Public Diplomacy and the Role of Communication

Lobbying towards equality – The UN's performance of Public Diplomacy around the migration „crisis" in the EU in 2015

Final paper

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Prague, Vienna December 14th, 2015

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Abstract

Public Diplomacy has been a powerful tool on both national and international levels of political communication for decades. Being one of the most prominent supranational organizations, the UN is a significant player in the field of international Public Diplomacy. To narrow the study's scope this research focuses on the example of the migration crisis in Europe in 2015 and Public Diplomacy. This study suggests the level of resonance of the stated-above crisis in media and civil society is very high, and the international laws, instead of being a legitimate basis, added a criminal subtext to the discussion on migrants. By conducting two content analyses, one on media coverage of six countries' news sources, and second on the civil initiative Facebook groups, the researchers acquired two comparable samples. This study explores the main tendencies of interrelations between Public Diplomacy and media reporting, as well as social debate. The outcomes show that there is a big difference between two sources' perspective, and the UN plays different roles in frames of this crisis and communication with the audiences in various countries.

Keywords: Public Diplomacy, the UN, the EU UNIC, UNIC Prague, DPI, mass media, the migration crisis in Europe in 2015, civil society, initiative civil movements, media resonance.

1. Introduction

Public Diplomacy is a key to success to any entity that performs it in today's communication, it is almost an obligation. The United Nations Information Centres carry out and fulfil this assignment for the UN as the extension of the Department of Public Information in the countries they serve. They develop and implement coordinated communication strategies to reach out on priority issues of the UN. They also enact as a normal public relations affiliate for the UN, as they "maintain contacts with national and regional media" in order to spread the information on their activities[1]. Therefore, in frames of our cooperation with UNIC Prague, we wanted to see how the UN is appearing in the PD process of media communication: Is it visible, is it transmitting the UN's voice and is it actively participating in the public agenda? For this matter, we chose a highly delicate subject: the migration crisis

[1] Unic.un.org, 'United Nations Information Centres' (2015) <https://unic.un.org/aroundworld/unics/en/whoWeAre/aboutDPI/index.asp> accessed 19 June 2015.

in Europe in 2015. Given the expertise, regime and reputation the UN has in this field, it is of great interest how the UN can convey their message competing for attention with possibly another supranational organization, the EU. This paper will evaluate the migration agenda out of a communicative point of view, possibly giving pieces of advice in an on-going subject for the involved actors. To observe different sides of the story, this research will focus on discovering the media agenda during the migration crisis in Europe in 2015, as well as civil initiative groups' communication, so that the UN's appearance, opinions and public impressions would be seen from different perspectives.

2. Public Diplomacy – A theoretical perspective

Public diplomacy (PD), or more precisely the activities that today fall under this concept, is almost as old as humanity itself. The first traces of PD can be found already at the origin of the first states where the rulers spread rumours or stories aimed at one thing: to build the reputation of the state and sovereignity in order to promote the interests of the state and their realization[2].

There is a variety of definitions circling around the term Public Diplomacy, which often differ in the details, but in general, they seem to be common. In literature, we can find the following aspects:

1) Public Diplomacy as the opposite of secret diplomacy. The concurrently used term in this regard is "open diplomacy".

2) Public Diplomacy in the sense of public affairs**.** The target is to inform the domestic population about diplomatic activities of the government and greater public control of citizens over these activities. The aim of public affairs is primary to inform the domestic public and stimulate their participation in the activities abroad.

3) Public Diplomacy can act also as an instrument for reaching goals of foreign policy abroad. Often in this respect, it is understood as an elegant name for propaganda.

4) Public Diplomacy as a process of communication with the foreign audience which is being addressed by using a variety of tools aimed to achieve a positive image. Positive images of a

[2] Jana Peterkova, 'Veřejná Diplomacie V Proměnách Času' (Ústav mezinárodních vztahů Praha, 2011) <http://www.iir.cz/article/verejna-diplomacie-v-promenach-casu> accessed 25 August 2015.

country play a decisive role in reaching goals and the interests of the state outside of their own policy, per example in the issue of foreign investments, tourism, and trade policy. PD is based on soft power[3]. The following remarks in this paper, especially in correlation with the United Nations refer to this definition of the term.

The difference between Public Diplomacy and traditional diplomacy is that Public Diplomacy not only deals with governments but also primarily with non-governmental individuals and organizations. Furthermore, private individuals and organizations often represent PD activities (in addition to official state government views). It follows that PD is a broader strategy that promotes the interests of the state through direct contacts such as the media, academia, business and cultural intelligentsia. In the world of interconnectivity and immediate response, we can consider the role of PD as absolutely essential in modern diplomatic practice. The concept of Public Diplomacy applies differently to entities other than national or international authorities. Especially supranational organizations like the United Nations and the European Union have a special role when it comes to the persuasion of publics.

2. 1. Public Diplomacy of the EU

A subsidiary body of The European External Action Service (EEAS), which maintain diplomatic relations with other countries outside the Union and carry out foreign and security policy of EU, represent diplomatic services of the EU. The objective is also to strengthen coherence and effectiveness of EU foreign policy, thereby increasing Europe's influence on the international scene[4].

National public diplomacy is often aimed at country projection and brand promotion with a relatively little focus on goals that may be represented at the European level. By way of contrast, the EU is more aimed at transversal policy issues, such as climate change, or migration and human rights, which demand a more diversified approach to public diplomacy. Information is transferred either passively (through websites, blogs or publications) or actively (by official visits of EU officials or through the activities of the local EU delegation staff). The EEAS must also have a strong and substantive media operation, in order to deal effectively with a global 24-hour news culture that requires information and comment. It is

[3] Jana Peterkova, 'Veřejná Diplomacie - Jen Módní Pojem Nebo Skutečná Změna?' (2006) 41 Mezinárodní vztahy <https://mv.iir.cz/article/view/227> accessed 26 August 2015.

[4] Eeas.europa.eu, 'Evropská Unie - EEAS (Evropská Služba Pro Vnější Činnost) | Delegace EU' (2009) <http://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/index_cs.htm> accessed 26 August 2015.

also important to manage dialogue with civil society, NGOs, and other non-state actors and make use of new electronics and social media. Currently, the EU has 164 national missions and 36 international organizations, which make it one of the largest diplomatic communities globally[5].

2. 2. Public Diplomacy of the UN

When it comes to the public image, the UN established the Department of Public Information in 1946 to "promote global awareness and understanding of the work of the United Nations"[6]. It spreads the information related to the UN, using tools and all forms of media (radio, television, printed press as well as digital forms – the Internet and other multimedia possibilities)[7]. The department has a structure including three main divisions: Strategic Communications Division, News & Media Division and Outreach Division (Organizational Chart, 2015). Moreover, 63 Information Centres (UNIC, UNIS, UNO) spread over the world are affiliated to the Department of Public Information. They're assigned to „link the United Nations with people around the world, disseminating global UN messages to local audiences"[8].

One of the most important factors in forming public opinion and usage of Public Diplomacy today is the Internet. It offers far more tools and opportunities to spread information as traditional communication outlets before.

3. E-Public Diplomacy: Media, Online Media, Social Media and Politics

[5] Simon Duke, 'The European External Action Service And Public Diplomacy' (*European Institute of Public Administration*, 2013) <http://www.eipa.eu/files/repository/product/20131009144127_TheEuropeanExternalActionService.pdf> accessed 9 May 2015.

[6] Un.org, 'Department Of Public Information' (2015) <http://www.un.org/en/hq/dpi/organigram.shtml> accessed 25 May 2015.

[7] Un.org, 'United Nations Official Document' (2015) <http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/68/6(Sect.28)> accessed 31 May 2015.

[8] Unic.un.org, 'United Nations Information Centres' (2015) <https://unic.un.org/aroundworld/unics/en/whoWeAre/aboutDPI/index.asp> accessed 19 June 2015.

Media have been known for their power of the fourth estate for a long time. Several theoretical backgrounds have supported this point of view. Among them the most essential to mention are:

- Agenda-setting function theory[9] that focuses on the fact that media are playing a colossal role in the shaping of the political reality.
- Another closely related field of media studies is the framing theory that describes social frameworks of the communicational process[10]. And the widely used approaches of framing in media sphere are using of catchphrases, spin, contrast, metaphor and other similar techniques in reporting[11].

These two major concepts were summarized and seen in a new perspective of media as a powerful actor of social and political life[12]. With the support of these ideas the etymologic mediocracy theory evolved: media have been taken to a new level of governing, being transmitters of corporations' voices and political influence[13].

Social media could perform many more functions and approaches rather than conventional media, but still the name of the term contains 'media', which makes this format closely related to the influences that traditional media are both experiencing and practicing.

According to the mediocracy theory, the communication field has four most crucial actors that are politics, economy[14], audience and media (and Social Media are part of them). Media play the role of the connecting link between politics and audience, they transmit messages from political organizations to the audience and perform functions of the feedback from the audience[15] (see Figure 1).

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[9] Maxwell McCombs, 'Agenda Setting Function Of Mass Media' (1977) Vol. 3 No. 4 PRR 90.
D. L. Shaw and S. E. Martin, 'The Function Of Mass Media Agenda Setting' (1992) Vol. 69 No. 4 JMCQ 910.

[10] Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis* (Harvard University Press 1974).

[11] Gail Theus Fairhurst and Robert A Sarr, *The Art Of Framing* (Jossey-Bass Publishers 1996).

[12] Everett M. Rogers and James W. Dearing, 'Agenda-Setting Research: Where Has It Been, Where Is It Going?' (1998) Vol. 11 No. 3 CY 562.

[13] Urban Dictionary, 'Mediocracy' (2006) <http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=mediacracy> accessed 1 October 2015.

[14] Peter Dahlgren, *Media And Political Engagement* (Cambridge University Press 2009).

[15] Brian McNair, *An Introduction To Political Communication* (Routledge 2003).

Social Media have increased the presence of the audience's voice in the political field, as the most significant features of this type of media are interactivity, digitalized content, rapidity of communication, multi-functionality and responsiveness. SM have also increased political organizations' chances to reach the broader audience and widen the power of their usage of media.

In addition to the stated above Social Media characteristics, we should consider also such important factors as:

- High accessibility and usability of SM: a user of SM is no longer only a part of the silent audience, but rather cannot be silenced anymore as an active participant of the constantly updated media with a possibility of user-generated-content. This side of SM makes many participant "hooked" and, therefore, dependent on the media even more than before[16].
- One of the reasons why SM as a medium seems to be so attractive for people all over the world is the fact that sender of the message takes the recipient in consideration and tries to make the news more personal. At the same time SM are omitting the division between personal and professional: in frames of political usage (e.g. political campaigns in SM) it serves a crucial purpose of minimizing the gap between the candidate and the electorate[17].
- SM have the power to promote, spread and persuade audiences all over the world, which makes it a perfect tool for PD. Governments and supranational organizations are applying SM tactics to target the desired groups of people: getting noticed, real-time communication, viral spread of information and attracting attention to the most crucial issues and problems of the world/country/organization[18].

4. Global Governance and the UN

[16] Stanley J Baran and Dennis Davis, *Mass Communication Theory:7Th Revised Edition* (WADSWORTH Publishing CO INC 2014).

[17] Aaron Barlow, *Blogging America* (Praeger 2008).
Clay Shirky, *Here Comes Everybody* (Penguin 2009).

[18] Matthew Wallin, 'The Challenges Of The Internet And Social Media In Public Diplomacy' (*American Security Project*, 2013) <https://americansecurityproject.org/ASP%20Reports/Ref%200112%20-%20Challenges%20of%20the%20Internet%20and%20Social%20Media%20in%20PD.pdf> accessed 16 September 2015.

There is no government for the world. Yet, a whole range of cross-border activities takes place in reasonable expectation of safe and secure clearing and settlement between the actors involved. How is the world governed even in the absence of a world government? What accounts for formal and informal norms, codes of conduct and regulatory? The answer lies in the concept of Global Governance[19]. Traditionally governance has been associated with "governing," or with political authority, institutions, and, ultimately, control. However, the meaning of the term has since been utilized to denote a mutual understanding of relations in the absence of overarching political authority, such as in the international system. Hence, Global Governance can be defined as the sum of laws, norms, policies, and institutions, which define, constitute, and mediate trans-border relations between states, cultures, citizens, intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations and the market. It embraces all initiatives by which states and their citizens (therefore, humanity as a whole) try to bring more predictability, stability, and order to their responses to transnational challenges, which go beyond the capacity of a single state to solve[20]. The concept of Global Governance out of its definition thus can apply to all areas developed by humans, including communication. The case of migration illustrates well how difficult it is to resolve trans-border issues.

4.1. Global Governance and migration

Unlike many other trans-boundary issues such as trade, the environment, and finance, migration lacks an easily identifiable institutional framework at the global level. There is no UN migration organization. However, this is not to say that there is no global migration governance. States have recognized that they cannot address the challenge of migration without international cooperation. Consequently, there is a rich tapestry of multiple institutions that co-exist across the bilateral, regional, inter-regional, and multilateral levels, through both formal and informal structures[21].

Global migration governance can be understood to exist at three broad levels: Multilateralism, Embeddedness, and Informal Networks. However, the only area with strong formal

[19] Thomas G Weiss, David P Forsythe and Roger A Coate, *The United Nations And Changing World Politics* (Westview Press 2001).

[20] Khalid Koser, 'Introduction: International Migration And Global Governance' (2010) Vol. 16 No. 3 GGRMIO 310.

[21] Alexander Betts, *Global Migration Governance* (Oxford University Press 2011).

multilateralism in migration governance today is the international refugee regime, most importantly manifested through the founding of the organization UNHCR and IOM in 1950. The UNHCR is mandated to report directly to the General Assembly of the United Nations. Its funding structure is described as follows: "UNHCR is funded almost entirely by voluntary contributions, with 86 per cent coming from governments and the European Union"[22]. In this donation structure lies the problem many authors[23] point to when they debate on the refugee crisis in Europe: The High Commissioner for Refugees, Antonio Guterres, stated in an interview that promised donations were not transferred and budget demands to handle refugee situations around known areas of turmoil were only met to a third of the sought funding[24]. This led to cuts in basic supplies for refugees, like food and water. Combined with worsened prospects of war's end, the hope of individual economical betterment and the strengthening of formations looking to exploit power vacuums of any sorts, which is coming ultimately with repression, people take their chances and try to immigrate to Europe. These factors were originally described with the push-pull-approach of Lee's migration theory[25] and are still very valid for today's migration patterns[26].

States are reluctant to implement formal multilateralism to other areas of migration, becoming evident with the limited ratification of the UN Convention of the Rights of all migrant workers and their families in 2006. Aside from this, a range of institutions may not be labeled exclusively as 'migration institutions', they are 'embedded' within other policy fields which apply to Global Governance, such as international human rights law, WTO law and international maritime law (summarized in the term International Migration Law). But the most rapidly developing form of global migration governance relates to informal networks. These networks are meetings attended by governmental policy-makers with a setting that is

[22] Unhcr.org, 'UNHCR' (2015) <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646cbf.html> accessed 18 October 2015.

[23] Clare Kapp, 'Funding Squeeze Forces UNHCR Cutbacks' (2001) Vol. 358 No. 9288 L 1177.
Örn B Bodvarsson and Hendrik Van den Berg, *The Economics Of Immigration* (Springer 2013).
S. D. Roper and L. A. Barria, 'Burden Sharing In The Funding Of The UNHCR: Refugee Protection As An Impure Public Good' (2010) Vol. 54 No. 4 JCR 620.

[24] Harriet Grant, 'UN Agencies 'Broke And Failing' In Face Of Ever-Growing Refugee Crisis' (*the Guardian*, 2015) <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/06/refugee-crisis-un-agencies-broke-failing> accessed 18 October 2015.

[25] Everett S. Lee, 'A Theory Of Migration' (1966) Vol. 3 No. 1 D 47.

[26] Michael Bommes, *Migration Between The Middle East, North Africa And Europe* (Amsterdam Univ Press [ua] 2014).

of a non-binding, flexible nature and focus on the sharing of information, ideas, best-practice and capacity building. Depending on the influence of a subject, the levels of the network meetings are either regional, inter-regional or trans-regional. IOM has played an active role in promoting these types of informal networks[27].

The issue to face global migration governance holistically in the absence of a world body lies in three competing aims: Rights, security, and economy. Any substantive vision needs to accept trade-offs and the recognition that there are winners and losers from any governance model. Global migration governance lacks a clear vision under these circumstances. That is why national states have to find solutions for the issue.

5. Research Questions

The theme of migration, refugees, media, and the society is not new in the academic spectrum. However, as the migration agenda was the topic of public discussion in summer 2015, tangible all over the world and notably in Europe, it offered a great case of investigation of PD. Most of the previous studies were applied to English-speaking countries and focused on the domestic media coverage[28].

To add novelty to this research topic, we approached the subject more holistic and expand the research field up to 6 countries' media rather than focus on one national media agenda. Another item we had to encompass was the civil society debate as well. Thereby, we will have a chance to compare two different social clusters: the world of the political and economic elites (excessively represented by traditional, non-interactive media) and the world of the civil society (represented by Social Media). Public Diplomacy is a part of the discussion on the

[27] Emma Carmel, 'Migration Governance In The European Union: A Theme And Its Variations' (2012) Vol. 20 No. 1 JPSJ 32.

[28] Sara Buchanan, Bethan Grillo and Terry Threadgold, *What'S The Story? MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS IN THE UK* (1st edn, Article 19 2003) <https://www.article19.org/data/files/pdfs/publications/refugees-what-s-the-story-.pdf> accessed 4 December 2015.

Samuel Parker, ''Unwanted Invaders': The Representation Of Refugees And Asylum Seekers In The UK And Australian Print Media' [2015] eSharp <http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_404384_en.pdf>.

Alice Venir, *UK Media Representation Of Syrian Refugees: A Focus On The Press* (1st edn, 2015) <https://www.academia.edu/9283960/UK_Media_Representation_of_Syrian_Refugees_A_Focus_on_the_Press> accessed 4 December 2015.

migration process, possibly playing a significant supportive or harming role in finding solutions and forming public opinion. The UN as a whole and the agency of cooperation (UNIC Prague) in particular as a supranational organization performing Public Diplomacy are hereby observed, measured by the visibility and activeness within interactive and non-interactive media.

Based on this research scope and interests we set up following research questions:

RQ1: What are the resonance and visibility of the migration crisis in Europe in 2015 in media and civil society?

RQ2: How was the public debate on the migration agenda in Europe in 2015 influenced by the international laws applied to migration?

RQ3: What is the place of the UN in the migration agenda in Europe in 2015 in the public?

Hypothesis:

H1.1: The resonance of the migration crisis in Europe 2015 was very high, increasing as the uncertainty surrounding the subject continued.

H1.2: The agenda is considered a topic of international affair in the media and civil society debate.

H2: International laws illustrate a sense of criminality, associating migrants with illegality, therefore labeling them as criminals.

H3.1: Supranational organizations (including the UN) would have a higher presence in the media coverage rather than in the civil society debate.

6. Methods

In order to combine all facets of the research, a quantitative content analysis covering the three most visited online web portals by countries affected by the subject (in alphabetical order: Austria, Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, Italy, United Kingdom) was performed. Furthermore, to draw a comparison between the stance of the general public towards the UN in the crisis and how the organization is represented in established media, a separate quantitative analysis was conducted for private initiatives on Facebook, which formed during the crisis for the support of refugees in Europe and beyond. This was also made for the purpose

of understanding how the crisis has been reported and covered, what the main issues media are talking about are and what role the UN has in this situation. To gain the sample size time frames from April 25th, 2015 until September 15th, 2015 (time between first and second session of the Regional Academy on the United Nations, coincidentally colliding with important events during the refugee crisis) were set.

For the sample size of the media article analysis (see Table 1), we decided to focus on the online versions of media because this form is highly accessible all over the world, has no limit of articles as in a case of printed press and has no time restriction. Our sample is coming from a variety of media expressing different political orientation from liberal to conservative (see Table 2), with the major criterion being the most read online sources per country. We have discovered that in the case of Austrian and Italian media online news sites of the public broadcasting services (ORF and RAI) appeared to be on top of the most visited news websites. To make sure that there would be no methodological contradiction, we have drawn an analogy between the results for public broadcasting resources and online versions of newspapers, and we found that both ORF and RAI are matching exactly the same pattern of the reporting regarding opinion expression and the amounts of publications per month as all other news websites. Hence, we found it appropriate to unite the findings from both types of our sources and not to distinguish them. All articles related to refugees in popular media were analysed by the aspects of mentions of most affected countries (Austria, Croatia, Serbia, Hungary, Italy, Germany, France, United Kingdom, Greece, Czech Republic), the mentioning of supranational organizations (be it UN, EU or others), in case of the UN also the relation to the organization, the tone of coverage (distinguishing a positive, neutral or negative tone towards migrants) and the mentioning of international laws applying to migration. We defined positive coverage as optimistic, supportive, cheerful, welcoming, suggestive and helpful articles towards people, we define negative coverage as pessimistic, aggressive, rich of negativity for labeling people and criticizing migrants and refugees articles (e.g. flood of refugees), and we define neutral coverage as objective reporting and articles mostly consisting of pure facts.

The second sample part came from 12 Facebook initiative groups that emerged as the social respond to the migration crisis in Europe in 2015 and are expressing civil society attitude and actions towards the situation (see Table 3). To perform the collection of this sample size, we have used a Google Chrome expansion "NCapture", and once the data was collected it was proceed into readable and suitable for coding format with the help of "NVivo" software

program. The posts were analyzed by the aspects of language use, the tone towards the UN as a supranational organization as well as the mentioning of international laws.

To perform this content analysis a special codebook with categories was designed, all of the group members worked on its creation so that there was no room for disagreement of our results' expectations. After building up a codebook three coders (Denisa Cihalova, Varvara Filimonova, and Nicholas James Lieb) performed trial coding testing the strength of the codebook and its categories and define reliability level of this content analysis. This content analysis has an intercoder reliability of 87,8%, which is equal to 0.835 Cohen's Kappa and 0.836 Krippendorf's Alpha. A separate codebook has been used for analyzing the data coming from Facebook initiative groups, and the trial coding also took place. The outcomes of the intercoder reliability test are 97,5%, or 0.959 Krippendorf's Alpha and 0.959 Cohen's Kappa.

7. Case study: Public Diplomacy on the issue of migration in Europe

7.1. PD and society: How the agenda is covered and treated in various countries

The handling and treatment of the migration issue in the year 2015 in Europe has differed to a fairly high degree in various countries, be it on a political or social scale. The exemplification of the media content of 6 countries, as well as the engagement of the civil society, organizing itself through network platforms such as Facebook depict that the issue is generally of a high relevance in Europe and creates a lot of bias throughout societies. During the observation period, the research team counted 3435 articles directly on the issue in the 6 countries we investigated, as well as 3361 Facebook posts on the front pages of 12 private initiatives throughout Europe.

The results show that approximately 34% of all articles analyzed were published between September 1 and 15, which clearly states that the media, if not before, set their agenda on the refugee crisis in the beginning of September, and by that the issue became very visible to audiences. It is supported by the timeline and the connection of the publications peaks that could be seen on the timeline (see Figure 3) and on the flow of the events that took place during the analyzed period of time (see Figure 4). Overall, the general output per country ranges from 853 (in Germany) to 201 articles (in the Czech Republic, with the difference of two instead of 3 observed news portals).

The first parameter investigated was the mentioning of certain countries in the articles. Germany again leads this figure, with a mention in almost a third of the articles (31%) respectively. Other highly reported countries were Austria, the Czech Republic, Italy, Greece and Hungary (23%, 21%, 22%, 18% and 17% respectively). This number demonstrates the relevance of Germany in the debate.

For the Facebook analysis, the same tendencies of intensity observed in the news content analysis can be noticed, meaning that over a third of all front page posts (1237) were made between September 1 and 15. This leads to the conclusion that the migration agenda within the observation period reached its peak at the very end (see Figure 16). The main language in use was English with 45%, followed by German (30%) and posts that included both of these languages (11%), we also noticed 1 post with combination of English, German and Arabic, as well as 1 post in French and 1 post in English-Czech (see Figure 17). Although half of the social movements were initiated in German-speaking countries (Germany, Austria), the usage of English was chosen over other languages, as it implies higher widespread of posts (with the seemingly worldwide acceptance of English as the cross-cutting language in use between different cultural regions).

7.2. International laws and regulations in interactive and non-interactive media

While this study we were aware that there are different sets of laws that could be related to the migration crisis in Europe in 2015. First of all, we surely considered the Geneva Convention on refugees together with the Human Rights Convention to be observed. And also in terms of the geographical limitations of our case study we observed dedicated EU laws.
In frames of the news content analysis, we discovered that altogether 42% of the articles mentioned and quoted international laws and regulation. Out of the whole amount of articles (see Figure 5) the Dublin III Regulation, Border Controls and the establishment of a Quota System within the EU to redistribute migrants between the EU member states appear to be the most referenced (8%, 10%, and 8% respectively). Also, we observed that 7% of laws that have been included into media coverage were connected with phenomena such as smuggling or general laws on migration, and there are identified by us as "Other laws". We expected the coverage on the foundation of all other supranational laws on migration, the Geneva Convention on refugees and the Human Rights Convention, to be highly included into the scale of the refugees crisis coverage, however, we have found that they are nearly non-existent

in the debate (2% and 4% respectively). Also, we have seen that their mentions have quite a flat pattern regardless the amount of articles and events that happened during our analysis timeframe (see Figure 6).

To be more specific on the supranational organizations and their connection to the migration crisis, we also analyzed what is the connection between either the UN or the EU and all of the stated above laws. All observed laws in connection to the UN, except Human Rights Convention, were associated negatively towards the debate on refugees (see Figure 12). At the same time in case of the EU, all of the laws had a negative association in the coverage on the studied topic (see Figure 13).

The Facebook analysis, however, shows a lopsided pattern in the other direction. Despite a low number of mentions overall (46 posts, around 1% of the data), the most related law was Human Rights (25%), followed by the Dublin Agreement (15%) (see Figure 18) and the quota system (13%). The percentage of mentioning for border controls is 9%, with both the Schengen agreement and Geneva Convention at 7% of all mentions and all other associated laws mentioned in 24% of all posts with an international law mention. The results are somehow expectable, given the impetus of the private initiatives and their initiators: to preserve a human dimension in treatment and discussion with the support of migrants. Unlike the media coverage, in SM posts the UN was related to the international laws only in 4 posts out of 3361.

7.3. Coverage of the supranational organizations and the relation to the UN

This part of the content analysis was the most essential and valuable for our research as it allowed us to gain data and build a conclusion on the UN mentionings, especially the UN's visibility and activity, which is depicted in the media coverage. It was also crucial to see what place the UN is taking in the media opinion (and thereby very likely in the public opinion, bearing on mind the huge level of media impact on the audience's opinion through framing and agenda-setting techniques) and how is it compared to the other supranational organizations. First of all, it is important to say that more than a half of the analyzed data (55%) related to supranational organizations in general. We saw that the EU has a higher mentioning rate than the UN (59% and 39% respectively) out of 1880 articles (see Figure 7). Austrian media were actively mentioning both the UN and the EU with 13% of analyzed

articles dedicated to these organizations, the next significant result had both Germany and the UK with 12% of its articles (see Figure 8).

Among the articles that had a relation to the UN we also pointed the exact agencies and ways of expression that appeared in the media: UNHCR – 62%, Secretary General – 14%, Security Council – 7%, World Food Program – 5%, UNICs – 0% and others like the UN in general– 12% (see Figure 11). Germany has been the most-mentioned country in relation to the United Nations (10%) of German articles, followed by Austrian media with 7% of articles. (See Figure 9). The European Union, on the other hand, took a most visible place in the reporting of British media (9%) and Hungarian newspapers with 7% of the articles (see Figure 10). Overall, the UN, with their expectable expertise in migration matters, have only been mentioned in 21% of all analyzed articles.

Of all analyzed Facebook posts, the team discovered that the UN was mentioned only in 1% (30 posts) of the cases. 60% of these posts were expressing neutral attitude to the UN, 17% - positive and 23% - negative (see Figure 19). We applied the same criteria as in our media articles analysis to the posts mentioning the UN and defined the specific agencies they were referring to: the majority of posts (70%) were logically connected to UNHCR and 30% of posts just mentioned the UN as the entire organization without naming its specific organ (see Figure 20). Another criterion that we set up for this analysis was the context of the UN mentioning: Mentions of competence in the performed activities (13%), mention of incompetence towards the UN (20%), cooperation (17%) and pure mentioning of the UN as it is without straight connection to initiative groups' activities (50%) (see Figure 21).

7.4. General tone of coverage

The tone of coverage of the agenda in the media was of special interest for the research group, as it the depiction of a certain issue in the public debate and therefore also lead the discussion and its direction. We analyzed the tonality towards the individuals (migrants or refugees) themselves: Whether it is positive, negative or neutral. We received results of that the more than a half of the analyzed articles performed neutral reporting (61%) when 12% of articles consisted of obviously positive reporting and 27% of obviously negative reporting (see Figure 14). Among the media division by countries Austrian and German media, surprisingly, had the only significant and noticeable amount of negative reporting with 37% and 39% of the articles, respectively. In other countries' media, neutral reporting prevailed, with negative and

positive reporting both on a lower level (see Figure 6). It is crucial to underline that the negative coverage is nearly twice as much compared to positive on a constant level, regardless of a number of articles, country, and peaks in reporting through the time period (see Figure 15).

In the early stages of the observed period, the media tended to report more neutrally throughout Europe on the subject, whereas from August 2015, when the issue exacerbated, on the articles expressed a higher level opinion, be it positive or negative. The UK media with their history of opinion-based journalism had a relatively high degree of opinion-expressing articles compared to other countries.

For the Facebook analysis, this dimension was not observed due to the estimation that there would be an overwhelmingly positive tone towards migrants as people within these initiatives voluntarily engaged themselves for migrants.

8. Recommendations

In frames of our cooperation with UNIC Prague, we have first discussed the already ongoing subject of migration into Europe in large numbers and how it influences the work of the agency. By that time we have learned what the specific goals and features of the agency are, and what can be done to contribute to its work. Currently, 3 employees work in the office in Prague. The visibility of their work contains a Facebook page, liked by 2,014 people as well as a Twitter channel currently followed by 394 people (as of December 13th, 2015) and a website www.osn.cz. Naturally, UNIC Prague's resources limit their outreach to the audience, together with their concentration to promote the work of the UN in the Czech Republic only. There is also an office of the UNHCR in Prague, but it focuses on work in terms of legal discrepancies, not public relations. This is the Information Centre's purpose. But, as was clarified during the meetings with the agency, UNIC is entitled to mediate with the public on the issues of the UN as the organization, not particular issues.

Together with the fact that the Czech Republic did not experience the „migration crisis" on the same level as other European countries, it may explain why the UN has nearly no connection to the local media, as was found during the analysis. Obviously, the media contacts the agency for the sake of information and opinion on the issue, but as was stated by Michal Broža, Officer-In-Charge of UNIC Prague, the media would more likely approach experts on subjects, as some bias could be involved in the UN's opinion. Also, Broža added, it is

important to note that UNIC doesn't comment, nor react on certain statements, per example by politicians, a peculiar approach given the fact that only expression legitimizes the existence of an agency responsible for public relations. UNIC Prague interprets this as impartiality, saying this is the real power of the UN.

Possible solutions under these circumstances were already implemented, taking UNIC Prague's communication to the Internet. Nevertheless, there are some opportunities to increase the visibility of the UN in the Czech Republic online: Easy to implement, a great tool is the establishment of search engine optimization (SEO), ranking the website higher when keywords and related topics are searched with engines. Currently, the search of the keyword „OSN" (Czech abbreviation for the UN) with known search engines show the website link of UNICas the 17th result, too low to be found (the first 3-5 results are normally of interest for the end user). Press agencies offer courses to conduct SEO-writing. Also, the maintenance of Wikipedia articles connected to the UN (in Czech) help to increase the visibility, as Wikipedia is a very relied source by search engines. The website itself gives a great overview over the issues of the UN (also compared to other UNIC web appearances). It goes without saying that the active usage of Social Media is also a great tool to promote the UN in the Czech Republic. UNIC utilizes this channel and share a lot of stories on this platform, but have nearly no interaction on the website. Several activities could take place to change that: Reposts, shares, comments (all actions considered good for linkbuilding) on related pages, more visible UN pages and forth. The visualization of the issues is key to gain a higher online presence, the production of videos therefore is rather mandatory than „nice to have". Even bearing in mind the resource limitations of the agency, it is important to note many newsrooms had to turn into completely convergent organizations under the digital pressure, so that nearly every employee acquired skills of all types of reporting, including video creation. These measures usually attract publics, albeit it is unknown to what degree. As an example, the agency could produce educational videos to explain issues from migration to global warming and poverty.

A very important part in improving the visibility of the UN in the Czech Republic is the direct connection with the civil world. In case of the migration agenda, we can see the discrepancy between demands and reality of the UN: The UN desires to connect more with citizens, but didn't take the chance when there was an opportunity in the wake of the mobilization through private initiatives. Apart from the long list of crucial things these initiatives are doing, they need informational help as well as recognition for the encouragement in their voluntary work. This would have been a massive boost for both the UN as well as the initiatives. Following

the crisis closely, initiatives give UN agencies credit for certain actions, which is not the case vice versa. No member of the UN visited visible initiatives like the "Train of Hope" initiative at Vienna's main station in an official manner and credited volunteers for their work. However, this circumstance cannot be blamed to UNIC Prague. There are plans to improve the Public Diplomacy of the UN on a local scale by interacting with the educational system, as schools and universities have great preconditions to reach an interested audience. The idea is to publish a magazine on the UN's work, goals, principles and so forth and spread it across educational facilities in the country, but cooperation with schools and teachers is therefore mandatory. To support this initiative, we also see a possibility to expand the level of interaction. Most of the people perceive the UN as something global and high-level, without a connection to their values and lives. UNIC Prague could set up public lectures, discussions and meetings with an aim to explain the organization's goals, core values with an informal setting and clichés, but with simple words and examples of the work being done, as it is already implemented by UNIS Vienna with their project 'Ciné ONU'.

The most important thing UNIC Prague can learn from the migration agenda, however, is taking a stand around issues that also concern the UN, like migration. As UNHCR in the Czech Republic focuses on finding solutions, and not informing people, this is where UNIC could participate. It is particularly important in times of extending radicalism and open xenophobia in Europe, with big support from the representatives of the Visegrad-states, to express opinion, with the UN clearly not being a supporter of xenophobic ideas. In the end, talking about the UN's opinion is the legitimacy of the agency.

9. Conclusion

The research had a specific set of goals to be reached with the help of this study: to determine the level of media and public resonance around the migration crisis in Europe in 2015 (RQ1); to define the influence of the international laws on the public debate on migration (RQ2); to allocate the place of the UN in public in frames of the European migration crisis 2015 (RQ3). Previous studies on the related topic, engaged with the theoretical background[29], have shown that the media treat issues of refugees and migration in a relatively same manner at different

[29] Maxwell McCombs, 'Agenda Setting Function Of Mass Media' (1977) Vol. 3 No. 4 PRR 90.
D. L. Shaw and S. E. Martin, 'The Function Of Mass Media Agenda Setting' (1992) Vol. 69 No. 4 JMCQ 910.
Everett M. Rogers and James W. Dearing, 'Agenda-Setting Research: Where Has It Been, Where Is It Going?' (1998) Vol. 11 No. 3 CY 562.

years: the majority of analyzed publications were tagged as neutral, followed by a higher percentage of negative reporting in comparison to positive on refugees and migrants. For instance, some of the researchers defined how refugees were labeled in media coverage, whether newspapers use different terms in their genuine meaning, the prevalence of stereotypes about refugees in the reporting, and the accuracy of the reporting itself[30]. The other studies did not set an interpretation of attitudes to refugees in the press but have sought to record the interpretative repertoires of media articles in relation to refugees[31]. Another approach has set a connection between the tone of coverage regarding refugees on different levels: the UK, representation of refugees, in connection to a particular newspaper; researchers also defined the most common themes of the articles on Syrian refugees[32].

The case study performed in frames of this research has revealed that there are possible straight causal relations between the country's involvement, participation and activeness in the process of Public Diplomacy on a global scale and its allusion in the media coverage: Germany was and is one of the most active states in the EU that cooperates and proposes regularly different options and solutions in the migration agenda, together with the promotion of necessity of cultural integration and civil society support of migrants. Other countries like Italy, Greece and Hungary had one of the highest levels of involvement with the refugee issue as they were and are the most likely countries of entering the EU, as well as highly covered in media countries. Furthermore, the way the migration crisis in Europe in 2015 was covered leads to the impression it is depicted by the media as a crisis of national states rather than supranational organizations, be it the European Union or the United Nations. This comes from the fact the countries' media involved in the crisis were covering the issue from their states' perspective rather than a holistic point of view, as the theory on global migration governance would entail it actually is, leaving the supranational organization out of the coverage to a high

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[30] Sara Buchanan, Bethan Grillo and Terry Threadgold, *What'S The Story? MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS IN THE UK* (1st edn, Article 19 2003) <https://www.article19.org/data/files/pdfs/publications/refugees-what-s-the-story-.pdf> accessed 4 December 2015.

[31] Samuel Parker, ''Unwanted Invaders': The Representation Of Refugees And Asylum Seekers In The UK And Australian Print Media' [2015] eSharp <http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_404384_en.pdf>.

[32] Alice Venir, *UK Media Representation Of Syrian Refugees: A Focus On The Press* (1st edn, 2015) <https://www.academia.edu/9283960/UK_Media_Representation_of_Syrian_Refugees_A_Focus_on_the_Press> accessed 4 December 2015.

degree. Thus, we have only partially found out that H1.2 is true as the nature of national media tends to cover national agendas, whereas the civil society tried to raise awareness on an international scale, therefore clearly deemed to be a „European" affair (based on the language use in posts, if it is any indicator).

The increase of opinion-expressing media coverage supports the idea that the migrant crisis in Europe not only became the center of attention for the media during this period but also that the frame of the issue changed. Instead of adding more and more facts into already cemented conceptions of migration issues, they were framed differently, adding individual notes to the crisis, a sign the subject evoked more differentiated public views. Therefore, we have proved H1.1 to be true. It did not necessarily mean the public view on refugees was twisted into the positive, as the findings show and subjective perception would mislead to. This facet of depiction is supported by the H2 confirmation with mentions of international laws applied to the subject, adding a criminal subtext to the discussion on migrants. Laws connoted to criminal activities, such as border controls, among others like smuggling are the most referred, whereas foundational laws such as the Human Rights Convention and the Geneva Convention on refugees who would give asylum seekers a face are voices not heard in the debate. Fortunately, this is only a picture the media draws, as civil society is still aware these laws are the basis for human beings around the globe, and also publicly call for them.

Even though, the outcomes of the content analysis allowed us to prove H3, and say that the supranational organizations, the UN especially, have a wider presence in media debate (21% of articles) rather than in civil society discussions (1% of Facebook posts), observations in the media and initiative group lead to the conclusion that the UN's PD performance is not that successful on the example of the migration crisis 2015, as we interpreted the measurement of the success in a quantitative manner. The organization was not able to put their views on display as it would have been proper, most visibly with the laws stated above, as these are the multilateral laws naturally related to the UN. Furthermore, the organization was visibly not able to put across the view on migration as a subject of multilateral nature in the public; therefore, it was depicted as an issue of national states. The topic was and still is a chance for the Information Centers to display the UN in Europe in a field where it is highly skilled and could show its strengths, with Europe being one of the places where the UN's fieldwork is usually not apparent.

10. Annex

10.1.Figures

Figure 1. Media and political interrelations.

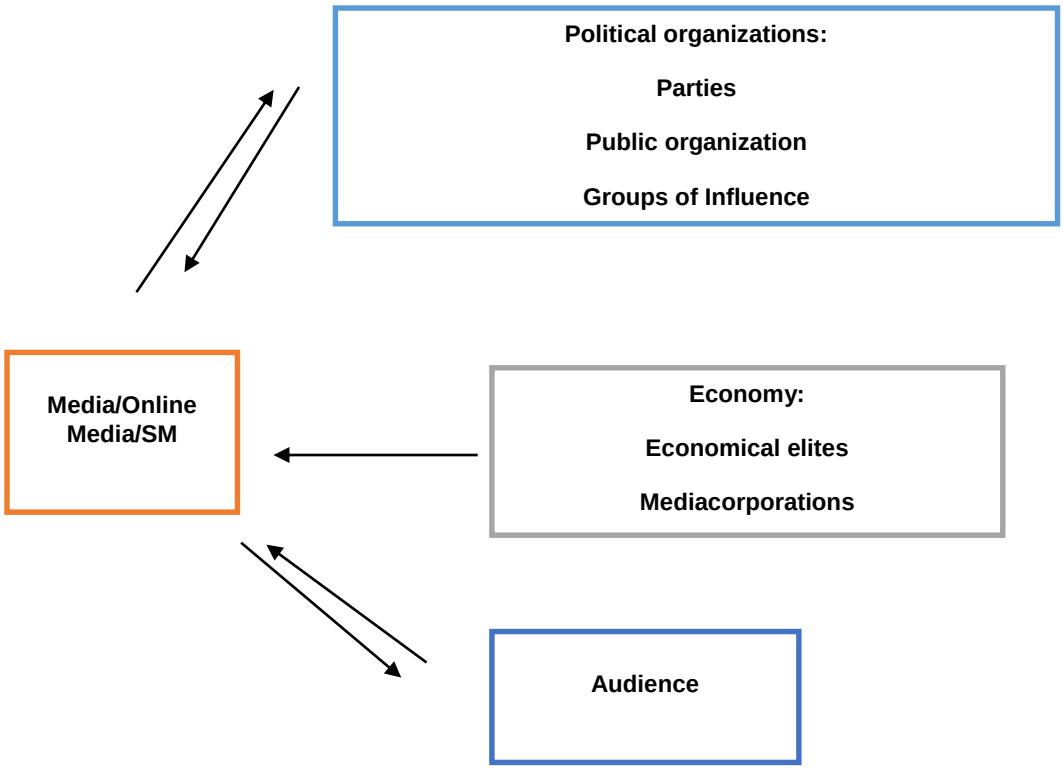


Figure 2. Mentioning of the European countries involved in the migration crisis in the analyzed media articles.

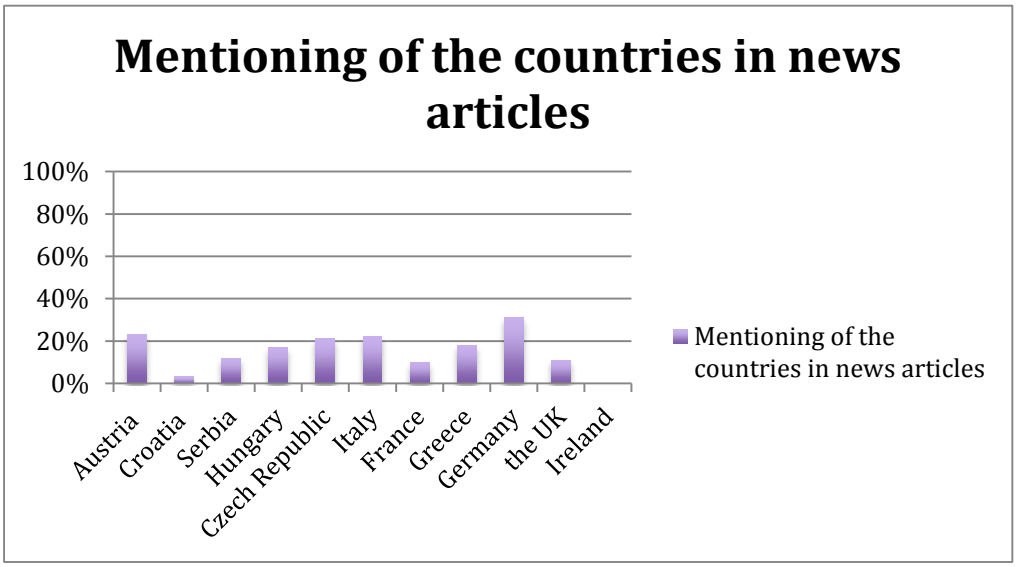


Figure 3. Timeline of the media coverage and opinion expression in analyzed articles.

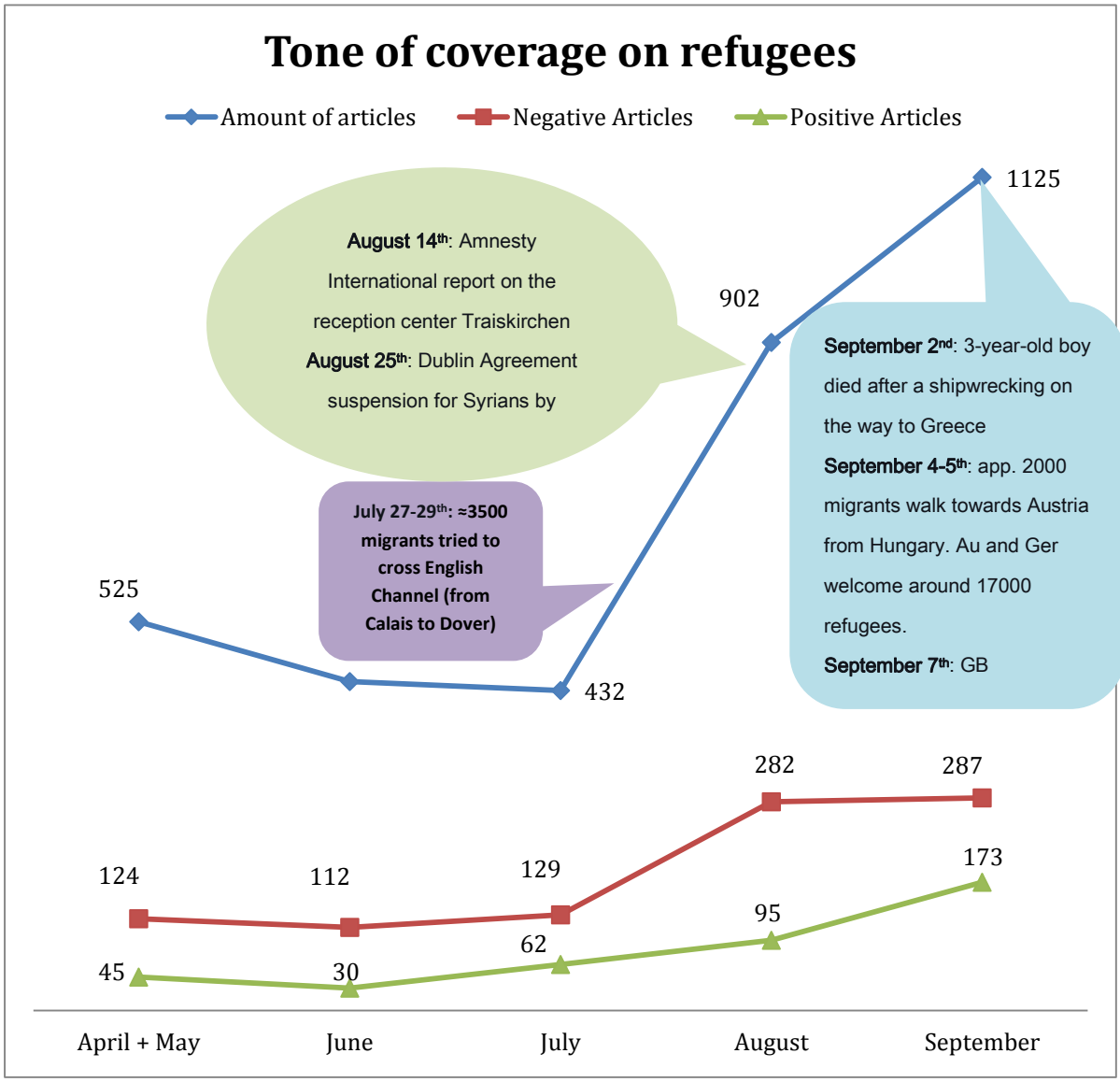


Figure 4. Evolving of the events regarding the migration crisis in Europe in 2015.

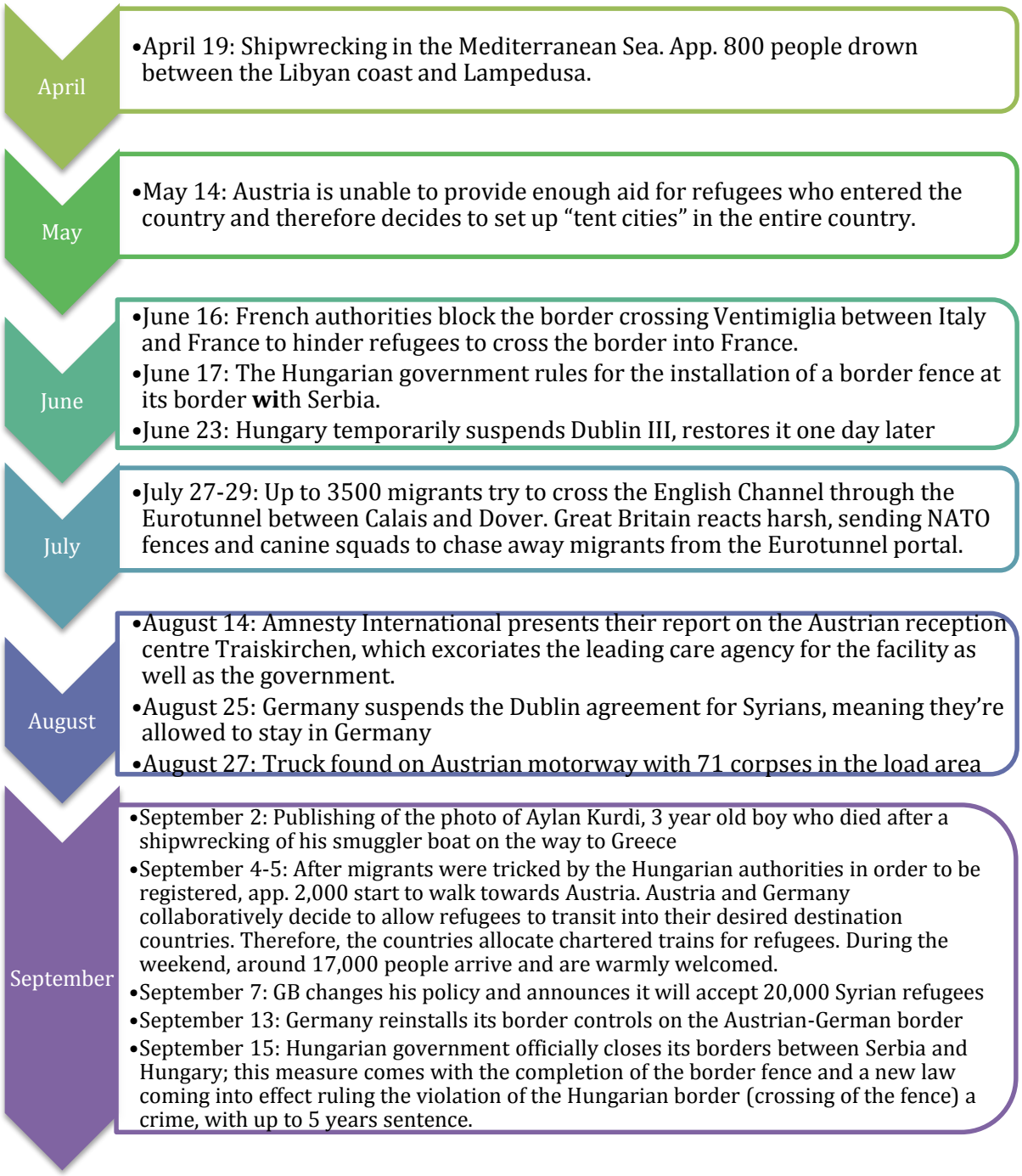


Figure 5. Mentioning of laws and regulation regarding the migration crisis in Europe.

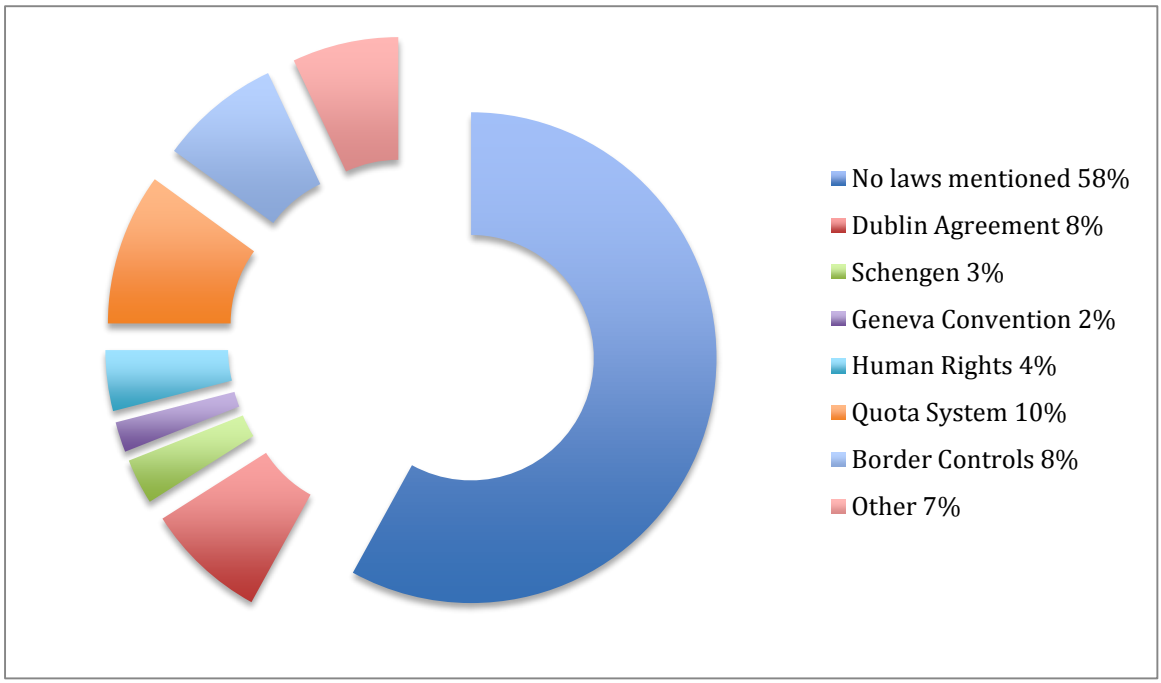
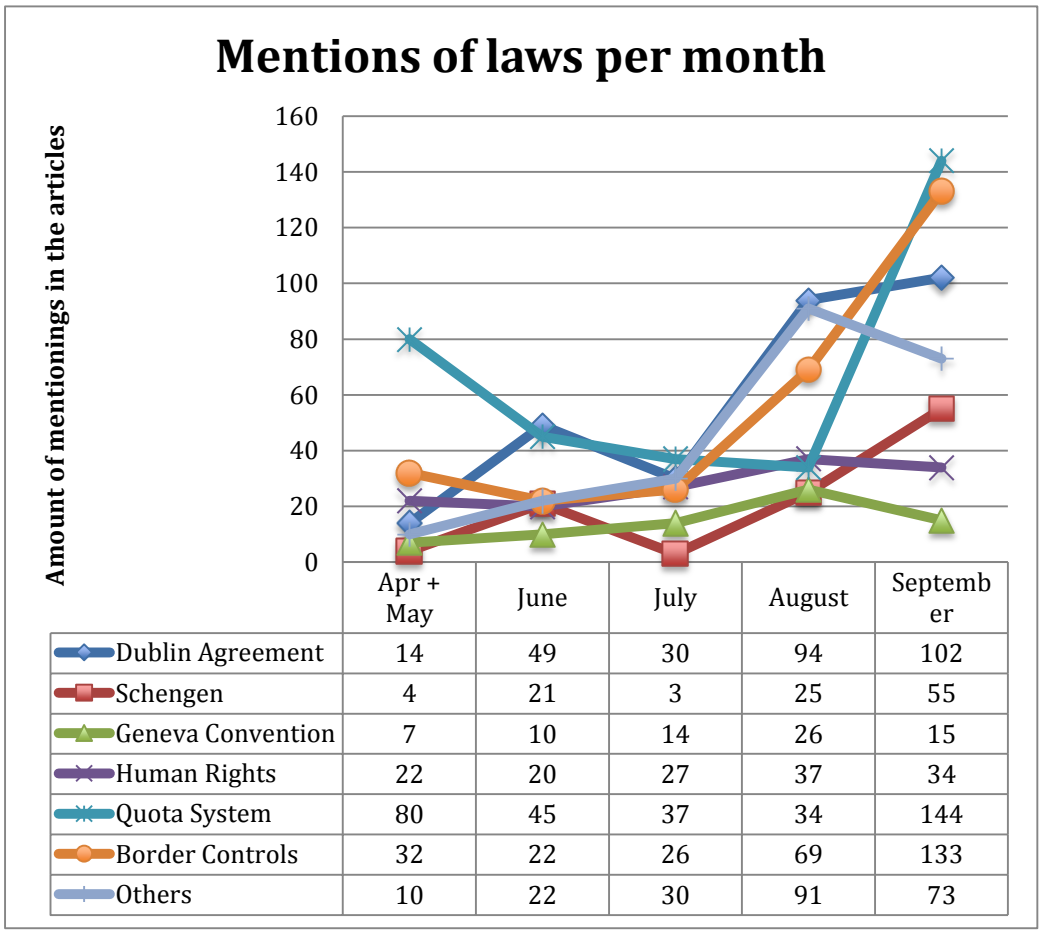


Figure 6. Evolving of the laws mentions in media coverage per month.



	Apr + May	June	July	August	September
Dublin Agreement	14	49	30	94	102
Schengen	4	21	3	25	55
Geneva Convention	7	10	14	26	15
Human Rights	22	20	27	37	34
Quota System	80	45	37	34	144
Border Controls	32	22	26	69	133
Others	10	22	30	91	73

Figure 7. Mentions of supranational organizations in media coverage.

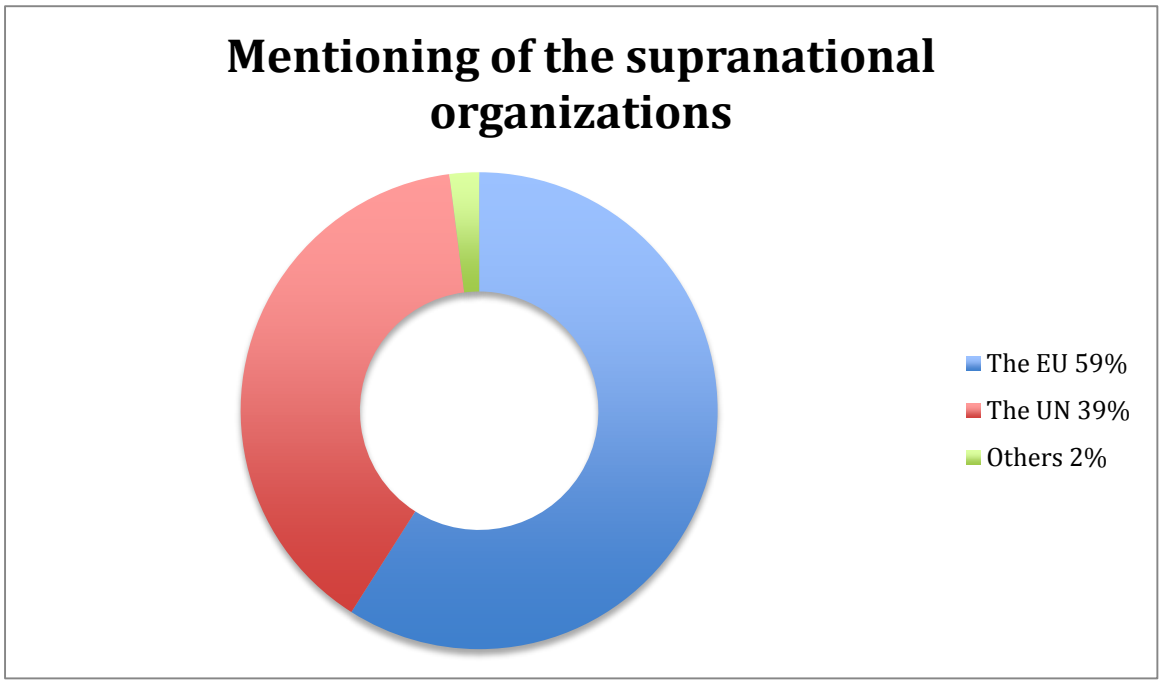


Figure 8. Mentioning of the supranational organization per country.

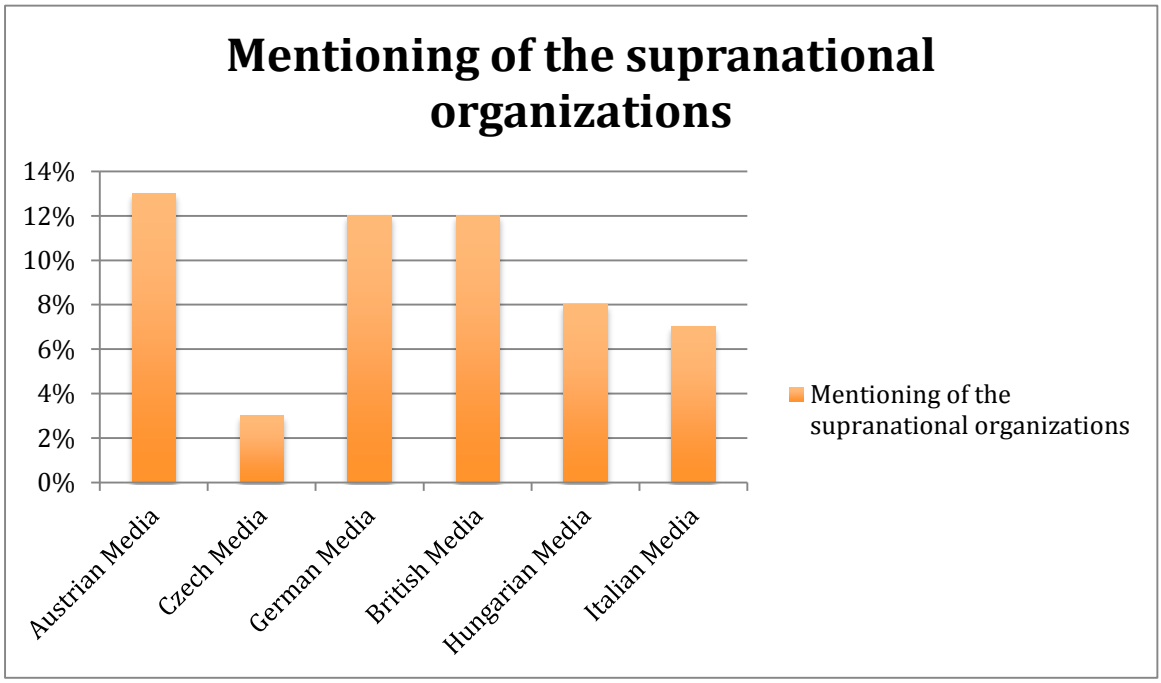


Figure 9. Relation between the UN and countries in media coverage.

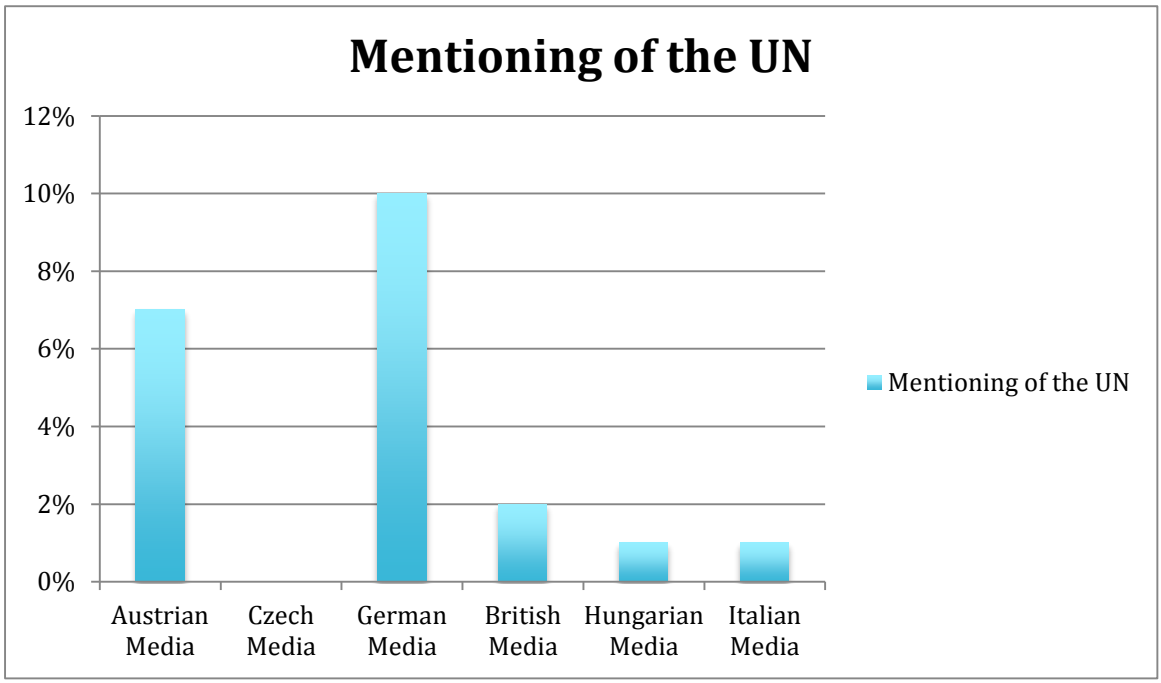


Figure 10. Relation between the EU and countries in media coverage.

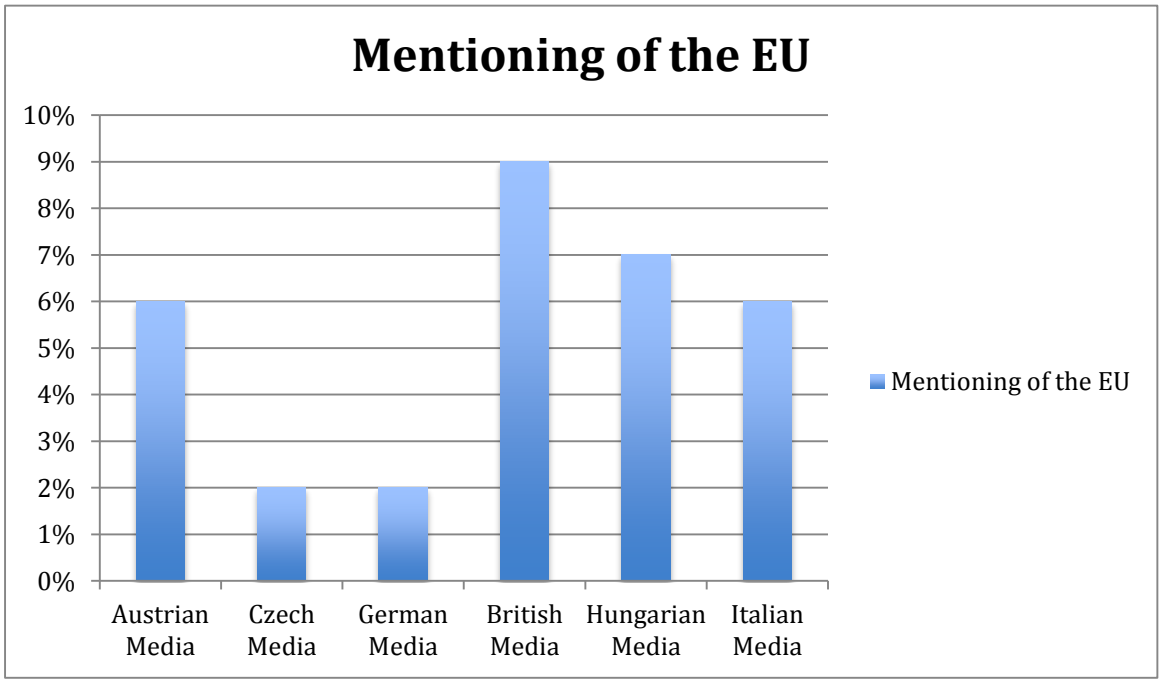


Figure 11. Relation of the article to the UN in 728 articles.

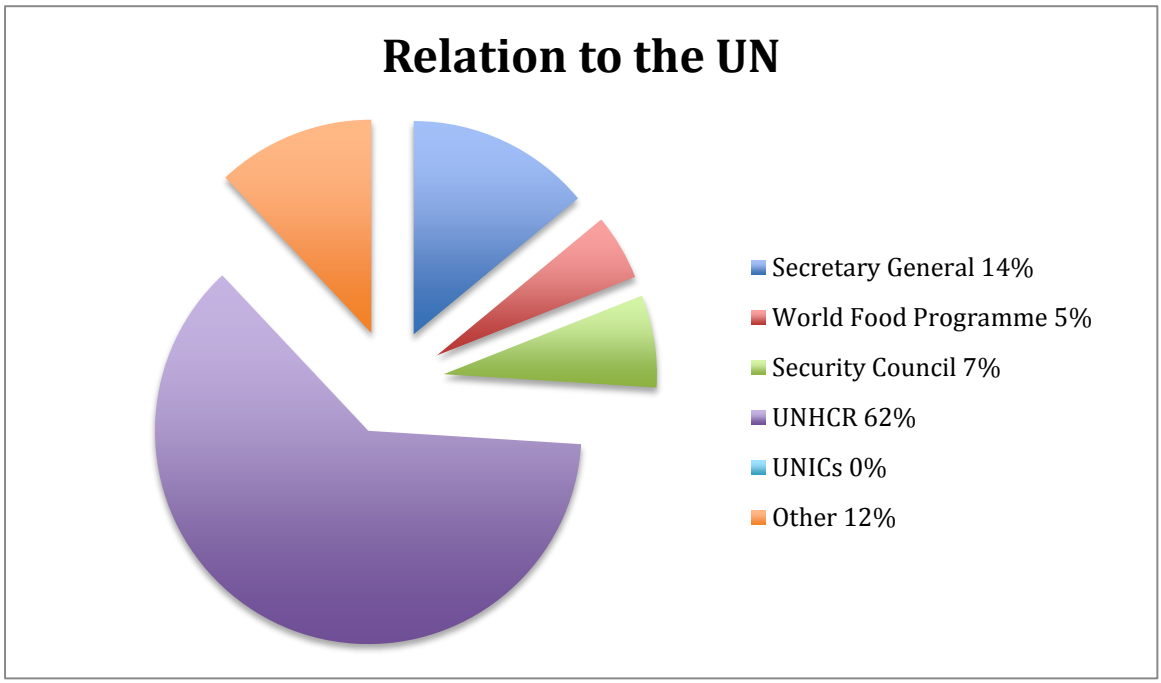


Figure 12. Relation between the UN and international laws.

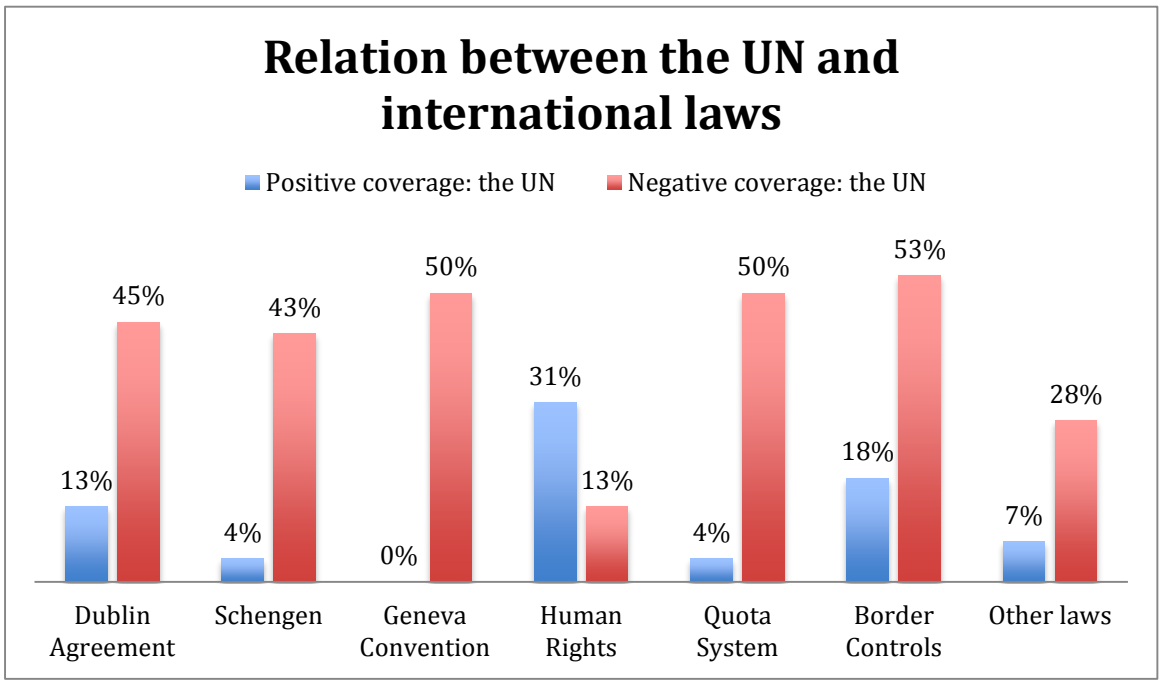


Figure 13. Relation between the EU and international laws.

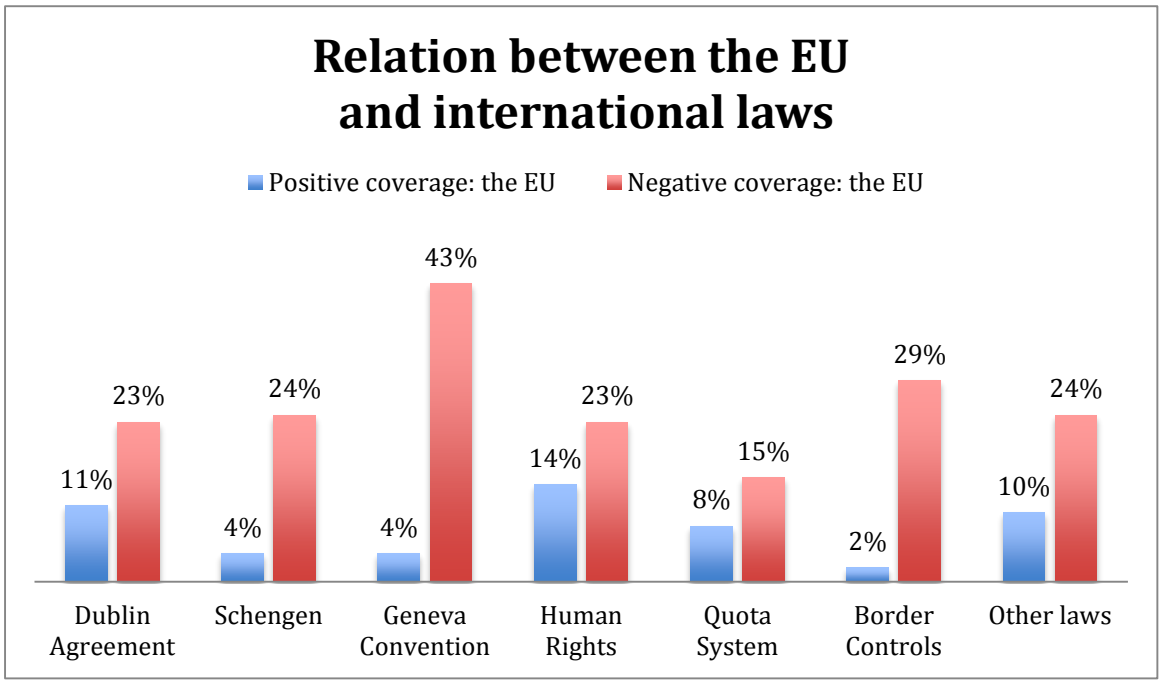


Figure 14. Tone of coverage in all analyzed articles.

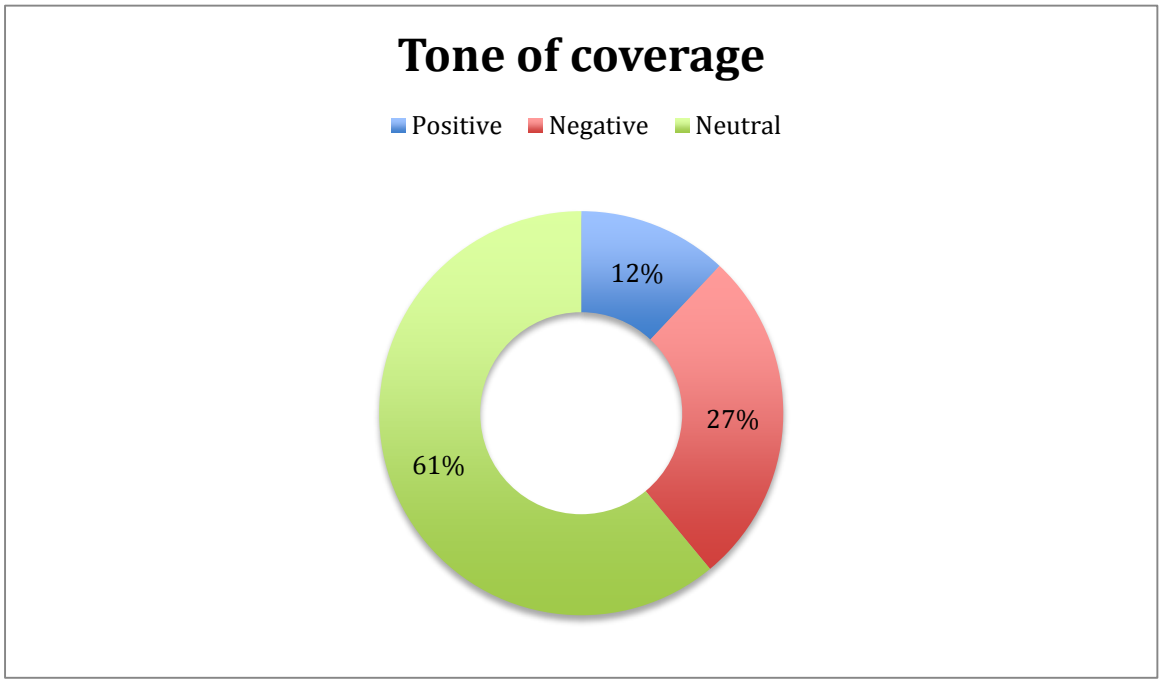


Figure 15. Tone of coverage in media articles per country.

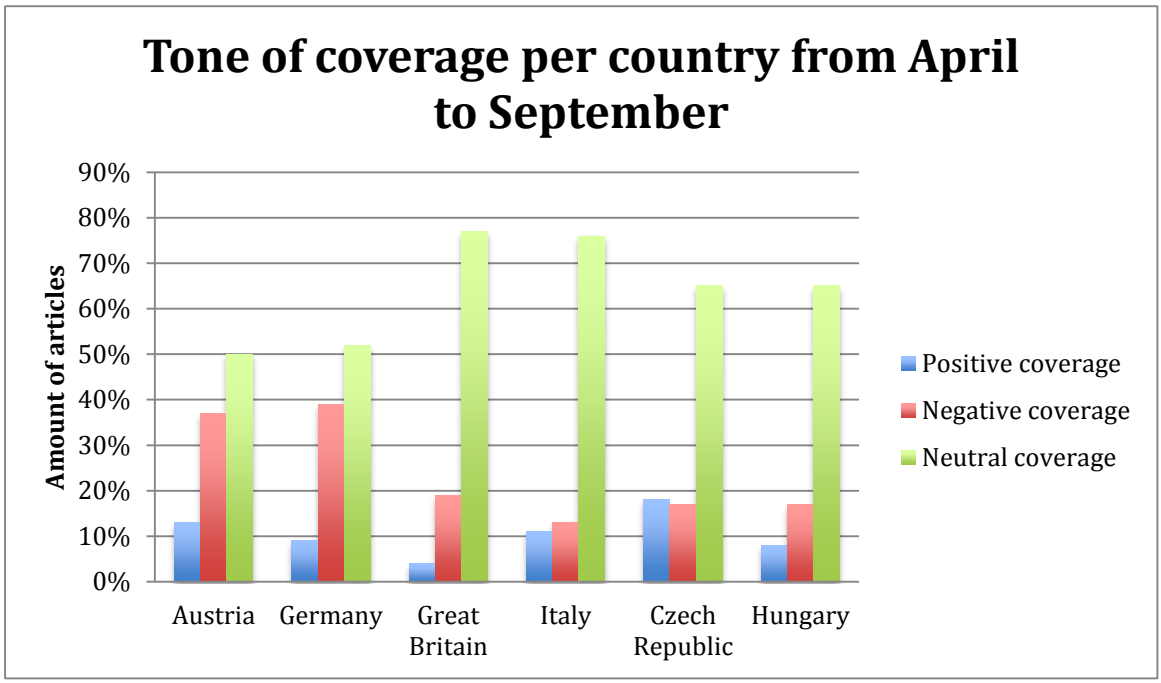


Figure 16. Timeline of Facebook initiative posts per month.

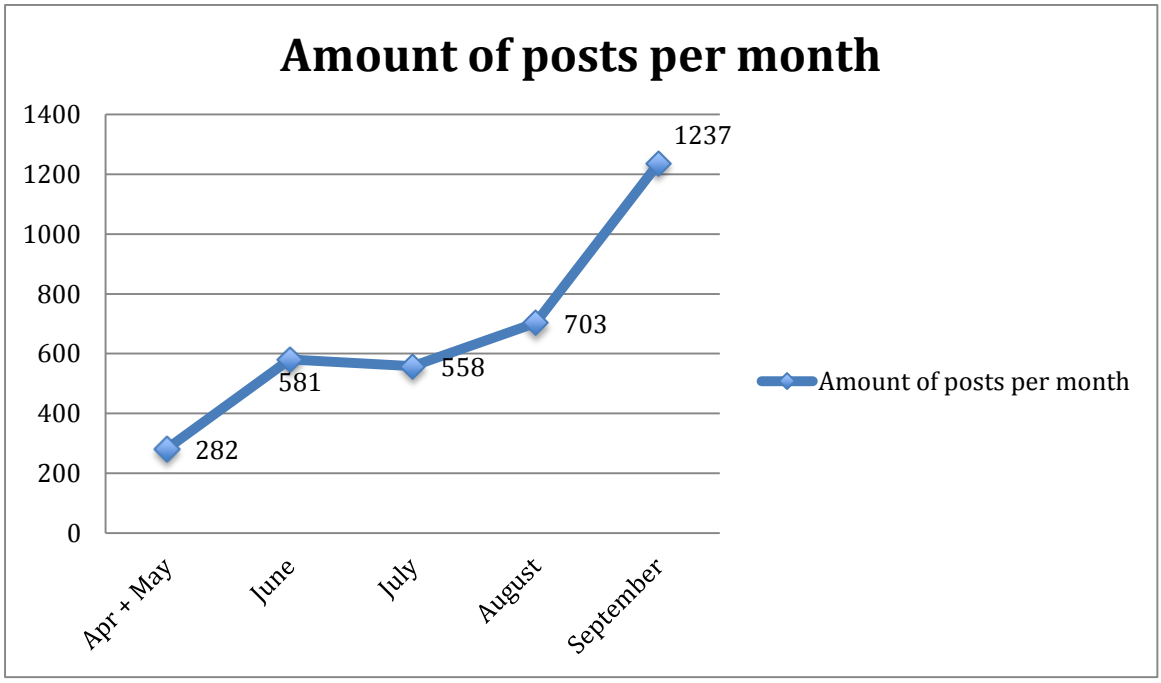


Figure 17. Languages of Facebook initiative groups posts'.

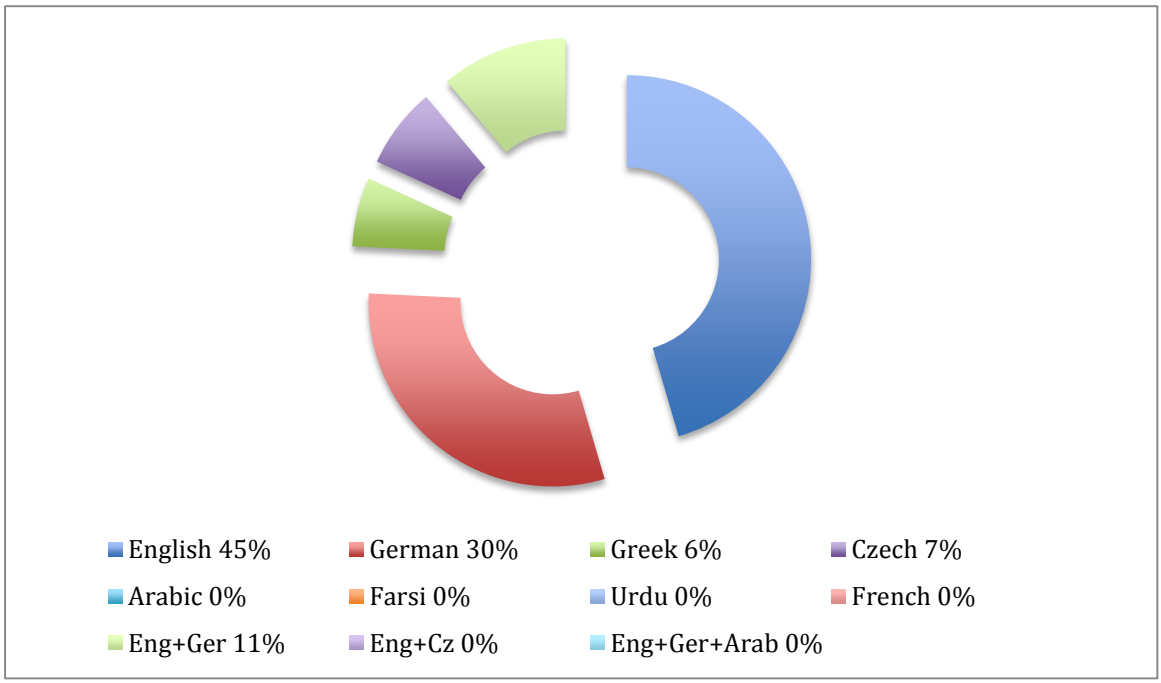


Figure 18. Mentions of the international laws in Facebook posts.

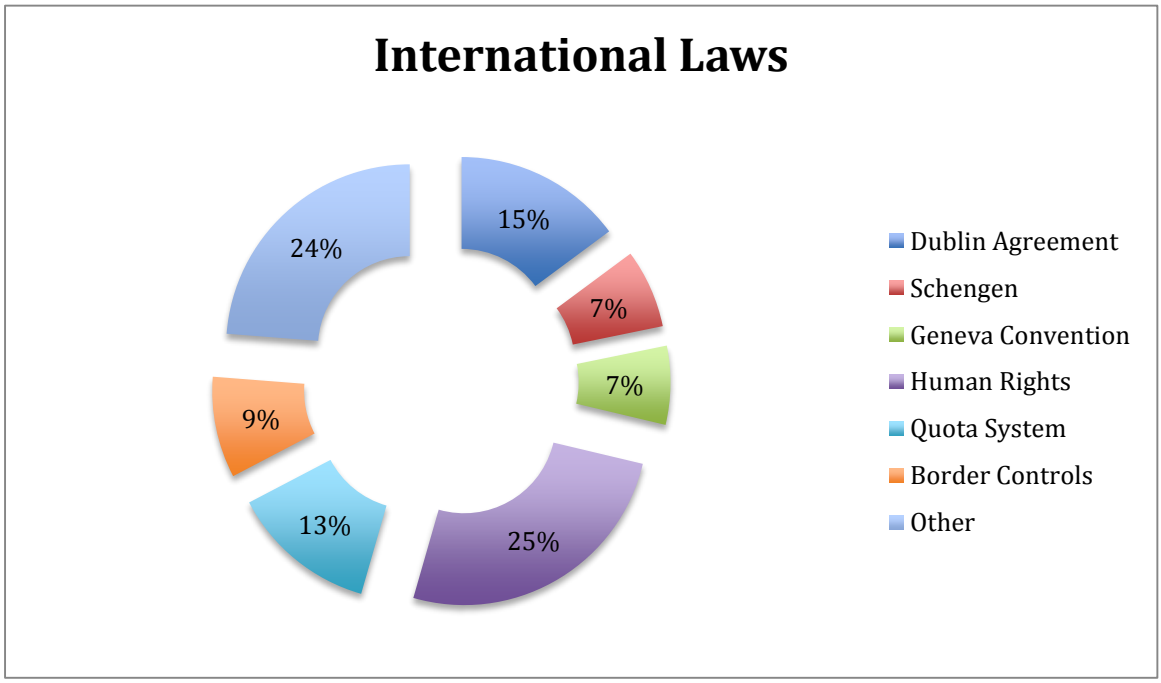


Figure 19. Attitude to the UN in Facebook posts.

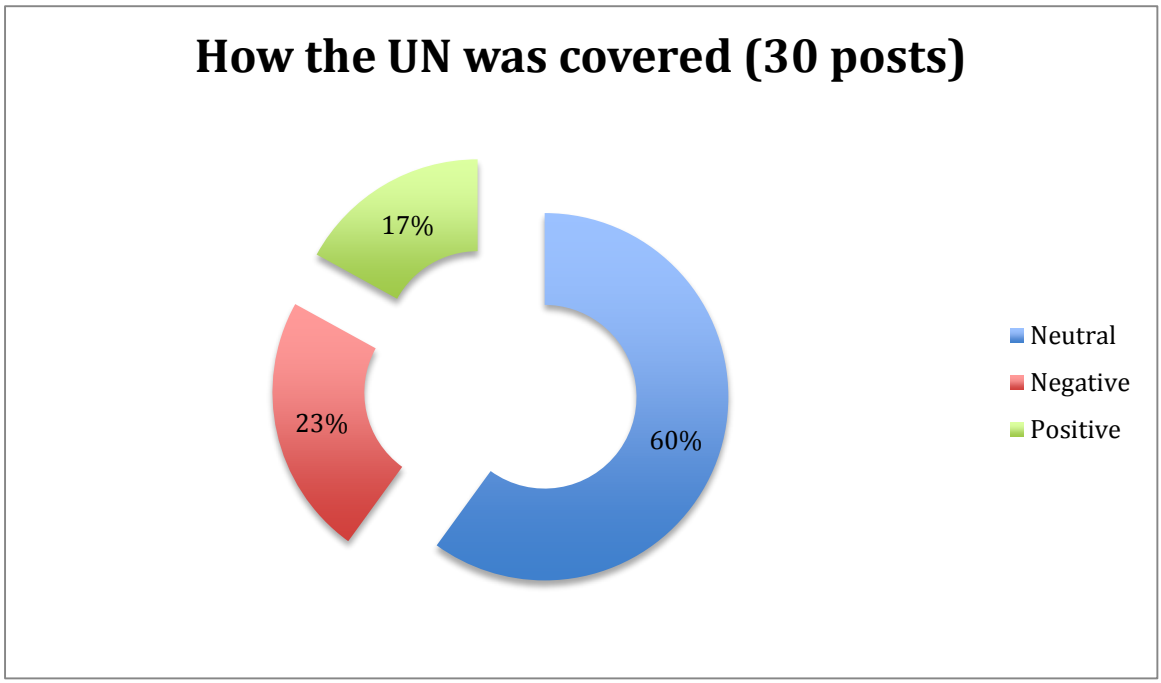


Figure 20. Specific UN agencies in Facebook posts.

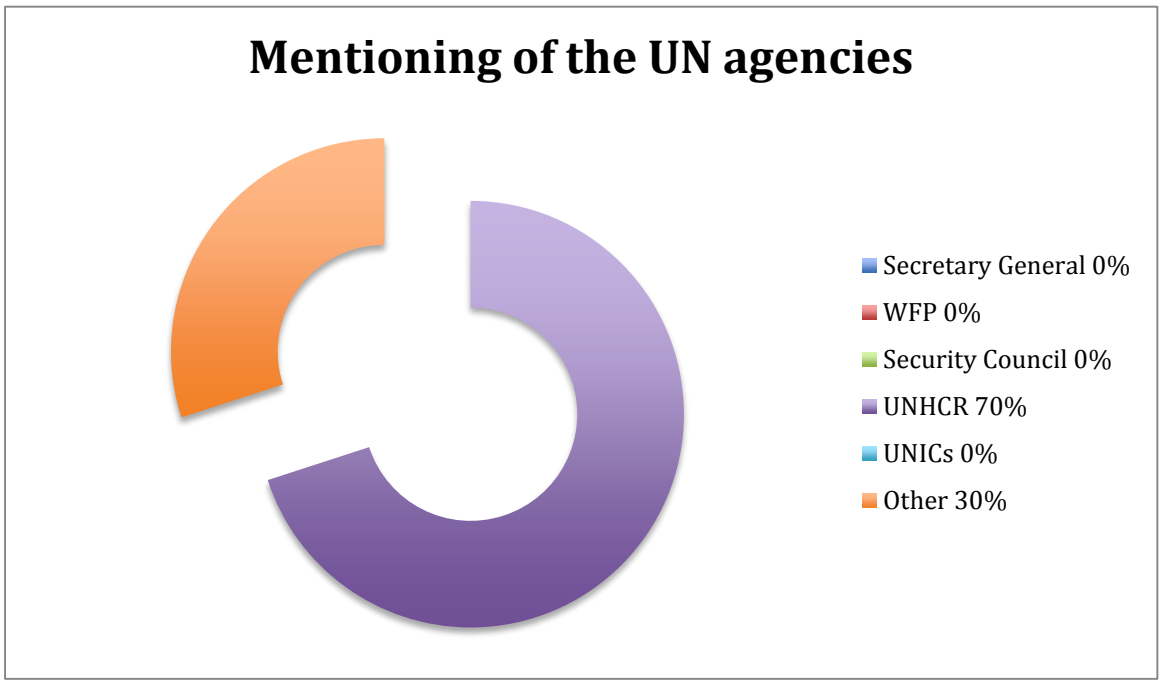
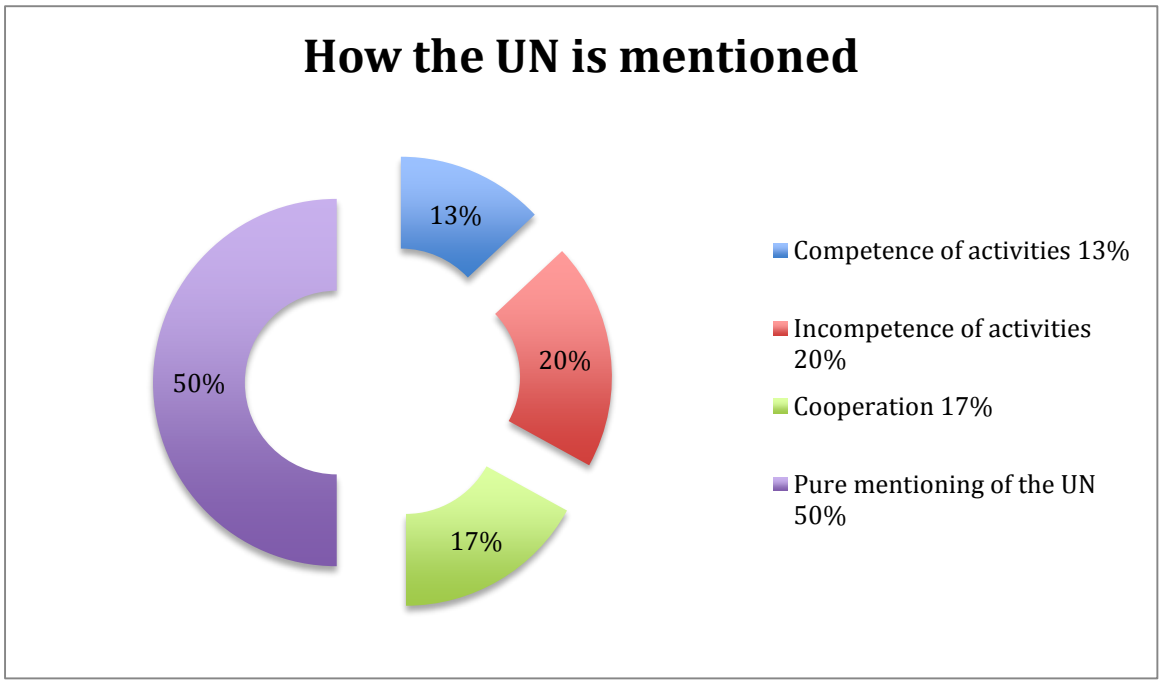


Figure 21. Relation of the UN in Facebook mentions.



10.2.Tables

Table 1. Content analysis sample size: media articles from April 25th 2015 to September 15th 2015

Country of media	Media	Sample size
Austria	ORF[33] Der Standard[34] Kronen Zeitung[35]	810 articles
Czech Republic	Hospodárske Noviny [36] Mladá Fronta Dnes[37]	201 articles
Germany	Bild[38] Spiegel[39] Süddeutsche Zeitung[40]	853 articles

[33] news.ORF.at, 'News.ORF.At' (2015) <http://orf.at> accessed 3 December 2015.

[34] derStandard.at, 'Derstandard.At - Nachrichten In Echtzeit' (2015) <http://derstandard.at> accessed 3 December 2015.

[35] Krone.at, 'Krone' (2015) <http://www.krone.at> accessed 3 December 2015.

[36] Hospodarske noviny (IHNED.cz), 'Hospodarske Noviny (IHNED.Cz)' (2015) <http://ihned.cz> accessed 3 December 2015.

[37] iDNES.cz, 'Mladá Fronta Dnes' (2015) <http://www.idnes.cz> accessed 3 December 2015.

[38] Bild.de, 'BILD.De' (2015) <http://www.bild.de> accessed 3 December 2015.

[39] Germany SPIEGEL ONLINE, 'Nachrichten - SPIEGEL ONLINE' (Spiegel.de, 2015) <http://www.spiegel.de> accessed 3 December 2015.

[40] Germany Süddeutsche.de GmbH, 'Süddeutsche.De' (Süddeutsche.de, 2015) <http://www.sueddeutsche.de> accessed 3 December 2015.

The UK	The Guardian[41] The Times[42] The Daily Mail[43]	591 articles
Hungary	Népszabadság[44] Magyar Nemzet[45] Blikk[46]	513 articles
Italy	La Repubblica[47] Corriere della Sera[48] RAI[49]	467 articles
		Total sample size: 3435 articles

[41] the Guardian, 'The Guardian' (2015) <http://www.theguardian.com/international> accessed 3 December 2015.

[42] Thetimes.co.uk, 'The Times | UK News, World News And Opinion' (2015) <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/> accessed 3 December 2015.

[43] Mail Online, 'Daily Mail Online' (2015) <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/index.html> accessed 3 December 2015.

[44] NOL.hu, 'Népszabadság' (2015) <http://nol.hu> accessed 3 December 2015.

[45] mno.hu, 'Magyar Nemzet' (2015) <http://mno.hu/magyar_nemzet> accessed 3 December 2015.

[46] Blikk.hu, 'Blikk' (2015) <http://blikk.hu/> accessed 3 December 2015.

[47] Repubblica.it, 'La Repubblica.It - News In Tempo Reale - Le Notizie E I Video Di Politica, Cronaca, Economia, Sport' (2015) <http://www.repubblica.it> accessed 3 December 2015.

[48] Corriere.it, 'Corriere Della Sera' (2015) <http://www.corriere.it> accessed 3 December 2015.

[49] Rainews.it, 'Rai News: Le Ultime Notizie In Tempo Reale – News, Attualità E Aggiornamenti' (2015) <http://www.rainews.it> accessed 3 December 2015.

Table 2. Political association of the analysed news media sources

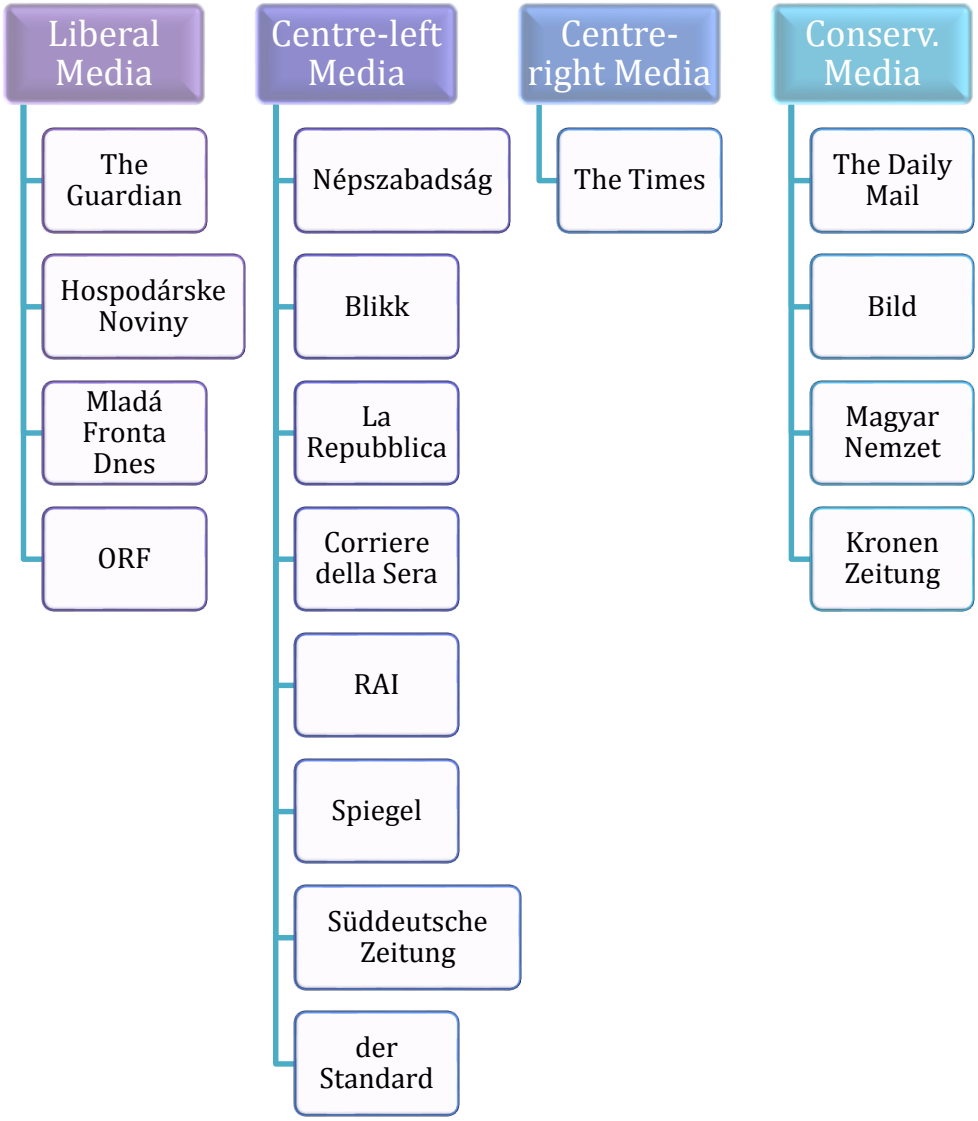


Table 3. Content analysis sample size: post from Facebook timelines of initiative groups from April 25th 2015 to September 15th 2015.

Initiative Group	Total Page Likes	Sample size
CalAid[50]	32,048	505
No Borders[51]	7,091	1049

[50] Facebook.com, 'Calaid' (2015) <https://www.facebook.com/JoinCalAid/?fref=ts> accessed 3 December 2015.

[51] Facebook.com, 'No Borders' (2015) <https://www.facebook.com/nobordersnetwork/?fref=ts> accessed 3 December 2015.

Train Of Hope[52]	48,324	571
Refugees Welcome To Austria[53]	15,928	128
Flüchtlinge Willkommen Österreich[54]	13,657	218
Verein Flüchtlingsprojekt Ute Bock[55]	3,551	165
Flüchtlinge Willkommen in Wien[56]	9,342	320
ProAsyl[57]	163,841	94
Refugees Welcome International[58]	5,877	163
Organizace pro pomoc uprchlíkům, o.s.[59]	3,852	8
Kos Solidarity[60]	5,386	56

[52] Facebook.com, 'Train Of Hope - Hauptbahnhof Wien #Hbfvie' (2015) <https://www.facebook.com/hbfvie/likes> accessed 3 December 2015.

[53] Facebook.com, 'Refugees Welcome To Austria' (2015) <https://www.facebook.com/refugeeswelcometoaustria/?fref=ts> accessed 3 December 2015.

[54] Facebook.com, 'Flüchtlinge Willkommen Österreich' (2015) <https://www.facebook.com/fluechtlingewillkommen.oesterreich/> accessed 3 December 2015.

[55] Facebook.com, 'Verein Flüchtlingsprojekt Ute Bock' (2015) <https://www.facebook.com/UteBockSupport?fref=ts> accessed 3 December 2015.

[56] Facebook.com, 'Flüchtlinge Willkommen In Wien' (2015) <https://www.facebook.com/fluechtlingewillkommeninwien/> accessed 3 December 2015.

[57] Facebook.com, 'Proasyl' (2015) <https://www.facebook.com/proasyl/> accessed 3 December 2015.

[58] Facebook.com, 'Refugees Welcome International' (2015) <https://www.facebook.com/refugeeswelcomeinternational/?fref=ts> accessed 3 December 2015.

[59] Facebook.com, 'Organizace Pro Pomoc Uprchlíkům, O.S.' (2015) <https://www.facebook.com/organizacepropomocuprchlikum/> accessed 3 December 2015.

[60] Facebook.com, 'Kos Solidarity' (2015) <https://www.facebook.com/Αλληλεγγύη-Κως-Kos-Solidarity-654828261315599/> accessed 3 December 2015.

Centrum pro integraci cizinců/Centre for integration of foreigners[61]	2,895	84
Total Sample Size		**3361 FB posts**

[61] Facebook.com, Facebook.com, 'Centrum Pro Integraci Cizinců/Centre For Integration Of Foreigners' (2015) <https://www.facebook.com/centrumprointegracicizincu/> accessed 3 December 2015.

10.3. Abbreviations

EEAS	European External Action Service
EU	European Union
IOM	International Organization on Migration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ORF	Austrian Public Broadcasting Association
PD	Public Diplomacy
RAI	Italian Public Broadcasting Association
SM	Social Media
UN	United Nations
UN DPI	United Nations Department of Public Information
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees
UNIC	United Nations Information Centre
UNIS	United Nations Information Services, Vienna
UNO	United Nations Office
WFP	World Food Program
WTO	World Trade Organization

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