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2021 Grant-In -Aid Multicultural Research Award Program

2021 Grant-In-Aid Multicultural Research Award Program engaged with underrepresented communities and focuses on issues related to multiculturalism issues. Through the Multicultural Research Award Programs, Baku International Multicultural Center seeks to support the Center's diverse community of scholars by enhancing the visibility and advancing the productivity of faculty who are conducting interdisciplinary research.

The Grant-in-Aid of Research Award Program supports scientific and creative projects that meet the highest international standards and are high-risk in the most positive sense of the word. It promotes research, scholarly, and artistic activities and supports academic excellence throughout the Baku International Multicultural Center. The Research Program supports initiatives and research/projects that build Multicultural awareness, and understanding. The Program strives to create a province where people feel included and that their cultures and heritage are valued.

As priorly announced, 01 December 2021 was the last deadline for the Multicultural Research Award Program for project activities that took place in 2021.

2021 Grant-In -Aid Multicultural Research Award Program provides support for the infusion of multiculturalism into educational, and professional programs; and the activities of allied/related associations and organizations.

The eighty scientific research works were presented to the Grant-In-Aid Multicultural Research Award Program announced for 2021. Three scientific works were highly evaluated by the Review Group and selected as the winners of the Award Program.

"The more nations are united in a state, the richer it becomes, as each of them contributes to the world culture and civilization..."

Heydar Alirza oglu Aliyev
National Leader of Azerbaijan Republic

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Cultural Diversity Matters – How Discourse Shapes Perspectives on Migrant Populations (CultDivMas)

Racism and cultural diversity in the Mass Media

(Means of shaping perspectives on migrants through mass media discourse – or from negative to positive manipulation)

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PREAMBLE

In the current context of dynamic global migration new issues have become important on the political, social and cultural backdrop of the world. Matters of migrant populations have been and are being studied from a variety of perspectives. We propose a qualitative discourse analysis of mass media discourse (10 main news providers from Romania) in the last 4 years with the double purpose of illustrating the strategies at work when referring to the topic of migration, but also with the purpose of raising readers awareness/critical thinking of the negative aspect of a biased rendering of such a topic and increasing tolerance and acceptance of cultural diversity.

Discourse analysis of mass media texts is very important as ethical issues and truthfulness of reports should always be in focus. The main reason for this statement is anchored in the fact that mass media texts shape (if not utterly manipulate) perspectives of readers on a certain issue, phenomenon, fact, etc. Teun van Dijk (2006) introduces the idea of the discursive influence which mass media texts have over readers as a form of manipulation viewed most of the time in negative associations. But following van Dijk's double perspective on manipulation, we also regard manipulation as a form of both legitimate and illegitimate persuasion. We should also add that van Dijk's perspective on manipulation is a triangulation of the cognitive, social and discursive approaches. Starting from this premise, a discourse analytical approach is justified with regard to a large number of types of media texts (van Dijk's concept of "text" includes written words, photos and

any form of filmed material). The purpose is that of raising awareness of the negative impact that prejudiced rendering of social aspects in the news could have, on the one hand, but also raising awareness of the positive impact that such reporting might have upon shaping and/or increasing tolerance upon migrant populations.

We intend to narrow our research on one aspect in particular – the shaping of readers' perspective on migrant populations through news texts. The main coordinates on which this unfolds is the "Us–Them"/"Our(s)–Their(s)" (van Dijk 2006; Eide 2011) opposition in terms of acts (behaviour) and perceived social impact of this interaction but also openness or interest to tolerating and integrating the Other. The span of our, research will comprise a period of 4 years (2017–2021) or rather will follow two peaks: the year 2017 (when the first peak of migrants to Romania has been registered as a result of the Syrian Civil War) and 2020 (when a second peak of migrants coming to or passing through Romania was registered).

Such research is justified by two main factors: (1) the general trend of the media of rendering the migrants' *problems* in relation to the conflict and the threats they pose to the nation in which they migrate (housing, schooling, unemployment, crime, etc.) (van Dijk 2007); (2) the necessity of trying to solve such issues and the measures taken in this direction while simultaneously rendering all of these positive aspects in the news. This is the point at which the direction of the discourse splits: on the one hand, there is the "voice" of the part of the press which practises a negative representation of the migrants; on the other hand, there is the discourse of that part of the press or the organizations (see webography) which

present the positive aspect of the migrants' coming to a nation/ region, with an emphasis on tolerance, integration and mutual gain/benefits (Blommaert &Vershueren 1998).

Our project aims at illustrating both of these perspectives with the purpose ofmaking readers aware of such strategies practised by the media and veering readers towards a positive reception.

We intend to make a qualitative research having as a main/initial tool of identification and analysis Teun van Dijk's (2006) grid of interpretation of a discourse (completed by his theoretical framework for news comprehension 1988: 140–148) with a view to observing how perspectives are shaped, or more daringly stated, how manipulation is built and control over the public opinion exerted. But our intended purpose is to make people aware of such strategies exercised upon them so as to beable to defend by developing critical thinking towards the topical issue of migrants. Revealing the mechanisms behind news building on the topic of migrant populationcould be of a great benefit to increasing tolerance and acceptance of cultural diversity and integration of the Other (Korkut et al 2013).

We find it necessary at this point to complete the idea by stating that in his research van Dijk has regarded discourse in close connection to social problems, power relations, culture, ideology and history, and, ultimately, he has regarded discourse as a form of social action (van Dijk in Schiffrin et al 2001: 353). His grid (2006: 373) comprises indicators such as: (1) positive self-presentation and negative other- presentation; (2) presentation of Our "good" acts vs. presentation of Their "bad" acts; (3) topic selection: emphasizing positive topics about Us and negative topics about Them; (4) local speech acts projected against a

global backdrop; (5) presentation of actions by Them vs. actions by Us; (6) choice of lexicon to refer to Us, respectively to Them; (7) choice of syntax; (8) use of rhetorical figures; (9) aural and visual means of rendering messages.

We intend to make a content analysis of the materials published on aspects of migration starting from 2017 on the web sites of 10 news providers in Romania (arranged in the following list alphabetically): www.a1.ro, www.adevarul.ro, www.digi24.ro, www.dilemaveche.ro, www.evz.ro, www.republica.ro, www.gandul.ro, www.libertatea.ro, www.stirileprotv.ro, www.zf.ro and according to van Dijk conceptual framework we intend to illustrate the strategies at work when writing news on the topic of migrant population passing through or coming to Romania to stay. The main purpose of our analysis is to make readers aware of the "biased, stereotypical, sexist or racist" (van Dijk in Schiffrin et al 2001) rendering of the migratory phenomenon (sometimes exclusively through war metaphors, for example – see Hart 2010, 144–146) and try to make readers eliminate such prejudiced filters through which they receive news on the given topic.

Van Dijk also speaks about short-term memory, episodic and long-term memory impact of what is communicated through news discourse therefore the impact is also important in terms of intensity and repetition and readers have to become aware of this aspect as well.

In the end, starting from the grids and framework found in the theoretical studies(also see Zapata-Barrero & Yalaz 2018) and adding the particular aspects observed after the analysis of the corpus of chosen sources, we intend to design our own frameof reception and comprehension of news on the particular topic of migrant populations.

1. Contemporary society and the new paradigms –
   from change to hybridity and pluralism

Our world has changed a lot throughout centuries, but we consider that the last three decades have brought one of the greatest shifts ever – on a topographical level, on social, political and economic level, and ultimately on a cultural level, the individual and the nation states have registered dynamics which no one could have foreseen. If historians used to record great variations within millions of years, then with a frequency recorded in thousands of years, then they highlighted how each century brought something new, now we could record great shifts not only every other decade, but even every year. Thus, cultural dynamics has gained an increased rhythm and studies on it have increased in number. The phenomenon was studied as humanity has shifted greatly from what were called "discrete worlds" (Fernández-Armesto in Held 2005) – societies developing in isolation – towards extension of contact with the neighbouring communities, then intensification of trading networks and later setting new paths for disseminating ideas and technological innovations. However, analysts remark that only in the last five hundred years, with massive development of transport, community contact ceased being local and regional and reached global proportions as:

> "This explosion of travel, migration, fighting, and economic interchange provided an enormous impetus to the transformation of the form and shape of human communities; for the latter became increasingly enmeshed in networks and systems of interchange – a new era

of regional and global movement of people, goods, information and microbes was established. Social, political and economic activities could stretch across communities, regions and continents." (Held 2005)

With the advent of what theorists (Koser 2016) refer to as the "3 Ts" of the contemporary age – telecommunication, technology and transportation – the information flux from one nation/region/continent to another increased exponentially, facilitating the grasping of new opportunities of developing on a personal and household level. We assist a tremendous flow of goods, ideas, investments, cultural practices, power and control of/by organizations, states, empires and the building of new infrastructures on all of these levels: merchandise is shipped/aired from the opposite side of the world and reaches us within days, information travels in real time (news being aired, e-mails being sent, articles revealing discoveries being published online immediately after the breakthrough), money is sent within fractions of second via a click of the mouse or a slide of the phone, the crash of stock exchange may paralyze the global or personal finances and economies, fashion collections presented/sold in some cities set trends even on a weekly basis (see fast fashion), a sand/nuclear cloud in the east reaches the west (or the other way round) – all of these processes have been captured by the term of globalization. If at first three main concepts were related to it – economy, politics, and culture – social dynamics has led to other concepts being debated upon: globalism, inter-nationalism and transformationalism. (Held 2005)

This is how globalization became almost synonymous with the phenomenon of migration and statistics support the claim. From 1993 to 2013, 77 million international migrants took

an advantage of these opportunities (thus increasing the migration rationby 50%) (Koser 2016). The statistics provided by the *International Organization of Migration[1]* record an increase of the migration ratio of 83.66% from 1990 to 2020 and an increase by decade of 21 million migrants from 1990 to 2000, of 47 million from 2000 to 2010 and an increase of 60 million migrants from 2010 to 2020. It is clear thatfigures are on an ascending trajectory and, though it is said that it is very difficult to predict migration figures (and foresee a further increase) because of a high number of factors on a national and international level, the phenomenon is striking enough as it is.

But before moving on toward the core of our current topic of research – migration – we will paint a larger picture of the context into which migration gained momentum.

The *Cambridge Dictionary* defines the term "globalization"[2] as simply "the increase of trade around the world", but then expands on the definition from the perspective of the social studies and explains it as[1]. "a situation in which available goods and services, or social and cultural influences, gradually become similar in all parts of the world" or[2]. "the development of closer economic, cultural, and political relations among all countries of the world as a result of travel and communication becoming easy". The two definitions comprise precisely the two dimensions of globalization as they were advanced by theorists in social studies: on the onehand, some speak about and condemn the uniformization that it would bring (see definition 1), while,

[1] https://worldmigrationreport.iom.int/wmr-2020-interactive/.

[2] https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/globalization, *s.v.* "globalization", accessed 25thSeptember 2021.

on the other hand, some are rather observant of and praise the opportunities that it entails. In a similar analogy, globalization has been seen from diametrically opposed positions as a promise or a threat: some view it as a threat of an American economic and political hegemony with cultural consequences which, some say, would transform the world in a Disneyland replica, while others opine that "it implies the promise of an international civil society, conducive to a new era of peace and democratization" (Berger & Huntington 2002).

Other theorists regard globalization as a necessity especially after September 11, 2001 when the world faced a crisis that would necessitate future collaboration for mutual protection. Therefore, globalization is viewed as triumphant and the submerging of borders as necessary so as to ensure material progress and mutually beneficial exchange on all levels and avoid the decline of isolation. (Held & McGrew 2005) Or it is rather viewed as a network forming multiple connections: "the process of expanding networks of interdependence spanning national boundaries, which follows the increasingly swift movement of ideas, money, goods, services, ecology, and people across territorial borders." (Norris & Inglehart 2009)

The spread of English used as a "lingua franca" has its role in the developing of globalization and if not the very English terms, then at least literal translations and calques have been transferred into other cultures. Why is this important? Because people do not use language unconsciously, innocently, aimlessly. On the contrary, the language they use creates perspective, shapes attitudes and opinions upon all the factors triggered/set into motion by globalization:

> "Every language carries with it a cultural freight of cognitive, normative, and even emotional connotations.

So does the American language, even apart from the beliefs and values propagated through the American mass communication media. Just think of seemingly innocuous terms like 'religious preference' or 'sexual orientation,' or phrases like 'I cannot express myself in this job,' 'I need more space in this relationship,' or 'You have the right to your opinion.'" (id.)

Such are the tenets from which we have started our investigation in this project of analyzing the language of media upon the issue of migration and see how it shapes, develops, distorts, changes the receivers' perceptions/attitudes/opinions upon the matter.

This transfer of ideas (but also goods, people and practices) taking place at a national and international level led to emergence of another concept rendering the transfer and the mixture of ideas (but also goods, people and practices) – hybridization. Thus, native and foreign elements are synthesized in new patterns which will accelerate the exchanges, diffusion and mediation even more together with the clashes, rejection and constraints inherent in such a context.

Ultimately, the large backdrop of globalization seems to be outlined between the two large opposing frames of facilitating and deterring factors, of opportunities and challenges for the development of national and global identity, of individual and collectivities. Some see a solution in their coexistence, in the adoption of a median position, avoiding the poles of unconditioned acceptance and militant resistance, between homogeneity and isolation:

"globalization is, *au fond*, a continuation, albeit in an intensified and accelerated form, of the perduring challenge

of modernization. On the cultural level, this has been the great challenge of *pluralism*: the breakdown of taken-for-granted traditions and the opening up of multiple options for beliefs, values, and lifestyles." (Berger & Huntington 2002)

1.1. General context – globalization: clashes and reconfigurations

Some theorists argue that one word attached to the twentieth century with reverberations up to the twenty first century was that of "decline". Especially after World War II, hierarchies of power nations were changed, some experienced great difficulties in recovering after the war which determined movements at the level of the masses (sometimes the solution coming under the form of migrating to other countries which had not been severely affected by the war). Some other times, the political level was not properly covered – the role of the government and associated institutions was not efficiently played, and inappropriate measures were adopted: for example, in the process of resource allocation, some government institutions failed to make the appropriate decisions; they did not increase or support in any way the investment in (local) human capital and the government spent too much money on imports, this becoming a burden for the national economy. Some other times the industry of some power nations was severely affected by the emergence of new industrial sectors, of new market demands and of new industries in other countries which managed to adapt to the new and permanently changing commercial needs.

The decline of imperialism and of federal powers is another factor which led to reconfigurations of the world map on

historical, economic and cultural grounds. The gaining of the independence of many countries which had been under foreign rule gave rise to new patterns of movements for the goods and services provided by those countries, but also new patterns of movements of the people from those countries.

It is on this backdrop and in this clashing world (at the level of ideologies, desire for economic or political dominance) that globalization has been viewed from diametrically opposed positions – on the one hand, as a necessity of interconnection of national systems and collaboration encouraging open vistas, modernization of views and opinions and free markets (Friedman in Held & McGrew 2005); on the other hand, great clashes have been foreseen in the process of this global expansion due to various reasons (Held & McGrew 2005): (financial, economic, political) rivalries between great power nations, (ethnical and religious) internal conflicts which impede external involvement, adverse internal policymaking.

Positively or negatively viewed, globalization has been recognized as having manifested or still manifesting on three main coordinates: economic, cultural and political, but ideology and social transformation are also considered important perspectives from which globalization is analyzed (Castles et al 2014). Each of them facilitates transactions and equally gives rise to dissentions and clashes. Economic globalization has been seen as causing great inequalities on the background of capitalism; cultural globalization oscillates between the clashing poles of uniformization and harmonization of diversity; political globalization is met with the frictions between fora bearing regional political powers, but also raises the necessity of maintaining national political dominance and the need/desire to harmonize everything with

institutions which are neither governmental, nor national (Held & McGrew 2005, give the examples of Doctors Without Borders or Amnesty International). Either way, it is clear that globalization with its positive implications and negative consequences has led to important reconfigurations at a national and regional level.

Together with analyzing these reconfigurations, theorists have also started introducing a discussion of the (domestic and international) income disparities that globalization brought about. Because of economic and welfare or security reasons and facilitated by the perks of globalization discussed above, people have engaged in (sometimes) massive processes of labour migration towards countries with strong economies which could have required their labour engagement – thus, a movement of global labour seeking to cover a global market could be identified in various temporal waves determined by historical and socio-political conditions: between the two World Wars, immediately after World War II, or between 1975 and 1990s, and then a fourth strong wave between 1990s and the first two decades of the twenty-first century, after the fall of the communist regime in many European countries and the opening of the border towards the West – all these yielded a new type of multiculturalism that posed many challenges for migrants and residents alike. This meant that the active workforce heavily changed poles, it meant that some countries (despite the pressure they experienced) became more affluent due to an increasing active labour force, while others experienced strong disequilibrium at the level of reaching a deadlock of supporting their own economy in an unbalanced demographic equation. But this did not mean that the countries that benefitted form an afflux did not experience

tensions connected to these patterns of migratory influx/ inpour as they saw their own economies threatened in terms of reducing their citizens' opportunities of obtaining a job accompanied by the pressure of ensuring protective measures for the migrants.

Other types of decline of the contemporary age that have been discussed are:

☐ political decline – the frictions from within each state sometimes led to great changes within the state and the important changes in what relations with other nations are concerned; politicians are blamed for their old-fashioned procedures and the lack of managerial attitudes, thus people gradually lost their confidence in the political groups and the institutions which could not keep up with the changing society);

☐ educational decline – institutional or educational aspects such as loss of interest in the educational act, economic struggles for some family to keep children in school, bullying, teenage pregnancies or domestic violence have created a problematic context for the future of children and families started looking for alternative in a different life started elsewhere to overcome these obstacles;

☐ changes at the level of the popular culture caused a decline in elements of popular culture such as music, television, magazines, films, teenage fashions which have brought strong incentives in people's lives to want to live differently, namely better and seek for other jobs, other cities, other countries in which to make their dreams come true;

☐ behaviour of the clergy or of the regimes in religious matters, but also changes in terms of religious policies have caused great changes of fundamental values or have given rise to persecutions or great societal clashes (in Romania, for instance, for a long period members of the church went against governmental and medical recommendations to get vaccinated in the CO-VID 19 context, which caused important societal stirring and unrest); other times stirrings between different members of different denominations have sometimes been so violent that they determined relocations of families or entire communities;

☐ changes in the media brought by the new technologies that became more and more popular made of the broadcasting media and online media the new alternative to local media that may possibly be servile to a regime; having access not only to national, but also to international media, information and views offered an expansion of individual horizon beyond previously unimaginable limits. Additionally, a decline in the quality of the media in one's own country may have slashed a deep rip in terms of moral values which may have led to strong identity issues fact which led to people looking across the borders to find benchmarks and models to follow and adhere to.

Therefore, the complex phenomena of change and consequent migration need to beregarded from the inside and from the outside of a nation, on the one hand, and at a national and at an international level, on the other hand. Thus, it is generally admitted that immigrants are an important source of labour force as most immigrants are young people who come

to receiving countries to study or work, contributing to the economy potential through tax payments. Or, immigrants seek for job vacancies in positions for semi-skilled professions such as plumbers or builders or they fill the vacancies in the public sector of nursing. Immigration has a positive impact on a government's budget, however, certain social issues have been brought into discussion concerning the fact that overpopulation could lead to a decrease of the living standards in the present context of housing shortage with acute consequences for urban pollution; even the healthcare system would experience a pressure in these conditions. In addition, there isa popular belief that immigrants run after welfare benefits provided by the receiving nation's Government and that the ones who pay taxes are fewer than the unemployed, the ones who receive state benefits.

Held and McGrew (2005) identify three patterns of these economically-drivenmigrations:

> "the segmentation of the global workforce into those who gain and those who lose from economic globalization; the growing marginalization of the losers from the global economy; and the erosion of social solidarity within nations as welfare regimes are unable, or governments unwilling,to bear the costs of protecting the most vulnerable."

It would seem, however, that a solution came not from a counterpart to migration, but precisely from an intensification of migration because if some peoplefrom the active labour force left some countries to work in more developed nations, the gap was filled with people coming from even poorer countries. Therefore, we could say that a first-degree wave of migration to some nations is covered by asecond-degree wave of migration to the countries that experienced the departure of

their own citizens, but receive other migrants from countries which are victims of even bigger income disparities willing to fill the gap and do the jobs of the emigrating native workers. See chapter 2.2.2. where we discuss how a thirty-years wave of migration from Romania towards other more developed countries left our country in a state of increased distress and incapacity to support its economy, but an inflow of Asian of African workers has started to cover more and more these jobs that our own citizens could not cover anymore. It is true that many times these jobs are from among the category labelled as the "3D jobs" – entailing dirty, difficult and or dangerous operations (Koser 2016); others bring into the discussion the "race to the bottom" issue (Held & McGrew 2005) deploying the conditions in which migrants sometimes reach to work – minimum wages, poor accommodation conditions (when these are promised in advance by the employer), no medical insurance, large work load. Some others observe a pouring of the elites, of the highly skilled towards countries which would help them achieve their potential or values their expertise – the so-called "brain drain". Either way, migration needs to be viewed from multiple perspective and credit must be given to all actors involved in it.

Therefore, it would seem that the cycle of migration is continued with a cycle of generating revenues with different actors. At this point it is worth mentioning how remittances have contributed extensively to local economies, on the one hand and to households, on the other hand. Theorists record a threefold increase of remittances (money sent home to families by migrants) from 2007 to 2015. (Koser, 2016) Globalization, through its increased facilitation of movement, labour policies which allow holidays and progress in cell-phone

technology are all factors/perks which allow free circulation of remittance (for many migrants, cheap air transportation fees facilitate them to go and work abroad and they use their phones or their coming back home for holidays to send/bring money to their families).

1.2. Cultural diversity, migration and the new claims – differences, threats, disruptions, redistribution, control and recognition

Contemporary civilization is beyond doubt a mixture, a pastiche, a mesh up of peoples and their cultures, of religious worlds, of traditional and modern views and opinions, of resistance to some aspects and promotion of others. All of these aspects amplify tensions between universal principles and values (freedom, truth, ethics, etc.), but also particularities connected to nationality, ethnicity, religious denomination, gender issues, race, sexual orientation and language. All these tensions take place within, at the borders of or between/among countries that struggle to gain independence, but also countries where liberal democracy is in rule. But these tensions are not new. As theorists record

> "this is not the first time in human history that economic, cultural, and social homogenization have met resistance and subversion, protest and resignification by those concerned to guard the autonomy of their ways of life and value systems." (Benhabib 2002)

James Tully (*apud* Benhabib 2002) calls this coexistence of various movements within the same historical and political space a "strange multiplicity" which has sometimes cause haste in creating uniformizing norms and annulling or moving

group differences to the background. That is why a series of defenders of the purity of cultures have commenced vehement acts of fighting contamination by different cultures, while others are more permissive in allowing these to coalesce while still valuing the necessity of maintaining specificities:

> "I think of cultures as complex human practices of signification and representation, of organization and attribution, which are internally riven by conflicting narratives. Cultures are formed through complex dialogues with other cultures. In most cultures that have attained some degree of internal differentiation, the dialogue with the other(s) is internal rather than extrinsic to the culture itself." (Benhabib 2002)

But no matter on which side of the ideological fence one is, there is no doubt that these debates have led to intense, sometimes, stormy, societal movements for the contact of cultures has led not only to theoretical disputes, but also to movements of groups of people out of a need to embrace the new culture. This led to new concepts emerging such as "cultural integrity", "cultural interaction" and "expansion of (cultural) borders", "multiculturalism" and "difference", "hybridization" and "redistribution", "expansion" and "integration", "control" and "recognition". This ideological trajectory led to other still more ardent debates emerging connected to the distinctions between "Us" and "Them", between "We" and "The Others"/"The Alien", between "Ours" and "Theirs".

The contemporary age has experienced accelerated transformations on a technological, socio-political and environmental level which has determined analysts to dub it as "the age of change", "the age of accelerations", "the fourth industrial revolution" (*World Migration Report* 2020).

But all the perks brought about on a technological, economic, industrial, informational level triggered as many challenges, threats and disruptions.

In this context, migration has been associated with such movements and has been analyzed from multiple perspectives: historical, biological, linguistic, anthropological (see Lucassen et al 2010), geographical, economic, political, social, cultural, environmental, gender-related and so on. All of these approaches have been developed so as to study a phenomenon which has prehistoric roots (Bellwood 2013) and which has sometimes been regarded as disruptive, but other times it has been seen as being mutually beneficent – to the migrants and to the countries which received the migrants. The disruptions mentioned above were caused by at least two types of pressure: (1) the pressure of the movement of commodities, capital and ideas that also engaged the movement of people together with or towards all of the above; (2) the pressure on certain sectors of both the sender and the receiving countries which is measurable by clear data. Some other times, these disruptions may have been created in falsely/artificially/superficially/biasedly built representations stemming from "personal experience, secondhand accounts, generalized stereotypes, and media representations." (Baker & Tsuda 2015) This is in line with our current project, which starts from the premise that behaviour may be more influenced by our perceptions of the world and of groups of people than they are by measurable aspects and this may further determine statal, group or individual action, national policies and/or strategies. Jonathan Maupin (in Baker & Tsuda 2015) labels this way of influenced perceptions as "perceptions of disruption" where disruption is caused

by potential, perceived threats which evoke fear and anxiety. The threats may stem from various causes among which: people's security (the security of the native inhabitants/ citizens), the need to protect the welfare, disturbances on the labour market by the migrants' inflow. Theorists also categorizethese types of perceived threats:

> "realistic threats that threaten the existence of the in-group, such as political and economic power, or the physical wellbeing of its members; symbolic threats referring to the in-group's morals, values, norms, customs, or traditions; intergroup anxiety, that is fears of embarrassment, rejection, or exploitation in interactions with out-group members; and negative stereotypes of the out-group, which also hinder intergroup interactions." (Stephan et al in Baker & Tsuda 2015)

In all of these spatial and ideological movements, culture has become an identity marker and differentiator. And when groups of people move, migrate, takingtheir culture with them, they determine changes/reconfigurations/redistributions in their relocation spaces. Etymologically, the Latin root of "culture", *colare* "is associated with activities of preservation, of tending to and caring for." (Benhabib 2020) Andterritorial movement of smaller or larger communities has determined clashes of preservation, tending to and caring for their own cultural identity on both sides: themigrants' and the receiving communities'/nations'. Hybridity has been generally regarded as generating instability and leading to conflicts, and the separation between "Us" and "The Others" has become even stronger despite brandishing the flag ofdemocracy, acceptance and integration. The issue becomes even more pregnant and

arguable when we take the discussion to the way in which we learn of all these movements – most of the time it is not through direct experience/contact, but rather through accounts of others. These "contested accounts" as they were dubbed (see Benhabib 2002) constitute into webs of narrative which carry information, but simultaneously prejudice, bias, and create the false grounds for general hostility against other ethnicities and races (Castles et al 2014); they generate rejection of acceptance and recognition (in any of their forms) and lead to struggles of control (in any of its forms). In the context of historical or contemporary migration these accounts of The Others by others created binary oppositions such as "Us" vs. "Them", "insiders" vs. "outsiders", "good" vs. "bad", "defenders" vs. "offenders" (or even worse "plunderers", "thieves", "robbers", "criminals"). But there are, of course, supporters and advocates of positive redistributions of all of these groups in the new receiving nations on the background of "mosaic culturalism", in which human groups and cultures are clearly delineated and separately identifiable entities which manage to coexist while still preserving the firm boundaries of their specificities:

> "We should view human cultures as constant creations, recreations, and negotiations of imaginary boundaries between 'we' and the 'other(s)'. The 'other' is always also within us and is one of us. A self is a self only because it distinguishes itself from a real, or more often than not imagined, 'other'. Struggles for recognition among individuals and groups are really efforts to negate the status of 'otherness', insofar as otherness is taken to entail disrespect, domination, and inequality."(Benhabib 2002)

While some sort of control may be necessary on the part of the destination countries, for a balanced regulation of the phenomenon, for the prevention of capital unbalance, for avoiding exploitation of the migrant workers, tensions might appear because of the risk of abuse. Benhabib further sets three conditions/principles on which the new (re) configurations, (re)distributions, and (re)integration can be achieved so as to relieve the tensions stemming from an attempt exercising control of the new situations occurring in the new context of cultural diversity and multiculturalism: egalitarian reciprocity, voluntary self-ascription, freedom of exit and association.

Yasemin Soysal (1994) too addresses the issue of migrant workers integration and adjustment and she analyses to what extent there is even assimilation. For this purpose she establishes a series of indicators among which:

> "migrants' degree of satisfaction with life in the host country, their adherence to the values of society, occupational achievements and income mobility, the educational attainment level of their children, rates of intermarriage, and the relative absence of discrimination."

The way in which all these indicators are put into practice, further determines a certain perspective upon them in the host countries. These perspectives stem mainly from the economic needs and interests of nation-states and capitalist countries, and that is why labour migrants are viewed as "shock absorbers" that manage "to cushion fluctuations in demand, providing flexibility to restructure labor markets" explains Soysal in her study (1994), but she completes the perspective with postwar migrants who are not temporary as the labour migrants would be, but rather permanent; additionally there is the case of family

reunification in which migrants' family members reunite with them in their host countries; or there are cases in which a decisionto remain permanently in the host countries for health, education and/or welfare benefits is made. All these add new variables to the way in which migrants are seen and add up to the pressure factor upon the receiving nations or, at least, the impression of the pressure created by them, even if initially they had been welcomed based on economic reasons.

Koser, too, sees migrants' movements as mutually beneficial to both parties, not exclusively to the migrants. From the three main coordinates that the problem of migration is generally analyzed – the moral dimension (about universal norms of justice), the ethical dimension (which requires a consideration of good forms of life) and the political-pragmatic dimension (about the feasible) – he underlines how the last coordinate, concretized in the economic dimension, benefitted from labour migration through the remittances sent in the native countries by migrants and through the contribution to the receiving countries' economies as documented employees. Additionally, migrants are known to have contributed the host nations' strength and development through the injection of energy and determination, expertise andcreativity which they brought. (Marsella & Ring in Adler & Gielen 2003)

At the same time, migration was regarded as a cyclical phenomenon (Koser 2016) – going to another country with labour or educational and coming back to the native country, sometimes after decades, fact which involves, many times, great reintegration challenges (on an economic and cultural level) after a disruption of living in a foreign country and after a more or less distant in time rupture from their homeland. From a different perspective, but still involving the

idea of cyclical movement, other theorists have spoken about the beneficial exchange of ideas, people and capital in both directions considering migration from the perspective of the migration system theory and cumulative causation. (A. L. Mabogunje, respectively D. S. Massey *apud* Castles et al 2014)

Some other theorists have projected the concept of migration on the backdrop of cultural diversity and have associated it with other concepts such as assimilation and pluralism; cultural cruise control, beginning adjustments or fine tuning (Bucher 2015) as an attempt to regulate attitudes; cultural negotiation, adaptation and reconstitution. Reus-Smit (2018) overlaps the concepts of culture and international order coalescing from all theoretical perspectives upon this matter two main perspectives: one, which he terms "culturalist" would imply that international societies emerge only where there is some degree of cultural unity; and the second, which he terms "pluralist" conceives society as a practical association in which the two main coordinates would be coexistence and cooperation (of states) because diversity is the norm. Brought towards the field of migration these two theories would contribute the completion of previous perspectives outlined by other theorists. But Reus supplements these theories with the concept of "diversity regimes" – "system-wide norms and practices that simultaneously configure authority and organize diversity" which seem to comprise even better the idea of cohesion and stability. These diversity regimes are understood as instantiations of more "fundamental" institutional practices, such as multilateralism and international law. Therefore, the author sees diversity in this case as being regulated by the state and legitimized by a moral code:

"These are only possible, however, because deeper 'constitutional' institutions define the legitimate political units in an order, how they are differentiated, and the moral or ethical basis for such an arrangement."

Other theorists analyze the concept of migration projected against the large context of the novelty and distinctiveness of the new politics of identity and difference and thus, advance the necessity for analyzing it in conjunction with concepts such as redistribution and recognition. Fraser (*apud* Benhabib 2002) observes that: "Claims for the recognition of group difference havebecome increasingly salient in the recent period, at times eclipsing claims for social equality." Charles Taylor (*apud* Benhabib 2002), too, explains how recognition, lack of recognition or misrecognition partially shapes the identity of a person or a group of people and how they can suffer "real damage, real distortion, if the people or the society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves". Thus, in the case of migrants profound concern needs to be given to aspects connected to lack of or partial recognition, on the one hand, and oppression and marginalization, on the other hand. The main concern in relation tothe disruption that they might cause (followed by a necessary reconfiguration, remapping and redistribution) stems from the fact that space is a key concept and an organizing principle in social sciences and people's sense of identity. Therefore, any disruption to its configuration might seem like an invasion and trigger an initial hostile reaction.

The hostile reaction against such groups/communities of migrants can cause damage to their image and can place them in the category of the marginalized "others". Equally, the hostile view in the narratives (including media coverage) about these

groups/communities creates a hostile view of the receivers of these narratives and the symbolistic attached to the respective groups or communities becomes negative. If they might not even have strong claims to cultural rights, their claim might be justified in terms of reconfiguration of the receiving policies so as to integrate them and help them gain some kind of legitimacy and acknowledgement. To what degree they can participate even to cultural struggle or cultural reproduction is another discussion altogether. But, of course, there is a long way from them being at least accepted to a type of manifest isomorphism and the existence of some sort of autonomy which would allow the preservation of national, religious, family values and even the transformation of some sort of cultural traditions and practices. But in the contemporary age, it seems to be not only a matter of preservation of culture, but also a pressing economic and political need to maintain national stability and security. In the past especially theorists of culture spoke about the need to preserve cultural identities through the preservation of cultural boundaries, authentic form, continuity (to the detriment of reinvention and re-appropriation) and legitimation of controlling (elite) cultures (to the detriment of newly arrived (migrant) practices). Nowadays more and more theorists combine perspectives and regard cultural identity in combination with more aspects or projected against a larger background. Nancy Fraser (1997) speaks about social injustice from the perspective of race and everything she argues could be applied in the case of migrants, because most of the times, migrants are of a different race (or so has been and is the case in Romania in the last 10 years or so). Thus, Fraser speaks about "the political-economic structure that generates 'race'-specific modes of exploitation, marginalization and deprivation." Therefore, in the division

of labour, migrants would be given the "low-paid, low-status, menial, dirty, and domestic occupations" fact which would made them be not a genuine voice in society on a cultural level and be treated marginally. In this context, affirmation of the other can begin only by acknowledgement of the other, and thus, cultural practices of interpretation, communication and representation should be adapted so as to achieve acceptance and inclusion of the other. Benhabib (2002), too, finds a solution to these conflicts stemming from rejection of the other in a permanent open dialogue:

> "The politics of recognition, instead of leading to cultural separatism or balkanization, can initiate critical dialogue and reflection in public life about the very identity of the collectivity itself. Through such dialogue and reflection, the inevitable and problematical interdependence of images and conceptions of self and other are brought to light. Narratives of self and other are now rewoven together to take account of new contestations, retellings, and repositionings."

Soysal (1994) observes how a series of nations from Europe have also veered away from rejecting migrants, and have rather searched for solution to integrate them, and, more than this, to integrate the second generation of migrants:

> "Rather than insist on repatriation policies, they have found interest in strategies that promote labour-market training for second-generation guest workers. The theme of 'the need to incorporate' guest workers has supplanted that of their 'temporariness' as the dominant discourse."

She discusses about the complex process of incorporating migrant workers by the state granting them rights which, normally, only the state's citizens have the privilege of, by including them

in welfare schemes, making them part of the housing market and sometimes even facilitating them to get involved in business, or allowing them to be constituted in conventional/official or unconventional/unofficial structures. In these incorporation policies Soysal identifies unique models developed by each host country which, in turn, leads to the development of particular discourses, practices and organizational structures. At the same time, one movement from the outside of the host nation states to their inside can be identified as a new global discourse permeating their boundaries and imposing new (institutional or individual) patterns of behaviour and new perspectives towards the migrant populations. Sometimes this incorporation can occur as collective groups (in Romania large groups of Chinese, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, etc. were brought over time and incorporated as collectives of workers) and other times they are incorporated as individuals. The former structure or principle of integration may have triggered a perspective of these migrants through metaphor animals ("a herd"), of disease ("a pest") from the ones rejecting labour migratory movements.

Parekh (2000) also theorizes upon the necessity to accept differences and similarities as existing in interpenetration and urges towards acknowledging that human beings should be treated equally because they are both similar and different. Such a view grounds equality in the interplay of uniformity and difference and "builds difference into the very concept of equality" and grants "equal freedom or opportunity to be different." Sensitivity to difference would seemto be answer to building a harmonious society which can function only on the bases of multiculturalism with careful attention being given to the core values principle, the no-harm principle and the principle of dialogic consensus. A strong, deep, patient and sympathetic

cultural evaluation is necessary in order to appease conflicts and bring valid coexistence on all levels.

Floya Anthias (in Anthias & Pajnik 2014) has also found a solution to dissipating the distinction between "we" and the "others" on account of not being able to resist a reality founded on flows of people and interculturality, displacements and relocation in a space (she refers explicitly to Europe) that has become translocational and transnational. She proposes a reconsideration of the concepts of integration, diversity and belonging and the tropes associated with them by practising first and foremost a politics of solidarity, with a focus on what "we" are supposed to do, not only on what "the others" do and should do, with integrating the intra- continental, not only the extra-continental so as to achieve cohesion and share values for a sharedfuture.

One thing is sure – migration has become a permanent presence of the contemporary society – we assist a migration of plants and animals (including the traded ones), goods and services, information, ideas and knowledge, beliefs and ideologies, and, of course, people. In thisprocess of migration, we assist a lot of controverses and dissensus, but also activism andencouragement of migration seen as exchange. Simultaneously, attitudes and opinions, images and social practices, artistic and scientific products/ideas, and, more recently viruses and diseasesmigrate, and, in the process, all continue to cause transformations of a certain social and cultural reality. In trying to better understand the phenomenon, some other notions appear as compulsory variables: disruption and disturbances, practices of othering, exclusion, or assimilation andintegration. We intend to include all of these in our X-ray of the discourse on migration on a series

of materials from 10 news providers from Romania in the last 4 years, when Romania experienced two large waves of migrants.

2. Migration – an increasing permanence

The phenomenon of migration has had a long manifestation in the history of mankind (see Cohen 2006, Bellwood 2013, Castles et al 2014, Koser 2016), but the number of migrants has never been greater than in this century whether we speak of tourists, overseas students, businesspeople, traders, diplomats, seasonal workers, immigrants, refugees and so on (Paul Schmitz in Adler et al 2003). This increase in complexity of the phenomenon has transformed it in one of the most emotive subjects in contemporary societies. (acc. to Castles et al 2014) We assist, thus, to what has been called, the "new migration" – movements in the last decade of the twentieth century and the first decades of the twenty-first century. (Anthias et al 2013) Additionally, the manners in which we regard it have multiplied when using the contemporary lens, the contemporary filters which can be used on the social, economic and political levels. Additionally, migration was referred to from the perspective of: (a) the causes that triggered it, (b) its typology, (c) the judicial or (d) temporal viewpoints, or (e) the relations it developed between man and nature, man and state, man and his norms or (f) from the perspective of the collective behaviour. Thus, it was generically labelled/grouped as "forced"/"impelled" or "voluntary"/"free", "legal" or "illegal", "temporary" or "permanent" (Marsella & Ring in Adler & Gielen 2003), "individual" or "mass" migration, "conservative" or "innovative" (William Petersen in Robin Cohen 1996).

As an expansion of the model of migration based on the type of relationships developed, Castles et al (2014) speak

about three levels of interaction – of macrostructures, of microstructures, of mesostructures:

> "Macro-structures refer to large-scale institutional factors, such as the political economy of the world market, interstate relationships, and efforts by the states of sending and receiving countries to control migration. Micro-structures embrace the practices, family ties and beliefs of the migrants themselves. These two levels are linked by a number of intermediate mechanisms, referred to as 'mesostructures': examples include migrant networks, immigrant communities, new business sectors catering to migrants and the 'migration industry'."

Newly added factors such the volatility of times and the pressure of the number of migrants have also brought to the foreground a series of psychological factors such as: acculturation, identity, values, stress, coping and adjustment.

The United Nations (1998) define two categories of migrants: short-term migrants ("persons who move to a country other than that of their usual residence for a period of at least three months but less than a year (12 months)") and long-term migrants (a long-term migrant is "a person who moves to a country other than his or her usual residence for a period than at least a year (12 months)"). As for groups of migrants, they are considered as such when they do not function as corporate groups and are less than 1000 in number (because over this number they are considered ethnic minorities). (cf. Soysal 1994).

Various studies throughout the years have regarded the aspect of migration from various perspectives, some of them related to factors that involved pressure on the receiving nation on more levels, some others related to openness about other

factors such as: input of energy, new force, ideas, and what could be termed as positively perceived diversity which would contribute the host society with new knowledge, skills, ways of thinking and different enriching experiences. All of these pressures and benefits could be envisaged for the future and Castles et al (2014) identify some general future tendencies of migration regardless of its type and the level at which it might manifest: (1) globalization of migration; (2) the changing direction of dominant migration flows; (3) the differentiation of migration; (4) the proliferation of migration transition; (5) the feminization of labour migration; (6) the growing politicization of migration.

Such extremely increased dynamics in society have transformed migration into a complex phenomenon, in which it can be seen from a double perspective: a product, but also a trigger of revolutions and (civil) wars, innovation and economic expansion, increased cross-cultural diversity and nation-building, political transformations and specific strategic policies followed or not by conflict, persecution, dispossession, or, on the contrary, gaining of political or financial independence, opportunities for better education, increased wages and safety.

Thus, from among the numerous perspectives developed on migration, we will focus on aspects such as labour migration (labour migrants), violent conflicts (refugees and citizens seeking asylum), but also need for a better education, desire to marry (migrants for family formation) or retire (safely/to safety) (ancestry-based migrants or foreign retirees) or just search of a new style (entrepreneurs and investors). In Romania, in the latest years, people from a series of African or Asian countries have migrated in important

numbers in search of jobs that offered a better revenue than in their countries. Violent conflicts in their countries determined other migrants to reach and remain in Romania in search of a safe environment to work and raise their families. Many foreigners come to Romania as students (even from countries such as France) to study medicine or engineering due to much smaller tuition fees than in their countries. Sometimes during their studies, they meet partners whom they decided to form a family with and became permanent citizens of Romania. Some other times people with a migrant routine associated with their work decided to make Romania their final destination and settle here for retirement and out of their preference for the Romanian lifestyle.

2.1. General view – across boundaries/borders

If nationalist perspectives upon migration paint a grim picture of the effects of migration within a given state, more permissive views on migration regard the issue as positive on the whole, creating opportunities and gains of both sides (the migrants' side and the receiving nation's side), but with possible negative consequences at times (Koser 2016). Opinions are still divided but it is certain that the phenomenon cannot be either stopped or not even oversighted when aspects of any country's existence are to be considered. Therefore, in the contemporary communicational context and with the support of transportation facilities at our disposal in the third decade of this millennium, any aspect in the development of society will be touched by migration one way or another. Thus, the economic and financial, historical and political, medical and scientific, cultural and artistic, religious and spiritual aspects

in a nation's identity development will bear the marks of the migrants' passage or stay on its territory.

Numerous studies on border crossing analyze the phenomenon especially in the very recent event in the United Kingdom (Brexit) or the United States of America (Trumpism) and other neo-nationalist movements. (see Ambrosini et al 2020) If sometimes local policies can be framed as battlegrounds on which various actors activate – migrants, government institutions, welfare organizations – the borders represent a physical materialization of these battlegrounds and sometimes are the places on which these struggles degenerate into open fights. The polarizing positions are those of seeing mobility as a symbol of modernity and freedom, as a human rights materialization even if it also entails a struggle to maintain a state's sovereignty. Among these socio-political ferments, borders have dissipated, eroded or totally disappeared as "fences" (both psychologically and physically – see the case of borders of states within the European Union) and sometimes border controls have failed to master world mobility because of national or international policy regulation (see de Wenden's study in Ambrosini et al 2020 for a detailed analysis on the issue of attempting to regulate asylum and refugees/migrants' status, host nations' solidarity, burden-sharing or rejection on account of potential for terrorist threats and need to preserve homogeneity of identity). From this point on, discussions were split between political and civic duties or perspectives with the migrants caught in between as passive subjects, or even worse, as victims. Donnan et al (2017) also introduce the idea of negotiation at the border, a negotiation of spatial, but also temporal aspects, as migrants are in the position of negotiating practices, memories and

narratives as markers of identity and multiple perspectives both at socio-political and at a psycho- affective level.

The *International Organization for Migration* (IOM 2020[3] mentioned in the report that it published for the year 2020 that there were 281 million migrants (approximately 3.60% of the world population) in 2020. The general mean may not seem very high, but the distribution by nation or by area may look very different (with frequent means over 20 per cent or even over 80 per cent – in the United Arab Emirates over 88% of the population are international migrants). The 2022 page[4] also comprises data specifically recorded for continents: Europe and Asia are listed to host 87, respectively 86 million migrants which represents 61% of the global international migrant stock. For instance, in the case of Romania, according to *Migration Policy Institute* statistics page[5], at the middle of the year 2020, there was a total of 285,000 immigrants from Moldova which represents an average of 24.59% out of the total of 1,159,000 immigrants from Moldova on a global level and 40.42% out of the total of 705,000 immigrants in Romania. In the case of Azerbaijan, according to the same source, there was a total of 142,000 immigrants from Armenia which represents an average of 14.82% out of the total of 958,000 immigrants from Armenia on a global level and 56.34% out of the total of 252,000 immigrants in Azerbaijan. (the calculus belongs to us on the basis on the given statistics). Another count reveals the total of emigrants as follows: 11.38% of the whole population of

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[3] https://worldmigrationreport.iom.int/wmr-2020-interactive/.

[4] https://worldmigrationreport.iom.int/wmr-2022-interactive/.

[5] https://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/charts/immigrant-and-emigrant-populations-country-origin- and-destination?width=1000&height=850&iframe=true.

Azerbaijan had emigrated by mid-2020, while from Romania there had been recorded 20.84% people that emigrated by the same period. The main principle may seem to be that of proximity (people from Romania emigrated mainly to Italy, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom; people from Azerbaijan emigrated mainly to the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Armenia or Kazakhstan), but also of opportunity (as important number of emigrants from Romania have reached as far as the United States, Canada, Brazil, Argentina or Australia or New Zealand). Another reason of migration is that of seeking refuge as a result of displacement and Azerbaijan figures in the top ten countries with nations from which people have been displaced from the 1990s up to the 2020s (see Marsella & Ring in Adler & Gielen 2003, IDMC 2020). At the same time migration is politically triggered – the fall of the communist regime in Romania in the winter of 1989 triggered one great wave of migrants from our country especially towards Europe and the 2007 integration of Romania in the European Union triggered a similar wave. At the same time, the disequilibrium on the labour market had to be covered and the natural social and demographic move was that people from even disadvatanged countries came to work to Romania. At this point, there were the pull factors that made Romania attractive from the perspective of job opportunities. Other waves of migrants coming to Romania were driven to our country rather by push factors activated in their native countries (see below, chapter 2.1.1. for causes of migration) – thus, we experienced the waves from 2017 and 2020–2021.

The general statistics[6] show that Asia and Europe experienced the most important growth in terms of migration movements recording a growth of 37 million international migrants, respectively 30 million international migrants in the last two decades (more precisely from 2000 to 2020). For a representation of the corridors which were developed in time de to various factors (economic, geographic, demographic) and which seem to have set patterns of migration from some states to other states or regions see statistics.[7]

2.1.1. Belonging or longing to belong

A person's identity is strongly defined by the existence in a certain territory, but especially by the relating to a place of origin. The latter defines an individual through family education, institutional education, social practices, ways of relating to one's peers, to the other gender, to the authorities, and ultimately to the world. When migration occurs, a person's existence needs to be severely redefined even if migration happens in neighbouring countries where the factors mentioned above should not present great differences. But especially when this transposition happens between continents, the differences seem to be even greater because of the cultural differences. Philosophers or sociologists regard belonging to a place as a certain validation of self, and when this condition becomes oscillating or volatile as a result of some pressing factors that force displacement this validation of the individual is put on hold. That is why re-positioning themselves to a place is that important and this comes with all the aspects

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[6] https://worldmigrationreport.iom.int/.
[7] https://worldmigrationreport.iom.int/wmr-2020-interactive/.

that would mean acknowledgment of the belonging. Anthias et al (2013) speak about activating everyday practices and routines that becoming incorporated in a society entails and, in the process, "these can generate processes of belonging which have experiential, affective and practical aspects". This means that many times strategies for coping with such aspects of inclusion need to be carefully studied and many studies are based on actual testimonies of migrants accounting their experiences.

From another perspective, that of the receiving nations, this idea of belonging to a place/space is the reason that shapes a perspective upon the migrant population as guests, but also invaders, even plunderers, or flood or swarm of foreigners, aliens.

In this context of relation to a space a special situation happens with migrant population in the liminal spaces of the borders. When crossing the borders and especially when being forcedly camped there for prolonged control or for settling of their situation by the authorities of the host countries, migrants are placed in a state of imponderable existence between the deserted place that they called home and the potential place which they are looking for to call their new home.

If anthropologically speaking the existence of a place means and also endows the individual with three main coordinates to relate his existence to – identity, relations and history (cf. Marc Augé *apud* Christian Tribel in Benjamin & Dervin 2015) – in the case of migrants we cannot speak about such a thing: first, they cannot identify with the meaning constructed in the new place they inhabit temporarily or not (and are seen as sojourners, strangers, rootless, or, even worse, (international) vagrants, vagabonds, tramps, beggars, bums, mendicants,

rogues, drifters, idlers, indigents, itinerants, or even underclass and homeless – see Beier & Ocobock); second, if they cannot make valid relations, they cannot become a genuine part of the community because the other inhabitants do not connect with them, do not relate to them, do not take them into consideration for decision making (this aspect is described at the level of the individual; at an institutional level, the discussion would be differently constructed); thirdly, history grants stability and durability to a place and these attributes are transferred to its people, but in the case of the migrants these attributes are lost. That is why they are perceived as being in a state of transience which makes their condition be dominated by disrootedness fact which automatically triggers a specific biased discourse of vagrancy targeted at them. For some, the solution is the return home, repatriation bringing back the lost status from this perspective, or the creation of new roots, attaining of citizenship – and yet, biased perception might still persist, though in attenuated form. How much they manage to be seen not on the fringes anymore but rather as heading towards the centre is one of the focuses of our project (even this happens only with the second generation of migrants arriving in a host country) – determining this aspect by means of discursive markers. If this leads in time to manifest multiculturalism in the case of Romania, too, is still to be proved.

2.1.2. From being to becoming – disrootedness and rerootedness

Apart from the economic, geographic and demographic factors, theorists have also started to focus more on the description of psychological and psychosocial factors. Migrants

feel a tremendous pressure even before leaving (see the push and pull forces discussed in the next chapter) and experience extreme stress in the later the phases of migration – departure, transit, and resettlement. "Migration is hazardous to the life, limb and psyche" say Marsella and Ring in Adler & Gielen 2003) and it is a test of resilience and resourcefulness from the beginning to end. Only those resilient and resourceful enough can literally move their identity to another place (permanently or temporarily), only they can take the journey from being disrooted to being rerooted (in another country or when coming back to their country of origin), but the journey in between is a complicated one with many factors depending on the individual and even more factors coming from the outside on an official or unofficial level.

By moving to another country for one reason or another, migrants were forced to cease "to be" what they used to be (in terms of identity, place and history) and were forced to move towards "to become" in a process of emancipation, incorporation, integration, mutual existence which meant the adopting of different cultural practices and the submission to a new political order. Whether they are economic migrants, exiles, overseas students, missionaries, individuals who split their lives between two or more countries on account of business, multiple residence or work reasons, these migrants undergo a process of longer or shorter adaptation and more or less profound change to the new place and the new condition. (see Fiddian- Qasmiyeh et al – 2014) for an even broader perspective of these categories of migrants and a multi-perspective presentation or inclusion in the analysis even of"refugees, […] the internally displaced, the trafficked, irregular migrants, second- and third-generation diasporas, and

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those at risk of deportation." Whether this is done as a willing, intrinsic choice or forced by some imposed, extrinsic factors is also very important as it determines the degree to which disrootedness is felt and rerootedness is desired/ struggled for. Whether they manage to make of the new host country a "home" on grounds of the familiar (and whether this is reciprocated at the level of the perspective held on them by the citizens of the receiving countries or even at an institutional level is the additional point of interest), or whether they preserve the idea of "home" in association with their family (which might be or not with them in the host country), or, finally whether the concept of "home" is only what memory preserves are 3 perspectives which facilitate or, on the contrary, deter the process of their reintegration and re-rootedness in the newly-embraced territory and systems – for the approaches on "home" see Nicolas Le Bigre's study in Bejamin & Dervin 2015. He claims that the concept of "home" incorporates many other aspects among which all the transactions developed in connection to "individuals, interpersonal relationships, culture, religion, language, history, memory, time and place among innumerable other frameworks".

We do not think that anyone could accurately measure and could venture to say which of the two types of factors (interior or exterior) are stronger in the determination of a possible re-rootedness to a foreign territory, but it is generally accepted that migrants have to surpass the concern, anger or utter rejection of the host residents populations. And even matters are settled institutionally and national or international fora take necessary measures, draft necessary documents to regulate the migrants' status (their rights, measures for their integration

and achievement of cohesion – see COE 2008, COE 2012, OECD 2018), feelings of resentment and antipathy still persist among populations in/of developed countries (or, at least, more developed than the countries from which migrants come – and we refer at this point to Romania which is considered as a country heavily providing Europe and the world with migrants, but at the same time, receiving and harbouring numerous migrants from even more disadvantaged countries).

2.1.3. Causes of migration (push and pull factors)

Anthony Marsella and Erin Ring (in Adler & Gielen 2003), in their historical perspective upon human migration and immigration posit that "the impulse is inherent in human nature – an instinctual and inborn disposition and inclination to wonder and to wander in search of new opportunities and new horizons" which then triggers the most profound mechanisms of survival, adaptation to the environment and growth.

Generically speaking, the causes of migration have been seen as being triggered from the inside and from the outside of the migrants' countries of origin – they are pressed, pushed to leave by discontent and adversity in their native countries (experiences lived on a personal or national level, as an individual or as a community: war, danger, famine, persecution, poverty, discontent, lack of education) and are drawn, pulled towards coming to other nations that would offer possibilities and rewards (safety, stability, progress, hope for development). All these generate the unrest, fear and instability typical of changes in general both of the migrant populations and of the host nations. The fear experienced by

both of these categories also stems from a generic context of the contemporary rapid changes, the breakdown of familiar institutions and morality. (cf. Marsella and Ring in Adler & Gielen 2003)

The reasons that force people to leave their native countries and become migrants can stem from various sources: economic, social, political, cultural, demographic or even gender-related, climate change-related or security related. Patrick Taran (in IOM 2000) lists synthetically a series of both positive and negative factors that compel migration:

> "Among the factors that compel migration are (1) increasing armed violence, (2) ethnic and racial conflict, (3) features of globalization, (4) environmental degradation, (5) development-induced displacement, (6) denial of democracy, and (7) large-scale corruption (Taran, 1999). These causal factors condition the need for protection and assistance to persons who migrate as a result, and also require cooperation and collective action by States and international institutions to alleviate."

Gupta & Omoniyi (2007) consider that, thought migration needs to be included in the sphere of public attitudes towards it, it is in the clarification of the economics of migration that deeper understanding can be achieved as "by accounting the costs and benefits of migration for all parties, those sending and those receiving migrants" the phenomenon is treated/analyzed objectively. This is not the only basis, of course, but it would be the correct basis to start from comprising coordinates such as: development, international order, international and national policy, the interplay between and co- dependence of the human, social and cultural capital on financial capital. All of these need to be projected on the background of cognizance

of social-cultural attitudes and the consequent politics and ethics attached to the phenomenon of migration.

The economic factors that lead to migratory movements are connected to either the pressure that they feel in their countries from one or another of the above- mentioned factors, or the attraction for a better life than they have in their native countries even if their condition at one time is relatively good. Thus, we speak about push and pull factors listing the following: overpopulation, unemployment and/or disadvantageous working conditions, lack of services, lack of safety because of high crime rates or political persecution and unfair legal system, religious intolerance, war and terrorism, lack of healthcare, crop failure, drought and/or flooding, on the one and, and higher employment, better services, living standards, and educational prospects/ opportunities, general reliability of economy, availability of land, political stability, stable climate and reduced risks of natural catastrophes, on the other hand.

Socio-political factors are important and frequent triggers of people trying to find refuge in another country. Very often they are victims of persecution because they belong to a certain ethnicity, race, religion or they have certain political or cultural creeds which clash with those of the decision makers/government representatives at one point or another. Therefore, sometimes they leave their countries because their rights are being violated and other times, they flee their countries because of wars which are waged there (see the cases of large waves of migrants from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq starting from 2019 onwards).

Demographic factors are among the important aspects that cause people to migrate – overpopulation generally

brings pressure on the labour market of a nation fact which triggers migration to neighbouring countries (most of the times) or to developed countries for short-term periods (seasonal or temporary labour migration) or long-term periods (which may transform in permanent stay). From another perspective,the ratio between young or middle-aged active workers and old-age people (retired from active labour) is another important factor of demographic disequilibrium which activates migration. Malmberg et al (2006), in their extensive study on the connection between demographic rates and migration paint a complex picture of the way in which the reports between deaths and births and the ratios of young people to old people will evolve until 2050 – with the demographic balance tilting increasingly from the youngto the old. This will lead to pressure on the young/active labour force to financially contribute to the revenues of the retired people which may, in turn, accelerate migration moves. At the other end, this triggers a change in migration policies for the receiving countries.

Environmental factors contribute extensively to migration from territories hit by natural disasters or depleted over time toward areas which are safer from the perspective of crop production and safe from natural disasters. But as these factorshave become more and more unpredictable, migration movements have become more and more dynamic and volatile at the level region/country of destination. Climate changes seem to become more numerous and intense, and this may lead to an intensification of migration. Conversely, developed countries adopt measures to reduce these climatic changes or to fight against natural catastrophes fact which may

transform them into more and more appealing destinations for migrants.

Cultural push factors of migration usually include slavery, ethnic cleansing, while cultural pull factors that determine internal, intra- or inter-regional migration are gender equality, educational opportunities, religious freedom, even facility of using the language. Additionally, another aspect of looking at cultural aspects of migration is from the perspective of the destination countries/regions and, in fact, the entire world. Koser underlines some of the cultural gains brought by migration on more levels and on more coordinates:

> "The most striking way that migration has impacted on societies and cultures the world over is by making them more diverse and eclectic. Examples abound. Music styles as diverse as jazz, reggae, and *bhangra* originate in migration. Ben Okri and Salman Rushdie are world- renowned migrant authors, while the migrant experience has also stimulated a rich vein of post-colonial literature – Hanif Kureishi's *The Buddha of Suburbia*, Zadie Smith's *White Teeth*, Monica Ali's *Brick Lane*, and Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Americanah* are all good examples. Albert Camus was a *pied noir*. It is often said that chicken tikka masala, an Indian dish, is now Britain's most popular meal. Spanish is now the most common language in certain districts of California and Florida. Around the world sports clubs have imported key players while national teams increasingly incorporate the descendants."

Therefore, the author seems to be suggesting that a reconciliation of the current state of affairs might be in embracing the new/different, in tolerating the "other" and

accepting the diversity of all that migration has brought, while simultaneously trying to solve the challenge: enlarge addressability, acknowledge the benefits of them filling positions at the opposite ends of the spectrum in what skill in concerned (either high- skill positions for which they have no own citizens or lower status jobs which the latter are unwilling to occupy: transportation, construction, hospitality, waste disposal), allow and embrace the potentialities of transnational identity which is an inevitably overflowing phenomenon. Embracing cultural diversity brings citizens of the world closer, increase empathy, enriches them with the understanding of society's mechanisms at work.

Gender-related aspects have gained territory in the study of analysts and women's migration has been considered an important activator of the phenomenon registering growing numbers. At the beginning, analysts observed the feminisation of the phenomenon of migration, but figures made them further identify female migration as a separate, individual manifestation of the migration phenomenon. Anthias et al (2013) study women's migration in and across Europe and identify the presence of female migrants on the labour market especially in domestic and care work, but also prostitution. The authors observe that migrant patterns, discourse, experiences, positions, expectations and strategies are all gender-related and stress the importance of considering experiences from all of these perspectives since women "represent the majority of new migrants in and across Europe". Castles et al (2014) also point out that if, at the beginning of intense migratory movements, women (together with their children) were considered simply "dependants", relying exclusively on the financial support of male providers, the new types of migration, gender issues can

be seen as women's resistance to discrimination – "women from patriarchal societies begin to gain more control over their own lives". In this direction, important studies have emerged as that of Monika Zulauf's (2001) that focuses on skilled and highly skilled professional women. She sheds a new light and makes a comparative study between receiving countries and the manner in which they accept qualifications acquired in the female professionals' countries of origin, pleading, of course, for a wider recognition of those.

Marsella and Ring (in Adler & Gielen 2003) foresee an increase in the phenomenon of migration in the future as well because of the intensification of all these push and pull factors: demography, wealth differences, gender-related abuses and exploitation, political and religious persecution and abuse, natural and/or man-made disasters, resentment and antagonism towards foreigners. The type of migration they envisage is from the east to the west and from the south to the north (and they were proven right at least from 2003 when they published the study until today).

One aspect which needs to be mentioned at this point is the fact that there are some theorists who do not consider as valid the push-pull model of migration because, they say

> "Push-pull models have difficulties explaining return migration and the simultaneous occurrence of emigration and immigration. They are also deterministic in assuming that demographic, environmental and economic factors 'cause' migration, without taking account of the role of other factors." (Castles et al 2014)

They argue that, confronted with demographic pressure, people might not try to migrate, but instead might try to

find innovative way of sustenance (by new and/or improved agricultural practices) or that reduced financial resources might actual impede supporting transportation costs with a view to migrating in other regions. Additionally, push-pull factors do leave "much room to human agency" say the authors. In what lack of financial resources is concerned, we wish, however, to make one observation – in recent times people have been so intensely pushed by desperation to emigrate from their countries that they either resorted to extreme measures of selling everything they had to pay for transportation or intermediation or they resorted to even more extreme measures of just embarking on foot or as clandestine passengers in some means of transportation or other. There are numerous testimonies of people migrating to or from Romania that have travelled from week to months in unimaginable conditions just to reach a destination point they had set to mind or that they were forced to choose at one time. One case has become public and famous in Romania, after a contestant to a cooking TV show presented her story to the public: having graduated from the Academy Police in the Republic of Moldova, in want of a better life, she emigrated illegally, walking on foot from Croatia to Italy[8] – the journey took her two weeks, according to her testimony and it was like being in the army again.

Similarly, environmental factors are not considered exclusive factors for migration as migration is a "multi-

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[8] https://a1.ro/chefi-la-cutite/stiri/chefi-la-cutite-12-aprilie-2021-victorina-matveev-e-politista-cu-viata-de-film-a- mers-din-croatia-pana-in-italia-pe-jos-id1048156.html

causal phenomenon". By quoting the *Foresight Report*[9] from 2011, Castles et al underline one more time that the human agency is paramount to migration and that attributing to it just one external cause could never be a sound assumption in a world in which everything functions in a closely tight nexus of inter-relationships, where even climate change is not free from and cannot be isolated from political implications, for instance. Ten years after, the 2021 *Strategic Foresight Report*[10], while still foreseeing an increase of migration by the year 2050, advances four other coordinates, or megatrends as they are called, that will influence movements/actions/events in the EU: "climate change, technological acceleration and digitalisation, major economic, geopolitical and demographic shifts". While still comprising environmental concerns, the *Report* and the new perspective consist in regarding the above-mentioned aspect in an integrated system comprising a system of measures which should be adopted simultaneously. Therefore, what needs to be rather taken into consideration is the human factor – on both sides of the trajectory of migration; people's agency, on the one hand, and vulnerability and resilience, on the other hand are to be considered as key factors in achieving a state of desired cohesion.

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[9] https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/287717/11-1116- migration-and-global-environmental-change.pdf..

[10] https://ec.europa.eu/info/strategy/strategic-planning/strategic-foresight/2021-strategic-foresight-report_en.

2.1.4. "We" and the "others" – shaping the "we", constructing the "other"/the "alien"

The main principle at the basis of the parallel "we" vs. "the others" stems from the idea of difference. The fact that "they are not like us" may trigger fears on the part of the residents connected to the stealing of jobs, engaging in parallel economies (e.g. drug subcultures) or even marrying their children (cf. Marsella and Ring in Adler & Gielen 2003). Individuals of the host countries apparently felt the threat of the invasion of their national space, but also the invasion of housing complexes and neighbourhoods and the population of schools. Much of this threat may (have) be(en) a result of the general continental or global uncertainty, the high political and historical volatility and transfer between cultures which are results of globalization. With this last level the responsibility moved towards the institutional level and the need for new policies was stringently felt.

In this context, Yasemin Soysal's (1994) model of the guest-workers' situation in Europe could be expanded to any type of group of migrants and their status in the host countries. Thus, Soysal posits that the interaction they have within the host state (and, we supplement, the perception that the citizens of the host countries have upon the migrant communities) depends not on the customs, traditions and ethno-religious background of the migrants, but rather on the policies of the institutions and the political system of the receiving states. Therefore, the legal, economic and regulations that define the status of "foreigner" ("other"/"alien") have created a type of perception that belongs almost exclusively to the host countries and they become trendsetters in shaping

perspectives. Soysal observes how in the contemporary society a country needs to blend harmoniously the idea of sovereignty (which ordains that "every 'nation' has a right to its own territorially delimited state, its own membership rules,and that only those who belong to the nation have the right to participate as citizens of the state") and that of human rights ("a codification of abstract concepts of personhood [that] has become a pervasive element of world culture"). This would be, in her view, the manner which brings benefits to the migrant individuals without infringing on the liberties and certitudes of the receiving state and its citizens. But the researcher regards the double status of this condition as creating a problem, while equally enhancing the scope: on the one hand, the host nations are constrained to extend responsibilities on the basis of human rights, and on the other hand they are expected to regulate immigration and border crossing politics and regimes.

Benhabib (2002), too, acknowledges the existence of patterns of exclusion which are socially determined: the nations in which migrants come have a certain representation of the incoming populations which is many times shaped by politicians, journalists, institutions (through their policies or narratives); their presence is interpreted through sometimes exclusively economic factors, disregarding any cultural gain and ignoring any humanitarian/humanistic aspects; communication   with them is sometimes filtered by some artificially instilled factors because of the previously mentioned dimensions. But she also finds solutions to such problems in accepting fluidity and boundaries (physical, social, cultural, psychological) and in embracing narratives of interdependence between "we" and the "others":

"Social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication, which oppressed minorities and excluded groups justly criticize, can also be transformed through an acknowledgment of the fluidity of group boundaries, through the telling of stories of the interdependence of the self and the other, of 'we' and 'them'."

When speaking of the representations of the "Other", Robin Cohen (2006) notices the general hostility that expatriates have been met with in the European Union especially after the opening of the borders: the migrants coming in a strong flow labelled in neutral, but also highly antagonistic, resentful terms such as: "'foreigners', 'outsiders', 'immigrants', 'third country nationals', 'Muslims', 'gypsies', 'those from the Third World'". She identifies some countries' successful attempts to assimilate/integrate or absorb migrants (such as France), but she also identifies strong roots of xenophobia in countries such as Germany or Britain or increasing levels of xenophobia in countries that have been recently confronted with dynamic movements of migration such as Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece. Cohen identifies seven strands which were at the basis of developing this attitude of hostility and on which the opposition "we" vs. the "others" was built: (a) prejudice, (b) racism, (c) Otherness and difference, (d) boundary formation, (e) the construction of social identities, (f) the reconstruction of nationalism and (g) diasporic formations among minorities. Thus, any perspective upon migrants stemming from one or another strand of these seven needs to be targeted and addressed specifically with the desideratum of accepting if not celebrating Otherness through social engagement, political actions and continuous dialogue with any of the participants who is open to conversation.

2.1.5. Policy making – national strategies – integration

One important step in the process of integration is what could be called step 0 of the process – labelling the migrant individuals. Anthias et al (2013) make an identification of various terms by which migrants were referred to and draw attention upon their misuse:

> "Terms such as 'illegal', 'clandestine', 'sans papiers' or 'undocumented', 'irregular' or 'unauthorized' each apply to a specific migration status, but they are often used in the wrong context, applied to different sets of phenomena or vary in their meaning across national borders."

Koser (2016), too, opts for the term "irregular" considering it more accurate and less derogatory; he uses the term to incorporate "a wide range of people, principally migrants who enter a country either without documents or with forged documents, or migrants who enter legally but then stay after their visa or work permit has expired." In fact, he utterly objects to the use of "illegal" (a term recommended to be avoided in the ICMPD 2021 handbook for migration reporting, as well) as it would deny humanity and create an association with criminality (and he stresses that most migrants are not criminals). Even if he acknowledges that the syntagm "irregular" migrant would be somewhat awkward, he embraces it instead of the ambiguous or inaccurate "undocumented" and "unauthorized".

Anthias & Pajnik (2014) tightly connect the act of integration of migrants with their activity on the labour market where they manage to cover labour shortages in the host countries, filling positions which are unattractive to non-

migrants, but this fact heavily conditions their integration on the skills and expertise they have:

> "The lives of migrants are strongly conditioned by a skills and status-based migration system which determines who can enter and who can stay. This migration management system determines residence rights, work permits, political participation, welfare benefits, access to health services and possibilities for family unification and family life."

Paul Schmitz (in EOLSS, 2002, C04/E6, in the Psychology module) discusses migration in connection to the concept of acculturation and he regards the phenomenon from the perspective of migrants and the host countries. He identifies four prototypes of acculturation strategies or styles defined by the quality of the relationship with the own ethnic group and the majority in the immigration country: integration, assimilation, marginalization and separation which he defines/ describes as following:

> 'Integration' can be defined as maintenance of the own cultural identity to a great extent and an effort towards becoming an integral part of the larger societal framework. Culture and customs of the host society are positively evaluated and parts of it are taken over and integrated in the own behavior and value system. 'Assimilation' means the abandonment of the own culture of origin and the maintenance of positive relations with the host society, with cultural values and behavior patterns being adopted. The aim is often to become a person whose behavior patterns and lifestyle cannot be distinguished from that of a 'real' member of the host society. 'Separation' is defined as maintenance

of the own cultural identity andshowing little interest in building up positive relations with other cultural groups and in taking over customs or accepting the host society's values. Interactions are restricted to a minimum of communication and social contacts. 'Marginalization,' the fourth option in the model, can be described as a reaction form when migrants give up their own cultural identity and at the same time they are not interested in maintaining close contact with either the host society or other sociocultural groups living inthe host country."

Anthias et al (2013) regard the concept of integration from the perspective of sociology, but also acknowledge the political and legal facets of the aspect, and posit that:

"integration refers to the process by which individuals become members of society and their multilevel and multiform participation within it; integration is a process relating to different forms of participation: in the neighbourhood, at work, school, family, etc."

Whether this is achieved partially or totally, rather with the children of migrants than with the first-generation migrants is a phenomenon that is worth careful, log- lasting study and analysis. The authors continue by saying that integration is done rather by assimilation of the groups of migrants into the dominant culture which would lead to a loss of identity and which not to be desired.

In this dichotomy of the Anthias & Pajnik (2014) introduce a supplementary distinction between the integration of the "deserving" migrants and the rejection of the "undeserving" on the basis of their contribution to the labour market which can lead further even to the attaining of work permits, additional rights, welfare benefits, access to

health services, possibilities of family reunification and even residence, citizenship, political participation:

> "Such developments also function to differentiate the 'well-integrated' or 'deserving' migrants from the undeserving'. The former are seen as those who have acquired the values of the dominant society; they are regarded as eligible for naturalization and the acquisition of citizenship. Well- integrated migrants can become nearly one of 'us' (but never completely so) whilst the 'undeserving' are seen as 'too different', as an impediment and indeed, at times, as a threat to a sustainable society".

As a proposed solution, Floya Anthias (in Anthias & Pajnik 2014) advances a cautious use of the paradigm "integration" which (re)inforces the idea of boundaries and hierarchies and proposes instead that decision makers should rather think of facing the challenges posed by heterogeneity. By accepting the problematization of "diversity" and by adopting behaviours of solidarity between and equalization with "the other" while drawing on systems of interculturalism and intersectionality she claims that it will be easier and more efficient to find means of overcoming the difficulties in integration discourses and practices. Castles et al (2014), too, regard diversity as a possible solution: "the growth of diversity and transnationalism is seen as a beneficial process, because it can help overcome the violence and destructiveness that characterized the era of nationalism." Anthias regards solidarity as pertaining to all societal members, but also relating to societal processes. It includes concern with class and gender is based on action, dialogue with and commitment to the other. As further solutions to the problem of integration Floya

Anthias (in Anthias & Pajnik2014) urges to a radical change in the cultural perception of migrants in terms of rethinking forms of inequality and social relations which are supposed to form thebasis for "improving public provisions to deal with discrimination and disadvantage."As she explains:

> "A focus on access, participation, parity and belonging can make some advances in delivering some of the more positive aspects of 'integration'. First, in relation to access, this entails dismantling those social conditionsthat exclude people from social resources on the basis of 'differences' of class, gender, ethnicity, race and other categories. This means attacking barriers which link to differential inclusions and exclusions that are intersectional and complex, such as those against migrant women or visibly different religious and racial categories. As such, it involves not only education and promotion of best practices of cooperation but also making sure that other parts of policy do not undermine those of theintegrationagenda. I am thinking particularly about migration controls, policing and the implementation of law and order which can produce criminalization of some social groups. It requires not only a system of enforcing violations relating to active discriminations but also a duty for organizations and institutions to have robust systems which activelyencourage the inclusion of disadvantaged groups."

Secondly, in order to achieve genuine participation to the societal mechanismshe advocates the idea of unity in diversity, and she urges that we should not regard the"we" and the "others" as the main coordinates of diversity, but rather society should engage in framing its goals and values at

a national, but also regional level, "in terms of a two-way dialogue of negotiations." Thirdly, she introduces the principle of parity according to which all people in a society should be treated equally regardless of their country of birth, gender, race, sex, ethnicity and so on. Anti-discrimination measures should be (re)inforced at a judicial level in terms of providing equal fair chances for labour integration, health care access and education facilitation. The fourth dimension

– that of belonging – involves the recognition of migrants' role in society for the long run, with possibility of facilitated granting of citizenship (if required).

Another way in which the phenomenon of migration was/ could be managed and regulated was by developing in the host countries a model based on multiculturalism by a series of mechanisms created at a national level or imposed regionally (as it the case of European Union) with the declared purpose of achieving social cohesion. Castles et al (2104) actually identify a model of citizenship based on multiculturalism.

They identify four models of citizenship: (1) the imperial model, (2) the folk or ethnic model, (3) the republican model and (4) the multicultural model. It is only the last model that would seem to be able to genuinely ensure integration of the migrants. It views the nation as a:

> "political community, based on a constitution, laws and citizenship that can admit newcomers. However, in this model they may maintain their distinctive cultures and form ethnic communities, providing they conform to national laws."

So, the answer to all the challenges and tensions, threats of disequilibrium, contamination and loss could be targeted,

addressed and solved through a model of integration based on the principles of multiculturality which would seem to meet the demands of both parties and work in the long run. When the spaces to which we relate migration are enlarged (see a discussion on a European level) a fifth model seems to be emerging – that of transnational citizenship, which may appear to expand the development of democratic institutions and reconsider the concept of political belonging.

2.2. Topical view – migration to Romania

"Migration is a process which needs to be managed and not a problem that needs to be solved" reads the first page of the official site of the General Institute for Immigration belonging to the Romanian state on the page dedicated to strategies.[11]

Migration to Romania has been generally considerably inferior in ratios in comparison to migration from Romania. Equally, studies are considerably fewer in what the inflow of migrants to Romania is concerned in comparison to the outflow. But because of European policies, because of conflicts, economic instability or shortages of life in countries from the former USRR or in Asia or even Africa, on the one hand, and because of the demand on our labour market which faced a deficit in certain sectors after many Romanians fled Romania in 4 great waves (see Chindea et al 2008 and IMO 2020[12]), Romania has become more and more a transit country or a destination country for people from Moldova, China, Turkey, Vietnam, Nepal, India, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Syria,

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[11] http://igi.mai.gov.ro/en/content/strategies.

[12] https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/89085e47-en/index.html?itemId=/content/component/89085e47-en.

Algeria, Lebanon, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Somalia. They were either labour migrants, people wanting to study in Romania or reuniting with their families, asylum seekers or refugees extending or requesting their visas to Romania, in high skills jobs, but also in low or semi-skilled jobs (according to the information posted on the page of General Inspectorate for Immigration[13]).

Data shows[14] that the number of migrants to Romania has increased slowly, but steadily starting from 2011 and 2012, with just a slight decrease in 2013 and then it has risen quite to a large extent in the next 3 years:

  ☐ in 2014, the Black Sea became a hot spot for migrants from Afghanistan, Syria and Iraq this leading to an increase of 8% in number of asylum seekers (recording a total number of 1,547), and dramatic life-saving operations from the waters of the Black Sea; the number of legal migrants coming to Romania increased by 10% in comparison to the previous year – they came to Romania for family reunification or for studies;

  ☐ in 2015 the asylum seekers rate increased by 20% (reaching the total of 1,266), most of them coming legally to Romania and countries that continued to

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[13] hthttp://igi.mai.gov.ro/sites/default/files/evaluarea_activitatii_in_anul_2019.pdf; http://igi.mai.gov.ro/sites/default/files/evaluarea_activitatii_in_anul_2020_final_3.pdf; https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/news/2019-statistical-data-migrants-and-refugees-romania_en; https://ec.europa.eu/migrant- integration/news/romania-refugee-and-migrant-figures-2020_en.

[14] https://data.gov.ro/dataset?_organization_limit=0&organization=inspectoratul-general-pentru-imigrari and https://romania.iom.int/sitreps.

feed irregular flows included Moldova, Turkey and Albania;

☐ if in 2016 the refugees and students rates increased steadily, the year 2017 records a number of "illegal" migrants to Romania which increased by 355% (with migrants coming to or transiting Romania from countries such as Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran between the months of April and December) reaching the number of 5,846 asylum requests and 4,820 seeking some form of protection (161% increase);

☐ in 2018 the number of legal foreign citizens recorded an increase of only 4%, the increasing tendency maintained to previous ratios in the case of requests for asylum seeking (having reached the number of 2,100 requests) and the persons benefitting from some form of protection reached a record figure of 4,000 people; 17,1% more new immigrants obtained a residence permit longer than 12 months in comparison with 2017;

☐ in 2019 the number of legally recorded migrants increased again by 14%, asylum requests by 21% (2,600) and another 1,183 people received protection; the quota for foreign workers was supplemented from the initially approved quota of 20,000 with 10,000 more (recorded a doubling of the figures from the ones recorded in 2018) for posted, seasonal, commuting, highly skilled and other types of workers;

☐ in 2020, despite some restrictions imposed by COVID 19 pandemic[15], requests for work authorization

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[15] https://worldmigrationreport.iom.int/wmr-2022-interactive/.

reached almost 30,000 with people coming especially from Turkey, Nepal, Sri Lanka, India and Vietnam and asylum requests and offering of international protection recorded a record number of 6,158[16] (an increase of 137,5%).

The general data show that the number of foreign-born population increased by approximately 300% in comparison with the year 2009, which is quite an impressive figure and stands to certify an important change and numerous challenges that the Romanian state and population had to face. Measures to cope with such changes were imperative and they appeared as national strategies and other regulatory decisions.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Interior through the Romanian Office of Immigration, The Ministry of Labour have initiated documents to regulate the status of migrants and have updated such documents to meet the demands of a certain temporal frame especially in the highly dynamic context of migratory movements in the last four years (2017–2021). Numerous bilateral labour agreements or social security bilateral agreements have been signed, migration policies were established (National Strategy on Immigration 2007–2010[17], 2011–2014, 2015–2018, 2019–2022[18], 2021–2024[19], Government Ordinances, or Government decisions[20] and various reports coordinated by various bodies

[16] https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/news/romania-refugee-and-migrant-figures-2020_en.

[17] http://legislatie.just.ro/Public/DetaliiDocumentAfis/85838.

[18] https://webapp.mai.gov.ro/frontend/documente_transparenta/188_1549983152_Anexa%20nr.%201%20-%20Strategia%20na%C5%A3ional%C4%83%20pentru%20imigra%C8%9Bie.pdf.

[19] http://igi.mai.gov.ro/ro/content/strategii.

[20] http://igi.mai.gov.ro/en/content/legislation.

of the European Council have been drafted (seethe AIDA Asylum Information Database. Country Report – Romania), regulations for visas and work permits, or residence permits, but also employment rights or social benefits and policies to address irregular migration and/or human trafficking, and policies to regulate the status of refugees, asylum seekers and displaced persons have been adopted. Additionally, collaboration with European and other international fora and organizations were initiated or continued and operational support missions were carried out (in Greece and Italy, for example), or counselling was offered to migrants (see the annual reports: IOM 2017; IOM 2018; IOM 2019). There are also fora, councils, foundations and NGOs, think tank centres, research centres. (see Chindea et al 2008, Tomescu-Dumitrescu 2020) More than this, numerous actions for migrants integration, social dialogue and multiculturalism were initiated by NGOs or governmental institutions (IOM 2017).

The strategies for migrants' integration comprise a presentation of the progression of the phenomenon starting with the year 2009, with the judicial frame regulating its management among which: the purposes for which residence permits are issues and prolonged, effects upon the destination country, measures to stop/reduce illegal migration, general principles on which the strategy is based (legality, responsibility, sovereignty, cooperation and coherence, respecting the individual's rights and freedoms, unitary action and transparency), generic and specific objectives, course of action ensuring information and counselling, facilitating admission, keeping graduates of academic education in the country, strengthening collaboration between national decision

makers and international organizations, regulating repatriation and asylum, but also integrating, incorporating other policies which are relevant to migration policies, establishing funds for further actions, establishing monitoring and evaluation regulation and foreseeing risks.

Further editions of the strategy added aspects connected to integrated protectionof frontiers, personal data protection, medical assistance, increasing efficiency of the entire mechanism. Newly concepts added to it are: sustainability, equity, convergence, negotiation, collaboration, encouraging entrepreneurs to support employing migrants, ensuring facilities, revising legislation, offering services of interpretation and legal assistance, improving and/or updating procedures, adapting the judicial frame, harmonizing reception conditions with other EU states, foreseeing massive influxes of migrants caused by international crises, modernizing infrastructure and facilitating and/or developing/perfecting digitalization to cover information recording and processing necessities.

The point to presenting all these aspects of national strategies drafted over the years in Romania was to render the fact that Romania has become an important actor in the process of international migration and that the state has done its rightful duties to meet individual and regional demands. In what the perspective of the Romanian citizens upon the phenomenon and the new-comers is concerned, this is a totally different discussion and we intend to present the issue in the next chapters.

2.2.1. A new identity, a new home (?) and heterogeneity

Together with the concept of international migration, new concepts have to be discussed which are associated with the phenomenon as they demarcate the trajectory they follow. Thus, the concept of "home" changes and acquires new dimensions, the implications of these social and spatial movements have multiplied and all these are aspects that have become of staple importance in the understanding of the phenomenon of migration. Consequently, the pressure that the displacement of some communities may put upon the receiving spaces/ communities depends on the disparities and distress on both sides and the new social arrangements cause new forms of national identity to be undermined and/or, questioned and/ or formed. New technologies have facilitated the flow of information and the transnational networks thus formed have led to other types of transnational movements to take place increasing the number of systems of relationships, exchange and mobility that take place. Despite great distances and despite provisions regarding the crossing of borders, intense movement has taken place lately at the level of the entire planet fact which has led to the emergence of a plane-spanning area of activity for any kind of migration mentioned above. Thus, theorists (Al-Ali and Koser 2002) speak about a new configuration of the world under the principles of globalization and they analyze how transnational practices and their consequent configurations of power are shaping the world of the twenty-first century.

From this perspective they attribute a great significance to "nation-states as shapers of transnational opportunities and constraints, while situating the practices of state-

centred actors within a variety of socially constructed networks of meaning and power that also shape individual and group identity and difference within and across nationalborders."

The crisis in their homelands determined many people (individually or as whole communities to) migrate and seek temporary refuge in other countries. Due to various factors (personal safety, economic opportunities, or even social practices) the migrants have embraced the new territories providing temporary refuge as new homes, have extended their stay here or have even made it permanent. Their representation as resettled communities can be highly different because of the increased heterogeneity due to factors such as: class, gender, generation, region into which they migrate or they migrate from, ideology, period of migration, differentiated local sending contexts, urban or rural origin of migrants, religion and citizenship status. All these powerfully mediate the social construction of place, home, membership, newly shaped community and identity within each of various groups that could be under scrutiny. Thus, the "societies of settlement" as they are called (Al-Ali and Koser 2002) have gained a new status as an object of interest for theorists (discourse analysts, economists, ethnologists, experts in politics, etc.) from the perspective of both the opportunities and the constraints that they might impose on the migrants passing through/settling in them.Romania has experienced the inflow of many foreign students in the more or less distant past (even starting four decades ago) and lately labour migrants, political refugees or foreign citizens seeking asylum have registered an increased number fact which has determined a series of measures being adopted by the Romanian state.

Apart from the adopted strategies (see previous chapters) actual action was taken after the organization of the country in five different regions for a better management of actions such as (the General Inspectorate for Immigration web page list over 60 projects implemented from 2016 to 2021[21]): giving information and counselling migrants (about the general status of migrants or about their status and possibilities of entering the labour market), organizing Romanian language classes for migrants, ensuring material, medical and judicial assistance during implementations periods of these projects, including them in various socio-cultural events and giving funds to children of migrants for buying stationery, increasing awareness of local authorities for necessity of integration of migrant populations, facilitating interaction, dialogue and cooperation between parties, facilitating access to services for migrants, elaborating a curriculum and specific manuals/textbooks. Some of the challenges or even shortages of such projects were reduced awareness of the necessity to participate to such projects and establishing relations of trust between the parties engaged in the projects to secure achievement of proposed goals, but also increase awareness of the large public upon the state of the migrant population and shaping a positive attitude towards them.

Additionally, a transit centre was established offering guidance and support to refugees until they would be relocated or up to transit to other countries is secured. There are also projects to assist voluntary return to migrants' countries of origin by offering confidential information and counselling, assistance in what the actual transfer

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[21] http://igi.mai.gov.ro/en/proiecte/proiecte-de-grant?page=6.

is concerned (transportation and accommodation), training sessions and assistance for reintegration. Even more sensitive projects involve (depending on the necessity) assisting human trafficking victims offering medical and psychological assistance, accommodation, education, employment opportunities, social protection and material and legal assistance, etc.

Therefore, the Romanian state has joined regional and international efforts of addressing the topic of migrants ethically and humanly, but shaping an entire people's perspective is a matter which cannot be judicially stipulated, but is shaped in time through complex and diverse mechanisms, among which media holds one of the strongest positions.

2.2.2. Reflection in the media of the topic of immigrating to Romania

Addressing migration issues in the Romanian press has been for a very long time a matter of rendering the perspective of European or American press upon immigrants from Romania. Only in the recent years perspective shifted and after Romania becoming a host country for more and more people, ahs the Romanian press shifted perspectives and discourses in addressing the topic of our country accommodating migrants, being transited or targeted as a destination point.

In what the manner of constructing media discourses addressing migration topics is concerned, as stated in the preamble, we intend to follow van Dijk's model (2006) in identifying WHAT is introduced as a main topic WHO is doing what, WHERE the emphasis is placed, WHEN do we oppose news about "us" to news about "the others" and, ultimately, HOW this is presented to the public. The

WHY missing from the above-mentioned series is the actual reason that started this project – firstly, to see how media rendering shapes readers' perspectives upon the migration phenomenon and adjacent issues triggered by it and, secondly, to make readers aware of this so as to engage in forming their own representations upon the phenomenon (by judging it through experiences of direct contact or by comparing exterior perspectives objectively).

2.2.3. Multicultural media in Azerbaijan

Multiculturalism is not a very popularized notion in Romania in everyday news discourse. Introducing the topic is done many times in association with progressive looks which seem not to have its adherents – such views are seen as opting for such a model that would manage to bring world peace only if we set the basis for "an open society, multicultural, a product of a new planetary people formed through the mixture of all nations." (*DV*, 763, 4–10/10/2018) It is also done under the form of questions, letting the readers still wonder, or decide for themselves upon the issue: "Is there a risk for EU to fragment itself in open and closed nations, between those who will accept multiculturalism and those who will opt for ethnic cleansing?" (*DV*, 860, 1–7/10/2020) Some other times multiculturalism is presented as something adjacently taught as marginal concepts to people who want to work in the border patrol: in an article presenting Hungary's strategy in dealing with migrants at its borders, we are informed how these applicants are trained in six-months intensive courses in which they learn "how to use weapons, judo, how to cuff suspects, but also how to find and contain

large groups of people. Training also includes some notions of multiculturalism." reads the article about the training with a bone thrown to the benefit of multiculturalism only towards the end. (*SPROTV*, 10/03/2017)

Another presentation of multiculturalism is made in a material (*EVZ*, 22/11/2018) about an NGO from Greece who counsels refugees how to obtain asylum by posing in "traumatized refugees." The act is condemned in the article which sees such acts as a masquerade done in the name of the "noble" multiculturalism.

Two other materials (*EVZ*, 27 & 28/11/2018) relate about social movements against the signing of *The Global Compact for Migration* in an act of condemning "the so-called multiculturalism (a melting pot) which is only an immense hypocrisy." Romania signed the Compact in act of allegiance to the EU's policies and many condemned the act on account of not being able to accommodate so many migrants to the detriment of its own citizens.

Another material (*EVZ*, 24/12/2018) quotes a Brussel official stating the "the multiculturalism model has failed" and one other article (*EVZ*, 27/02/2019) is the only material dedicated exclusively to multiculturalism and presenting the opinion of a professor from Oxford stating that "multiculturalism is part of the recipe for disaster."

Thus, we can observe that from the 498 newspaper articles we have gathered only seven tackle remotely the issue of multiculturalism in Romania in connection to the migrants' status and only one treats exclusively the process/principle/ model.

There is only one other material that presents multiculturalism in positive terms: the laudable case of the city of Timişoara –

important centre of migrants' integration – is mentioned as a model of good practice in what multiculturalism is concerned in practical aspects of projects being implemented by NGOs, but also in the authorities' taking official action by setting there the largest Regional Centre of Procedures and Lodging for Asylum Seeking Migrants – the biggest in the world. One article (*ADVR*, 19/05/2021) presents the city of Timişoara as a long-standing symbol of the model of multiculturalism with it lodging old and numerous communities of Hungarians, Germans, Slovaks, Serbians, and so on. An article in *ADVR*, 04/07/2021 relates about a festival unique in Eastern Europe dedicated to refugees – TRAF, Timişoara Refugee Art Festival – a festival dedicated to celebrating multiculturalism through art workshops, acting as a liaison between Afghan, Syrian and Iraqi refugees, and telling individual stories to the large public. It was such initiatives that made a UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees – The UN Refugee Agency) representative to declare her gratitude to the Romanian people and to the inhabitants of Timişoara for embracing and encouraging diversity and multiculturalism. (*ADVR*, 21/08/2021)

In this context, a comparison between multicultural trends in Romania and in Azerbaijan seems disproportionate as Azerbaijan authorities seem to have a stronger desire to promote multiculturalism even if the model is sometimes restricted to the concepts of cultural diversity having strong manifestations in the society (where "different linguistic and religious communities coexist peacefully") and a general discourse on tolerance. (cf. Filou 2021) The point at which Romania and Azerbaijan record similar manifestation is the need to more strongly promote policies for minority cultures, possibly, even granting group-

differentiated rights depending on the cultural practices of each group. Such policies are important for guaranteeing cultural, but also economic and political gains, or simply giving equal chances on all of these levels irrespective of their ethnicities.

In what a manifest multiculturalism is rendered in Azerbaijan, Filou explains (through a presentation of the three colours on the national flag) how multiculturalism means an attempt to achieve solidarity with and cohesion of the three cultural elements dominating the country: Turkic, Islamic and Western – an attempt to harmonize all these elements may sometimes create certain difficulties between the cultural and the political aspects, or the cultural and the economic while, in fact, it should bring a facilitation of relations if multiculturalism values are respected. Similarly, Romania should bring itself to promote such principles as long as stronger recognition of the identity of the ethnic communities having lived in the country for a long time (Hungarians, Germans, Bulgarians, Serbians, Greeks, Ukrainians, Russians, Turks, Poles, Czechs, Armenians, etc.), or newly entered, might first of all manifest respect for human rights, and, second of all, bring an improvement of the relationships with the countries in which these ethnics originate in.

The site of the State Migration Service of the Republic of Azerbaijan states that "Azerbaijan is a state of tolerance" and quotes the President of the Republic: "Multiculturalism has no alternative. Of course, we all know that there are different ideas. Some say that multiculturalism failed or didn't work. But there are positive examples. For us multiculturalism is a state policy and is our lifestyle.[22]" Such a trend set from a high level, denotes determination, interest and coherence at a political

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[22] https://migration.gov.az/en/press_detail/273.

level, fact which might be the guiding light of a lighthouse that a people might need. Azerbaijan, which recorded the use of the term "multiculturalism" in its political lexicon as far ack as the 1960s, is said to continue its existence as a loyal state to multiculturalism, promoting intercultural dialogue, working for preserving and respecting cultural diversity and regulating harmonious relationships and productive coexistence between different civilizations in an inclusive society. The press posits that "Azerbaijan positions itself as promoter of multiculturalism"[23] and the Azerbaijani model of multiculturalism was presented an "an oasis of tolerance in the Middle East" by the *Times Magazine* (05/11/2015)[24] or is taken as a topic of interest at a European level by the Institute for security & Development Policy[25] or by the central Asia- Caucasus Institute[26] which relates of the visit of religious dignitaries of three different religions visiting Stockholm to share the Azerbaijan experience with the application of the model. Additionally, the fact that a site was created by the Presidential library in three languages[27] (English, Azerbaijani and Russian) is a strong proof of the level at which the model is promoted in The Republic of Azerbaijan. On the page of the project, it is stated indirectly that the model of multiculturalism in Azerbaijan is not

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[23] https://www.euractiv.com/section/languages-culture/news/azerbaijan-positions-itself-as-promoter-of- multiculturalism/.

[24] https://time.com/4099548/azerbaijan-is-an-oasis-of-tolerance-in-the-middle-east/.

[25] https://isdp.eu/event/multiculturalism-inter-religious-tolerance-experi-ence-azerbaijan-significance-europe/.

[26] https://www.silkroadstudies.org/forums-and-events/item/13181-multiculturalism-and-inter-religious-tolerance- the-experience-of-azerbaijan-and-its-significance-for-europe.html.

[27] https://multiculturalism.preslib.az/en_a1.html.

only a philosophical desideratum or a political propagandistic tool because it does not only manifest under the form of the generic mutual tolerance of its culturally diverse communities, but "the literary and art, scientific and philosophical, political and legal sources and documents created by this people are the evidence to the rich multicultural past of the Azerbaijani people." The great success of such undertakings comes from the fact that the roots of the model are deep into the Constitution, and in other legal provisions, decrees or orders. To ensure of the application and reinforcement of these regulations, services were created (the State Counselor on Multiculturalism, The Inter- Ethnic and Religious Affairs Service) with the declared purpose of making of Azerbaijan a centre of multiculturalism recognized at world level. Such actions demonstrate that multiculturalism is a state ideology, being simultaneously "the right ideological goal" and a state of affairs, in which the model unfolds on three main coordinates (Akif Alizadeh *apud* Filou 2021): security through tolerance between minority cultures, democratic existence, identity claims. Filou mentions some actions in the direction of multiculturalism materialized in the publication of newspapers in minority language, publication of dictionaries, opening of ethnographic museums, all meant to address the aspect culturally supporting minority/ethnics' identity.

More recent events have been organized to continue implementation of the model – see the "The Rise of Ethnic Cultural Diversity in the Contemporary World and the Significance of Multiculturalism Policy in Its Regulation"[28] bringing together representatives of different religions or

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[28] https://media.un.org/en/asset/k1k/k1kzx1xo2u.

ethnicities, of immigration and multiculturalism organization, or journalists.

3. Discursive aspects of media representations of migrants to Romania

Media discourse needs to be viewed on a larger scale than in the past, because, even if mass communication is not equated with global communication, theorists regard it as being "increasingly networked and exchanged across nation-states" (Norris& Inglehart 2009) aspect which makes territorial borders more permeable and more open to external forces. This seems to be completely undisputable if it is also juxtaposed with the issue of migration.

When studying the discourse adopted in relation to migrant populations in the twentieth and twenty first century, theorists employ mechanisms and tools of analysis from macro-sociology and critical discourse analysis. Thus, they identify a shift in the discourse developed about migratory (labour, war, etc.) movements started from the newly determined social order and the development of policies built on the large background of human rights, personhood, development, progress and freedom including aspects such as: the protection of ethnic minorities and their cultural heritage, the right to personal development and employment, the right to political participation (at least after a period of time when citizenship may be obtained), the right to enjoy peace and access to the amenities of a "better" life and a "healthy(ier)" environment.

Soysal (1994) contends that

> "In the postwar era, massive decolonization not only led to the active involvement and mobilization of

newly independent countries as equal partners at the international level, but also ushered in an awareness and assertion of their rights within universalistic parameters."

These desiderata were many times helped by media coverage of some actions taken by humanitarian organizations such as: charity work, benefit concert, successful labour integration, preservations of their cultural practices. But, equally, negative representation of one or another aspect of their presence in a host country, created or added to the negative perspective upon them. Therefore, in these processes, "collective cognitive maps" (Soysal 1994) were created that allow or justify certain actions undertaken by individuals or groups of individuals, institutions (organizational or administrative structures) or nation states in relation to migrants and their presence and manifestation in the host countries (up to subsidizing radio and TV programmes ornewspapers and periodicals in the migrants' language as it is done in Sweden).

The need to discuss the issue of migration from the perspective of discourse has become more pregnant in the context of increased communication, on the one hand and power of language when it is used by decision makers, stake holders, politicians and other people with an interest in shaping attitudes. In the current context of necessary, if not compulsory, egalitarian geographical and social mobility principles in a globalizedworld, andinthecontext of negotiating conditions and setting limitations, of granting refuge, asylum or free movement rights, and in the context of the emerging necessary measures to ensure safety measures for the migrants and for the receiving nations, integration of migrants and protective actions for the citizens of the receiving countries that might feel their positions from one perspective or

another, it seems not only pertinent, but also necessary to problematize the language that builds and is built on the issue of migration. Roger Fowler (1991) draws attention to the importance of how things are told in the media and specifies the multiplicity of the profound further implications of the linguistic expression:

> "There are always different ways of saying the same thing, and they are not random, accidental alternatives. Differences in expression carry ideological distinctions (and thus differences in representation). The point is sometimes obvious: clearly it is significant whether a political leader is referred to as 'Gorby' or 'Mr. Gorbachev', whether the opening of the borders in Eastern Europe is headlined 'REDS HEAD WEST' or 'Thousands cross border into West Germany'. But these grossly visible alternatives, their meanings on open display, are only a small part of the ideological working of linguistic expression. Many other aspects of language, less dramatic but equally forceful in shaping representation, can be brought to the surface for observation."

Theorists of language, sociologists and cognitive scientists address the special issue of migration and adjacent implications and notice the direct connection between discourse and a series of social issues:

> "Demands to integrate non-citizens, to the right to have rights, limitations of cosmopolitan rights, or obligations to grant asylum to migrants or refugees depend on premises which are to an extent determined by the very language, terms, tropes, metaphors, and narratives politicians, journalists, and philosophers

utilize." (Mackowitz and Lorenz in Ahrens, and Fliethmann 2020)

Jonathan Maupin (in Baker & Tsuda 2015) mentions that the image of migrants, in general, or emigrants and immigrants, in particular, is most of the times distorted in and by the media because of journalists' personal subjectivity or experience with the actors involved, general mindset, political affinities and interests. Such views are mainly generalizations drawn from perception about undocumented immigrants and their influence upon readers is very strong as it seems to come from an official (or at least semi-official) and professional (or at least semi-professional) source in the matter, when, in fact, some representatives of the media might be just second or third degree sources of biased and prejudiced sources:

> "Media representations of immigrant populations, generally, are not unbiased or balanced. Rather, the ways in which media accounts frame issues or arguments influences the manner in which they are presented and has been shown to influence both individuals' attitudes and their behaviour."

The analysis below of materials in the media rendering aspects connected to the coming of migrants into Romania in the last four years is made with this purpose of emphasizing how media coverage of the phenomenon of migration might slip on such slippery slopes of subjective presentation, stereotypical and biased views upon migrants with the purpose of sounding the alarm and issue a word of warning to the professionals and to the general readers against such dangerously prejudiced and prejudicial views.

3.1. The language of news – context, values, patterns of control, levels of analysis

Numerous studies have been written on news discourse analyzing contexts, language, values, images, making evaluations, types of rhetoric and adoption of certain styles, approaches followed (social, political, cultural), rendering of identity and social relations, the use of stereotypes, the choice of subjects (determined by social, economic, political ideological, cultural factors), argumentation practices/techniques, the rendering of consensus and contradiction, attitudes to power/authority, seeking expertise, creating hysteria or objectively leading people through editorial authority gained in time. (Fowler 1991; Fairclough 1995; Richardson 2007; Talbot 2007; Conboy 2010; Johnson & Milani 2010; Bednarek & Caple 2012)

Additionally, numerous studies on migration in the media or reports tackling specific aspects have been written; among these: terminology, institutions dealing with migration and literature review, relevant documents and basic legal notions, methods of using statistics, or performing investigations (identifying causes, finding valid explanations) and interviewing migrants, and presenting case studies, finding and using experts, awareness of negative and positive representation of migrants, discrimination and labelling, following the ethics code, avoiding distortion, humanizing the story, checking sources, taking responsibility, using context and background to present the phenomenon, terms to avoid, combating hate speech and misinformation, journalists' and media effects upon the society at large. (Beckett et al 2011; Freidingerová & Žižková 2014; ICMPD 2017; Turpin 2018; Abu-Fadil 2019; Freidingerová et al 2020; ICMPD 2021) The purpose of all

these was to raise awareness upon the necessity of practising diversity of fiction, promoting values in connection with diversity, choosing credible and opposing sources so as to render the phenomenon in as complex a manner as possible.

An additional role of all of these writings was to prepare journalists for a specific problem which, of course, had to follow the general terms of media coverage,but which targeted specifically sensitive issues of the matter, suggested approaches, and emphasized the role of responsible, ethic, unprejudiced rendering of individual stories and community trends in a world in which it would be easier to relate to authority figures and follow a line of addressing the topic which is dictated from the outside, and would not necessitate documentation, analysis and judgement. But in this same world in which news travels so fast and so far, on a complex background of diversity and identity affirmation, the journalist's role is so much important and engages so much more social responsibility. This is what we aim at rendering at theend of the project: differences in reporting news about migrants and the manners inwhich this act influences society on the whole.

3.2. The macro-structure

Ten van Dijk (1980) defines macrostructure in discourse as follows: "In a theory of discourse the notion of macrostructure […] is used to account for the various notions of global meaning, such as topic, theme, or gist." Therefore, the macrostructure element is a primary element necessary to analyze the text. In analyzing the macrostructure of the text, the thematic feature, what the speaker says is the central point. The theme reveals the

aim, the speaker's intention within the discourse. Also, linguists emphasized the fact that a discourse is the manifestation of one's individual mind which was shaped by the cultural and historical context; therefore, we can notice that the speeches we are analyzing make references to the social and historical setting of the contemporary society.

From this point of view the discourse has two dimensions, it reveals the struggles of the society which led to an identity crisis such as the economic decline, the politic decline or the social class crisis and also draws attention to the relation of power.

3.2.1. Themes and topics

From the articles selected, we have identified the following groups of topicsbeing approached/described/analyzed/referred to and the following statistics counting the number of occurrences of paradigms in those articles relating aspects connected to migration and migrants' fate:

* negative representations: crisis at the border and violence at the borders or in intolerant regions (usual traditional ones), or refugee crisis (242), pressure at the border, on the labour market, on the healthcare system or economy, and others (87), challenge on the transited or host countries (51), threat (to national integrity, sovereignty, economy, people, etc.) (99), stress generated by competition (2), risk for European democracy (122), necessity of stopping migration (27), illegal migration (505), moral implications (19), attacks of some of or another (45), reticence (4) orresent (5), or direct aggressiveness to migrants (34), inability to integrate (5), protection of borders, against crime and disease, of economy (73), fear of migrants/the different/social and economic

changes (39), refusal to receive or collaborate with migrants, refusal of offering or facilitating medical care and assistance or to comply to unitary rules of accommodating migrants (43). Only some representations comprised

 * general renderings of the phenomenon through topics such as: history of migration (28), causes (147), migrants' rights as normal part of people's rights (112), free movement of persons (19), reduced migration in countries of origin of migrants (7), contact with another culture (10), acute labour force demand and increase of quotas for accepted foreign workers (27), remittances sent home (23), CO-VID 19-determined returns (54). Other topics introduced:

 * challenges for the migrants: exploitation of migrants (25), humanitarian crisis (18), endurance of cruelty (3), difficulty of working conditions (17), alienation (3) and adaptation (3), fear of unknown and uncertainty, of being aggressed, of being sent back to native country (4), loss (of balance) and estrangement (1), the need to belong (2), need to self-adjust (3); some other more desirable perspectives introduced:

 * gains brought by/to migrants: individual opportunities (23), innovation and development brought by migrants (2+9), courage and determination (3), transnational successful stories (7), value exchange (3), understanding of one's self/one's own limits and possibilities (3), reconstruction/re-invention of one's self (3). Some of the best materials attempted, as it would be desired in any situation of addressing the public, to offer:

 * solutions: but also humanitarian assistance obligations or missions (34), people's consultations (5), parliamentary updated regulations (17), involvement (7), prevention of illegal migration (25), migrants' integration (56), assimilation

(13), solidarity (56), cohesion (3), relocation (11), protection (15), unitary action (4), ethical aspects connected to a general context outlined through decision of power nations in which migration became more intense (10).

We do not claim to have identified all aspects connected to migration either because we may have overlooked some or because they were not introduced in the chosen corpus of media texts. But we can safely say that they represent a rich gathering of topics, a rich array of perspective and a frequently complex presentation of the state of affairs. The quantitative recording is relevant on a discursive level to render to paradigms used to describe the phenomenon of migration and any association which is made or not to it. For instance, the fact the moral implications were not tackled at all by two of the most consistent news sources we have chosen is relevant. If these news providers have readers which read only their materials without consulting alternative source, such a topic might never be of their concern.

One other aspect which needs to be observed is the great difference between some news providers that limits themselves to recording events and some others that invite specialists to analyze the issues and record their perspectives upon the phenomenon; there is also a third category of journalists – the editorialists, who engage in more or less objective analyses of the phenomenon, after a theoretical or practical investigation of the issues presented. These are the types of materials that seem to bring a deeper understanding of the phenomenon, engaging the reader into a closer look upon it, forming moral attitudes and almost engaging participation it this is possible,

3.2.2. Positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation

Negative other-presentation is connected most of the times with presenting the various types of crises that migrants' movements have generated, the instability at the border or on more levels. Strangely enough, as a country which "exported" so many emigrants to so many countries of the world, and who presented their success story, Romania does not really do the same thing with migrants coming to Romania and trying to achieve their dream or simply offer the financial need to their families inNepal, Sri Lanka, The Philippines, Vietnam, China, Turkey, Afghanistan, or Iraq. Even if Romania has had a strong Muslim community in the South-East of the country, and even if we have borrowed some of their cultural practices, we have not proved really welcoming of the newly arrived. Even common people tend to politicize matters too much. It is only when these migrants manage to open success business especially in the food industry, that the Romanians are more eager to embrace their culture and open up to forming relations. In the case of people working in menial jobs, the attitude might be one of pitying the "wretched" that work in the jobs that Romanians ran away from.

3.2.3. Presentation of Our "good" acts vs. presentation of Their "bad" acts

News has been merciless in presenting the occasional violent attacks or crimes in groups of Chinese people throughout the years and some of the details that were revealed to the public seemed to be delivered in such as way so

as to suggest mafia like executions. Other times, fights among migrants were recorded to have taken place and reaching stabbing and even murder. Conversely, especially in such situations as the famous case of Ditrău, in which two bakers from Sri Lanka were almost chased away from the village and were refused the right to do the jobs they were hired for, police initiated investigations for instigation to hatred and discrimination.

But most of the news of the last four years has been about illegal entry or human smuggling by some intermediaries – in the 181 articles extracted from the digi24 news provider there appear 85 references to misdemeanour/felony/crime (only one word is used in Romanian). Sometimes, in the declarations of some government officials illegal emigrants are equated with felons and the perception of readers might be greatly modified towards being prejudiced against such communities when reality is presented exclusively in these terms.

Most of the time actions by "Us" are presented under the form of numerous actions of saving migrants especially when they engaged in risky operations of crossing the sea, or being transported in life threatening conditions. Numerous operations by border patrols, police forces and similar institutions are presented in the Romanian press, insisting on the act of salvation, but not presenting in detail the plight of migrant or the continuation of the course of action in what migrants are concerned.

3.2.4. Topic selection: emphasizing positive topics about Us and negative topics about Them

At the level of selecting topics about migrants the most frequently encountered topic is that of the number of migrants that passed through our countries or settled here for good, who worked here temporarily or for longer periods, who requested asylum of labour permits. In the last two years such aspects were connected especially to their illegally crossing borders and engaging in violent acts against border patrol and among each other. Articles abound in such figures, statistics, comparative graphs. Such a presentation leads to the migrants having their humanity reduced; an emotional presentation of their situation is usually ignored when they are mere figures in statistics, increasing percentages who scare people in the receiving countries and who are not let to tell their stories of transformation and suffering.

Other times testimonies are taken from some Romanian citizens who speak about the fear not at the actual individual migrants, but the fear of what they stand for: future outpouring of other migrants, loss of jobs for the citizens of our countries, pressure in the housing market, a sort of unfair competition in low wages acceptance, invasion by their cultural practices, etc.

3.2.5. Local speech acts projected against a global backdrop

The manner in which local speech acts are presented against a global backdrop achieves the strongest degree of manipulation in that information is presented with the purpose of backing

up or justifying strategy choices or made decisions. Many times, Romania simply aligned to European policies in what these aspects were concerned, and discourses developed, in fact, international policies that may have followed European policies. A quick perusal of the titles of the articles in our corpus renders a presentation of the matter of migration, especially illegal, through the "eyes" and "mouths" of the European authorities, or global decision makers. The voices of presidents from countries directly confronted with the phenomenon of illegal migration record in big letters certain promises of negotiations upon the matter, or the necessity of some policies to be adopted, or decisions that have been made. The voices come from a position of power and they may justify certain actions because of the quota of migrants in those countries from which some are in the first lines of the trajectory of migrants, some others are targeted precisely because they are powerful nations in which migrants envisage high chances of finding a new home. But the situation in Romania may be highly different from the situation in a European context: first of all because we have not felt the same pressure of migration as other European states and would be able, in fact, to accommodate to a great extent important numbers of labour migrants (especially since emigration of local citizens has left the market greatly deficient in some sectors: construction, hotel industry, agriculture, food industry, or requests for domestic household and domestic child caring have risen); and second of all because we may choose to have more humanitarian approaches to migrants' problems in comparison to some other countries which, dangerously enough, have exhibited xenophobia at a national level sometimes in decisions regulated judicially.

This is how and why, many times discussions of Romanian politicians seem tobe built on the idea of necessity, importance, desirability of negotiations to be held, identifications of solutions to be found, outcomes to be targeted, of policies to be adopted with no clear decisions being made, but simply announcing a compliance to the European values that Romania has always adhered to. (*ZF*, 05/12/21) The perspective created upon readers may that of us expecting solutions from European partners, but this attitude may have also contributed to us sometimes adopting attitudes of rejection or downright abuse against migrants at the level of the individual or of their community. (*L.*, 30/04/2021; *L.*, 10/03/2021; *L.*, 11/03/2021; *L.*, 30/11/2020) Many of these abuses were denied by the Romanian authorities and hostile attitudes against migrants just because they are non-natives have been argued of not being part of a national strategy for migrant movements.

3.2.6. Presentation of actions by them vs. actions by us

In the "actions by Them" vs. "actions by Us" dichotomy, accounts of "Them" present mainly the invasion by Them and the defense performed by Us. The Them–Us interaction was generally rendered through opposing actions with an unfavourable perspective upon Them. Only too rarely were the "insiders" presented through their actions stemming from injustice and not only on an abstract, political, ideological level, but on a practical level of taking oppressive, "tribal" actions upon "outsiders". Unfortunately, an incident in Romania, the village of Ditrău, placed us unfavourably on

the map of intolerance against foreign workers when two migrants from Sri Lanka were banned from the village bakery by a group of people led by the village priest.(*DV*, 833, 06–12/02/20) The media managed to adopt in this case an objective attitude, even accusatory against attackers, in an act of professional journalism. A similar case is that of a Chinese who wanted to start a small agricultural-based business in Şindriliţa and after hard labour had his wheelbarrow stolen, then a hoe, then a hose. The journalist author of the article ends it with a sarcastically rhetorical question – "Bloody Chinese, who made him come to Romania?" – as an admonition against the intolerance of some Romanian citizens against the foreigners, in general, especially when they seem to take traditional jobs, professions or work from us, such as agriculture in this case. (*DV*, 800, 19–25/06/19) Even worse was the behaviour against migrants in the case of some Vietnamese migrants who were lodged in containers with only 6 toilets to

200 people. (*DV*, 797, 30–05/05–06/19). Such renderings are supposed to present the cruelty that they go through so as to raise awareness in the general public of such anti- humanitarian behaviours and stir emapthy.

On the other hand, sometimes successful stories of migrants coming in Romania or going out of Romania were presented. In *DV*, 824, 05–11/12/19, there is an article presenting the success story of a writer who emigrated in Germany and now lives in Switzerland and who made migration (with its departure, struggle for adaption, feeling of disrootedness, exile) the main topic of his novels. In his own testimony, the writer, Cătălin Dorian Florescu, identifies himself with the journey he took when he presents himself as a European writer,

having been born, in Romania, having lived in Germany, currently living in Switzerland and rendering in German Romanian stories. It is an example of how migrants are supposed to have their journey accepted as a necessary "adventure" in/of their becoming.

Still among the success stories, a series of articles present the presence of "pioneers" Chinese migrants in Romania in the field of business – the commerce developed in two large centres in Bucharest ("Europa" and "Red Dragon") is an epitome of tradesmen qualities of Chinese and of their skill to sell products made in China. These products were for Romanians, having emerged from under the communist regime, at the beginning of the 1990s, a myth come true. Therefore, in this case migrants were carriers of symbols of novelty, abundance, progress. But then, their business was associated with poor quality products, tax evasion and eventual payment of debts. Their amazing power of adaptation to a country completely different culturally was praised especially in a country which itself underwent tremendous changes all through the '90s.

Some other time, the topic tackled in the context of action by Us and by Them was connected to the actions that migration triggered in the host countries: clouding of political horizon, stirring of visceral passions, derails of political careers. (*DV*, 814, 26– 02/09–10/19). Such a presentation manages to render the subjective attitudes that politicians may occasionally adopt against migrants and are, of course, a distress signal against such behaviours.

3.3. The micro-structure

The micro-structure analysis refers to syntax, semantics and rhetoric features, in other words the linguistic features used by the speaker in order to manipulate the language.

3.3.1. Choice of lexicon to refer to us, respectively to them

"Immigrants" or "migrants", "foreigners" or "strangers" are all terms that builda strong differentiation between "Us" and the "Others" in that it excludes them from a host space and regards them as intruders. This creates a distancing from their destiny, and an isolation from their suffering. From him to associating them with "felons" is just a small step that the large public might take when being bombed/showered withso much news about illegal entry and human smuggling.

Conversely, they are sometimes referred to as "refugees", "imagined enemies", "false threat" or even "oppressed" and "afflicted by fate" (*DV*, 838, 12–18/03/20; *DV*, 837, 05–11/03/20) stirring strong emotions at their plight. Such paradigms are accompanied by emotional, or totally dramatic stories of migrants suffering from inadaptation, having difficulty in finding a job because of prejudiced thinking againstthe "foreign elements" or lack of facilities of any kind from the local or centralauthorities.

This is not the exclusive nature of such cases. Sometimes, foreign citizens cometo Romania to finish their studies and end up marrying Romania citizens. There is one such case of a female students from Syria graduating from a master programme in Communication Practices in English in Bacău and then marrying a Romanian citizen.She took part in many cultural events initiated by our University and was glad eachand

every time to make exchanges of cultural practices. There is another case of a student from China coming to Bacău to study Romanian language, literature and history with a tragic destiny that ended his life too abruptly, but who managed to facilitate intense collaboration between the two states on a cultural level and translated Romanian poetry intro Chinese. As recognition he was awarded the title of Honorary Citizen. And these are just two examples that we happen to have known personally, but there are so many other examples. In this context we wish to mention that the Erasmus Plus programme for students to study one semester in a partner country has been successful on so many levels sending to or receiving students from 23 EU countries among which: France, Turkey, Greece, Spain, Poland, Italy, The Czech Republic, Slovakia, Belgium[29] and 8 countries among which: Montenegro, Serbia, Republic of Moldova, but also Canada, Egypt, South Africa or Switzerland[30]. Our University has recorded the experience of both incoming and outgoing students in a special section of RO-BRIT Student Journal[31] dedicated to Erasmus experiences. Additionally, the Faculty of Letters has a programme exclusively dedicated to foreign citizens in which they learn for one the Romanian language and notions of Romanian culture to be able later to continue their studies in a Romanian university or to find a job if they so desire.

[29] https://www.ub.ro/int/llpe/universitati-partenere/tarile-programului-ue-ka103.

[30] https://www.ub.ro/int/llpe/universitati-partenere/tarile-programului-ue-ka107.

[31] https://www.ub.ro/litere/studenti/reviste-studentesti.

It is such actions that should be presented more and more in the press as examples of good practices as part of a general model of multiculturalism and successful integration of foreign citizens in Romania, who proved that can be a state that successfully integrates migrants at a high cultural level as well, not only in low status jobs.

3.3.2. Choice of syntax

The syntax introducing migrants' issues is most of the times created through dynamic wording introducing the crisis which has been so much brought to the foreground. Sentences elliptical of predicate just issue a warning against migrants' arrival or against the disequilibrium that Romanians' migration across borders has triggered: "Time bomb in Greece. Migrants' crimes. Islanders revolt." (*EVZ*, 05/03/2020) "Terrible announcement for Romania! Are we heading towards a CATASTROPHE? 2018 was worse!" (*a1*, 10/12/2018), or present dramatic situations: "Disaster at sea! 100 people have DIED!" (*a1*, 06/05/2018). Additionally, questions are being formulated to address the issue and invite readers to meditate ("Should Romania receive or not Afghan refugees? Specialists' opinions", *L.*, 24/08/2021). Questions are being asked about the future course of events in a manner that seems to emphasize uncertainty because who can possibly know "What's next?" (*EVZ*, 09/03/2020) In other articles questions are being asked in an attempt to find some guilty parties: "Whose fault is it?" (*L.*, 25/11/2021) Possible answers to such questions are sometimes proposed objectively, in a rendering of facts specific to for and against argumentation, inviting specialists (sociologists, legal or financial experts,

for example), on the one hand, and politicians, decision makers, on the other to express their opinions and present their analyses. (*G.*, 16/11/2021) The reader is left in the middle to analyze and discern upon the most suitable stand from more perspectives.

Other topics introduce matters through an adverbial clause of concession stressing the imminent answer of a particular situation, the obvious truth, and yet facing some denial from others: "Although filmed while sending refugees across the Serbian border, the Internal Affairs Ministry requests proofs so as to investigate customer officers" (*L.*, 21/10/2021)

Some other times conditional sentences are used to render how good/bad a certain situation/state of affairs would have been if migrants had not reached one country or another – for instance Romanian migrants' movement in Italy was positively embraced as regulating the reports of the newly born and presented as such by a government official. (*DV*, 834, 13–19/02/20)

3.3.3. Use of rhetorical figures

3.3.3.1. Metaphor use – functions in politics and the media

Our century seems to have run its course under the strong influence of words. Words empower people, label communities/nations, rise people to power or bring them down from power. The words of politicians or of other public figures (including journalists) influence thoughts and give new shape to opinions or urge to action, develop prejudices or hate attitudes, or on the contrary win adherents to/ followers of some principles. Using rhetorical figures adds power to what is being said because describing a new event

by means of familiar words will make it easier for people to understand it. Connecting a well-known concept with the new occurrences/issues mayvery well facilitate understanding, but it may just as easily create a biased perspective. However, introducing the new topic by means of metaphor or epithet, analogy or parallelism, contrast or hyperbole (to name just a few) creates a more vivid image in the mind of the receiver, draws greater attention, engages emotions and motivates stronger involvement in the problem is decision-making and taking action is a possible undertaking; ultimately it sets ideologies and writes history.

James Geary (2011) remarks that metaphor is not confined to literature, but itis actively and intensely used in other walks of human activity such as: economics, advertising, politics, or business, and even science or psychology:

> "Metaphor conditions our interpretations of the stock market and, through advertising, it surreptitiously infiltrates our purchasing decisions. In the mouths of politicians, metaphor subtly nudges public opinion; in the minds of businesspeople, it spurs creativity and innovation. In science, metaphor is the preferred nomenclature for new theories and new discoveries; in psychology, it is the natural language of human relationships and emotions."

Thus, we can safely say that figures of speech and figures of style proved a great tool for the press to introduce new subjects of key importance in society at a certain moment. So, the representations of the aspect we intend to X-ray in our analysis migration – in the media and press can accurately reveal to us how strongly discourse can influence our thoughts in a positive or negative manner.

In talk, we use on average a metaphor for every twenty-five words (with poles oscillating between the averages of 10 and 37, according to a study performed by Lynne Cameron (in Gibbs 2008). She analyzed reconciliation talks between doctor and patient and classroom talk, but she has also recorded high employment of metaphor in psychotherapeutic talk, in college lectures, in sermons and in written texts (and we intend to prove how especially in journalistic texts they are very frequently used). They appear both at both the macro- and the microlevel of talk and most frequently are used in clusters – groups of three more and what they mark are the pressure and possibilities rising from human interaction. Thus, Cameron (in Gibbs 2008) identifies three levels on which metaphor acts and three deriving functions:

  ☐ metaphors work on an affective level marking (a) alignment or distancing of the speaker from the topic; (b) positive or negative evaluation of the situation; (c) emphasis or de-emphasis of an issue dealt with.

  ☐ metaphors help management of talk (or, we add, building of discourse) in the following manner and help building the ideational level: (a) they describe the overall process; (b) they forge relationships between participants; (c) they introduce the topic in a more appealing manner; (d) they frame the process to facilitate understanding.

  ☐ metaphors build a third space (moving beyond the bidimensional) in which meanings can be more easily grasped and negotiation is more easily conducted.

Lakoff and Johnson had postulated as early as 1980 that metaphors structure knowledge, thinking and action: what we perceive, how we get in the world, and how we relate to other

people. Barnhard Debatin (*apud* Horolets 2003) argues that metaphoris not only necessary as a thinking mechanism, but it is necessary especially for the introduction of unknown and not yet experienced phenomena. The cognitive power of metaphors has been clearly recognized by theorists of discourse and has been exploited by politicians or by strategists. One of such famous example is how EU experts seem to understand the effects of using metaphors on the emotions of the citizens. Thus, EU expert and databases researcher Anthony Judge designed a dynamic system of metaphors in order to articulate the new European identity, entitled *A European Identity. Experimental articulation through a dynamic system of metaphors*. (Judge 1991) Judge postulates that "metaphors serve as vehicles to suggest approaches with many strategic implications. They fulfil the function of codes to communicate among cognoscenti and as key phrases in the interaction with public opinion". From the inception of the EU coalition, EU experts have worked hard to convince the European countries that EU is their safe refuge. As a result of such a perspective Judge proposes structural metaphors like: "EU is a family" which gives the receiver the impression of the warmth felt within a family. The family as a source domain structured the target domain, the EU, to connote safety, protection, security, mutual help and support and it adds deeper implications for one could find it very difficult to leave their families. Judge proposes other metaphors such as "EU as a physiology of interdependent organs", "EU as a fusion nuclear reactor", "EU as a pattern of circulating traffic", "EU as a crop rotation cycle", etc. Such metaphors add density to the meaning and at the same time connect it with receivers' feelings which makes the idea stick in

the minds. Judge (1991) underlines the function of metaphor on even a stronger level:

> "Recent research has demonstrated the cognitive function and influence of metaphors in the most disciplined and rigorous thinking. Examples in the natural sciences, and even in fundamental physics, are cited. The same is true in the social sciences and notably in understanding of organizations and their management. It appears that metaphors, whether explicit or implicit, are essential to the ordering of cognitive elements. Furthermore, it is now almost impossible to extricate them from the language of many disciplines. As examples the following may be noted: a 'field' of study, the 'direction' of research, a 'line' of argument, a 'target' audience, 'mobilization' of resources. It has been shown that, beyond its rhetoric functions, the choice of a metaphor may be crucial to the kinds of communication which become possible or impossible. A recent study of the metaphors underlying the Gulf War even suggests that 'metaphors can kill'."

Gannon and Pillai (2016) take the discussion even further to the level of culture and estimate that somewhere between 25% and 50% of our basic values stem from culture and they make a direct connection between a nation's culture and the metaphors associated with it. Therefore, we can safely assert that metaphor use is illustrative of a nation's identity, but we can also advance the statement that metaphor use can condition social reality and mediate authority, and that it can shape/guide/influence perception upon an event/phenomenon/ community, etc.

Two more perspectives have been discussed by theorists: metaphor use in politics and metaphor use in the media. Horolets

(2003) argues that it is compulsory to consider two more dimensions of metaphorization: the emotional function and the role metaphors play in symbolic politics. She argues that metaphors are rarely emotion free and often politically engaged. When used in political discourse, metaphors stir emotions, they negate or stigmatize, they establish new equilibrium, they help distancing of oneself from a topic (sometimes employing irony). When such metaphors are used in the media, no matter how different the metaphor is in regard to a particular subject described, there could be made connections that will get the media where they want to go – at convincing the people of a planned/shared ideology. Culea (2016) explained in her book that

> "although metaphors occur at different dates and are made by different people, they prove that certain conceptual affinities may be identified. Besides adding coherence to discourse, metaphorical expressions contribute to cognitive coherence".

She argues that the effect of the use of conceptual clusters in the media can be that of creating two power poles of perception: a positive one and a negative one. On the first hand, the EU was depicted as a house, fortress, or marriage connoting security and protection. On the other hand, the relationship with the EU was introduced as divorce linking it to the bad feelings of separation, disunity, desertion, money problems, suffering and anger. Analyzing some of the metaphors used to describe the problem of migration in the EU or around the globe, we can see how they lead to creating opposing poles of perception: those who regard migration permissively (even welcoming) and those who strongly oppose it and see it as a

threat to the receiving countries' economy, finances, politics or even identity.

Additionally, discourse theorists (Culea 2016) have asked one questions that lies at the basis of our current study as well: why do the media render their interest in social, economic, ethnic or political phenomena by describing them in metaphorical terms? In general, the major reasons for defining one concept or idea in terms of another are: "the people's desire to understand the reality better, to become conversant with the abstract or the unknown, or to dramatize a situation" (Culea & Suciu 2014). Equally, speakers may want to "simplify reality, hide politico-economic and social conditions, bipolarize the world, dramatize stories by appealing to readers' emotions, and create feelings" (Trčková 2011: 139) of various types.

Culea (2016) goes on to explain the power of media discourse in sparking reactions, influencing views and attitudes, persuading readers/viewers of one aspect or another (sometimes dictated from behind by some stake holders), creating ideologies through the specific use of conceptual metaphors, but also by building a representational system which will later materialize in thoughts, opinions, ideas:

> "In media discourse, the rhetorical, cognitive, ideological and persuasive functions of conceptual metaphors are impressive. Having in view its role as a mediator or interface between different areas of human activity – like politics or economy, for instance – and the citizens, the media appeals to metaphorical thinking in order to make its message clearer and more forceful. Though metaphors are generally seen as constitutive elements of figurative language and thinking, in certain

discourses where recurrent conceptual metaphors are employed one important purpose is that of clarification and simplification, or of familiarizing the ordinary people with the unfamiliar. At the same time, whether it is a purpose or an effect, metaphorical expressions can affect the readers' attitudes and beliefs in relation to the content expressed."

Therefore, conceptualizing "migration" through a metaphorical discourse has benefits such as: facilitating cognition and memory mechanisms because people make mental association between an image created in their minds/ imagination and political, economic or social events; adding expressive (poetic/ironical/humorous) features to the discourse with specific rhetorical tools with a view to making the ideas transmitted more appealing to the audience and increase their persuasive force. Thus, by using artistic language media achieve the goal of persuading and of accomplishing effectiveness in communication in an easier way by engaging the cognitive and imaginative potential of the readers/viewers.

Either way, we can easily observe that migration is a powerful force in the production of cultural meaning engaging the receiver's socio-political imagination in a unique manner which can be easily moulded. Ahrens and Fliethmann (2020) postulate that "social perceptions of and political discourse about migration often refer to or stem from particular forms and techniques of imagination, through which our understanding of migration is shaped and labeled as social reality." Be it positively or negatively- viewed, theorists generically agree that "the lived reality of migration is always also framed by discursive formations." (Ahrens and Fliethmann 2020) Similarly, Mackowitz and Lorenz (in Ahrens & Fliethmann

2020) argue that metaphors "seem to be critical when it comes to regulating society, exercising power, or building institutions." With specific reference to housing metaphors, they explicitly mention the fact that "the housing metaphors appear to inform, sometimes even determine, the conditions of community and membership as well as the modalities of inclusion and exclusion". In the context of attitudes towards migration, if the receiving countries were considered new, possible permanent or temporary "houses" for the migrants, such a metaphor used by politicians, members of certain institutions or journalists conveys or shapes attitudes by welcoming or not the new comers.

Among the most common discursive metaphorical representations of the concept of "migration" we can identify the target, "the receiving country" being introduced through concepts such as: body, house, fortress, container (ontological metaphors, to use the Lakovian terms), family or journey (structural metaphors). The use of personalized metaphors made it easy for the public to recognize the ideas embodied by the metaphors by relating them to lived experiences and previous knowledge; as Kovecses (2005) explains, metaphors "function as 'conceptual correspondences,' or 'mappings,' between the 'source' domain of journey and the 'target' domains". This is the point at which we need to mention the highly subjective perspective that can sometimes be shaped by such processes of metaphorization. The exploration or reception of the rational and emotional mini-narratives or scenarios that emerge from the way in which the main concepts are introduced captures, on the one hand, but also shapes, on the other hand, the attitudinal preferences and discursive tendencies that are characteristic of a particular group of decision

makers, journalists or a nation's citizens. Discursive coherence increased by means of the use of metaphor both creates and facilitates the understanding and the decoding of processes and so, messages become easier to grasp. Conceptual affinities are sometimes shaped, made coherent or strengthened by conceptual metaphors. According to the cognitive perspective, metaphor use develops our understanding of the reality by means of analogy. In the case of the immigrants' issue receiving countries are presented, for instance, as a "container", "organism" that expresses openness for accommodation or ability to receive new components/elements/parts when the country welcomed immigrants. Nonetheless, other metaphors expressed dissatisfaction and criticism among which "flood", "swarm" or "invasion" which transmit panic, danger by denoting a huge number of people with destructive powers. Thus, these metaphors have not just described the situation as it might have been at a certain time in a certain receiving nation. They have played an effective role in shaping perspectives, reactions and attitudes, creating bias or ideologies that are convenient for the ones behind them.

Chkhaidze et al (2021) have identified the power of metaphors even in the field of jurisprudence where they managed to "enslave thought". Similarly, they record that in the highly politicized and media-saturated issue of migration, exposure of subjects to news reports rich in artistic language (metaphors in particular) have been observed to change attitudes towards migrants for the better or for the worse, depending on the news reports – thus, receivers were convinced of the "invasion" of the "aliens" or of the "opportunities" created by the new-coming settlers that could bring their valuable contribution to "boost" economy.

Taylor (2021) also records a series of metaphors used in the media with reference to migrants and specifies among the functions they carry the following: creating some paths of interpretating and understanding the world while eliminating others, highlighting some aspects and backgrounding others, and, last but not least, creating emotions (among which the most frequently encountered are fear, anger, sense of security, protectiveness and loyalty) or, on the contrary, suppressing them (e.g. empathy). Thus, on a corpus of texts of spanning through two hundred years, she identifies metaphors such as "conveyance", "transport", "journey", "cultivation", "crop", "water", "war", "commodification", "weight", "disease" and others which bear features characteristic of "invaders", "criminals", "guests", "animals", "objects", "burden", "weed", "pollutants", "parasites". The main distinction that is identified is, thus, the one between humanizing and dehumanizing perspectives, seeing mifgrants either as passive victims or as active (though destructive as seen by some) force.

Baider and Kopytowska, too, (*apud* Taylor 2021) speak about how

> "metaphors can perform important social functions: they can be used to dehumanize the Other (in this case refugees and migrants), legitimize and delegitimize verbal and physical actions (e.g. verbal and physical violence against refugees, including hate speech and hate crime), as well as emotionalize (evoke both fear and anger) and desensitize the audience."

Metaphors do not get their powers just from assimilation; recurrence and use in a specific context are additional factors that have helped reinforcement of these concepts in people's minds and have given them a changing force. Therefore, a

qualitative study should be complemented by a quantitative analysis of a chosen corpusof texts. For instance, the Western press or European institutions have frequently adopted some biased ideologies about some countries from the South-East of Europe (among which Romania is many times at the top of the list) as being poor, underdeveloped countries that lie far from civilization and liberty. Such ideologies were translated in the media by the use of different metaphors that strengthen the idea of fear stemming out of the alleged impending threat posed by immigrants coming from such countries and spread moral panic as, according to some commentators of the phenomenon, any immigrant coming from such countries can threaten the structure of a developed society. We intend to observe whether Romania, through the Romanian press has become, in turn, a prejudiced interpreter of the phenomenon of migration coming towards it this time.

3.3.3.1.a. The water metaphor

Some other times, migrants are seen as mere victims of some powers who control migration for one interest or another; consequently the migratory flux is referred to as a "tap" which is controlled at the will of some states by letting borders free for them to transit a country and channel them into another; migrants are seen as victims of the manipulation in some invisible hands regulating world-level economic moves. (*DV*, 894, 27–02/05-06/21; *DV*, 837, 05–11/03/20) On account of such movements, new "waves" of migrants are envisaged (*DV*, 837, 05–11/03/20), or other new "tides" were foreseen and actually occurred to some extent after the CO-VID 19 pandemic when temporary migrants returned home. (*DV*, 865, 05–11/11/20)

Some other times the Romanian press simply takes European press rendering of migrants' movement and speaks about "an endless river of people that runs through the mountains" (*SPROTV*, 01/09/2021) transmitting the idea of unnatural movement as invasion of territory, maybe even danger at the risk of overflow.

3.3.3.1.b. Natural disasters metaphors

Migration has been associated with "earthquakes" on numerous occasions (*DV*, 892, 13–19/05/2021) and automatically with the panic, danger, destruction they entail. Only some articles also treat the "earthquake" experienced by the migrants, whose existence is also heavily shaken and who have to reconstruct the state of their existence after the collapse. To overcome such a perspective, media records measures that need to be taken on a political level doubled by a moral and ethic perspective so as to prevent or remedy as much as possible from the effects of such disturbances.

The image of the "tsunami" (*DV*, 814, 26–02/09–10/19) or that of a "cataclysm" (*EVZ*, 21/05/2018) was then placed in association with migration so as to render the violent, rapid change occurring in especially in the destination countries at an economic, healthcare system, security, or cultural level.

"Flood" is sometimes used as a metaphor to render the abundance of information poured into or by the press about migrants as a result of social movements or governmental decisions being made (*R*, 31/08/19). The metaphor is also used to render the profusion of emotions experienced by migrants when reaching a foreign country and the effort it takes for them to handle all these (*R*, 11/06/18). But most of the times it is

used to render the outpourings of waves of Muslim migrants in Europe, of Syrian refugees in the West, of Afghan asylum seekers in countries they may have chosen or had the luck to be accommodated in (*EVZ*, 11/10/19). The most dramatic use we encountered was a reference to flooding the cemeteries (*EVZ*, 11/02/19) with the bodies of these wretched people who dies in dramatic situations that they may have anticipated but were willing to take the risk of.

3.3.3.1.c. The container metaphor

In many media renderings, as a result of journalist wording or by rendering the opinion of some government officials, the host countries were as having been "filled" by migrants sometimes with the cardboard improvised lodgings (*EVZ*, 11/02/19).

Other times the containers were the traffickers that mercilessly "filled" their pockets/themselves with the money of the victims of human trafficking (*EVZ*, 27/09/19) The tragedy of these victims has been presented in numerous media articles which seem unimaginable stories of sacrifice and humiliation.

3.3.3.1.d. The edifice metaphor

Most of the times a region or state which is transited by chosen as a destination point for migrants is regarded as an "edifice" by politicians addressing the matter (*DV*, 892, 13–19/05/2021) or as "fortresses" by economists who try to suggest a defense mechanism to relieve pressure on the economy. The countries whose defensemechanisms are not strong enough seem to be more exposed to migrants transiting or settling (*DV*, 865, 05–11/11/20).

Other articles record not an abstract barricading against migrants, but an actual physical one, with "walls" being built to stop the "invasion" of migrants (*L.*, 24/11/2021). By transmitting such a message to readers, the inhabitants of the host countries may feel the duty to defend the "gates" (*DV*, 837, 05–11/03/20) of their edifice the "invaders" and the initial attitude of fear for their safety may extend on longer periods and may transform in long-term dislike, rejection, intolerance even when the danger is proven to have been averted and when migrants were successfully integrated.

3.3.3.1.e. The journey metaphor

The metaphor of the journey in association with migrants' movement started most of the times by being presented geographically: a re-mapping of the migrants' existence (as individuals or as groups) is presented with everything that such a journey usually entails: external and internal experiences, obstacles, trials, shaping and reshaping of identity, understanding of one's self and the others, developing of empathy and tolerance. Some articles made reference to the danger of such a journey and rendered officials' recommendations of not embarking on such dangerous journeys, or they recorded the trials and suffering they undergo during the journey of arrivals, but also the struggle for adaption in this complex and long process that migration seen as a journey is.

3.3.3.1.f. The war metaphor

War metaphors are quite frequently used when it comes to describing migrants situation: one of the striking use of this nature is migrants as "ammunition", and "bullets" (*DV*, 919,

18–24/11/21), and "weapon" (*DV*, 918, 11–17/11/21; *DV*, 894, 27–

02/05-06/21) against the West in the context of the migrants' presence at the borders between Belarus and Poland, which are now seen as "war zones" further triggering discussions of who the aggressor is, who the target is and how is the parties' defense (*DV*, 919, 18–24/11/21), what "tactics" are adopted by one party or another, what "conspiracies", "aggressions", "attacks", "assaults", "invasions", "territorial conquests" or "historical rematches" and "betrayals" emerge, what agents are used (groups of migrants have been seen as unwilling "attackers", "drones" and "shock troops" manipulated by others) or what "pacts" are signed eventually. (*DV*, 918, 11–17/11/21; *DV*, 894, 27–02/05-06/21; *DV*, 838, 12–18/03/20; *DV*, 837, 05–11/03/20; *DV*, 824, 05–

11/12/19; *DV*, 773, 13–19/12/2018). Overlapped with these concepts two others are used: "conflicts" and "drama" trying to add the emotional and historical layer/perspective upon the matter. Readers are invited to ponder at both the tragedy of migrants who are mere passive "tools" in the hands of others, but also "victims" in this "mini-invasion" (*DV*, 918, 11–17/11/21) in a was beyond their power of action and reaction. Additionally, they are placed in the space of the "civilized world" therefore the attitude instilled in the readers is that bringing their plight even closer to the readers in the European context. They are further seen as passive subjects being instrumentalized by some to "kill" others by "flooding" them with migrants. The author suggests in the end of the article a possible help coming in the form of solidarity (of the general public with migrants condition and of the states against such abuses), internal unity and rejection of isolating/

marginalizing migrants, partnerships between countries, but also border control, sanctioning states who abuse migrants' condition and who do not respect human rights which typical solutions suggested by the specialized literature.

Another article (*DV*, 918, 11–17/11/21) sees migrants' problems as "bomb" ready to explode and readers, through the voice of some politicians taking a stand in the matter are urged to empathy for the migrants who are caught in the middle of political struggle and who do have their stories listened to. Some other time the concept of "bomb" is associated with some nations which are seen as "demographic bombs" exploding in the destination countries (*DV*, 834, 13–19/02/20). When this choice of words is continued data showing heavy influxes of migrants throughout history the effect upon readers is that of making feel the threat and danger of such social movements. (*DV*, 894, 27–02/05-06/21)

3.3.3.1.g. The disease metaphor

Not the disease metaphor, but the actual epidemic is associated with migrants in some articles in which migrants were reported as carriers of the CO-VID 19 virus in one or another variant (*EVZ*, 22/06/21). Such rendering of the migrants may createfalse grounds and prejudices in seeing the migrants as vectors of diseases, ultimatelyas "pest".

Otherwise, except for the association with the pandemic of the last two tears, the disease metaphor seems not be used by the Romanian press which proves an act ofmoral constraint and lack of exhibitionism in writing about migration, and perhaps a more human approach to it.

A miscellaneous recording of other metaphors could include game metaphors ("the ping-pong" of migrants between borders, (*DV*, 918, 11–17/12/21) designating again their status as passive victims in the hands of others; "Achilles' heel" (*DV*, 814, 26–02/09–10/21) introducing the vulnerability of the host countries or some fora who are unable to adapt to the phenomenon and make the right decisions for the migrants or for their own citizens; the hunting metaphor announcing "a race of evacuating migrants" (*digi24*, 11/11/21) transmitting the idea of chase against migrants, a recognized form of oppression and also announcing the existence of winners and losers (with obvious categorization of who's what).

3.3.4. Naming and reference (epithets)

The vast majority of materials written about migrants label them as "foreigners" (*DV*, 842, 09–15/04/20), "misfit" (*DV*, 800, 19–25/06/19), "exotic", "third country nationals" (*ADVR*, 26/12/18) which automatically triggers a trajectory of judging them or relating them via direction of "difference", of relating to somebody who is different from you. Stories in the press of migrants coming to Romania or going to other countries relate of the awkwardness of beginnings, doubts and identity crises, hesitation and confusion, abandonment of the static and increasingly volatile past and embracing of the new and increasingly stable present, but sometimes manage to identify the hospitality of reception and gradual exchange of practice and values. An even more hostile attitude towards them describes them as "aggressive" (*digi24*, 24/11/21) without necessarily depicting the facts that led to them becoming aggressive (usually towards border patrols).

Some other times they were even called "the wretched of the earth" (*DV*, 838, 12–18/03/20), "unfortunate" (*DV*, 833, 06–12/02/20) in an act which condemns them to a prejudiced position of disfavoured, underprivileged, disadvantaged and, most probably, incapable, unskilled, etc (see the Ditrău incident presented in subchapter 3.2.6.).

Only sometimes the image painted paradigmatically is that of "pitiful children", "families that lost everything", "human being struck by unbearable tragedies", the ones with a "doomed fate" (*DV*, 838, 12–18/03/20), "marginalized", "humiliated", "the fragile" (*DV*, 833, 06–12/02/20) with the aim of presenting a humanitarian and empathic view upon migrants.

Sometimes, the state in which they are while waiting at one border or another is described as being "desperate" and "inhuman" (*DV*, 918, 18–24/11/21) while beingforced to stay outside in the "frozen" night – "frozen" does not allude only to the weather, but also to the cold emotional state of the ones who have placed them in sucha situation and to the inertness of the migrants who are stuck in the situation andunable to react.

Migration is sometimes viewed as a "sensitive" aspect (*DV*, 892, 13– 19/05/2021; *DV*, 814, 26–02/09–10/19), some other times, it is presented as "problematic" (*DV*, 918, 18–24/11/21), "unnatural" (*DV*, 865, 05–11/11/20), "disastrous" (*EVZ*, 01/10/2018; *a1*, 19/02/20), "catastrophic" (*a1*,10.02.20), "uncontrolled", or downright "fatal" (*DV*, 892, 13–19/05/2021), but also recognized as a sometimes "forced" movement (*DV*, 865, 05–11/11/20), with grave consequenceson the ones that were dislodged.

Additionally, the migrants' state was sometimes described as "confused" and "hesitant" (*DV*, 842, 09–15/04/20) in trying

to explain the emotional state of migrants who are caught, split, divided or stranded between two worlds, between two "homes" one of which has lost the spatial dimension, and another one which can be reconstructed emotionally. Such a presentation on the part of journalists, such testimonies from migrants might be successful in stirring the readers' empathy and increasing the sentiments of solidarity and attempt to be part of their reconciliation with their dual state as dis-rooted and re-rooted.

An additional type of reference was recorded by journalist as being made to the type of reactions that people, politicians or authorities had towards migrants and their arrival – thus, "scared cried" were heard, "strong criticism" was made, and "insidious comments" were addressed at the newly arrived and at the phenomenon which is bound to remodel countries, regions, continents, and ultimately the world. Such a perspective is not encouraged, and neither are "retrograde ideas" or "ideological complacency." (*DV*, 814, 26–02/09–10/19)

Conclusions

The phenomenon of migration is a complex one, on the hand, because of the societal implications it has and, on the other hand, on account of the multiple perspectives it can be studied from: historical, sociological, economic, political, religious, moral, cultural, discursive, anthropological, genetic, etc. All of these perspectives have proved useful for the understanding of migration in a context of intense movements in all sectors of life on account of globalization or of technological and communicational advancements which have led to spread of information, facilitation of international movement and access to new ideologies.

At the same time, the interconnectedness in which society functions especially on the economic and political levels determines an intensification of the butterfly effect at the level of the entire world: a poorly functional economy in a country on one continent might trigger a strong migratory movement which triggers re-adjustments in another country on another continent; political decisions in one state, might cause people to move to other states in search of a different political system. Equally, religious oppression, war conflicts, cultural discordances or dissonance, demographic pressure or the need for personal development have determined an intensification of people's movements in search of a better job, ideologically compatible system, respect for one's faith, safer environment, openness to cultural norms held/adopted by individuals, better living standards and/or self-fulfillment. Such movements led to constant reconfigurations of demographic, economic, political, cultural maps which have

sometimes caused great clashes and stirrings. The disturbing of a previously set equilibrium led to threats being felt on both sides – by the migrants and by the host states/populations. A new order had to be established and, in the process, new forms of control and fight for positions and recognition emerged. At the same time, struggles for adaptation of both parties to the new situation/context appeared and clashes or negotiations between "We" and the "Others", between "Us" and "Them" took place. Strategies of reconciliation or to appease conflicts were made, alliances were formed, and more clashes and reconfigurations appeared. Questions started being asked if the solutions lie in integration, cohesion, assimilation, relocation, embracing multiculturalism and cultural diversity, etc.

Theorists have started analyzing the causes of such a phenomenon in the attempt to find solutions and bring reconciliation at least by increasing understanding of it. But in the undertaking of describing the movement, labels were put, categorizations were made, implications were predicted, sometimes in a subjective/biased way which may have altered the reception by the general public.

Our study started from this assumption that media presentations of migration may form unilateral perspectives and aimed at raising awareness towards the potential manipulative nature of media discourse about migrants. The fact that, at the level of the macro-structure, we have identified a far greater large number of materials presenting negative aspects upon the issue may be a proof of our initial assumption. Aspects such as: illegal migration, crises triggered by migration in general, risks and threats felt by the host countries, necessity for protection, attacks of various natures (concrete or abstract), refusal by some nations to grant free circulation,

fear of migrants, violent blockage at the borders appeared by the hundreds in the materials we have chosen as a study corpus. We believe that such a showering of readers with negative aspects connected to anything related to the interaction of migrants might create a prejudiced reception and escalation of the resent, rejection or direct aggressiveness towards them.

It was much more rarely that generic aspects of migration were presented in objective attempts to present the phenomenon historically, or from moral or humanitarian perspectives, which would frame the phenomenon within the human rights contexts, or contact (not clashes) of culture and demand of migrants' presence on account of already existing demographic disequilibrium.

Even more rarely the migrants' perspectives were presented in an attempt to understand the challenges they experienced, the crises they are in, the difficulty of their working conditions, their loss, alienation and estrangement, their difficulty in trying to adapt and belong.

Media materials have also proved scarce in presenting the gains brought by migrants to a host country: innovation, input of new ideas and perspectives, infusion of courage, determination and even capital, exchange of values and practices, but also a maturity brought by undergoing the process of movement to another country were not as frequently presented as was the illegal nature of migration, or the pressure upon and crises withing the destination countries.

A considerable number of materials were written also comprising proposed solutions to re-establishing a sense of equilibrium after the distress caused by migrants' transition of settling in a host country, but still such materials are about 6 times less numerous than the ones presenting negative

aspects. Therefore, integration or assimilation, involvement in actions that would ensure their protection, cohesion, unitary and moral actions are suggested as possible solutions to remedy the challenging situations that some countries may experience. Judicial action is required in a fast pace adapting rhythm so as to meet the permanently changing demands triggered by thephenomenon.

At the level of the micro-structure according to van Dijk's model/grid of interpretation we have followed, we have identified a similarly negative representation of migrants through the choice of lexicon to refer to "Us" in relation to "Them", in the choice of syntax that was indicative of the uncertainty or hostility against migrants, or in the metaphors that were used (there is an abundance, of natural disaster metaphorsand war metaphors; not so much of disease metaphors as studies have identified at a European level). Naming or labelling them was also many times detrimental to theimage of migrants, but empathic presentations have also been identified as was the occasional promotion of individual stories trying to present to beauty of successful integration or to raise readers' empathy at their plight.

We have attempted identify through our project examples of good practices in presenting aspects connected to the phenomenon of migration, so as to promote such perspectives that would increase readers' awareness of both the negative, but also positive aspects of migration and genuine and abundant solutions at hand to deal withthe issue both at the level of the state, but also at the level individual. If the answer liesin a model of culturalism (which some contest, but Azerbaijan seems to have applied successfully) is for Romania to try and people to observe.

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