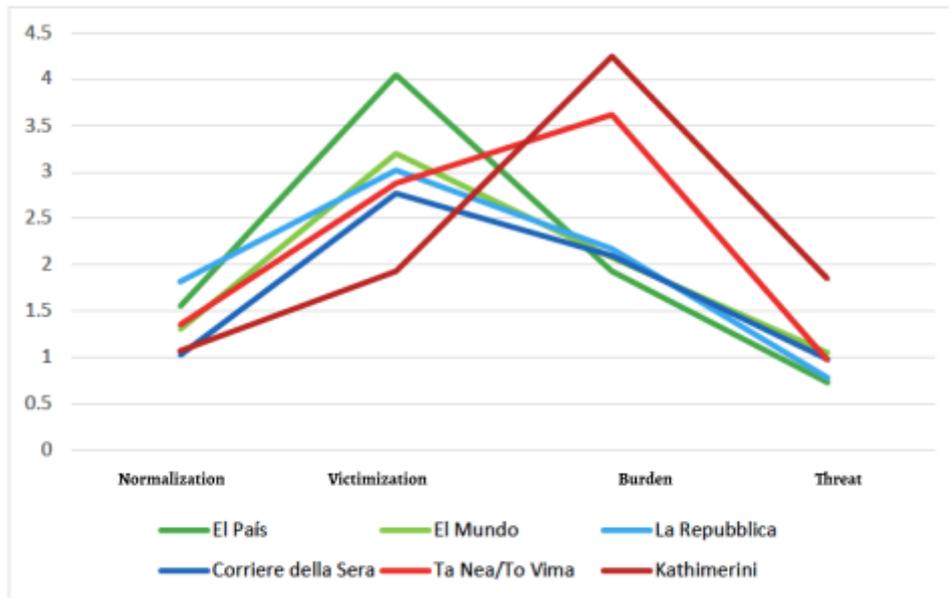


Source: Own elaboration based on Amorós (2022).

Continuing with the three case study countries - Spain, Italy and Greece - the two best-selling newspapers in each country were selected. In Spain, El País and El Mundo were selected; in Italy, La Repubblica and Corriere della Sera; and in Greece, Ta Nea / To Vima and Kathimerini.

The analysis of the press in these three countries ratifies what was previously detected: it is El País and El Mundo (Spain) that mostly represent migration under the framework of victimization. On the other hand, the Greek newspapers (Ta Nea / To Vima and Kathimerini) are hegemonic in their portrayal of the burden. Precisely, the Greek media Kathimerini stands out in negative frames with a significant presence of the threat frame, far above the rest of the analyzed media.

Chart 3. Use of representative frames in the European press in Spain, Italy and Greece



Source: Own elaboration based on Amorós (2022).

The results of this research confirm that, in general terms, the predominant frame in the images analyzed is that of victimization, followed by that of burden, there is a temporary increase in the presence of archetypes that negatively represent migrants and refugees in the media in southern Europe. It is also clear that both the burden and threat frames have continued to increase over the last few years of the migration crisis in Europe and the Mediterranean.

Once the archetypes had been constructed and validated, they were tested. The same process as the interviews in the first phase - database and template - was repeated in the testing process and extended to both academics and European journalists. Following the feedback from the interviews, the four final archetypes of the representation of migrants and refugees in the European press were validated.

4. Case study. Comparison between Baynana and El País

This article seeks to carry out an exhaustive analysis of the representative framework of the narrative about migrants and refugees in the European media and the media created by migrants.

In this comparison, we highlight two means of communication. The Spanish newspaper El País, and the digital magazine Baynana created by 4 Syrian refugees.

In this context, we present the similarities between these two mediators and how they deal with and deal with the news and stories of migrants and how they deal with the facts related to them.

Looking at two reports from the two mediators dealing with the same story, it was found that there is great convergence between these two mediators and many similarities in naming and highlighting migrants and their suffering.

Description

Baynana magazine: Baynana is a bilingual online media founded in 2021 -in Arabic and Spanish- that is committed to social and public service journalism. Our magazine aspires to offer useful information to the Arab-speaking community in Spain and, at the same time, build bridges between migrants, refugees and Spanish people of foreign origin, and the rest of society.

El País: El País is a Spanish newspaper founded in 1976. It is written in Spanish, although it also publishes content in Catalan, English and Portuguese.

Headers

With this title he opened the article in El País:

What happened at the Melilla border? The step by step of the tragedy

While the Baynana magazine opened its article with this title:

The journey of death from Sudan to the Melilla wall

In the context of the research on the points of difference and similarity, it became clear to us that the points of difference are non-existent and the similarities are great in the titles. Therefore, it is clear to us that mediators look at immigrants in the same way. Just as the mediator of El País described what happened at the Melilla border as a tragedy, and this stems from sympathy for the issue, while the second mediator, Baynana magazine, described this trip and what happened at the Melilla wall as the journey of death, and also this shows the position of sympathy.

Show theme

Check out the article in El País that was published on July 3. At first he spoke of figures and statistics on the number of victims of immigrants injured and dead, to clarify the magnitude of the tragedy that occurred. The article is expanded with a large number of photos and videos. The article goes on to explain the path of suffering and the magnitude of the hardships faced by the migrants, starting from the mountains in which the migrants took refuge before leaving for the wall to try to cross it, and explains in the article what they were the object of the Moroccan police attack. The immigrants also tell their stories and what happened to them through interviews conducted by journalists from El País. It was expanded further, and the article extensively explained the process of attempting to cross the Melilla wall. This report did not present any negative image of the migrants, but rather the magnitude of the danger that surrounded them and the difficulties they faced. The investigation and investigation into those responsible for the death of 27 migrants and their fall with injuries among them was also addressed. The testimonies of the immigrants served to clarify and inform about the perpetrators.

¿Qué sucedió en la frontera de Melilla? El paso a paso de la tragedia

EL PAÍS reconstruye con testimonios, imágenes y vídeos geolocalizados el último y mortal intento de un grupo de jóvenes africanos de llegar a España



On the other hand, there was the article in the magazine Baynana, which followed the same path as the article in El País, where the article on the matter was published before and was published on July 1. Where the article was similar to the one in El País and we will present the similarities:

- Shed light on the difficulties faced by migrants and seek the cause of their suffering.
- Great similarity in the narration of facts, numbers and statistics. Similarities in terms and words used.
- The presence of two sources in common in the two reports, are the Sudanese migrants, Bashir and Adam.
- The message of these two reports is common.

This confirms the theory that it is possible that the handling of immigrant stories by a medium created by refugees and immigrants is similar, and another that is not.

5. European Press Comparison

This paper seeks to make a comprehensive analysis of the representative framework of the narrative on migrants and refugees in the European media.

These marginalized communities have been found stereotyped in different forms during mapping and gap analysis based on how they have been represented in the media.

As a result of efforts to recover the existing information by collecting, filtering and analyzing information from the media representation of migrants and refugees several European newspapers were reviewed through search engines.

As this work entails the clear construction of archetypes on the representation of migrants and refugees in the European press, the findings showed where the media create limits with sentiments instead of going an extra mile in their reporting devoid of harm.

Representation of Migrants and Refugees in the European Media

The Guardian, a medium of high consumption in UK and EU in an article published on May 23, 2021 authored by Ashifa Kassam captioned: "Hundreds of child migrants crammed into warehouses in Ceuta", which comprise interviews with a lot of people but minors without any other migrant voice featured. Attached to this article was a picture of a child in jail, while children are described as potential criminals or poor minors. "Prince Charles criticizes 'appalling' Rwanda migrant scheme - reports" is another article on The Guardian edition of June 10, 2022 authored by Harry Taylor. In the article, there was no migrant voice. A spokesperson for Clarence House refused to comment but a spokesperson for the government described migration to the UK as dangerous and called migration as unnecessary and illegal journeys.

The Local, a multi-regional, European, English-language digital news publisher with local editions in Austria, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Norway, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland prefers to describe the complaints of a woman 'irritation.' This can be found in its May 13, 2022 edition where refugees were interviewed including a woman and a man but giving anonymity to the man. In this article to which a picture of queuing refugees was attached was captioned, "Ukrainian refugees in Sweden forced to queue for days."

A daily national tabloid newspaper in the UK, The Express on June 5, 2022 carried a story, "10,000 asylum seekers reach UK this year" authored by Mathew Davis where no migrant was interviewed, only for the Home Office to describe the migrants as illegal and call migration people trafficking business. Image of migrants parked in a small boat in the middle of the sea. A piece by James Grey on the June 13, 2022 edition of the same paper has gone to the point of equating migration to human trafficking, under the headline, "REVEALED: EU planned to send migrants to Rwanda two years BEFORE UK - so what's different?" On the medium Bradley Jolley's "Migrant boat graveyard shows deadly cheap inflatables used in Channel crossings", of January 27, 2022 captured an accusation against migrants as people who are risking their lives by paying criminal gangs to make the dangerous journey across the Channel to the UK.

Ablo Sánchez Olmos's article "La caravana migrante que desafía a la Cumbre de las Américas" (The migrant caravan that challenges the Summit of the Americas) published by the second largest printed newspaper in Spain, El Mundo, on June 7, 2022 described migration as crisis and called migrants as gang members trying to cross borders to escape persecution.

An Irish daily broadsheet newspaper and online paper, The Irish Times in a story "Merkel departs Brussels with warning on migration 'vulnerability'" by Derek Scally on its October 22,

2021 edition described lack of joint migration policy as a way of making Europe vulnerable from outside and termed the influx of migrants a migration crisis. It blames Belarusian leader for triggering a hybrid threat against Europe by instrumentalizing refugees. The Belarusian leader was also criticized for funneling people from Syria, Iraq, Iran and Yemen through his country into neighboring EU states. In the story migrants were called illegal foreigners. Süddeutsche Zeitung, one of the largest newspapers in Germany on June 6, 2022 published an article in which migrants were described as illegal and branded activist defending migrants as criminal German or rich spoiled German communist in an article titled, "Salvini vor Rackete-Prozess trotzig" (Salvini defiant before Rackete trial).

The story, "'We Are the Lucky Few': Migrants Describe Brutal Journey From Belarus to Europe", on an independent Russian-language and English-language online newspaper, The Moscow Times on December 5, 2021 in an article by Pjotr Sauer referred to migration as hybrid war and egregious violation while calling migrants illegal.

In further ridiculing migrants, migration has been described as dangerous, activities of criminal smugglers and deadly people smuggling trade on the Belfast Telegraph, a daily newspaper published in Belfast, Northern Ireland in a story authored by Jess Glass and Flora Thompson published on June 10, 2022 and captioned "High Court refuses to block first flight to Rwanda". In it's June 9, 2022 edition, a story by Flora Thompson, Ryan Hooper, Sam Blewett and Ben Hatton, "Rwanda-bound migrants could be released on tags if first flight delayed," mentioned in the content a portion where migrants were seen as foreign criminals and people with no right to be in UK. The June 7, 2022 edition also contained an article "Children with toys carried to safety as migrant crossings hit 10,000," by Flora Thompson and David Hughes. This article contained a description of migrants as foreign offenders convicted of crimes.

La Republica, Italian daily general-interest newspaper on its May 12, 2022 edition captioned a story where the caption of a story of an unaccompanied minor before a juvenile court as 'Baby gang' authored by Gabriella Tomai.

In an edition of a German newspaper published as broadsheet, Die Welt on 14 April 2022 also described migrants as illegal and embarking on dangerous journey in a story "Großbritannien will Asylbewerber in Rwanda warten lassen" (Britain wants to keep asylum seekers waiting in Rwanda)". On April 11, 2022 an article by Von Julian Nida-Rümelin in the same medium captioned "Die globale Rückkehr des völkischen Denkens" (The Global Return of Volkish Thought) described migrants as illegal and called migration small boat crisis.

In an article of national British daily broadsheet newspaper, The Telegraph by Gareth Davies published on June 20, 2021 edition of The Telegraph going by the title, "French navy dumps boat of migrants on baffled TV crew in English Channel" described migrants as merchandise. The same broadsheet publication in its May 14, 2022 edition questioned the intention of the migrants and in the words of the author Michael Nazir Ali, 'migration can disturb the public order and social cohesion.' Nazir Ali made the statement in his article 'It's not the job of churches to demonize politicians over migration'.

A British daily middle-market newspaper and news website, The Daily Mail published an article authored by Natasha Anderson on 6 June 2022 accused that a murderer in question is an irregular migrant in an article "Mentally ill illegal immigrant who was acquitted of 2015 murder of Kate Steinle on a San Francisco pier after being deported five times is sentenced to time served on weapons charges."

The Sun, a British tabloid newspaper on June 10, 2022 edition described migrants arriving from Rwanda to the UK as liars. The author Douglas Murray believes, 'they don't come from this country, so they have to be returned,' in his article "Illegal migrants will stay in resort hotel with a pool - Left dubs this 'hell'". Another article of this tabloid dated April 14, 2022 by Mercy Muroki titled, "Boris' plan to send migrants to Rwanda is a stroke of genius & screeching lefties who claim it's 'inhuman' to know this," described migration to UK as dangerous and chaotic.

6. Conclusions

This research, through a circular scheme of design, construction and testing of archetypes on the representation of migrants and Europeans in the European press, has detected four archetypes: victimization, burden, threat and normalization. One of the main conclusions is that although these four frames are present in all European countries, not all have the same representation in the press. This can be seen in the case of the countries receiving migrants, where in the Greek case the majority representation is in the frames of threat and burden, while in the Spanish case the most frequent frame is victimization. At the same time, it should be noted that there is a European trend towards an increase in frames with negative connotations, especially that of burden, even in Spain.

This research also concludes that there is a difference between the representation of migrants and refugees. In the case of refugees, the representation is closer to non-negative frames such as victimization and normalization. In contrast, migrants relate to negative frames such as burden and threat.

Finally, it should be noted that the representation of migrants and refugees in the migrant-led press is different from that without migrant leadership. This is demonstrated by the Baynana case study and its comparison with El País, where the framework of news representation is different. In the case of the press directed or with a predominance of migrants and refugees, the archetype of normalization is more present than in the press without a volume of migrants. In the latter case, the most commonly used archetype is victimization or burden, depending on the specific conditions of the country.

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