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**European migration crisis in Czech and Austrian media**

Master's thesis

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Year of the defence: 2020

## **Declaration**

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.
2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.
3. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.

In Prague on 19th<sup>th</sup> of May 2020.

Jan Lohynský

## **References**

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## **Abstract**

The role of the media within the European migration crisis is the main topic of this work. In the theoretical part I explain the concepts and theories, as well as describe the media systems of the Czech Republic and Austria as countries of interest of the further research. The 'State-of-the-art' section then also presents the research into the coverage of the European migration crisis conducted so far. Some of the studies provide not only interesting findings but also inspiration for my own research part. In the practical part I describe the employed methodology which is formed by a quantitative content analysis. Selected daily newspapers in the Czech Republic and Austria were selected for the research. 502 articles in total were coded to provide data for the findings. The findings provide answers to 7 research questions based on the prevalence of the articles within the selected media, themes of the articles, actors present in the coverage, terms used to describe those trying to enter the EU, employed frames, offered explanations and suggested solutions. The findings show both similarities but also differences between the two countries of interest. The findings can only be generalized to a certain extent as the research has its limitations. However, it can be stated that the work dives deep enough to bring up valuable observations to the area of research.

## **Abstrakt**

Role médií v Evropské migrační krizi je hlavním tématem této práce. V teoretické části se věnuji vysvětlení pojmů, konceptů a teorií, popisují mediální systémy zemí České republiky a Rakouska, které jsou předmětem výzkumné části mé práce. V kapitole State-of-the-art představuji dosavadní výzkum tématu mediálního pokrytí Evropské migrační krize. Některé v této kapitole zahrnuté studie přinášejí nejen zajímavá zjištění, ale i inspiraci pro mou vlastní výzkumnou část. V praktické části představuji zvolenou metodologii, kterou tvoří kvantitativní obsahová analýza. Pro výzkum byly vybrány tištěné deníky v České republice a Rakousku. Celkových 502 článků bylo zaznamenaných, aby byly zajištěny výsledky a zjištění v rámci jednotlivých kategorií. Tato zjištění přinášejí odpovědi na 7 výzkumných otázek, které jsou založeny na množství článků ve vybraných médiích, tématech těchto článků, aktérech ve zpravodajství, označeních těch, kteří do Evropy přicházejí, využitých rámcích, nabízených vysvětlení a navrhovaných řešeních. Tato zjištění přinášejí podobnosti, ale i rozdíly mezi oběma zeměmi, které jsou předmětem zájmu

této práce. Tato zjištění mohou být zobecněna jen do určité míry, protože uskutečněný výzkum má své limity. Nicméně lze uvést, že jde práce natolik hluboko, aby do této oblasti přinesla cenné postřehy.

## **Keywords**

Media, news, framing, migration crisis, Czech Republic, Austria, Europe

## **Klíčová slova**

Média, zprávy, rámcování, migrační krize, Česká republika, Rakousko, Evropa

## **Název práce**

Evropská migrační krize v českých a rakouských médiích

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## Introduction

European migration crisis has been on the agenda of the European media in the past few years. Most of the citizens of the European Union member states gained the information on this topic from domestic media which thus played a significant role in both spreading awareness and framing of the topic. The importance of the media within the European migration crisis should not be undermined as they tend to create our picture of the specific issue. As O'Reilly put it: *“Unless one stands by the shore waiting for rockets to come flying by, one gleans the existence of a threat real or perceived through the media. Depending on how a threat is framed, even if its results or effects remain unaffected, the response by the audience is still based on the speech-act of journalistic presentation.”* (O'Reilly, 2008, p. 68)

The European migration crisis has received large attention not only in the member states of the European Union but also worldwide. This thesis explores the role of the media within the European migration crisis and sets a goal to analyse the press coverage of this topic. Two countries of interest were selected for the analysis. The Czech Republic and Austria are neighbouring countries within Europe and no work has dealt with both of these countries in this matter so far. The Czech Republic is not the country of destination unlike Austria, but its media have displayed similar level of attention as the Austrian media have.

This thesis consists of two parts. The first part is theoretical, where I explain the basic concepts and theories, describe the European migration crisis, the role of the media and Czech and Austrian media systems. I also explain agenda setting theory and framing, which represent the framework for this thesis. However, the theoretical part is mostly shaped by the 'State-of-the-art chapter' which presents the research into the role of media in the European migration crisis conducted so far. The studies focus on media across Europe which allows for a broader understanding of the issue. There are a lot of relevant studies and publications, which leads to the need of selection of the ones that have a higher impact on this work and in some cases provide inspiration for the following research.

The second part of the thesis is practical and is formed by the research of Czech and Austrian media and their coverage of the European migration crisis. The research was

conducted using quantitative content analysis. 251 articles were analysed and coded in case of both countries in selected daily newspapers. As I further explain in the chapter dedicated to the methodology, the goal of the research was to provide answers to 7 research questions which deal with the prevalence of the stories in selected media, themes of the articles, actors present in the coverage, terms used to describe the people trying to enter the EU, employed frames, offered explanations and suggested solutions.

The findings are presented both on country and total basis. They are also compared to show the similarities and differences. The goal of the research was to bring findings that can contribute to what we know about the coverage of this topic so far. It is clear that these findings can only be generalized to a certain extent due to the specifics of this work and the capacity of the author. However, after considering the methodology and keeping the research design in mind, the findings remain relevant and can also be used as a starting point for further research.

# 1. Theoretical part

The theoretical part of this work consists of several chapters which aim to provide a deeper and understandable overview of the topic. At first, I explain the basic concepts and theories that this thesis works with to provide a clear comprehension of the issue. In the following chapter I describe the media systems of the Czech Republic and Austria because I believe that having a basic orientation in the specifics of the local media environment of both countries plays an important role in understanding the potential similarities and differences. Most importantly, the theoretical part is formed by the ‘State-of-the-art’ chapter, which summarizes the conducted research relevant for this work.

## 1.1 Definition of basic concepts

For a clearer understanding of the content of this work, this chapter provides a definition of basic concepts that I deal with in the thesis. The concepts are explained in a rather short and summarized way, not to draw attention away from the main goal of the thesis but to make sure that the most important concepts are fully understood.

### 1.1.1 European migration crisis

Since the beginning of 2014 Europe has faced a significant rise in migrants and refugees attempting to enter the European Union. *“Figures from the UNHCR, revealed that in the first six months of 2015 137,000 refugees and migrants attempted to enter the EU, a rise of 83% on the same period in 2014.”* (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015, p. 3) This increase is to a certain extent attributable to the sharp rise in people using the Mediterranean route from Turkey to Greece. Many of those people have been the refugees fleeing the wars in Syria and Iraq. Since the beginning of the Syrian Civil War, the number of refugees in Turkey has slowly risen to more than 2 million.

As the authors of the study ‘Press coverage of the refugee and migrant crisis in the EU: a content analysis of five European countries’ note: *“This has placed enormous pressure on the country’s infrastructure and economy and made it increasingly difficult for refugees to access, work, shelter and education. Faced with the deterioration in conditions in Turkey, increasing numbers of refugees have opted to pay people smugglers to help them make the perilous journey across the Aegean to Greece. Unsurprisingly, the rise in migration across the Mediterranean, often in heavily overcrowded small boats or dinghies, has coincided with*

*a sharp increase in the loss of life. In the first three months of 2015, 479 refugees and migrants drowned crossing the Mediterranean in comparison to 15 during the same period in 2014. However, the death toll reached a peak in April 2015 when 1,308 refugees and migrants were lost at sea.”* (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015, p. 3)

This increase in migration and refugee flows has led to what is today known as the European migration crisis, often also referred to as European refugee crisis, European migrant crisis, refugee crisis, immigration crisis and other more or less appropriate names. The crisis itself has led the EU states to adopt two different options of responses. One of them was to strengthen EU internal and external borders to prevent refugees and migrants from trying to make their way to Europe. This response was mostly adopted by Eastern European countries and younger EU members, meaning that these countries have been members of the EU for a shorter time period than other member states. Countries such as Hungary, Spain and Bulgaria built a fence around a critical part of their borders to make sure they have more control over who enters the country. (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015)

The second option of response has been to prevent the migrants and refugees from making their way to Europe by restricting the activities of people traffickers. On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of April, 2015 an emergency meeting of the European Council was held in Brussels with main priorities on agenda of strengthening the presence at sea, fighting traffickers in accordance with international law, preventing illegal migration flows and reinforcing internal solidarity and responsibility. The first part of the action agreed at the EU Council was to target people smugglers in the Mediterranean through what is known as the EUNAVFOR Med response. Federica Mogherini, The High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, stated that the targets of these operations were not the migrants but the human smugglers and traffickers who are in many cases responsible for the crisis. (European Council on Refugees and Exiles, 2015).

### **1.1.2 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees**

The office of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, which will be referred to as UNHCR in the following text from this point onwards, is according to its official statement: *“A global organization dedicated to saving lives, protecting rights and building a better future for refugees, forcibly displaced communities and stateless people”*

(UNHCR, 2020) The organisation was founded in 1950, during the aftermath of the Second World War. In 1954 UNHCR won a Nobel Peace Prize for its ground-breaking work in Europe. Since its establishment the organisation has helped to resolve many crises around the world. Today, UNHCR has more than 11,517 members of staff and works in total in 128 countries. The organisation is funded by voluntary contributions, with 87% from governments and the European Union, inter-governmental organizations, pooled funding mechanisms, private sectors such as foundations, corporations, UN budget for administrative costs and the public. (UNHCR, 2020)

### **1.1.3 Media in the European migration crisis**

The year of 2015 was the year that journalists recorded the biggest migration across borders, while reporting on it through daily stories in Europe's media. The events, which were later established as Europe's migration crisis called for attention and action from governments and European publics (Chouliaraki, Georgiou, Zaborowski, Oomen, 2017).

As we explore further in the agenda-setting theory, media are important in framing the news (Entman, 1993). In the case of the European migration crisis, their role was even more important for the reasons presented by Chouliaraki in the project report 'The European "migration crisis" and the media: A cross-European press content analysis': *"The scale and speed of events in the second half of 2015 meant that publics and policy makers depended on mediated information to interpret developments on the ground; the limited, if any, previous knowledge about the new arrivals, their histories and the causes of their plight meant that many Europeans depended exclusively on media narratives to understand what was happening."* (Chouliaraki, Georgiou, Zaborowski, Oomen, 2017, p. 3) Mass media play a significant role in influencing public and elite political attitudes towards immigration. As also the mentioned report for the UNHCR states: *"The mass media can set agendas and frame debates. They provide the information which citizens use to make sense of the world and their place within it."* (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015, p. 5)

Across the member states of the European Union, attitudes towards asylum and immigration have become more rigorous in recent years. This is due to many factors, which result in shift of attitudes. One of the factors is the fact of increased number of migrants and their visibility in recent years. Another factor are the economic and political aspects. In many

European countries such as Germany, France or Sweden we can see the growth of far-right anti-immigrant parties and movements such as Pegida, Golden Dawn, the Swedish Democrats and the National Front. (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015) This phenomenon can be seen also in the countries of our interest. In Austria, the party FPÖ - Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs has experienced a large growth in its voter base, however FPÖ cannot be compared to the far-right parties mentioned earlier. In the Czech Republic the party SPD - Svoboda a přímá demokracie – Freedom and direct democracy led by Tomio Okamura is considered a far-right and anti-immigrant party, which has also gained a bigger voter base in recent years and found its way into parliament.

Glasgow University Media Group conducted a research which focused on the topics of presenting migrants in British media. Their findings were presented in the book *Bad News for Refugees in 2013*. Here are one of the key points presented by the findings. The informing about migrants has been viewed as unfriendly on a long-term basis. The news connected with migrants were usually linked to economic migration without making differences in the groups and types of migrants. The quotes from the migrants themselves are usually missing and the official British sources are cited instead. (Philo, Briant, Donald, 2013) Such mediation of this topic brings more power to the radical far-right populists who promote nationalism (Sedláková, 2015). This is another proof of the powerful role that media poses in shaping the perception of the European migration crisis. Further findings are presented in studies included in the ‘State-of-the-art’ chapter.

Mediated practises have been part of the immigrant experiences for decades. Considerable research has been done on both media representations of immigrants and the way in which they use media in innovative ways to negotiate cultural space. *“In fact, scholars studying the media usage of specific diasporic groups have challenged some traditional and territorially rooted ways of understanding media production and reception.”* (e.g. Gillespie, 1995; Cunningham and Sinclair, 2001; Fazal and Tsagarousianou, 2002; Karim 2002; Bailey, Georgiou, and Harindranath, 2007; Kosnick, 2007) (Hegde, 2016, p. 10) As Radha S. Hegde further states in her book *Mediating Migration: “An impressive body of research critically examines the journalistic practises of reporting immigration news and the representation of immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers in the Western media.”* (Hegde, 2016, p. 10)

An interesting observation is also made by Hegde, who states that the increasing amount of research attention paid to the specifications of different diasporic groups and their media worlds has largely extended the global base of media studies scholarship. *“Scholarship on media and migrants enables a more nuanced and differentiated understanding of the media environment.”* (Hegde, 2016, p. 10)

#### **1.1.4 Agenda-setting and framing**

The agenda-setting theory provides a framework which this thesis is built on. To be able to draw future conclusions, I explain the theory and its second level formed by framing. There is no better source than the book *Setting the agenda: the mass media and public opinion* written by Maxwell McCombs.

The agenda-setting function of news media is formed by the ability for media to influence the salience of topics on the public agenda. As McCombs states: *“For all the news media, the repetition of a topic day by day is the most powerful message of all about its importance.”* (McCombs, 2004, p. 2) The public thus uses the salience of news in the media to organize their own agendas and decide which issues are most important. *“Over time, the issues emphasized in news reports become the issues regarded as most important among the public. The agenda of the news media becomes, to a considerable degree, the agenda of the public. In other words, the news media set the public agenda.”* (McCombs, 2004, p. 2) further explains McCombs. It becomes clear that forming such salience among the public by placing an issue on the public agenda so that it becomes the focus of public attention, thought and maybe even action is the initial stage in the formation of public opinion. (McCombs, 2004)

There is a large number of issues around the world and new ones are coming every day. The news media thus have to choose which ones they publish and how much space a particular issue deserves. It is thus often not about the effect of forming a specific opinion about a particular issue but about accepting that the issue deserves our attention. The author mentions Bernard Cohen’s observation that the news media may not be successful in telling people what to think, but they are definitely successful in telling the audiences what to think about. (Cohen, 1963).

Multiple research studies were published which proved the agenda-setting function. Because it is not the primary focus of this work to explore the theory itself, I would like to only mention one, well-known study, which is known in the field of media studies as the Chapel Hill Study. The authors McCombs and Shaw decided to explore the agenda-setting function of mass media in the 1968 US presidential election, where Republican candidate Richard Nixon ran against both Democratic candidate Hubert Humphrey and Independent candidate George Wallace. The goal was to find a connection between what the voters thought were the key themes of the campaign and what the media were saying. 100 undecided voters were chosen for the analysis. The study found that the media had a large impact on what the undecided voters thought were the key themes of the campaign based on a strong correlation between what the media presented as important issues and which issues were found important by the respondents. (McCombs, Shaw, 1972)

The second level of agenda-setting theory is formed by framing. This concept became highly relevant in the field of media studies in the past years and it also provides a building stone for this master thesis. The concept is well explained by Entmann, who described framing as an effort to: *“select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation...”* (Entmann, 1993, p. 52) McCombs explains framing further by stating that: *“framing is the selection of – and emphasis upon – particular attributes for the media agenda when talking about an object. In turn, as we know from the evidence on attribute agenda-setting, people also frame objects, placing varying degrees of emphasis on the attributes of persons, public issues or other objects when they think or talk about them.”* (McCombs, 2004, p. 87)

## **1.2 Media systems of the Czech Republic and Austria**

To provide a clear understanding of the analysed field, in this chapter I look at the media systems of both countries. I do so based on the framework for comparing media systems proposed by Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini. The framework is formed by four dimensions:

- 1) The development of media markets, with emphasis on the strong or weak development of a mass circulation press.

- 2) Political parallelism – the degree and nature of the links between the media and political parties, or the extent to which the media system reflects the major political divisions in society.
- 3) The development of journalistic professionalism.
- 4) The degree and nature of state intervention in the media system. (Hallin, Mancini, 2004)

When it comes to these dimensions, each of them can be characterized in a quantitative way. That means we can, for example, state that the journalistic professionalism is high or low. At the same time, there are more qualitative distinctions within these dimensions that come into play when describing and comparing media systems, just as there are other relevant points to be made regarding the particular media landscape. Because a general comparison is not the main objective of this work, I keep this chapter brief with a focus on the four dimensions mentioned above.

### **1.2.1 Czech media**

The development of the Czech media system was influenced by the communist history of the country. Until the Velvet Revolution in 1989 the Czech media were under strong state control and faced censorship. Jan Jirák and Barbara Köpplová provide a relevant description in the chapter ‘Two Decades of Free Media in the Czech Republic: So What? Remarks on the Discourse of Post-1989 Media Transformation’ in the book *Media transformations in the post-communist world*. Since the Velvet Revolution in 1989, the Czech media system has been built on the free-market economy and liberal democratic principles. Freedom of expression is guaranteed within the legal framework and the advertising market is well developed. The authors stated: “*The circulation of dailies and the numbers of radio listeners are declining...*” (Jirák, Köpplová in Gross, Jakubowicz, 2012, p. 184) It can be concluded that the development of the circulation of daily newspapers is thus low.

An important point is also made by the authors when stating that: “*Though politicians do seek to control public service media, Czech media in general operate in very liberal political and legal environments. Comparing the contemporary development with the media situation prior to 1989, Czech society has reached more or less all the objectives which were*

*articulated in 1989, including freedom of expression, media content produced independently of the state, unrestricted access to information, lack of political control, access to modern technology, up-to-date design of media.*” (Jirák, Köpplová in Gross, Jakubowicz, 2012, p. 185) It can thus be concluded that the degree of state intervention in the media system is rather low.

In the media, there is a clear and constant tendency to support neoliberal values and attitudes, as well as to challenge social-democratic and leftist ones. The long-term development is strongly influenced by the media of Western Europe and USA due to its commercialization and tabloidization. The political communication is depoliticized and often presented as a set of personal conflicts. The media are thus influenced more by market mentality than by core political orientation. (Jirák, Köpplová in Gross, Jakubowicz, 2012). Political parallelism can thus be considered rather low. There was however a recent development, which is formed by the ownership of a media house Mafra that publishes the two dailies MF Dnes and Lidové noviny. The media house was bought by Andrej Babis, who is the founder of ANO movement and current Prime Minister. It may be that in this specific case the dailies follow the agenda of their owner. This is also not the only current example of connection between media and political actors. The level of political parallelism can thus change in the years to come.

Just like the whole media development, the professionalism of Czech journalism has been influenced by the historical events of the past decades. With the change of the regime in 1989, many journalists quit, and new ones came to the scene. As Jirák and Köpplová wrote: *“Czech journalists have experienced quite regular historical turnarounds, when journalists connected with the ‘ancient regime’ of a particular time were forced to leave, to be replaced by ‘representatives of the new order’.*” (Jirák, Köpplová in Gross, Jakubowicz, 2012, p. 190) As the authors further explain: *“The consequences are quite obvious: low professionalism of Czech journalists resulted, among other factors, from frequent waves of young and unexperienced journalists entering the profession, with no time to mature and to adopt professional skills and ethics.”* (Jirák, Köpplová in Gross, Jakubowicz, 2012, p. 190) The authors base this statement on the fact that the Czech history did not see many long-term developments, which would allow for both stability and connected space for professionalization. The level of professionalism can thus be described as low. On the other

hand, there has been a rather long political stability of 30 years, which brings space for the progression of professionalism in the future.

### **1.2.2 Austrian media**

Generally, the Austrian media landscape fits within the European media environment. The Austrian media landscape is characterised by high concentration, strong national media conglomerates and influence by international media actors. In the modern history, the print and electronic media have worked in symbiosis, with a strong public service broadcaster on one side and equally strong local press barons on the other. Austria's daily newspaper press started to work again after World War II and the sovereignty of the republic in the year 1955 with only 35 newspapers. In the following years boulevard press has started to play an important role just like press concentration. However, the circulation share of the party press declined from 50% in 1953 to 2.5% in 2001. (Kelly, Mazzoleni, McQuail, 2004)

A segment of the quality press is more competitive than the segment of the tabloids with several media fighting for the readership. The Kurier is the second largest newspaper when it comes to circulation. There are two more media which are more quality oriented and could be considered as the main competitors of Austrian quality press. Those are Die Presse and Der Standard. Die Presse newspaper was controlled for a long time by Austrian industrialists who sold the shares at the turn of the century to the Styria publishing company. On the other side, Der Standard was launched in 1988 as a liberal newspaper, partly financed by German Axel Springer Verlag, who later sold a larger part of its shares in 1995 and continued to own some 49 per cent. (Kelly, Mazzoleni, McQuail, 2004). There are other local and smaller newspapers in the Austrian media landscape. Some of them are The Wiener Zeitung, which is a state-owned newspaper with the longest tradition in Austria, The Wirtschaftsblatt, Tiroler Tageszeitung, Salzburger Nachrichten, Kleine Zeitung, Österreich, Oberösterreichische Nachrichten, and Vorarlberger Nachrichten.

To summarize the Austrian media landscape, we can draw on what Josef Trappel, a researcher in the area of media and communication wrote on this topic: *“In general, the Austrian market for daily newspapers has reached an unprecedented degree of concentration of sixty six newspapers that have ever existed since World War II, fifty three have been shut down (Steinmaurer, 2002). Among the remaining papers, some five are not*

*economically viable. The size of the Neue Kronen-Zeitung with more than 1 million copies daily is out of all economic proportion and leaves very little room for the development of stimulating competition underneath.*” (Trappel, J. in Kelly, M., Mazzoleni, G., McQuail, D., 2004, p. 6)

If we look at the Austrian media system in the eyes of Hallin and Mancini, we find the position of Austria within the North/Central European or Democratic Corporatist Model, where the country stands next to its neighbours Germany and Switzerland who share the same language. Austria is thus considered to have a developed commercial media market and a high level of newspaper circulation. In fact, Austria stands shortly behind Germany when it comes to the number of newspapers sales. The Austrian experience with political parallelism is represented by a past strong party press, which had already developed in the twentieth century. The party press persisted longer in Austria than in its neighbouring country, Germany. In the 1970s, about half of Austrian newspapers were linked to specific parties. In the recent years however, their influence and pure existence rapidly declined. Depoliticization occurred, just as in the Czech case. The current situation is thus also more market based than politically oriented. (Hallin, Mancini, 2004)

The Democratic Corporatist countries, like Austria, are characterized by limited state power. That has been presented by a strong protection for press freedom and a focus on public access to government information. When it comes to the role of the state, subsidies are also important to mention because they still play a role in the financial side of the media market. Although press freedom was highlighted, regulation should be mentioned as well. There are hate-speech laws in order, just as there are laws against dissemination of Nazi propaganda or holocaust denial. Last but not least, its journalistic professionalism is already known for being high for a long time. The oldest press-club in Austria with the name Pressclub Concordia was established already in 1859 and brought together leading Austrian journalists and foreign correspondents. (Hallin, Mancini, 2004)

### **1.3 State-of-the-art**

It could be stated that a large amount of research regarding the role that media have played in the European migration crisis has already been conducted. There are many studies focusing on media in different European countries which were selected as relevant for

different reasons. Among the reasons were, for example, the fact that they have been the most significant entry points for refugees or have shown either the highest or lowest level of sympathy and willingness of acceptance. These studies also examine the frames used by the media when reporting about the crisis and their development. Several of these studies also compare the outcomes of European migration crisis research in specific media outlets. No found research has yet explored Czech and Austrian media relating to European migration crisis. This following chapter provides an overview of relevant research that has been conducted so far and explains their relevance.

### **1.3.1 Analysis of the media representation of the issue of emigration waves from Islamic countries to Europe and the responses of Czech policy and society to the emigration wave**

The coverage of migration was the main focus of this analysis which looked at the practises of the Czech public radio, specifically at its radio stations Český rozhlas Radiožurnál and Český rozhlas Plus. The researched period of time was between the 17<sup>th</sup> of August - 18<sup>th</sup> of September 2015 and the selected programs were Main news at 12, Main news at 12 – interviews and comments, 60 minutes, Day by..., For and against and Opinions and arguments. In total the authors analysed 256 news items connected to migration. In the context of covering other topics in this period of time, migration was without a doubt the most exposed topic. The authors of the analysis state that the generalization of the analysis is limited but also relevant to other media within the Czech media landscape to a certain extent. Both quantitative and qualitative research methods were employed. For the relevance of this work, we will look at the findings of the quantitative analysis.

From the amount of all news reported in the selected period 7% of the news in the Main news at 12 program were about migration. In the 60 Minutes program it was 5% and in the Main news at 12 – interviews and comments it was 33%. This corresponds with findings of the MediaTenor agency, where the topic of migration was the most mediated in the year 2015 in the Czech Republic. Further findings relevant for this work are the cited sources. The analysis showed that the most cited sources were the Czech journalists and co-workers of the radio station itself. The second most cited sources were the Czech politicians followed by the Czech officials from the Czech government institutions. Other parties are in

most cases not given voice and if so, it is only in a few cases (Sedláková, 2015). This shows that the migrants' voices are missing in reports about the European migration crisis.

The analysed news also showed that migrants were mostly reported from the macro perspective and mostly in generalized terms without referring to specific individuals. More specifically, 79% of the Main news at 12 program and 58% of the 60 minutes program showed this phenomenon. The missing micro perspective is what the Czech media are mostly criticized for in terms of the migration crisis. Further interesting findings reveal that the terms used to describe the migrants were in most cases not related to Islam or Muslims. Usually, the journalists cite specific sources when mentioning terms such as Islamic immigrants. (Sedláková, 2015).

In the final chapter of the analysis the authors provide the key findings. I mention only the ones I consider relevant for this work. *“The selective and disproportionate character of the media representation of the topic of migration can be identified in the surveyed news also in the way of thematization and construction of individual narratives in the form of:”* (Sedláková, 2015, p. 83)

- 1) Accentuation of event conflict and preference of events with negative connotations.
- 2) The semantically manipulative nature of the labelling of the migrants - synonymization as refugee - migrant - immigrant - asylum seeker names are used in the same way as a series of phrases referring to them based on their behaviour and location, but also other metaphors and euphemisms.
- 3) Relating the topic of migration to the Czech Republic in the so-called national optics, which operates with the concepts of risk and threat for the citizens of the Czech Republic. (Sedláková, 2015)

Based on the quantitative analysis the authors in the end state that, although increased migration takes place in other parts of Europe, outside the Czech Republic, the topic is presented at both researched Czech Radio stations in close relationship with the domestic environment. Despite the multidimensionality of the event, whether due to its transnational character, long-term nature, etc., the migration discourse created by the Czech Radio stations suffers from a marginalized approach of experts and, above all, the absent attitude of the actors themselves. Journalists use a minimum amount of possible information sources. Not

only are the voices of migrants, including those already living in Europe, completely missed in the broadcast, but foreign informants, institutional representatives, politicians, staff of foreign organizations, etc. are hardly quoted. The broadcaster thus gives the idea that the greatest experts on migration are the journalists themselves. (Sedláková, 2015)

This analysis brings interesting and relevant findings for this work. The researched media are Czech Radio stations which are considered a primary source of news broadcasting in the Czech radio broadcasting environment.

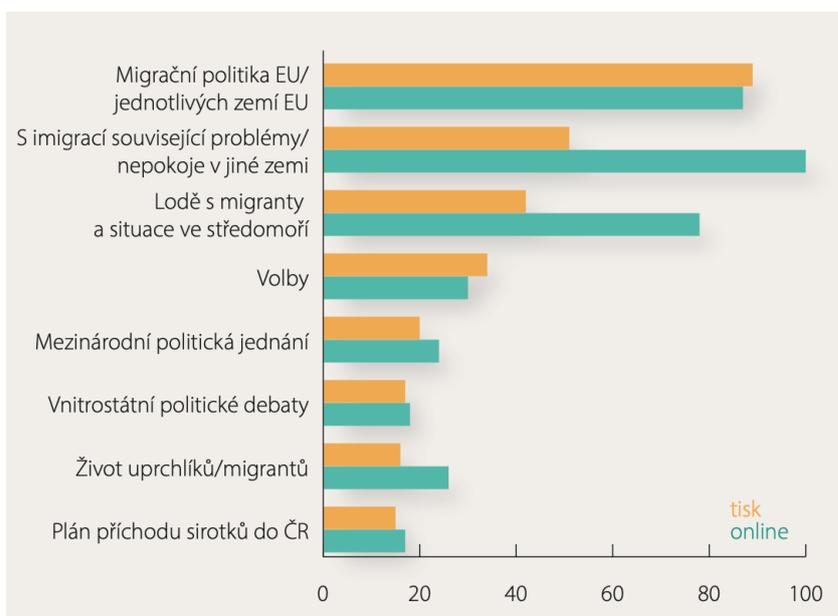
### **1.3.2 Migration without migrants? The media image of migration and its actors in the Czech Republic**

As stated by the authors: *“Regular EU-wide surveys The Eurobarometer Standard has long shown that in countries such as the Czech Republic, where the intensity of contact between the majority population and immigrants is low, there appears to be the most negative perception of migration from outside the EU.”* (Pospěch, Jurečková, 2019, p. 5) As already mentioned above, the fact that there is low personal experience with this topic, the mediated information comes into the scene.

Based on this perspective, the authors focus on how the issue of migration was presented in the news, which factors determined the form and intensity of this presentation, and how the migrants themselves were portrayed. The main research question of this study was following: How was migration and its actors portrayed in the key Czech media in the period under review? Furthermore, the analysis focused on the spokespersons quoted, the venue and the origin of the actors of migration. The main research period was two months before the Municipal Council and Senate elections held in the Czech Republic on the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> of August 2018. This was thus about three years after the so-called refugee crisis in Europe reached its peak. The research was carried out using the content analysis technique with emphasis on media frames. The empirical subject of the analysis was the reporting of the three most widely read non-tabloid press MF Dnes, Právo and Lidové noviny and the three most read news portals novinky.cz, idnes.cz and aktualne.cz. A total of 321 printed articles and 409 articles from online sources containing a reference to migrants were analysed. (Pospěch, Jurečková, 2019)

The most relevant findings for this work are presented below. *“The migration agenda became a prominent part of public discourse in the Czech Republic in 2015. As shown in graphs 1.1 – 1.3, in the period up to April 2015 the topic of migration in the news media was present marginally, but the so-called migration or refugee crisis of 2015 set it as a dominant agenda in the political and public discourse.”* (Pospěch, Jurečková, 2019, p. 6) See appendix.

The graphs show the three dominant terms connected with the migration crisis: migration, migrants and refugees, as well as their changing dynamics overtime. As we can see the terms connected with the people – migrants and refugees show a lowering tendency. On the other hand, the term migration, which is connected to the problem as a whole, shows a higher dynamic. The peaks in the graph number 1.3 – see appendix, are presented by elections and migration summits, which proves that the topic became strongly politicized. More interesting findings are revealed by an analysis of the themes employed in the news. In the time period between the 5<sup>th</sup> of August and the 4<sup>th</sup> of October 2018, 321 texts were published in the print media and 409 in the online media. The findings are represented by the graph number 1.4 below.



Graph 1.4 – frequency of the themes in the analysed period (Pospěch, Jurečková, 2019)

As we can see, the most employed theme was Migration politics of the EU and its member states, followed by the theme of problems with immigration and riots in another

country, boats with migrants and the situation in the Mediterranean and the theme of elections, international political negotiations, domestic political debates, etc. (Pospěch, Jurečková, 2019)

A relevant finding is also presented by the presence of different voices in the news outputs. The chart 1.5 – see appendix, compares the presence of different voices in selected print and online media. In both categories a foreign politician was the most prominent voice, followed by a domestic politician. In print, expert, representative of a Czech anti-immigrant party, official, etc. scored the following positions. Migrants appeared on the last position which proves the findings from Czech Radio stations presented above.

The authors state many features connected with the reporting about migration in the Czech media. For the purpose and context of this work I selected the two most relevant ones:

1) *“Reports on migrants and refugees have been gradually disappearing from the media since 2015 and are replaced by reports on migration in general. The media are increasingly using the term refugee, which refers to the threats that force the person to flee, thus creating some empathy that is lacking in the term migrant. The main topics are political negotiations and migration policy. The topic of the life of refugees / migrants is only marginally represented.”*

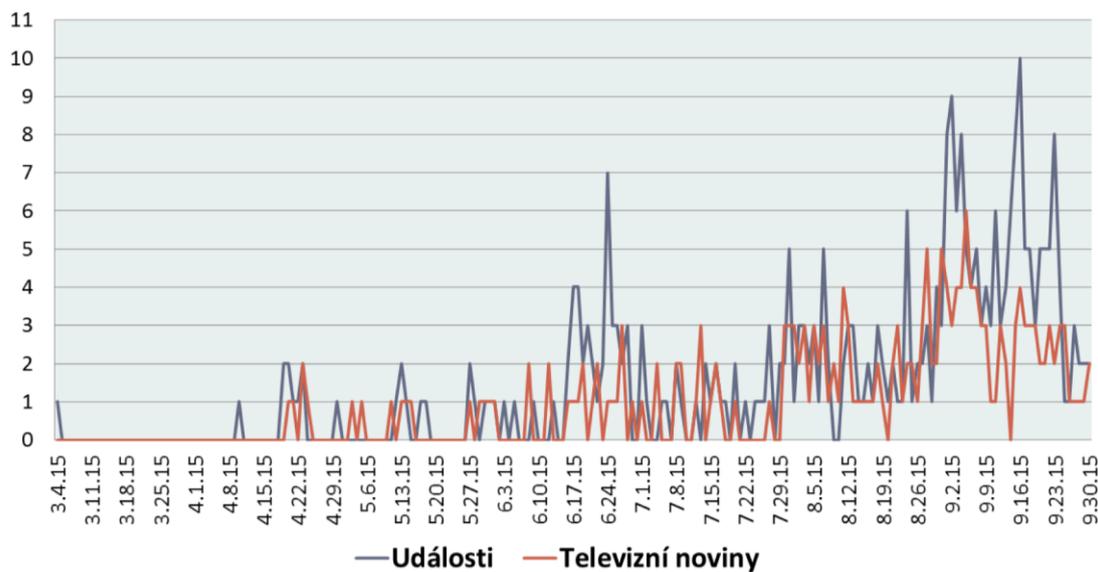
(Pospěch, Jurečková, 2019, p. 3)

2) *“The second most common thematic framework in migration reporting is immigration-related problems / riots in another country. For online media, this is even the most common topic.”* (Pospěch, Jurečková, 2019, p. 4)

### **1.3.3 Analysis of media coverage of the refugee crisis**

This analysis is based on research which took place in the Faculty of Social Studies at the Masaryk University. As the authors explain: *“Recent research confirms that nationwide television remains clearly the main source of news for Czechs - in all age groups. From this point of view, it can be assumed that nationwide television is one of the most influential media on the opinion climate in the Czech Republic. The analysis focused on the two most watched news programs: Události at Czech TV and Television news at TV Nova in the period between 4<sup>th</sup> of March and 30<sup>th</sup> of September 2015. A total of 507 news items were analysed - 307 Czech TV; 200 TV Nov.”* (Tkaczyk, Macek, Pospěch, 2015, p. 1)

The following graph clearly shows the dynamics of the agenda in the researched period. The peak appears to be reached in cases of both media in September 2015, which is an expected phenomenon. The fact that Czech TV is generally considered a less tabloid medium than TV Nova does not correspond with the graph, as Czech TV apparently informed more about this topic than TV Nova.



Graph 1.6 – course of the agenda in the monitored period; number of news items N=507 (Tkaczyk, Macek, Pospěch, 2015)

Further findings reveal the main themes of the coverage. Both news programs paid the highest attention to the impact of the refugee crisis in the Czech Republic - Czech TV 39.5%; Nova TV 36.5%, a slightly smaller share focused on the impact of the crisis in other countries - Czech TV 29.7%; Nova TV 26% and the crisis as an EU-wide issue - Czech TV 27.8%; Nova TV 34.5%. Next to the regional aspect, the most common main topics were refugee quotas - Czech TV 10.7%; Nova TV 9%. The main topics were further distinguished in three large groups. The first one was about current events in European locations such as Hungary, Austria, Calais, etc. - Czech TV 26.5%; Nova TV 18.5%, the second included political discussions on the refugee crisis, including proposals for quotas - Czech TV 18.5%; Nova TV 24%, and the third group included police topics such as police checks, detention of refugees and detention facilities - Czech TV 15.7%; Nova TV 13.5%. (Tkaczyk, Macek, Pospěch, 2015).

Interestingly enough, none of the news addressed the causes of the crisis in the refugees' countries of origin as the main topic. *“The absence of this view might have given the impression that the refugees themselves were the cause of the crisis. Only marginally the reporting focused on helping refugees - Czech TV 4.6%; Nova TV 3% and on the life and characteristics of people on the run - less than 2% at both stations.”* (Tkaczyk, Macek, Pospěch, 2015, p. 2)

If we look at the people who are given a voice in the news and we divide them into specific groups, we find that domestic and foreign politicians - Czech TV 42%; Nova TV 53% were talking the most. The second most represented group was representatives of security forces - Czech TV 10%; Nova 13%. On the other hand, the representation of experts on migration was very low - about 1% at both stations. Representatives of the Church also commented on the topic more often than these experts. The refugees themselves got relatively a lot of space in the news - Czech TV 15%; Nova TV 11%. (Tkaczyk, Macek, Pospěch, 2015) This last point is especially interesting because it stands against the findings presented in the other two studies above.

Another relevant group of findings are formed by the causes and explanations of the migration crisis. As already stated above, there was not much space given to causes and explanations. Thus, the causes of the refugee crisis only appeared as a minor aspect in the reporting. From the total of 155 analysed news on Czech TV and 97 on TV Nova, the causes of the crisis were mentioned in only 20.6% in the case of Czech TV and 28.9% in the case of TV Nova. The total number of references to the causes and explanations of the crisis is shown in the graph 1.7 - see appendix, including the breakdown of these causes into a - escape from threats of losing life and b - economically motivated migration. As we can see regarding a - it was the escape from war that formed the highest number of explanations at both stations. Regarding b - the stations explained the migration crisis in terms of a road to a better life. (Tkaczyk, Macek, Pospěch, 2015)

Perhaps the most interesting set of findings is presented by the solutions which were suggested in the news regarding the migration crisis. The solutions were grouped into nine categories. I also find it interesting that the first four suggested solutions showed similar levels of appearances at both stations. The categories and their levels are shown in the graph

1.8 – see appendix. As the authors describe: *“The most frequently presented solution was the strengthening of border controls, the reallocation of refugees and security in detention facilities. Acute solutions, aimed at immediate stopping or reducing the current flow of refugees, clearly prevailed among the solution proposals. Long-term solutions (stabilization of the situation in the Middle East or integration) were mentioned much less. The nature of the solutions presented corresponds to the structure of the speakers and the overall framing of the problem as security-administrative: the predominant proposals are security, control and redistribution.”* (Tkaczyk, Macek, Pospěch, 2015, p. 5) I find this report highly relevant as it also aimed to research the sources, explanations and solutions, which belong to the field of my research in this work.

#### **1.3.4 Between politicization and securitization: Coverage of the European migration crisis in Czech online news media**

Michal Tkaczyk, who is mentioned above, also stands behind recent research into the role of selected Czech online news media on the European migration crisis. Through a content analysis he aimed to examine the effect of securitization in the media content. As the author stated: *“This study attempts to examine the extent to which and the way the various security cues were present in the Czech online news media agenda related to the European migration crisis.”* (Tkaczyk, 2017, p. 95)

Three various online media were selected for the analysis – Novinky.cz, iDnes.cz as the most read online media on the Czech market and CT24.cz, which is an online platform of the above-mentioned Czech TV. The research only worked with news stories and thus excluded editorials, opinion articles and interviews. This specific time period was selected for the research - 26th June 2015 to 31st October 2015. The time period consists of the start of the agenda, its peak and its decline. To reduce the number of analysed items, every third article from the selected time period was included in the analysis.

The author sets interesting research questions and hypothesis relevant for this work. Some of them follow: *“How was the salience of the European migration crisis constructed in the Czech online news media coverage of the events?”* (Tkaczyk, 2017, p. 97), where the hypothesis was stated: *“The (quantitative) salience of the migration crisis was related to the number of irregular migrants heading to Europe and the Czech Republic.”* (Tkaczyk, 2017,

p. 97) “Which news values were most frequent in the news coverage of the crisis?” (Tkaczyk, 2017, p. 97), where the hypothesis was stated: “The most frequent news value in the news coverage of the crisis was power elite, then bad news” (Tkaczyk, 2017, p. 98) “Which issue-specific media frames prevailed in the news coverage of the crisis?” (Tkaczyk, 2017, p. 98), where the hypothesis was stated: “Reported events were framed prevalingly as a burden to the state administration, a security issue or a threat.” (Tkaczyk, 2017, p. 99) “What was the structure of news sources in the news coverage of the crisis?” (Tkaczyk, 2017, p. 99), where the following hypothesis was stated: “In the coverage of all three portals, voices of migrants and experts were marginalized.” (Tkaczyk, 2017, p. 99)

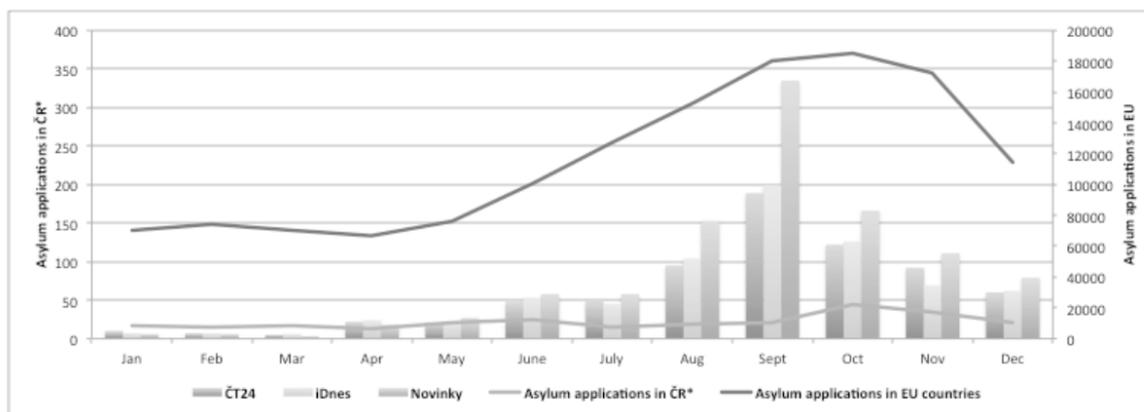
When it comes to the research findings, the salience of the issue is presented first. As the author states: “Events were reported with a sense of criticality and urgency that was attributed to an increase in the number of migrants heading to Europe. The term ‘crisis’ started to appear in the analysed news headlines as early as in April 2015, predominantly in the context of numerous casualties in the Mediterranean Sea and as part of the phrase ‘migration crisis’. Eventually, ‘refugee crisis’ became the catchphrase for all events related to the growing number of migrants from Africa, the Middle East, but also from Albania and Kosovo” (Tkaczyk, 2017, p. 100) The urgency and criticality were strengthened by headlines such as: “Babiš: Refugees are the biggest threat to Europe, bigger than conflict with Russia.”<sup>1</sup> (Tkaczyk, 2017, p. 100)

The author builds on McCombs and his agenda-setting theory, when mentioning that if an issue appears in the news day after day, it creates a foundation for how its salience is constructed. (McCombs, 2009) Interestingly enough, the media agenda of the crisis was getting more space from August, when at least three news items per day were published by each of the three media. The agenda reached its peak in September 2015, when at least six news per day were published on all analysed platforms. The increase was most likely based on the high number of migrants arriving in Hungary, Austria and Germany. As we can see on the attached chart 1.9 below, from October 2015, we witness a decrease in the number of

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<sup>1</sup> *Uprchlíci jsou největší ohrožení Evropy, větší než konflikt s Ruskem.* [online]. [2017-10-02]. Available at: <[http://zpravy.idnes.cz/babis-uprchlici-jsou-nejvetsi-ohrozeni-evropy-vetsi-nez-konflikt-s-ruskem-lu9-/domaci.aspx?c=A150701\\_152946\\_domaci\\_kop](http://zpravy.idnes.cz/babis-uprchlici-jsou-nejvetsi-ohrozeni-evropy-vetsi-nez-konflikt-s-ruskem-lu9-/domaci.aspx?c=A150701_152946_domaci_kop)>.

news items related to the issue. (Tkaczyk, 2017) The above-mentioned hypothesis was thus confirmed.



Graph 1.9 – news items concerned with the migration crisis in 2015 (Tkaczyk, 2017)

The most frequent news value was the power elite, which was present in 58 to 63% of the analysed news items, followed by the magnitude and the relevance, which referred to the sense of criticality and urgency, together with the salience of the reported news. Negativity, or in other words bad news, was the third most frequent news value. The author also makes a statement about the researched frames: „*The majority of the analysed news items from all three news portals defined the reported events in terms of governance, i.e. as an administrative issue. Such a definition stems from the fact that content of such news items dealt primarily with policies - like relocation quotas, procedures and resources.*“ (Tkaczyk, 2017, p. 102) In all three analysed media, approximately every third news story mentioned a security threat, which means that topics of risks, negative predictions and security procedures were involved. As we can see in the attached graph 1.10 – see appendix, the frames were rather consistent across all three analysed platforms. (Tkaczyk, 2017)

The author also pursued the solutions to the crisis. The findings reveal that the defensive ones, such as border controls, the construction of a border wall, the detention of migrants or the deployment of military forces prevailed. From the category of political solutions, so-called relocation quotas appeared most frequently, followed by changes in migration policies, integration programs and to the lastly – aid to the Middle East. As we can see in the attached table 1.11 – see appendix, help to migrants and humanitarian aid were also present. When it comes to sources, the largest space was given to the institutional voices, mostly government officials and police officials. Generally, the experts and migrants were

given much less space and opportunity to speak. If migrants were given the voice, it was mostly male migrants given the space to talk. (Tkaczyk, 2017)

The study is concluded by a summary of the findings and a comment, that if we compare the actual political problem and its impact on the reality of the Czech Republic with the level of agenda gained by the migration crisis, one simply sees that these two do not match. The topic gained higher attention by the media than current problems. I find this work strongly relevant to my thesis mostly because it looks at the frames, solutions and sources that journalists worked with while reporting about the migration crisis. Many of the findings actually confirm the findings of other presented studies, which gives the work even more credibility.

### **1.3.5 Shifting the refugee narrative? An automated frame analysis of Europe's 2015 refugee crisis**

Esther Greussing and Hajo G. Boomgaarden are authors of a study which identifies the most dominant frames employed in the coverage of refugee and asylum issues between January 2015 and January 2016 in six Austrian media. The specific newspapers selected for the research were: Der Standard, Die Presse, Salzburger Nachrichten, Kurier, Kronenzeitung and Heute. The focus of the research is based around potential differences in tabloid and quality media, and on frame variations over time. As they state: *“The findings reveal that, apart from administrative aspects of coping with the arrivals, established narratives of security threat and economisation are most prominent. Humanitarianism frames and background information on the refugees’ situation are provided to a lesser extent.”* (Greussing, Boomgaarden, 2017, p. 1749)

The study brings rather interesting and relevant findings for this work. In the first part the study reveals the frames that most dominantly appear in coverage of the above-mentioned media in the above specified time period. Eight dominant frames are established: Settlement, Reception / Distribution, Securitisation, Criminality, Economisation, Humanitarianism, Background / Victimisation and Labour Market Integration. The data indicate that the six Austrian newspapers mainly perpetuate the established narratives of threat, group-polarisation, and victimisation, yet also emphasise a humanitarian stance in

asylum policy, and provide background information on the refugees' situation, integration, economic change, and employment. (Greussing, Boomgaarden, 2017)

As the authors further state: *“In addition, they employ frames regarding issue-specific policy debates on administrative actions and long-term consequences. Overall, the eight frames identified by the inductive analysis appeared in 5615 articles (53% of the dataset, whereby one article can present more than one frame; Matthes 2007). 61% of these articles were published in the quality papers.”* (Greussing, Boomgaarden, 2017, p. 1757)

Moreover the findings indicate that the tabloid newspapers are more concerned about the criminality aspect of refugee and asylum issues, whereas quality newspapers employ all other frames more often. Generally, the securitisation frame is most prominent, followed by frames addressing reception / distribution, economisation, settlement and humanitarianism.

Frame	Quality newspapers (N = 5979)	Tabloid newspapers (N = 4627)
Securitisation **	.20 (.40)	.14 (.34)
Reception/distribution **	.16 (.37)	.10 (.30)
Economisation **	.14 (.34)	.10 (.29)
Settlement **	.11 (.31)	.08 (.27)
Humanitarianism **	.10 (.30)	.07 (.25)
Background/victimisation **	.09 (.29)	.06 (.23)
Labour market integration **	.06 (.25)	.03 (.17)
Criminality **	.04 (.21)	.06 (.24)

Note: Unpaired two-sample *t*-test, values in parentheses represent standard deviations.

\*\* values are significant at the  $p < .01$  level.

Table 1.12 – framing scores per media type (Greussing, Boomgaarden, 2017)

This study is highly relevant as it focuses on the framing of the topic. I include these suggested frames above as specific values in my own research. This is further explained in the methodology chapter and the values are provided in the attached codebook.

### 1.3.6 Beyond black and white: the role of media in portraying and policing migration and asylum in Italy

Pierluigi Musarò and Paola Parmiggiani from the University of Bologna investigated the media's role in shaping perceptions and policies concerning the migration crisis. In their work 'Beyond black and white: the role of media in portraying and policing migration and asylum in Italy' they researched how the media affect the solidarity of newcomers with a focus on Italy. The first part of the paper looks at the co-existence of the humanitarian

narratives of saving lives and the spectacle of militarised borders. It also examines how the aspect of fear is constructed on both the migrants' and residents' side. The second part is based around a call for innovative approaches in communication about migration.

The study mostly explored how Italian media have reported on the tragedies in the Mediterranean Sea to bring understanding and compassion to European citizens and their leaders. The paper highlights the role of humanitarian narrative in changing public perception of the migration flows within Europe. The study shows an apparent paradoxical relation between the duty to grant asylum and to protect human rights, which have been both proclaimed by the Italian government and the fearful campaign *Aware Migrants* launched by that same government. The article finds that the migration crisis is thus changed into an abstract technical and emotional issue that prioritises security over concerns of democracy and human rights (Musarò, Parmiggiani, 2017).

At the same time the study also unveils the shocking images of migrants, which have been spectacularised by the media on daily basis and transformed humans into objects of fear. The paper thus explores how the gap between objective facts and public perception of migration is undermining rather than intensifying solidarity (Musarò, Parmiggiani, 2017).

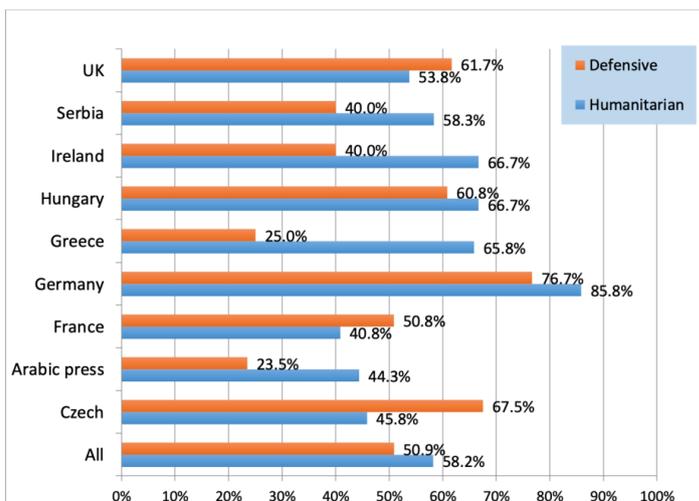
The paper finishes with a rather subjective but interesting conclusion by stating: *“As confirmed by demographic and economic reports, migration to Europe will continue over the next few years, both due to the factors pushing migrants and the fact that European economies and societies need migration. Therefore, it is fundamental to consider that stopping migration is not only an unrealistic prospect that would produce concrete effects in the everyday lives of millions of vulnerable people on the move. It also contributes to worsening the conditions under which migration will take place in the near future as well as of the lives of migrants already established in Europe.”* (Musarò, Parmiggiani, 2017, p. 254)

### **1.3.7 The European ‘migration crisis’ and the media: A cross-European press content analysis**

Largely relevant findings are revealed by the authors Chouliaraki, Georgiou, Zaborowski and Oomen from the London School of Economics and Political Science who published a study called ‘The European ‘migration crisis’ and the media: A cross-European

press content analysis’ which was a part of a larger research project into the field of migration. The study looks at media reporting on the migration crisis in the UK, Serbia, Ireland, Hungary, Greece, Germany, France, Czech Republic and Arabic press. Their findings confirm many of those from the studies described in this chapter, but the authors also bring new ways of looking at our topic.

The case of the Czech Republic is especially relevant for the focus of this work, and thus looked at. The sample analysis provided in the study reveals a significant difference between reported defensive measures – 67,5% and humanitarian measures – 45,8%. As the authors state: “*The Czech Republic was one of only three countries (along with the UK and France) with the former frequency higher than the latter. However, we should also note that frequencies of both reported measures in Czech Republic were near extreme ends across the study.*” (Chouliaraki, Georgiou, Zaborowski, Oomen, 2017, p. 24) This is shown in the following graph number 1.13.



Graph 1.13 – defensive / humanitarian measures (Chouliaraki, Georgiou, Zaborowski, Oomen, 2017)

Another interesting fact is that Czech press was second highest, after Germany, in reported security measures and third lowest in reported humanitarian measures. Czech press was also least likely to mention refugee names or refugee ages. (Chouliaraki, Georgiou, Zaborowski, Oomen, 2017).

The analysis shows that European press names refugees and migrants in specific and limited ways and thus sets restrictive conditions for the recognition of migrants and refugees. As it is also stated: “*As such, the European press contributes to an ambivalent regime of*

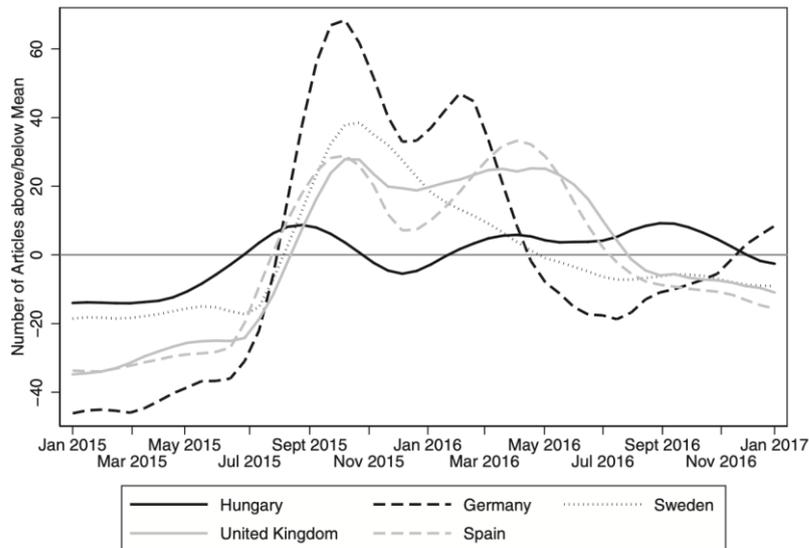
*power that operates in parallel to the benevolent security of geo – political bordering – what we call a regime of symbolic bordering. This regime of power subjects migrants to practises of control that view them as the par excellence Others to Europe’s political and cultural community.*” (Chouliaraki, Georgiou, Zaborowski, Oomen, 2017, p. 29). On one hand, this is shown by being potential threats that need to be kept outside and on the other hand by being vulnerable human beings seeking care. There are two evident views or frames which the media employ and which seem to be stable overtime.

In the end of the study the authors identify demands and responsibilities of the journalists and the media for the future. For the smooth future development, the authors mention tools to gain fair reporting and informed publics. They also provide specific recommendations such as inclusion of diverse voices, contextual reporting of migration, recognition of refugee journalists and refugee communication rights, benefit from digital resources against hate speech and learning from research on media coverage of the global migration and refugee crisis.

### **1.3.8 Media Framing Dynamics of the ‘European Refugee Crisis’: A Comparative Topic Modelling Approach**

This rather new study, which was conducted by the Austrian researchers from the University of Vienna was published in December 2019 and offers an analysis of the national media discourses in Hungary, Germany, Sweden, the UK and Spain in regard to the European migration crisis. In total 130,042 articles from 24 news outlets in the time period between the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 2015 to the 31<sup>st</sup> December 2016 were involved in the research, which allows presenting country-specific media frames. The Bayesian Latent Dirichlet Allocation model was used for the analyses.

As usual, the study first reveals the findings regarding the salience. As the authors further explain: *“In order to compare dynamics between the different countries, we calculated the average number of relevant articles per week and country and showed the deviation of this average in the graph...”* (Heidenreich, Lind, Eberl, Boomgaarden, 2019, p. 175).



Graph 1.14 – dynamics of refugee coverage in Europe; number of articles  $N = 130,042$  (Heidenreich, Lind, Eberl, Boomgaarden, 2019)

As we can see in the graph 1.14 above, the results can be grouped into three types of dynamics. If we look at Hungary, we see a slight increase in the coverage from January 2015 to July 2015 and a stable attention afterwards. As it turns out, Hungary already dealt with the issue before the start of the period of this analysis, which explains the result. The second dynamic is formed by Germany and Sweden, which both have one common peak in the coverage around the highest point of the crisis in summer 2015. Furthermore, Germany shows another peak which is based on the sexual assaults of the New Year's Eve. The third dynamic result is presented by Spain and the UK which both do not have the peaks of coverage in September 2015. The UK coverage stays generally increased until after the Brexit referendum in June 2016. In Spain the coverage has its peak between April and May 2016. The reason for this was that the Spanish media were concerned with the refugee agreement between the European Union and Turkey. (Heidenreich, Lind, Eberl, Boomgaarden, 2019)

Some interesting findings for this work are presented by the framing dynamics. The analyses worked with the following identified frames: economy, welfare, accommodations, humanitarian aid, refugee camps, border, national refugee policy, EU refugee policy, elections, crime and terrorism, refugee movement, war, values and culture, human interest, unaccompanied children, Brexit. (Heidenreich, Lind, Eberl, Boomgaarden, 2019)

In case of Hungary the humanitarian aid, crime and terrorism, border and EU refugee policy gained the highest level of salience. In Germany, the most employed frames were border, national refugee policy and accommodations. In Sweden the frames of human interest, refugee movement and the EU refugee policy were employed the most. In the case of the UK the most employed frame by the media was refugee camps. The most employed frames in the Spanish media were border, EU refugee policy and the human interest. The dynamics of the mentioned frames can be viewed the best in the attached figure 1.15 – see appendix. (Heidenreich, Lind, Eberl, Boomgaarden, 2019)

The authors summarize their findings by stating that the peaks in coverage or the peaks in framing dynamics coincide with real-world developments. Although there are visible similarities, there are also differences. For example, in the countries close to the Balkan route, such as Hungary or Germany, the crisis was framed as a border issue in the period between August and September 2015, which was different in countries further away. Receiving countries such as Germany, Sweden or the UK, which expect a more long-term impact of the refugee crisis presented frames connected with the impact on the welfare system, economy and the search for accommodations in more salient ways. Worth mentioning is also the fact that the human interest and humanitarian aid frames were apparently more important in the beginning of news reporting but were less visible at the peak of the crisis (Heidenreich, Lind, Eberl, Boomgaarden, 2019). I find this analysis highly relevant for my work, especially for its focus on framing. Although the authors work with partly different frames, I can draw inspiration from this study as well.

### **1.3.9 The European media discourse on immigration and its effects: a literature review**

To gain a broad understanding of the topic, it is important to dive into the study, which deals with the effects that the media discourse has on immigration. Such study was published as a reaction on the European migration crisis in 2018 and is presented by a literature review from which I extract relevant findings. Based on the focus of this work, I look at the chapters which have framing as a centre of their interest. At the same time, I exclude the effects of framing as it does not play the central role in this work. For anyone conducting a research on media effects, this part could be relevant as well.

As the authors explain, when studying the news framing, it is common to make distinctions between issue-specific frames and generic news frames, especially when conducting research on migration. Victimization, conflict and negativity frames are given as examples of generic frames, which can transcend thematic boundaries. Issue-specific frames such as welfare or multiculturalism frames are usually related to specific topic such as the refugee crisis. As the authors conclude, most of the research studies focus on the issue-specific frames and thus explore the economic, welfare, cultural or security contexts. (Eberl et. al, 2018) The authors mention an interesting finding by Baker et. al (2008), who found that the terms migrants and immigrants are usually associated with the frame of economic threat, such as competition on the labour market. On the other hand, terms as refugees or asylum-seekers are usually associated with an economic burden – such as a burden for the welfare system. The authors also mention findings of other researchers when stating that there is generally limited number of frames, which most often ends up with the negative frames being used in the news (Armstrong, 1992). As it turns out, this often leads to very similar and simplified storytelling about immigration (Hooper, 2014).

The above-mentioned generic framing of immigration is in this study presented by negativity and victimization framing. It is made clear that the news on migration tend to be negative (Igartua et al., 2007) This was confirmed already before the start of the European migration crisis. At this point, the authors mention a comparative study of news coverage in sixteen Western democracies which showed that immigration and integration are the third most negative topic in political news coverage (Esser, Engesser, Matthes, & Berganza, 2017). An interesting finding is presented by another source of negativity in media reporting about immigration. It was found that journalists often portray immigrants and refugees as masses, which aim to invade European countries. (Eberl et. al, 2018) Similar findings are mentioned in studies above.

Another relevant finding is the fact that the level of negativity depends on the media type and genre. It becomes clear that coverage in tabloids tends to be more negative than the one in quality newspapers. (Eberl et. al, 2018). It is not always about what media talk about, but who they talk to. The target group of the media can be grouped in many categories based on factors such as social status, wealth, age but most importantly in the case of this topic the political preferences. As it was found, the political preferences of the audiences may be a

relevant factor (Aalberg, 2015). Most importantly because the audiences usually have some sort of opinion before the news are presented.

This particular work identified 78 studies which used qualitative or quantitative methods of content analysis and dealt with the coverage about immigration. Another interesting point is that these studies include a wide range of European countries, but only nineteen studies focus on an Eastern European country. As the authors further explain: *“Furthermore, only 20 studies investigate more than one, and only 9 more than two countries. Importantly, even when the studies have a comparative set-up, they are often limited to mere descriptions of results, without the aim of explaining differences between countries”* (Eberl et. al, 2018, p. 215) This work does not aspire to compare itself with studies in this chapter, but I hope to contribute to a field which apparently deserves more attention.

### **1.3.10 Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries**

UNHCR commissioned a report by the Cardiff School of Journalism, Department of Media and Cultural Studies. This report aimed to explore what was driving media coverage in five different European countries: Spain, Italy, Germany, the UK and Sweden. The report provides important insights into each country’s press culture during a crucial period of agenda-setting for the refugee and migrant crisis. (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015) This study provides the inspiration for this work and the thesis thus builds on it. For this reason, more space is given to the findings and conclusions the authors reached as well as the methodology, which was to certain extent used as well.

The report examines how the press in five EU states reported on migration crisis in 2014 and 2015 in two major samples of news coverage. The first sample examines a broad cross section of reporting across 2014 and early 2015. The second sample focuses on a week’s reporting from 18<sup>th</sup> of April, which was connected with the boat disaster in the Mediterranean. Because the research study is rather broad, I focus on the first sample. The main focus of the analysis is based around these following seven questions:

- 1) Who are the key sources in coverage?
- 2) Which political parties are most cited?
- 3) Where are refugees and migrants identified as coming from?
- 4) What terms are used to describe those trying to enter the EU?
- 5) What is the prevalence of different themes in coverage?
- 6) What explanations are offered for why people are trying to enter the EU?
- 7) What solutions to the migration crisis are present in the coverage? (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015)

The researchers generated a sample of around 300 articles per country, which created an overall total of 1500 news articles. The goal was to capture the articles about any Middle Eastern or African migrants, refugees, immigrants, or asylum seekers arriving, travelling or already living in the EU and other stories about immigration and asylum policy. A coding framework was established which aimed to capture the sources that dominated, the terms used to describe migrants, countries of origin identified, themes in coverage, explanation for the crisis and finally the solutions to the crisis. (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015)

The findings reveal both similarities and differences in reporting about the migration crisis within the analysed countries. When it comes to sources, domestic politicians were most prominent in Sweden - 39.4% of all source appearances, followed by Germany - 32.8%, Italy - 31.4%, Britain - 20.4% and Spain - 11.1%. Compared to other research studies, which some of them are mentioned above, the proportion of migrant voices was higher – from 9.3% in Germany and Italy to 11.7% in Spain. The UN and UNHCR were sourced the least - Spain 2.7%, UK 2.7%, Italy 2.5%, Germany 2.5%, Sweden 1.3%. Governing parties and coalitions dominated the political sourcing. In most cases the challengers came from anti-immigrant right side of the political spectrum. *“In the UK 68.6% of political sourcing came from the coalition government whilst the main voice explicitly opposing government policy came from UKIP - 9.3%”*. (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015, p. 7) At the same time, Germany showed different results. *“Germany was unique in that the main opposition to the Merkel’s grand coalition - 79.6% came from the left in shape of the pro-immigrant Left/Greens - 18.0%.”* (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015, p. 7)

Most of the articles featured an information about the country of origin of the migrants, although again it varied by country. Almost all of the articles in Spain - 89.1%, the UK - 87.4% and Germany - 86.5% included this information. On the other hand, the proportion was lower in Sweden - 72.5% and Italy - 69.6%. All countries identified Syria as the key country of origin, followed by Eritrea, Iraq and Afghanistan in different orders. An interesting set of findings is also provided by the use of labels or terms used to describe the migrants. Germany - 91.0% and Swedish - 75.3% media mostly used the terms refugee - flüchtling-e / flykting or asylum seeker - asylsuchende-r/asylsokande. The term migrant was mostly used in Italy - 35.8% and in the UK - 54.2%.

Clear differences between countries were found in the themes of the coverage. The humanitarian theme was mostly present in the Italian press - 31.3% in contrast to 9.0% - 13.1% for the other countries of the analysis. Differences were also found in the prevalence of the threat theme. As the authors state: "*Refugees and migrants were discussed as threats to national security in 10.1% of articles in Italy, 9.2% in Spain, 8.5% in Britain, 4.8% in Germany and 2.3% in Sweden.*" (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015, p. 8) A presence of the negative frame was also shown by the tendency to link migrants to crime – UK - 8.2%, Italy - 4.3%, Germany - 3.7%, Italy - 2.6% and Spain - 1.7%. The migration figures appeared in 30.9% of cases in the Italian press in contrast to 67.4% of cases in the British and 61% of the German press. (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015)

When it comes to the explanations of migration, the highest level appeared in the UK press - 57.5% and the lowest in German - 39% and Italian - 32.9%. More specifically, the most common explanation was the one of people fleeing wars - UK 43.4%, Sweden - 41.2%, Germany - 34.6%, Spain - 34.2% and Italy - 29.1%. As the authors further explain: "*Other push factors cited included repressive regimes – UK - 12.6%, Germany - 7.3%, Spain - 6.9, Sweden - 6.4%, Italy - 3.8% and IS/terrorism – Sweden - 5.6%, UK - 4.4%, Germany - 3.9%, Italy - 3.5%, Spain - 2.5%. Economic pull factors were much more likely to be cited in both Spain - 28.5% and the UK - 23.4% than the other countries in the sample – Italy - 8.6%, Germany - 8.1% and Sweden - 4.4%.*" (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015, p. 8-9). A weak border control was suggested as an explanation of the crisis only to a small extent in Spain - 5.7% and the UK - 6.4% press. In other analysed countries, this explanation, was hardly even mentioned.

A relevant set of findings is also presented by the suggested solutions to the crisis. The most frequent discussion on this topic took place in Italy with 62.5% and Spain with 57.3% of articles which included this topic. On the other side of the spectrum were Sweden with 43.6% and Germany with 42.4%. When it comes to specifications, the mostly cited response was the adoption of a united or Europe-wide solution to the problem – Italy - 33.9%, Spain - 28.8%, UK - 12.9%, Sweden - 9.4%, Germany - 7.3%. Interestingly enough, on the other side of the spectrum stood the following: “*The suggestion that access to benefits and welfare should be restricted in order to discourage migration appeared in both Sweden - 9.4% and the UK - 7.7% but was barely featured in other countries - Spain - 2.0%, Italy - 0.8%, Germany - 0.0%.*” (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015, p. 9) In general, little attention was paid to the push factors which influence the population flows. A suggestion that action should be taken against IS or other jihadi groups was almost not featured at all – UK - 1.5%, Spain - 1.5%, Italy - 1.5%, Germany - 0.6%, Sweden - 0.3%. (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015)

As some of the above-mentioned findings indicate, there were wide variations in how the press in different countries reported on migration. To be specific, Sweden turned out to be the country most positive towards refugees and migrants. The media coverage featured more humanitarian themes than themes of threat. On the other hand, coverage in the United Kingdom was the most negative. Although newspapers in all other countries featured anti-refugee and anti-migrant perspectives, the right of centre press in the UK differed by campaigning strongly against migrants. A second conclusion states that there were significant differences in the level of variation within national press systems. That means that in some countries, the way of reporting in different media was similar, in some countries however this way largely differed. The most homogenous reporting was that of Spain, Italy and Sweden. The press in Germany and mostly in the UK showed the highest level of variations. Generally, the newspapers in the continental Europe commonly agreed that the crisis should be solved at the EU level. (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015)

An important conclusion is also made by the authors in point number four, where they state that: “*The degree to which asylum and immigration is subject to political contestation is a key factor structuring coverage.*” (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015, p. 6) The level of using domestic political sources largely varies across the researched

countries. In the moments where the particular issue becomes politicised, there tends to be the pull to include more political actors across the political landscape of the specific country. In the EU, we could see many examples of parties which have started to base their agenda around migration. This is due to the controversial origin of migration itself. The following point presents the fact that the rise of the far-right parties has been reflected in uneven media coverage. The German example shows that the far-right parties have lacked political voice. On the other hand, the Italian example shows that far-right has in this case prominent voice based on their electoral legitimacy. Large differences were also found in explanations and solutions to the crisis. The explanations of the crisis were partly formed by wars, human rights abuse and repressive regimes on the other hand they were, for example in the UK, Italy and Spain, formed by the chaos in Libya and the role of people smugglers. (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015)

Another point reflects the positive reporting about migration flows when stating that: *“Overall there were few instances where reporting focused on the benefits that asylum seekers and migrants could bring to host countries.”* (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015, p. 12) This could be seen in a small proportion of stories which concentrated on migrant success stories and on stories reflecting the economic or cultural benefits which migrants could bring to host countries. Such stories have mostly appeared in Swedish and German press. The study has also come to the conclusion that the local context is vital in shaping how news are reported. This means that there are specific national traditions in the journalistic and media discourse which impacts the media coverage relating to the migration crisis. The authors also make a conclusion that there were only a few articles that focused on the need to address the push factors driving population flows. Although the crisis was mostly explained as created by conflict and human rights abuses, and less by economic inequality, the need to address these issues was rarely addressed in coverage. (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015)

## **2. Practical part**

The practical part is based on the conducted research. At first, I describe the methodology, explain the sampling criteria, search strings, coding process and so on. Most importantly I state the research questions which create the base for the entire research and which the findings provide answers for. In the following chapter I present the findings from

my research divided into categories based on the research questions. The findings of media in both countries are presented in categories according to the research questions. I also come up with conclusions and comparisons that can, to a certain extent, be stated based on the findings.

## 2.1 Methodology

The aim of the research is to analyse the press coverage of issues related to migration from Middle Eastern or African countries, which is known as the European migration crisis. Issues related to migration within the EU member states or migration to other than EU countries were excluded from the research just as any other irrelevant migration topics. Czech Republic and Austria were selected for the analysis for following reasons:

- 1) Czech Republic was not the country of destination but has shown a high level of media coverage of the migration crisis.
- 2) Austria was one of the countries of destination and has also shown a high level of coverage of the issue.
- 3) No study on this specific topic has yet dealt with these two countries.

The employed research technique is quantitative content analysis. The same technique was largely used by the authors of the above-mentioned studies and is widely accepted as a correct one for a research of this kind in the field of media studies. To a certain extent comparative analysis is employed as well as the findings from both countries are presented as answers to the research questions and compared.

The media selected for the research were all dailies available in the used databases. Only printed daily newspapers were chosen for the research based on the fact that they have a specific, usually more conservative target group and also because of the limits of the capacity of the author. In case of the Czech media, Newton Media database was used to capture the data. Following media were included in the search: Právo, Mladá fronta DNES, Lidové noviny, Aha!, Blesk, E15, Haló noviny, Hospodářské noviny<sup>2</sup>. In case of the Austrian

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<sup>2</sup> Czech media shortcuts: MF Dnes (Mladá fronta Dnes), LN (Lidové noviny), Haló n. (Haló noviny), HN (Hospodářské noviny)

media, Factiva database was used to provide the data for the research. Following media were included in the search: Die Presse, Der Standard, Salzburger Nachrichten<sup>3</sup>.

The generated sample was 502 news items, which means 251 news stories per country. This means news stories only, as interviews, opinion articles, commentaries and other formats were excluded from the analysis. This decision was based on the fact that other relevant studies excluded these formats as well due to their unclarity and personal opinion influence. Two specific years were selected for the analysis: 2016 because it was shortly after the peak of the crisis, when migration agenda still dominated in the press; and 2019 because although it saw a drop in the media's agenda, migration related issues still remained present. The number of targeted articles per country was divided between these two years. In Czech, just as in Austrian media, from the whole number of articles per country, half of the articles were coded in the year 2016 and half of the articles were coded in the year 2019. In both countries 6 days from each year were coded based on random choice and previous calculations. After filtering out the irrelevant articles within these 6 randomly selected days, extra days were added again based on random choice. The articles were selected based on random choice in the codebook's Excel file.

Following search strings were used to capture the data:

Czech media: běžen?c\* OR uprchl?\* OR migrant\* OR imigran\* OR migra\* OR imigra\*

Austrian media: flücht\* OR migra\* OR immigra\* OR einwander\* OR asyl\* OR zuwander\*

The research questions are based on the methodology employed by authors who conducted research in the same field as the studies described in the theoretical part above. The research questions were thus tested and proved to be relevant. I used a combination of research questions from the studies 'Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries' and 'Shifting the refugee narrative? An automated frame analysis of Europe's 2015 refugee crises' described above to reach the objective. Following research questions were stated:

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<sup>3</sup> Austrian media shortcuts: SN (Salzburger Nachrichten)

RQ1: What is the prevalence of migration related stories in the selected media?

RQ2: What is the prevalence of different themes in coverage?

RQ3: Which actors are present in the coverage?

RQ4: Which terms are used to describe those trying to enter the EU?

RQ5: Which frames are present in the coverage?

RQ6: Which explanations for the migration crisis are offered in the coverage?

RQ7: Which solutions to the migration crisis are present in the coverage?

The answers to these research questions are presented by the findings in the following chapter. To gain answers to these research questions I created 8 categories within the codebook with each category being coded in a specific way. The categories had different amount of values which were coded either as one value per article or multiple values per article. The categories are described below:

- 1) Date – When was the article published?
- 2) Media – Where was the article published? The media were added gradually while coding.
- 3) Themes – Which theme prevailed in the article? 18 values – only 1 value could be coded per article.
- 4) Actors – Who was talked about and who was mentioned in the article? 20 values – multiple values per article could be coded.
- 5) Terms – Which terms were used to describe the migrants? 22 values – multiple values per article could be coded.
- 6) Frames – Which frames were employed in the article? 9 values – multiple values per article could be coded.
- 7) Explanations – Which explanations were offered for why people tried to enter the EU? 12 values – multiple values per article could be coded.
- 8) Solutions – Which solutions were offered to solve the migration crisis? 20 values – multiple values per article could be coded.

The specific values within the 8 categories can be found in the attached codebook. Both the categories and the values are based on previous studies mentioned above. Particularly on the study ‘Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A

Content Analysis of Five European Countries' described in the chapter 1.3.10. The coding was carried out by the author of this work. I am a native speaker of the Czech language and have enough knowledge of the German language to be sufficient for academic and research work.

## **2.2 Findings**

This chapter is dedicated to the findings of my above described research. The findings are grouped into sections in accordance with the stated research questions. All findings are presented as an answer to the specific research question with data from both Czech and Austrian media. The data from all media in total are presented in every case except for the section dedicated to the terms, as the Czech and German languages can't be taken as one and the differences between the specific words must remain visible.

### **2.2.1 RQ1: What is the prevalence of migration related stories in the selected media?**

At first, we look at the presence of the migration crisis related articles in the analysed media. Out of 251 articles in the case of the Czech media, 67 of them were published in *Právo*, followed by *MF Dnes* with 50 articles, *Haló noviny* with 40 articles, *Lidové noviny* with 38 articles, *Hospodářské noviny* with 27 articles, *E15* with 14 articles, *Blesk* with 10 articles and *Aha!* with only 5 articles. *Právo* dominated when it comes to the prevalence of the articles. This is an interesting finding for the fact that this daily has a rather leftist tradition. The same could be stated in terms of *Haló noviny*, which is known as a medium on the far left of the spectrum. Because both *Blesk* and *Aha!* are considered tabloids and they appear at the lowest positions when it comes to the prevalence of the migration related stories, it can be stated that they did not tend to use the sensation caused by the European migration crisis and did not follow the general agenda. Table 2.1a presents the specific findings within the selected Czech media. The findings are presented in both percentage share of the total and also in specific numbers out of the total number of articles.

Media	Právo	MF Dnes	E15	LN	HN	Haló n.	Blesk	Aha!	Total N=
Prevalence	26,7%	19,9%	5,6%	15,1%	10,8%	15,9%	4,0%	2,0%	100%
	[67]	[50]	[14]	[38]	[27]	[40]	[10]	[5]	[251]

*Table 2.1a: Prevalence of the migration related stories in the selected Czech media (own research)*

In case of the Austrian media, out of 251 articles, 92 of them were published in Der Standard, followed by Die Presse with 87 articles and Salzburger Nachrichten with 72 articles. In this case the numbers show that the Austrian media included in the analysis followed the set agenda on a similar level and no extra differences were found. Perhaps the only surprising finding could be that Der Standard dominated in the prevalence of migration related articles as it is known to be a traditional, serious and conservative newspaper dedicated to in-depth analyses and long articles that often provide a large context. Table 2.1b presents the specific findings within the selected Austrian media. The findings are presented in both percentage share of the total number of articles and also in specific numbers out of the total.

Media	Der Standard	Die Presse	SN	Total N=
Prevalence	36,7%	34,7%	28,7%	100%
	[92]	[87]	[72]	[251]

*Table 2.1b: Prevalence of the migration related stories in the selected Austrian media (own research)*

As a reminder, the time period for data selection was the years 2016 and 2019. In each year 6 random days were selected with extra random days being added gradually in each year to reach the total number of 251 articles per country. Thus, it has to be said that the prevalence of the stories in the media above can only be generalised to that extent and has its limits.

## **2.2.2 RQ2: What is the prevalence of different themes in coverage?**

This section deals with the dominant themes in the articles. In this case only one theme in each article was coded. If we first look at the findings of both Czech and Austrian

media, we can see that the most dominant theme was the one of political response / policy with 25%. The same also goes for Czech media with 26% and Austrian media with 23%. Second most dominant theme was receiving / rejecting which also scored second in both countries of our interest. The theme of the threat to national security was more present in the Czech media with 12% than in the Austrian media with only 6%. This confirms that the media can generate fear of the unknown, as there were way less migrants in the Czech Republic than in Austria. On the other hand, the theme of post-arrival integration was present in 10% of articles in Austria whereas the presence in the Czech media was only 3%. This means that the Austrian media tended to deal with the fact that the migrants were already in the country.

A large difference can also be found in the theme of crime. The theme was present in 16% of the articles in Austria but only in 6% of the articles in Czech. This means that the Austrian media reported on the crimes committed by the refugees both in Austria and abroad to a larger extent than the Czech media which is also an interesting observation. If we look to the other side of the spectrum, no articles presented the success stories of the migrants in the Czech media and only two articles did so in the Austrian media. Only 3% of the articles in total with 4% in the Czech media and only 1% in the Austrian media had the main theme of mafia / traffic. This stands against the fact that both the EU states and the whole European Union have tried to target the problems of mafia and human traffickers which were found to be one of the key problems of the crisis. 3% of the articles in total with 4% in Austrian media and 2% in Czech media focused on the theme of a threat to welfare / benefits / resources. This means that the media did not present the abuse of the social system as a threat. 4% of the articles in total and the same number in both countries included the humanitarian theme as a major theme. Total numbers can be seen in the table below, just as specific numbers regarding the specific media. The table 2.2 presents the specific findings within both Czech and Austrian media. The findings are presented in both percentage share of the total and also in specific numbers out of the total.

Themes present in the coverage:	Czech media:	Austrian media:	Media total:
Immigration figures / levels	10% [25]	6% [14]	8% [39]
Mortality / mortality figures	4% [9]	1% [2]	2% [11]
Threat to national security	12% [29]	6% [16]	9% [45]

Threat to welfare / benefits / resources	2% [6]	4% [11]	3% [17]
Threat to communities / cultural threat	2% [6]	2% [5]	2% [11]
Health risk for countries of destination	0% [0]	1% [2]	0% [2]
Search and rescue / aid supplies	3% [8]	5% [13]	4% [21]
Human rights	1% [3]	1% [3]	1% [6]
Migrant / refugees / asylum seekers success stories	0% [0]	1% [2]	0% [2]
Mafia / traffic	4% [11]	1% [2]	3% [13]
Political response / policy	26% [65]	23% [58]	25% [123]
Receiving / rejecting	15% [38]	13% [32]	14% [70]
Post-arrival integration	3% [7]	10% [26]	7% [33]
Humanitarian (elements)	2% [4]	0% [1]	1% [5]
Humanitarian (key theme)	4% [11]	4% [11]	4% [22]
Crime	6% [14]	16% [39]	11% [53]
Journey	5% [13]	3% [8]	4% [21]
Other	1% [2]	2% [6]	2% [8]
N=	251 articles	251 articles	502 articles

Table 2.2: Prevalence of different themes in the coverage. (own research)

### 2.2.3 RQ3: Which actors were present in the coverage?

In this following section we look at the findings which show not only who had the space to talk but also who the articles talked about and who was mentioned. Every person who appeared in the article was coded. This also means that multiple actors could and in most cases were coded in each article. This approach is different than the other studies mentioned above, as it not only captures the ones who are quoted but also the ones that generally appear in the article. In all media combined, the presence of refugee / migrant was the highest with 92%. This goes also for both Czech media with 90% and Austrian media with 94%. This is most likely no surprise as one can expect that the articles about migrants will include the migrants themselves. The articles which did not include the migrants did not talk about them as human beings but rather talked about a migration wave or about the migration crisis.

The second actor with the highest presence was a foreign politician with 33% in total. However, his presence was stronger in Czech media with 43% than in Austrian media with 23%. Exactly the opposite can be seen in the case of a domestic politician who had the total presence of 31%. In Austrian media he was present in 47% of the articles. In Czech media he was present only in 15% of the articles. Although other studies mentioned above found that the topic was largely domesticated in the Czech media it appears that it was even more so in the case of the Austrian media. There is also a difference between the presence of a citizen. The total is relatively high with 24%. However, in the Czech media the presence is only 17% and in the Austrian media on the other hand is a solid 30%. Police was also given space with 18% in total. Police was more dominant in Czech media with 23% than in Austrian media with only 13%.

Another interesting point is the fact that other actors were present in the coverage in 24% of the articles in total. This means that other actors with other professions and indications which are not included in the codebook were present. If we look to the other side of the spectrum, we find that members of the European Parliament and representatives of Think Tanks were not present in the coverage at all. Journalists were present in 9% of the articles in Czech media but only in 4% of the articles in the Austrian media. On the other hand, the academic voices were heard more in the Austrian media with 6% than in the Czech media with only 2%. The table 2.3 presents the specific findings within both Czech and Austrian media. The findings are presented in both percentage share of the total and also in specific numbers out of the total.

Actors present in the coverage	Czech media	Austrian media	Media total
Domestic politician	15% [38]	47% [119]	31% [157]
Citizen	17% [43]	30% [75]	24% [118]
Refugee / migrant	90% [225]	94% [235]	92% [460]
Foreign politician	43% [109]	23% [58]	33% [167]
NGO / Civil society	12% [31]	12% [31]	12% [62]
Journalist	9% [23]	4% [10]	7% [33]
UNHCR / UN	7% [17]	8% [19]	7% [36]
Academic	2% [6]	6% [15]	4% [21]

Police	23% [58]	13% [33]	18% [91]
MEP	0% [0]	0% [0]	0% [0]
IOM	0% [0]	4% [10]	2% [10]
Church / religion	2% [5]	4% [10]	3% [15]
EU Commission	11% [28]	7% [17]	9% [45]
Law / judiciary	13% [32]	10% [26]	12% [58]
National rescue team	4% [9]	2% [5]	3% [14]
Trafficker / smuggler	10% [24]	3% [7]	6% [31]
FRONTEX	2% [6]	2% [6]	2% [12]
Think Thank	0% [0]	0% [0]	0% [0]
Business	0% [0]	1% [3]	1% [3]
Other	29% [73]	19% [47]	24% [120]
N=	251 articles	251 articles	502 articles

Table 2.3: Actors present in the coverage. (own research)

#### 2.2.4 RQ4: Which terms were used to describe those trying to enter the EU?

The terms, or in other words labels, have a large impact on the perception of the article. The media tend to employ different terms to describe the people trying to enter the EU which can influence the perception of the larger picture. There is for example a clear difference between calling someone an *asylum seeker*, *refugee* or *economic migrant*. The terms used by the media provide labels that shape the whole nature of the article. If the term *asylum seeker* is used across the whole article it is more likely to evoke sympathy among readers. On the other hand, if the term *economic migrant* is used in the article, it may quickly create aversion. Every term used in the article was coded. This also means that multiple terms could, and in many cases actually were, coded in each article.

In the case of the Czech media, the term *migrant* was used in 61% of the articles which made it the most commonly used term. This term has the same meaning in Czech and English language and thus does not need any translation. It can be stated that this term is rather neutral. The term *uprchlík* which can be translated as refugee was used in 55% of the articles. This is a term which brings a certain level of sympathy as it means that the person had to flee their home. The second most common term was *běženec* with 31% which is a

slightly harsher version of the term *refugee*. On the other side of the spectrum stand the terms *cizinec* which can be translated as *foreigner* and *ekonomický uprchlík* which can be translated as *economic refugee* both with 0%. Because the terms *ekonomický uprchlík*, which means *economic refugee*, *ekonomický migrant*, which can be translated as *economic migrant*, and *ilegál*, which means *illegal*, did not score any high presence in the coverage it can be stated the media did not label the migrants with economic terms which could lead to negative perception. Other terms are represented by 6% of the articles. The term that belongs in this category is for example *utečenec* which is another version of the word *refugee* similar to the term *běženec* mentioned above. The second option is that terms like *migrační vlna*, which means a *migration wave*, were used. The table 2.4a presents the specific findings within the Czech media. The findings are presented in both percentage share of the total and also in specific numbers out of the total.

Terms	Czech media
Uprchlík	55% [137]
Migrant	61% [153]
Imigrant	6% [14]
Žadatel o azyl	7% [17]
Cizinec	0% [0]
Přistěhovalec	0% [1]
Ekonomický uprchlík	0% [0]
Ekonomický migrant	1% [3]
Ilegál	0% [1]
Běženec	31% [79]
Other term	6% [14]
N=	251 articles

Table 2.4a: The terms used to describe those trying to enter the EU in Czech media. (own research)

In the case of Austrian media, it becomes clear that the far most common term to describe the migrants is *Flüchtling*, which can be translated as *refugee*, with 61%. As explained in the case of the Czech media, this term may bring a certain level of sympathy, as it indicates that the person was forced to flee their country. The rather neutral term *Migrant* which does not have to be translated was the second most common term, which was

referenced in 27% of the articles. The term *Asylbewerber* which can be translated as *Asylum seeker* was the third most used term with 10%. On the other side of the spectrum we find *Ausländer*, which can be translated as *foreigner*, with 0,0%. An interesting observation is the fact that the term *Immigrant* was only used in the total of 1% of the articles. Just as in the case of the Czech media, the Austrian media also did not use the economy-related terms very often. The terms *Wirtschaftsflüchtling* which means *economic refugee* and *Wirtschaftsmigrant* which means *economic migrant* only appeared in 1% of the articles. It can thus be stated that the Austrian media also did not label the migrants in a negative economy-related way.

Perhaps the most shocking finding is the fact that 27% of the articles included another term not listed in the codebook. This is most likely caused by German language specifics in the country of Austria. Most of the articles included terms *Asylwerber* which is similar to *Asylbewerber* or *Asylberechtigte*. A small number of articles did not talk about people but included terms such as migration wave which can't be considered a label for a human being. The table 2.4b presents the specific findings within the Austrian media. The findings are presented in both percentage share of the total and also in specific numbers out of the total.

Terms:	Austrian media:
Flüchtling	61% [152]
Migrant	27% [67]
Immigrant	1% [2]
Asylsuchender	4% [11]
Asylbewerber	10% [25]
Ausländer	0% [0]
Einwanderer	2% [5]
Zuwanderer	3% [7]
Wirtschaftsflüchtling	1% [2]
Wirtschaftsmigrant	1% [2]
Illegaler	0% [1]
Other terms	27% [67]
N=	251 articles

Table 2.4b: The terms used to describe those trying to enter the EU in Austrian media. (own research)

### **2.2.5 RQ5: Which frames were present in the coverage?**

The way the article is framed has a strong impact on the reader's perception of its content. There is a distinction between themes and frames; while the theme tells us what the article is about, the frame reveals how the article is shaped, in which way we look at the theme of the article, and the whole article itself. The frames presented in the coverage were relatively similar in both countries. It is important to mention again that multiple frames could and in many cases were coded in each article.

The most dominant frame was the one of reception / distribution of the refugees with 36% in total, 42% in the Czech media and 30% in the Austrian media. This means that this number of articles was framed in terms of asking the question of whether countries should take the migrants in and how to distribute them across the EU. A securitisation frame was employed in a total of 24% of the articles, 29% in the Czech media and 20% in the Austrian media. This means that this number of articles tended to frame their content in terms of security issues and potential threat caused by the migrants. The third most significant frame was a criminality frame which reached 18% in both countries and thus also in total. An interesting but not surprising finding is that the Austrian media framed their articles in terms of the settlement of the migrants in 12% of the articles whereas the Czech media only did so in 6%. This is most likely caused by the fact that Austria was the country of destination, while the Czech Republic was not.

Both an interesting and surprising finding is the one of the representation of the humanitarian frame with 17% in total, 16% in Austrian media and 16% in Czech media. The smallest number of articles were framed in terms of labour market integration with the total of 4%. However, 8% of the articles in Austria framed its content this way whereas the Czech media did so only in 1% of the articles. This can again be explained by the fact that Austria actually faced this particular issue and Czech Republic did not. The table 2.5 presents the specific findings within the both countries. The findings are presented in both percentage share of the total and also in specific numbers out of the total.

Frames present in the coverage:	Czech media:	Austrian media:	Media total:
Settlement	6% [15]	12% [31]	9% [46]
Reception / distribution	42% [106]	30% [75]	36% [181]
Securitisation	29% [72]	20% [50]	24% [122]
Criminality	18% [44]	18% [46]	18% [90]
Economisation	3% [7]	7% [17]	5% [24]
Humanitarianism	16% [41]	18% [45]	17% [86]
Victimisation	8% [21]	8% [21]	8% [42]
Labour market integration	1% [3]	8% [19]	4% [22]
Other	6% [15]	2% [5]	4% [20]
N=	251 articles	251 articles	502 articles

Table 2.5: Frames present in the coverage. (own research)

### 2.2.6 RQ6: Which explanations for the migration crisis are offered in the coverage?

The section dedicated to the explanations for the migration crisis offered in the coverage is perhaps the most shocking one. It could be argued that the objective of reporting is not always to explain but most importantly to provide information. However, without context the information might be misunderstood or might completely fall apart. If we look at the total numbers, 79% of the articles offered no explanation for why people tried to enter the EU but rather focused on other aspects within its content. In the case of Austrian media 85% of the articles offered no explanation for the migration crisis. In case of the Czech media it was 73%. I find this alarming. It is important to again mention that multiple explanations could be coded in each article.

The most present explanation in the coverage was war / conflict / atrocities. This means that the articles included an explanation which said that the people were forced to leave their home country based on these reasons. This was the case of 11% of all articles. 15% in the Czech media and 8% in the Austrian media. Another explanation offered in the coverage was fleeing a repressive regime which was present in 3% of the articles with 3% in the Czech media and 2% in the Austrian media. The same level of presence in total was reached by the articles that explained the reasons for the crisis in terms of economic reasons. 3% did so in the Czech media and 4% did so in the Austrian media. This means that the

articles offered an explanation formed by an economic motivation of the migrants which tends to be viewed negatively.

0% in the case of the Czech media and 1% in the case of the Austrian media offered an explanation that the migrants were fleeing because of ISIS / terrorism which is known to be one of the general reasons why many of the refugees were forced to leave their homes. The table 2.6 presents the specific findings within both countries. The findings are presented in both percentage share of the total and also in specific numbers out of the total.

Explanations:	Czech media:	Austrian media:	Media total:
Fleeing ISIS / terrorism	0% [1]	1% [3]	1% [4]
Fleeing a repressive regime	3% [8]	2% [5]	3% [13]
War / conflict / atrocities	15% [38]	8% [19]	11% [57]
Poverty	1% [3]	0% [1]	1% [4]
Economic reasons	3% [8]	4% [9]	3% [17]
Absence of border control	1% [2]	0% [0]	0% [2]
Enforced conscription	0% [0]	0% [0]	0% [0]
Climate change	0% [0]	1% [2]	0% [2]
Pull factors of Mare Nostrum / patrols	1% [3]	0% [0]	1% [3]
Family reunification	0% [0]	0% [0]	0% [0]
EU-US foreign policy stoking conflict	0% [1]	0% [0]	0% [1]
No explanation	73% [184]	85% [214]	79% [398]
N=	251 articles	251 articles	502 articles

Table 2.6: Explanations offered in the coverage. (own research)

### 2.2.7 RQ7: Which solutions to the migration crisis are present in the coverage?

The section dedicated to the solutions to the migration crisis is perhaps the most diverse one. Both because of the various types of solutions and because of the differences between both countries. Similar to the section above in the case of both countries the majority of the articles presented by 33% offered no solution to the migration crisis at all. To be specific 22% of the articles in the Czech media and 45% of the articles in the Austrian media did not include any solution. 18% of the articles in Czech media suggested more security at

borders. This solution was suggested only in 7% of the articles in Austrian media. 13% did so in total. If we look at the total, 14% of the articles suggested to take the refugees in. This is surprising mostly in the case of Czech media with 16% as the voices against immigration were rather loud in the years included in the analysis. At the same time 7% of the articles in Czech media included the solution of closing down the migration routes which shows a paradox.

A rather interesting finding is also the fact that 8% of the articles in Czech media suggested aid for refugees whereas 0% of the articles did so in Austrian media. 12% of the articles in total also favoured a united / EU response which means that the media of both countries presented this issue as a European issue. This is interesting from the perspective of the Czech media with 16% as this can mean that this could influence the perception of the EU by the Czech publics. A total of 9% of the articles saw reducing levels of the refugees as a solution to the migration crisis. This was relatively similar in both Czech media with 11% and Austrian media with 8% of the articles.

If we look at the other side of the spectrum, we find that only 2% of the articles in total suggested a change in foreign policy. To be specific in case of Czech media it was 3% and in case of Austrian media it was 0%. Only 2% of the articles in total suggested greater restrictions on benefits. In the case of the Czech media it was 0% whereas in case of the Austrian media it was 4%. This difference could be explained by the fact that the Austrian state had to actually deal with the issue of social benefits to a larger extent than the Czech state. Only 2% of the articles in total and same number in both countries suggested to take action against smugglers as a solution to the crisis. This is again relatively shocking if we consider that the fight against smugglers is one of the solutions widely presented by both UNHCR and EU. The same percentage share is presented by the number of articles in total that suggested an act against jihadis as a solution. 2% of the articles did so in the Czech media and 1% of the articles did so in the Austrian media. The findings are presented in both percentage share of the total and also in specific numbers out of the total.

Solutions:	Czech media:	Austrian media:	Media total:
Reducing levels of the refugees	11% [27]	8% [20]	9% [47]
Taking in refugees	16% [39]	13% [33]	14% [72]

Aid for refugees	8% [19]	0% [1]	4% [20]
United / EU response	16% [39]	9% [22]	12% [61]
Creating refugee processing centres in North Africa	2% [6]	2% [4]	2% [10]
Increasing of the search and rescue operations	4% [11]	4% [9]	4% [20]
Closing down the migration routes	7% [17]	2% [5]	4% [22]
More security at borders	18% [45]	7% [18]	13% [63]
Taking action against smugglers	2% [6]	2% [5]	2% [11]
Conflict resolution	0% [0]	1% [3]	1% [3]
Act against jihadis	2% [6]	1% [3]	2% [9]
Amend of the Dublin convention	0% [0]	1% [3]	1% [3]
Greater restrictions on benefits	0% [1]	4% [10]	2% [11]
UN Syrian Vulnerable Persons Relocation Scheme	0% [0]	0% [0]	0% [0]
Change of foreign policy	3% [8]	0% [0]	2% [8]
Replacing Mare nostrum	0% [0]	0% [1]	0% [1]
EU propaganda campaign denying Europe as a paradise	0% [0]	0% [1]	0% [1]
Action on climate change	0% [0]	1% [2]	0% [2]
Other solution – further specified	11% [28]	12% [30]	12% [58]
No solution	22% [56]	45% [112]	33% [168]
N=	251 articles	251 articles	502 articles

Table 2.7a: Solutions to the migration crisis present in the coverage. (own research)

As we can see in the table 2.7a above 12% of the articles included other solutions. As already stated, the solutions section is a diverse category which calls for specific measures. The table 2.7b below thus presents the findings formed by other solutions which were suggested in the articles. It is clear that this section is too specific and based on the fact that there are not many common findings in the media of both countries, the generalization is limited. However, it is interesting to see that 5% of the articles in Austrian media included the idea of better integration processes among these other solutions. This means that it was

already counted with the migrants in the country and the articles dealt with the integration process already. In Czech media 4% of the articles within the other solutions section suggested that a deal with Turkey should be made as a solution to the crisis. 3% of these articles also suggested refugee quotas as a solution in the Czech media. 0% did so in the Austrian media. However, 2% of these articles in Austrian media, suggested setting a maximum migrant quota as a solution. The explanation might be that Austria has already determined a refugee quota, but a discussion on the maximum number remained opened in the agenda.

Other solutions:	Czech media:	Austrian media:	Media total:
Better integration processes	0% [0]	5% [13]	3% [13]
Building a humanitarian corridor	0% [0]	0% [1]	0% [1]
Closing borders	0% [0]	0% [1]	0% [1]
Deal with Turkey	4% [10]	0% [0]	2% [10]
Help in Syria	0% [1]	0% [0]	0% [1]
More police control	0% [0]	0% [1]	0% [1]
More general security	0% [0]	1% [2]	0% [2]
Peace in Libya	0% [1]	0% [0]	0% [1]
Peace in the country of abandonment	0% [0]	1% [2]	0% [2]
Refugee quotas	3% [8]	0% [1]	2% [9]
Rejecting the boats on Italian borders	1% [3]	0% [0]	1% [3]
Sending the criminal migrants back	0% [0]	0% [1]	0% [1]
Setting a maximum migrant quota	0% [0]	2% [5]	1% [5]
Stricter conditions of awarding asylum	0% [0]	1% [3]	1% [3]
Turkish invasion to Syria	2% [5]	0% [0]	1% [5]
N=	28 articles	30 articles	58 articles

Table 2.7b: Other solutions to the migration crisis present in the coverage. (own research)

## Conclusion

We can expect that the topic of the European migration crisis will remain on the agenda of media within the EU member states in the coming years. The degree of the agenda might change but it can be expected that the established media practises will remain the same. This calls for regular analyses and research of the topic by media experts. These analyses might not stand a chance to reach the public, but they can provide valuable information for the media, journalists and communication professionals who are responsible for the coverage of the topic. I do not aspire to compare myself to the researchers and media experts behind the studies mentioned and described in the theoretical part of my work, but I believe that the conducted research in the practical part of this work brings relevant findings to the field.

My research focused on selected Czech and Austrian daily newspapers and their coverage of the European migration crisis in the years 2016 and 2019. A quantitative content analysis was employed to capture the data of 502 articles in total. The methodology is described in the chapter 2.1 to the full extent. The goal of this work was to provide answers to seven research questions that focused on the prevalence of the migration related stories in the selected media, themes included in the coverage, actors present in the articles, terms used to describe those trying to enter the EU, frames employed in the coverage, offered explanations and finally suggested solutions to the crisis. The details of the researched categories, specific values and further information can be found in the attached codebook.

The findings revealed that among the Czech media, the daily newspaper *Právo* dominated in the coverage of the topic. In case of the Austrian media it was *Der Standard*. The most dominant theme of the coverage in both countries of interest was political response and policy. This means that the media of both countries dealt with the reactions of the politicians and the policy regarding the crisis the most. The theme of the threat to national security was more present in the Czech media than in the Austrian media which confirms that the Czech media fed fear. The Austrian media also tended to deal with the post-arrival integration to a larger extent than the Czech media which shows a more advanced attitude when it comes to handling the crisis. On the other hand, the theme of crime was more present in the Austrian media than it was in the Czech ones which can change many assumptions just as the numbers within the presence of other themes in the coverage did.

I also found that behind the refugees themselves who appeared in most of the articles, foreign politicians were the most present. This was however more the case of Austrian media than of Czech media. Domestic politicians were more present in Austrian than in Czech media. Among others who had a significant presence were representatives from police, citizens, NGOs and the law. The terms that were used in the articles to describe those trying to enter the EU were surprisingly not affecting. The Czech media mostly used the term migrant followed by the term refugee. The Austrian media mostly worked with the term refugee followed by the term migrant. In this case the Austrian media showed more sympathy than the Czech media. When it comes to the employed frames it was the reception and distribution frame which was the most significant. This finding can be put in context with the fact that the theme of political response and policy was the major one in the coverage. The securitisation frame was on the second place when it comes to the number of articles where it appeared. The media of both countries thus presented the crisis as an issue where security is taken into account. The frame of criminality was found to be the third most employed theme in the case of both countries. This means that media of both countries tended to connect the crisis with crime and security in a rather negative way. At the same time the humanitarian frame also appeared in many of the articles and was found to be the fourth most employed one.

Although it may not be the main objective of the media to provide explanations of the events in their coverage it is an interesting finding that most of the published articles did not include any explanation of the migration crisis at all. War, conflict, atrocities or a combination of them was found to be the most significant explanation in all the articles and the media of both countries. The second most significant explanation was formed by economic reasons again in both total and in the countries of interest. Fleeing a repressive regime was also one of the explanations offered the most, which combined with the explanation of war, conflict and atrocities brings sympathy with the migrants to the table. When it comes to the solutions, similarly to the explanations, the majority of the articles did not include any solutions at all. However, it was not as extreme as it was in the case of the explanations. More articles included no solution to the crisis in case of Austrian media than in case of the Czech media. More security at borders dominated as a solution in the Czech media. In general, the findings within the solutions to the crisis were the most diverse.

There could be assumptions when it comes to the coverage of the migration crisis by media in both countries of interest. Some of these assumptions could be confirmed by the findings above and some of them might bring surprises. In general, the media presented the European migration crisis in terms of political responses, debates about receiving and rejecting of the migrants and criminality caused by the migrants. The humanitarian aspect was however also present in the coverage and the media did not necessarily label the migrants negatively. The findings can only be generalised to a certain extent and I would thus suggest focusing on both the described methodology and the specific findings when dealing with this work. The data also offer more ways of evaluation which could lead to further academic work on this particular topic.

## **Summary**

This work deals with the European migration crisis in the Czech and Austrian media. As this topic dominated the media agenda within the last few years it is crucial to analyse the coverage and its forms. Many studies presented in the theoretical part already brought many findings to the field. This work builds on the agenda-setting theory and its second level presented by framing. Before diving in the research, the media systems of both countries of interest are described and the relevant concepts are explained.

The conducted research was done using a quantitative content analysis. Selected Czech and Austrian newspapers were chosen for the research. The time period included in the analysis were the years 2016 and 2019. 502 articles were recorded and analysed in total to provide findings to seven research questions based on prevalence of the articles in the selected media, themes of the articles, actors present in the coverage, terms used to describe those trying to enter the EU, offered explanations and suggested solutions. The presented findings are shown in the total which includes media of both countries but also per country. These findings are further compared.

To summarize the findings, it can be stated that the media presented the topic in terms of political responses and the accepted policy regarding the migration crisis. They also dealt largely with the question of receiving and rejecting of the refugees. The discussion about criminality was also happening which proves the news' rather negative nature. Next to migrants themselves, domestic and foreign politicians were mostly present in the coverage.

So was police and representatives of law and judiciary. The presence of these actors was relatively high in media of both countries of interest, but the levels differed. The terms used to describe those trying to enter the EU were found to be relatively neutral. The Czech media mostly used the term migrant. The Austrian media mostly used the term refugee. In this case it could be stated that the Austrian media showed more sympathy.

Most of the articles were framed in terms of reception and distribution, securitization and criminality. This corresponds also with the themes and actors present in the coverage. However, a solid number of articles also included the humanitarian frame. This work also found that most of the articles within the provided analysis did not include any explanation to the crisis at all. War and conflict were among the explanations included in a few of the articles. Perhaps the most diverse findings are presented by the suggested solutions to the crisis. This particular section not only showed the largest differences in general but also per country with solutions such as taking the refugees in and also securing the borders. All seven research questions were answered but it is clear that these answers deserve to be studied more closely just like the methodology in the first place as their generalization is limited.

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## Master's Thesis Summary

SCHALENC

<b>Institut komunikačních studií a žurnalistiky FSV UK</b> <b>Teze MAGISTERSKÉ diplomové práce</b>	
<b>TUTO ČÁST VYPLŇUJE STUDENT/KA:</b>	
<b>Příjmení a jméno diplomantky/diplomanta:</b> Jan Lohynský	<b>Razítko podatelny:</b> 
<b>Imatrikulační ročník diplomantky/diplomanta:</b> 2017	
<b>E-mail diplomantky/diplomanta:</b> 26179523@fsv.cuni.cz	
<b>Studijní obor/forma studia:</b> Mediální studia / prezenční	
<b>Předpokládaný název práce v češtině:</b> Evropská migrační krize v českých a rakouských médiích	
<b>Předpokládaný název práce v angličtině:</b> European migration crisis in Czech and Austrian media	
<b>Předpokládaný termín dokončení</b> (semestr, akademický rok – vzor: ZS 2012/2013) (diplomovou práci je možné odevzdat <u>nejdříve</u> po dvou semestrech od schválení tezí) LS 2018/2019	
<b>Charakteristika tématu a jeho dosavadní zpracování</b> (max. 1800 znaků): Evropská migrační krize je aktuální a zásadní téma v prostředí Evropské unie i členských státech. V roce 2015 Evropa čelila příchodu více než jednoho milionu migrantů. O této skutečnosti se veřejnost dozvíдалa převážně z domácích médií. (Greussing, Boomgaarden, 2017) Tématu evropské migrační krize se tak dostalo denní medializací celosvětové pozornosti. (Holmes, Castaneda, 2016) Tato práce zkoumá mediální pokrytí tématu evropské migrační krize českými a rakouskými médií. Činí tak s ohledem na teorii nastolování agendy, která říká, že masová média mohou nastolovat agendu a rámcovat její vyznění. (McCombs, 2009) Tématu se již věnovala řada autorů. Níže uvádím relevantní studie, které se této problematice věnují.  Cardiff School of Journalism provedla na žádost Úřadu Vysokého komisaře OSN pro uprchlíky výzkum, který si kladl za cíl analyzovat faktory, které poháněly mediální pokrytí evropské migrační krize v pěti evropských zemích: Španělsku, Itálii, Německu, Velké Británii a Švédsku. Tyto země byly pro výzkum vybrány buď proto, že se jednalo o vstupní body do Evropy, nebo proto, že do těchto zemí migranti v největší míře směřovali. Mezi analyzovaná témata patří zdroje, které novináři používali, jazyk, kterým byly texty psány, důvody pro zvýšení počtu migrantů a navrhovaná řešení krize. Studie došla k výsledkům, které uvádí, že migranti byly rámcováni negativně jako problém, spíše než přínos pro hostitelské země. (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2016) Z tohoto výzkumu má práce vycházet při aplikaci a srovnání daných zjištění na české a rakouské mediální prostředí.  Esther Greussing a Hajo G. Boomgaarden z University of Vienna provedli obsahovou analýzu, která zkoumá dominantní rámce využití při mediálním pokrytí uprchlických a azylových témat v letech 2015 a 2016. Analýza pracovala s šesti rakouskými médií a zaměřovala se především na rozdíly mezi seriózními a bulvárními typy médií a na vývoj uplatňovaných rámců v čase. Ukázalo se, že rámce bezpečnostní hrozby a ekonomizace byly patrné nejvíce. (Greussing, Boomgaarden, 2017)  Studie Migrants and Media Newsmaking Practises se věnuje analýze zpravodajských rutin mainstreamových novin a televizních kanálů v šesti evropských zemích. Nahlíží na faktory, které nejvíce ovlivňují tyto rutiny. Studie přichází se zjištěním, že zpravodajství o migračních je ovlivněno jak tím, že negativní zprávy vyvolávají větší zájem, tak tím, že média sledují jistou, předem definovanou linii, při tvorbě zpravodajství o migraci. (Gemi, Ulasiuk, Triandafyllidou, 2012)  Tato práce vychází z dosavadního výzkumu role médií v evropské migrační krizi. Navazuje na studie	

uvedené výše a další výzkumy zaměřené na toto téma. Práce se opírá o teorii nastolování agendy a konkrétně pracuje s nastolováním agendy prvního a druhého stupně. Při informování o migrační krizi média využívají určité rámce, které definují, jakým způsobem je zpravodajství tohoto tématu zpracováváno. Můžeme mezi ně zařadit rámce bezpečnosti, ekonomie, kultury, politiky a humanismu. Práce dále srovnává nastolování agendy evropské migrační krize v českých a rakouských médiích a rámcování tohoto tématu.

**Předpokládaný cíl práce, případně formulace problému, výzkumné otázky nebo hypotézy** (max. 1800 znaků):

Základním cílem práce je přinést analýzu tématu evropské migrační krize v relevantních českých a rakouských médiích. Toto téma bude zkoumáno v souladu s teorií nastolování agendy. Zkoumány budou především rámce, které byly v médiích při tvorbě zpravodajství použity, míra jejich zastoupení a jejich vývoj v čase. Práce si klade za cíl přinést srovnání mediálního pokrytí evropské migrační krize mezi vybranými českými a rakouskými médii.

Základní hypotézou je, že o migrantech bylo v médiích v souvislosti s evropskou migrační krizí informováno spíše negativně. (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2016) Další hypotézou je, že migranti byli v médiích rámcováni jako bezpečnostní hrozba. (Greussing, Boomgaarden, 2017) Mezi další hypotézy lze uvést, že migranti byli v médiích spojováni ve velké míře s ekonomickými aspekty. (Greussing, Boomgaarden, 2017) Ve smyslu komparace je další hypotézou to, že česká média rámcovala migranty spíše jako bezpečnostní hrozbu, než oběti tragických událostí (Tkaczyk, 2015), a to více než rakouská média.

**Předpokládaná struktura práce** (rozdělení do jednotlivých kapitol a podkapitol se stručnou charakteristikou jejich obsahu):

- 1) Úvod
- 2) Teoretická část
  - 2.1) Vymezení základních pojmů
  - 2.2) Teoretický rámec práce – teorie nastolování agendy
  - 2.3) Dosavadní výzkumy role médií v evropské migrační krizi
- 3) Výzkumná část
  - 3.1) Obsahová analýza vybraných českých médií
  - 3.2) Obsahová analýza vybraných rakouských médií
  - 3.3) Komparativní analýza rámcování tématu českými a rakouskými médii
- 4) Závěr

**Vymezení podkladového materiálu** (např. titul periodika a analyzované období):

Vybrané české deníky – Blesk, Mladá fronta dnes, Právo; domácí i zahraniční zpravodajství; 2015-2017  
Vybrané rakouské deníky – Kronen Zeitung, Heute, Österreich; domácí i zahraniční zpravodajství; 2015-2017

**Metody (techniky) zpracování materiálu:**

Kvantitativní obsahová analýza, komparativní analýza

**Základní literatura** (nejméně 5 nejdůležitějších titulů k tématu a metodě jeho zpracování; u všech titulů je nutné uvést stručnou anotaci na 2-5 řádků):

**BERRY, Mike, GARCIA-BLANCO, Inaki a MOORE, Kerry. Press coverage of the refugee and migrant crisis in the EU: a content analysis of five European countries. [Project Report]. 2016, Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Dostupné z: <http://www.unhcr.org/56bb369c9.html>**

Studie, kterou zpracovali výzkumníci z Cardiff School of Journalism pro Úřad Vysokého Komisaře OSN pro uprchlíky přináší detailně zpracovanou obsahovou analýzu týkající se mediálního pokrytí evropské migrační krize. Studie se zabývá využívanými zdroji, používaným jazykem, uváděnými důvody pro rozvoj migrace, nabízenými řešeními a dalšími faktory. Dále se studie věnuje rozdílným náhledům tohoto tématu. Některá média využívala pohled humanitární, některá pohled hrozby.

**BLEICH, Erik, Irene BLOEMRAAD a Els DE GRAAUW. Migrants, Minorities and the Media:**

**Information, Representations and Participation in the Public Sphere. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* [online]. 2015, 41(6), 857-873 [cit. 2018-05-22]. DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2014.1002197. ISSN 1369-183X. Dostupné z:**

**<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1369183X.2014.1002197>**

Autoři této práce se věnují způsobům, jakými jsou témata spojená s migrací prezentována v médiích. Zabývají se především uplatňovanými rámci a vlivy, které má na konečnou podobu zpravodajství konkrétní zaměření médií v politickém spektru. Autoři v práci docházejí ke zjištění, že média rámcují téma migrace především v souvislosti s ekonomickými a politickými aspekty.

**CAVIEDES, Alexander. An Emerging 'European' News Portrayal of Immigration?. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* [online]. 2015, 41(6), 897-917 [cit. 2018-05-22]. DOI:**

**10.1080/1369183X.2014.1002199. ISSN 1369-183X. Dostupné z:**

**<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1369183X.2014.1002199>**

Autor se věnuje tématu migrace z pohledu rámcování. Zaměřuje se na zpravodajství ve francouzských, italských a britských médiích. Kvantitativní analýzou přichází ke zjištění, že dominantními rámci jsou bezpečnost a ekonomie.

**GEMI, Eda, Iryna ULASIUK a Anna TRIANDAFYLLIDOU. MIGRANTS AND MEDIA NEWSMAKING PRACTICES. *Journalism Practice* [online]. 2013, 7(3), 266-281 [cit. 2018-05-22]. DOI: 10.1080/17512786.2012.740248. ISSN 1751-2786. Dostupné z:**

**<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17512786.2012.740248>**

Tato práce se věnuje analýze rutin při tvorbě zpravodajství v mainstreamových médiích. Analyzuje vliv několika faktorů na tvorbu zpráv s migrační tematikou. Patří mezi ně hodnota dané zprávy, role rutin, kdo má vliv na publikaci relevantních informací a vliv zdrojů, ze kterých novináři čerpají. Autoři se v práci také zaměřují na to, jakým způsobem novináři zpravodajství vytvářejí a zda se mu věnují z hlubší či povrchnější perspektivy.

**GREUSSING, Esther a Hajo G. BOOMGAARDEN. Shifting the refugee narrative? An automated frame analysis of Europe's 2015 refugee crisis. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* [online]. 2017, 43(11), 1749-1774 [cit. 2018-05-22]. DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2017.1282813. ISSN 1369-183X. Dostupné z:**

**<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1282813>**

Studie výzkumníků z University of Vienna nabízí obsahovou analýzu, která odhaluje dominantní rámce využití při mediálním pokrytí evropské migrační krize. Zaměřuje se na rozdíly mezi seriózními a bulvárními médii a vývoj těchto rámců v čase. Studie přináší informace o tom, že rámce bezpečnostní hrozby a ekonomických aspektů převažují nad rámci humanitarismu a prostředí uprchlíků.

**MCCOMBS, Maxwell E. *Agenda setting: nastolování agendy: masová média a veřejné mínění*. Praha, 2009. ISBN 978-80-7367-591-2.**

Tato kniha se věnuje teorii nastolování agendy, kterou detailně vysvětluje a zasazuje do širšího mediálního kontextu. Kniha uvádí i jednotlivé části a stupně nastolování agendy, které hrají při jejím uplatnění významnou roli. Dále nabízí způsoby využití a aplikace této teorie při výzkumu.

**MUSARÒ, Pierluigi a . Beyond black and white: the role of media in portraying and policing migration and asylum in Italy. *International Review of Sociology* [online]. 2017, 27(2), 241-260 [cit. 2018-05-22]. DOI: 10.1080/03906701.2017.1329034. ISSN 0390-6701. Dostupné z:**

**<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03906701.2017.1329034>**

Tato studie se věnuje roli médií při utváření formy vnímání evropské migrační krize a zaměřuje se především na italská média. Zkoumá dva náhledy na toto téma, které reprezentuje příběh zachraňování

životů a příběh militarizovaných hranic. Dále studie zkoumá to, jak se tyto způsoby rámcování podílejí na tom, že se migranti spojují s vlastním strachem z vyčlenění a se strachem o bezpečí obyvatel zemí, do kterých přicházejí.

**Diplomové a disertační práce k tématu** (seznam bakalářských, magisterských a doktorských prací, které byly k tématu obhájeny na UK, případně dalších oborově blízkých fakultách či vysokých školách za posledních pět let)

KOPANSKI, Petr. *Evropská migrační krize*. Olomouc, 2017. Bakalářská práce. Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci. Vedoucí práce Doc. Ing. Jaromír Novák CSc.

KROTKÝ, Jan. Kulturní hranice a vymezování se vůči Druhým - Mediální obrazy uprchlíků v době tzv. "migrační krize" [online]. Brno, 2016 [cit. 2018-05-22]. Dostupné z: <<https://is.muni.cz/th/zbxit/>>. Bakalářská práce. Masarykova univerzita, Fakulta sociálních studií. Vedoucí práce Lucie Galčanová.

KŘÍŽKOVÁ, Veronika. *Obraz České republiky na stránkách německých deníků v kontextu evropské migrační krize*. Praha, 2017. 92 s. Diplomová práce (Mgr.) Univerzita Karlova, Fakulta sociálních věd, Institut mezinárodních studií. Katedra německých a rakouských studií. Vedoucí diplomové práce PhDr. David Emler, Ph.D.

OVESNÝ, Mikoláš. *Evropská migrační krize a role vybraných zemí: České republiky, Maďarska a Německa*. Praha, 2016. Diplomová práce (Ing.). Vysoká škola ekonomická v Praze. Vedoucí práce Doc. PhDr. Libuše Macáková, CSc.

VICENOVÁ, Natalie. *Rámcování tématu imigrace v českých zpravodajských denících*. Praha, 2017. 72 s. Diplomová práce (Mgr.) Univerzita Karlova, Fakulta sociálních věd, Institut komunikačních studií a žurnalistiky. Katedra mediálních studií. Vedoucí diplomové práce PhDr. Vlastimil Nečas, Ph.D.

**Datum / Podpis studenta**

15.6.2018



**TUTO ČÁST VYPLŇUJE PEDAGOG/PEDAGOŽKA:**

**Doporučení k tématu, struktuře a technice zpracování materiálu:**

**Případné doporučení dalších titulů literatury předepsané ke zpracování tématu:**

Potvrzuji, že výše uvedené teze jsem s jejich autorem konzultoval a že téma odpovídá mému oborovému zaměření a oblasti odborné práce, kterou na FSV UK vykonávám.

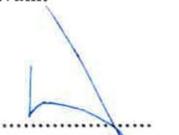
Souhlasím s tím, že budu vedoucím této práce.

PhDr. Vlastimil Nečas, Ph.D.

**Příjmení a jméno pedagožky/pedagoga**

20. 6. 2018

**Datum / Podpis pedagožky/pedagoga**

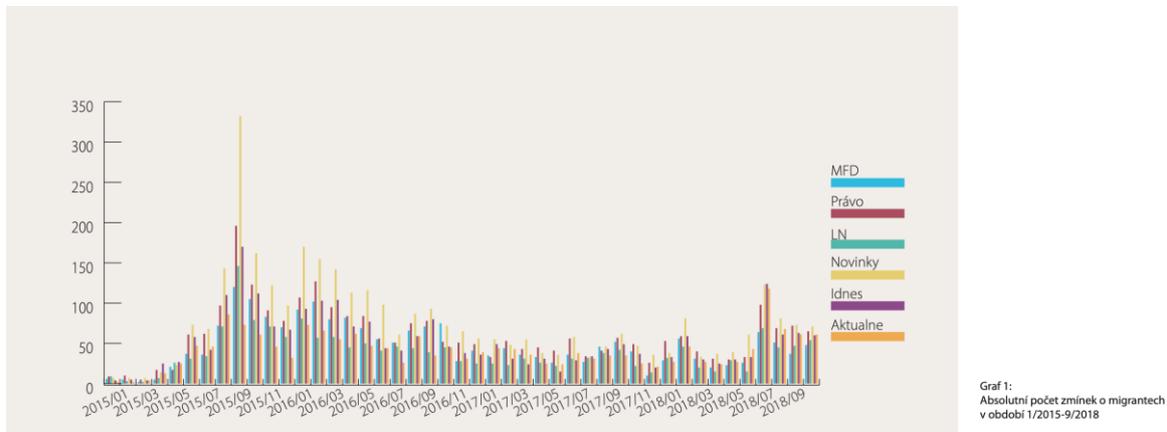


TEZE JE NUTNO ODEVZDAT VYTIŠTĚNÉ, PODEPSANÉ A VE DVOU VYHOTOVENÍCH DO TERMÍNU UVEDENÉHO V HARMONOGRAMU PŘÍSLUŠNÉHO AKADEMICKÉHO ROKU, A TO PROSTŘEDNICTVÍM PODATELNÝ FSV UK. PŘIJATÉ TEZE JE NUTNÉ SI VYZVEDNOUT V SEKRETARIÁTU PŘÍSLUŠNÉ KATEDRY A NECHAT VEVÁZAT DO OBOU VÝTISKŮ DIPLOMOVÉ PRÁCE.

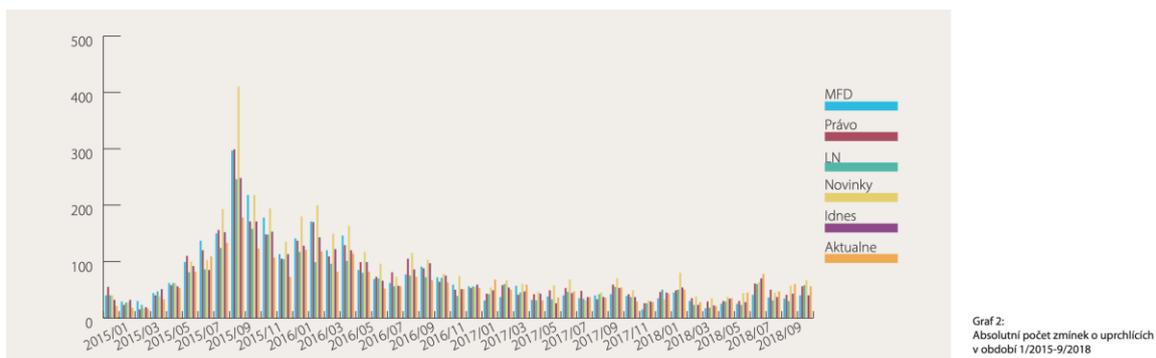
**TEZE SCHVALUJE GARANT PŘÍSLUŠNÉHO STUDIJNÍHO PROGRAMU/OBORU.**

## List of Appendices

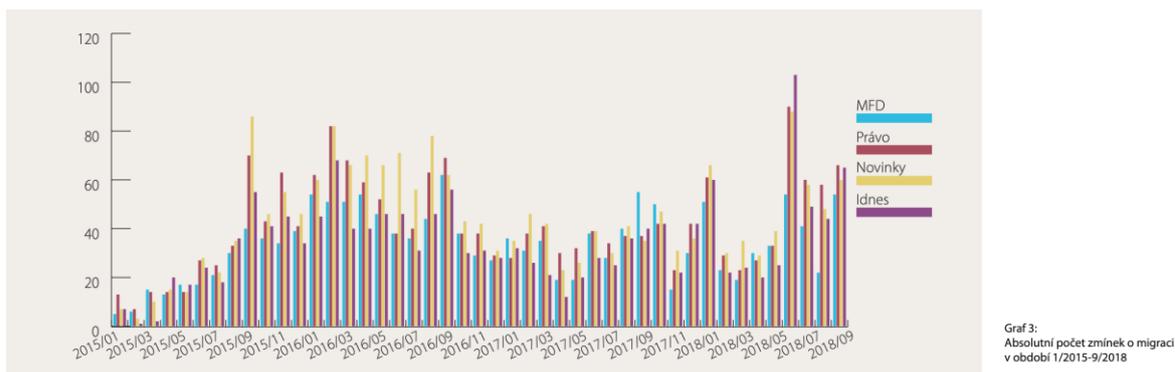
### Appendix no. 1: Number of mentions about migrants 1.2015 – 9.2019 (graph 1.1)



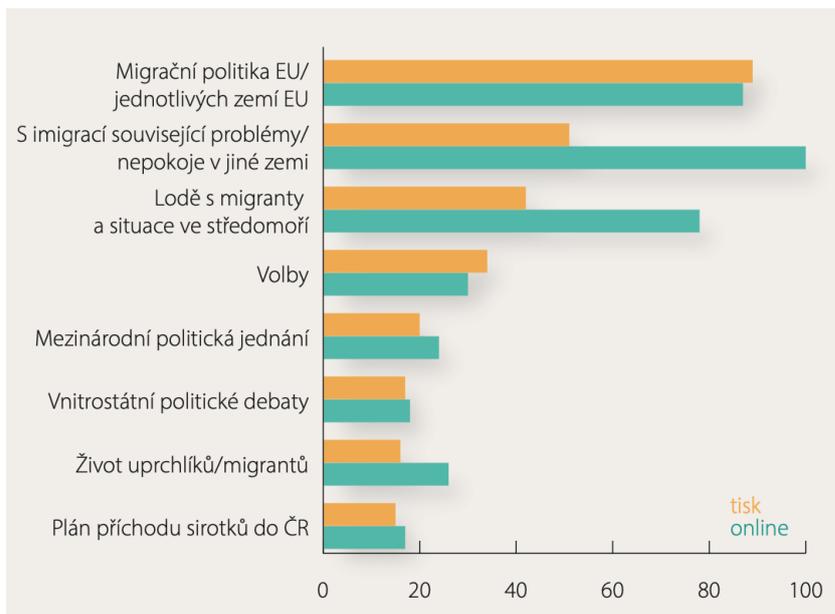
### Appendix no. 2: Number of mentions about refugees 1.2015 – 9.2019 (graph 1.2)



### Appendix no. 3: Number of mentions about migration 1.2015 – 9.2019 (graph 1.3)



Appendix no. 4: Frequency of the themes in the analysed period (graph 1.4)



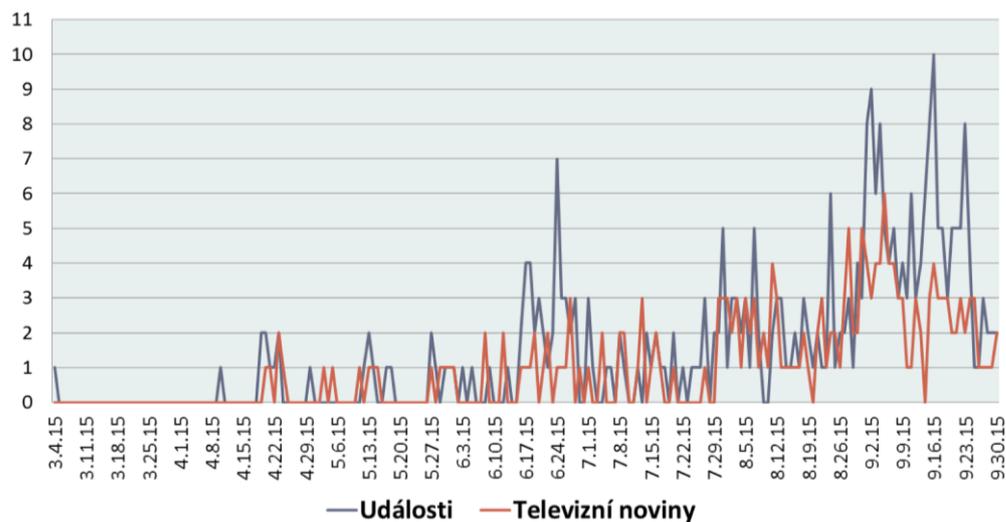
Appendix no. 5: Actors in the analysed period (chart 1.5)

PRINT		ONLINE	
Skupina mluvčích	N	Skupina mluvčích	N
Politik zahraniční	74	Politik zahraniční	116
Politik domácí	54	Politik domácí	73
Expert	16	Zástupce NGO	31
Představitel protimigrační strany z ČR	13	Úředník	24
Úředník	12	Příslušník silových složek	18
Příslušník silových složek	12	Expert	13
"Obyčejný člověk"	8	"Obyčejný člověk"	13
Duchovní	4	Představitel protimigrační strany z ČR	9
Zástupce NGO	4	Migrant	8
Migrant	1	Duchovní	4

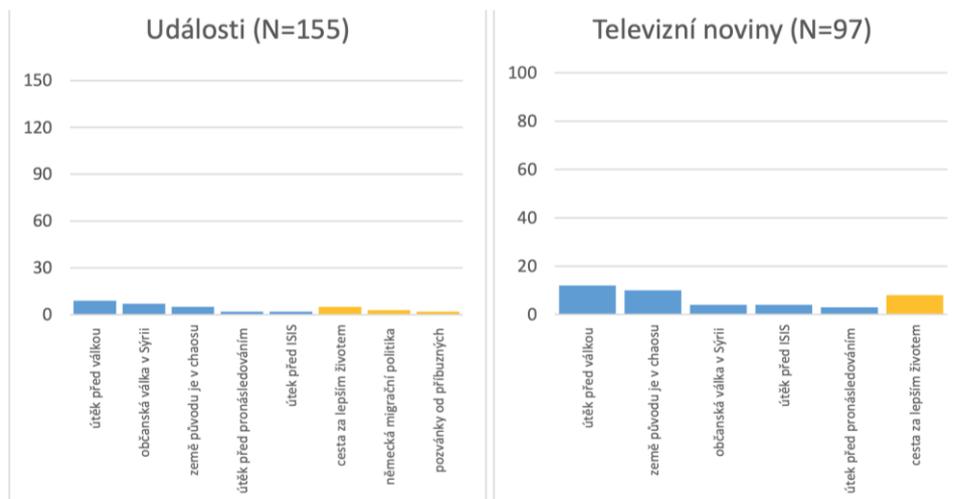
Tabulka 1: Základní skupiny mluvčích v analyzovaném období (5.8.-4.10.2018; print a online; n=730)

Pozn.: Termínem „Protimigrační strany“ označujeme strany, jejichž rétorika a jejichž legitimita jsou do velké míry postaveny na zjednodušeném vykreslování rizik spojených s migrací. V ČR je z tohoto hlediska nejvýznamnější protimigrační stranou strana SPD.

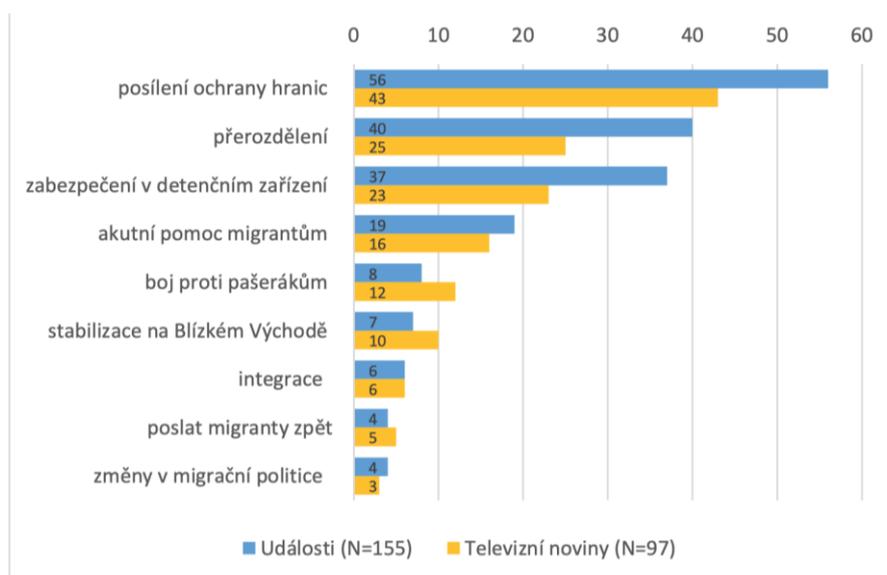
Appendix no. 6: Course of the agenda in the monitored period (graph 1.6)



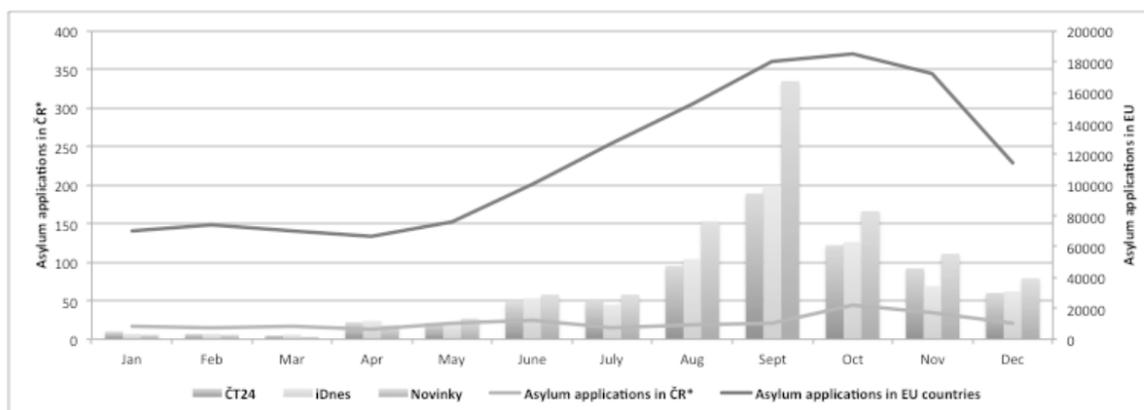
Appendix no. 7: Causes of the migration crisis in the coverage (graph 1.7)



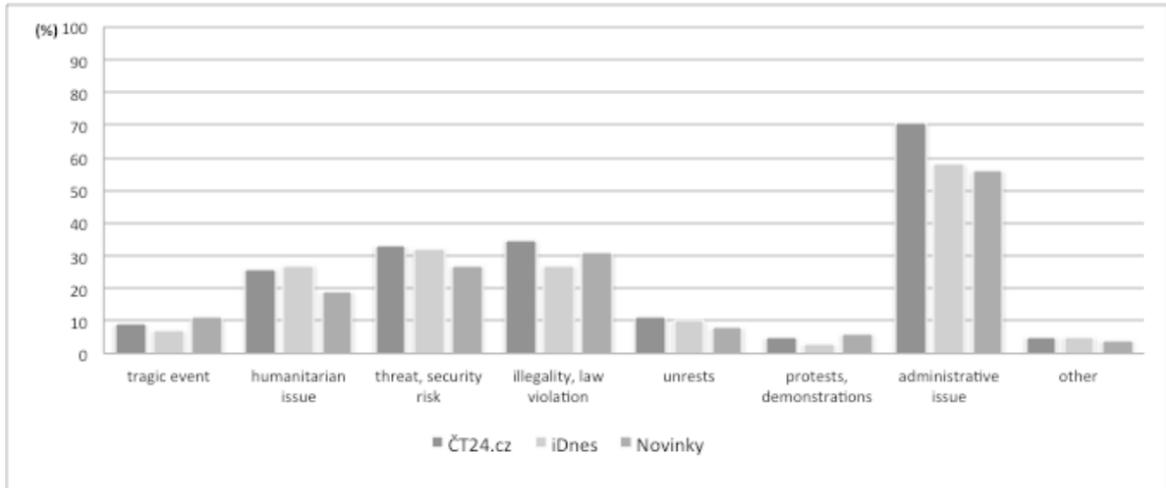
Appendix no. 8: Solutions to the migration crisis in the coverage (graph 1.8)



Appendix no. 9: News items concerned with the migration crisis in 2015 (graph 1.9)



Appendix no. 10: Problem definitions / themes in the news (graph 1.10)



Appendix no. 11: Measures presented in the news (table 1.11)

	ČT24.cz	iDnes	Novinky
border wall	24	19	17
border controls	37	32	34
the deployment of military	18	21	15
the detention of migrants	30	23	22
the deployment of force	7	13	6
war on smugglers	12	12	10
relocation quotas	34	24	24
other changes in asylum politics	26	16	15
emergent help to migrants	23	21	14
humanitarian aid to the Middle East	7	9	8
integration programmes	12	10	5

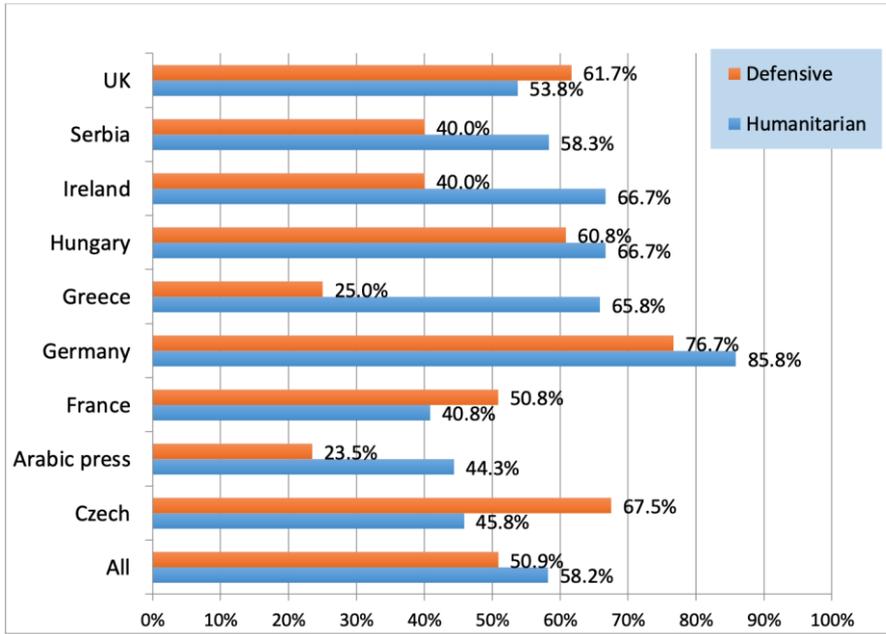
Appendix no. 12: Framing scores per media type (Table 1.12)

Frame	Quality newspapers (N = 5979)	Tabloid newspapers (N = 4627)
Securitisation **	.20 (.40)	.14 (.34)
Reception/distribution **	.16 (.37)	.10 (.30)
Economisation **	.14 (.34)	.10 (.29)
Settlement **	.11 (.31)	.08 (.27)
Humanitarianism **	.10 (.30)	.07 (.25)
Background/victimisation **	.09 (.29)	.06 (.23)
Labour market integration **	.06 (.25)	.03 (.17)
Criminality **	.04 (.21)	.06 (.24)

Note: Unpaired two-sample *t*-test, values in parentheses represent standard deviations.

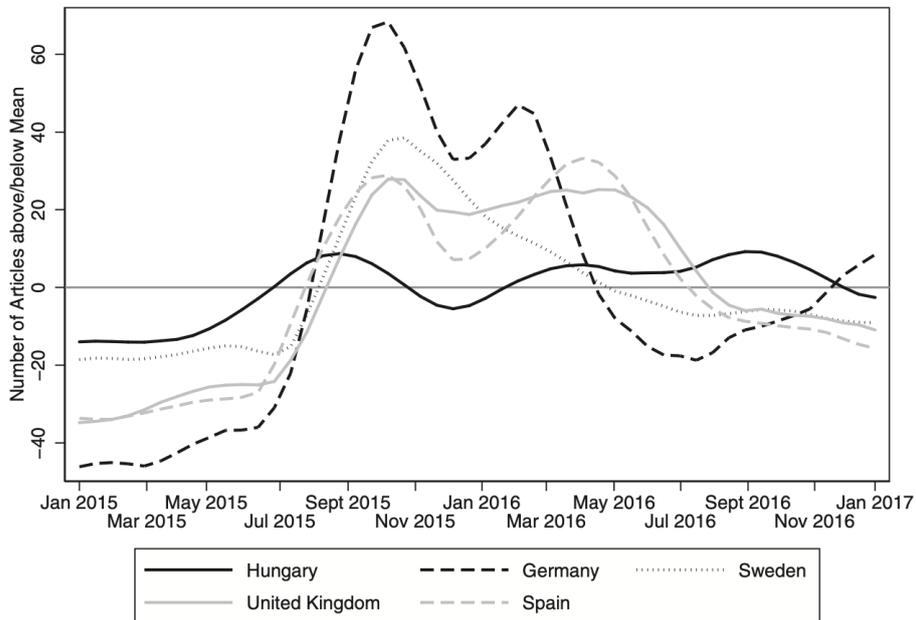
\*\* values are significant at the  $p < .01$  level.

Appendix no. 13: Defensive / humanitarian measures (Graph 1.13)



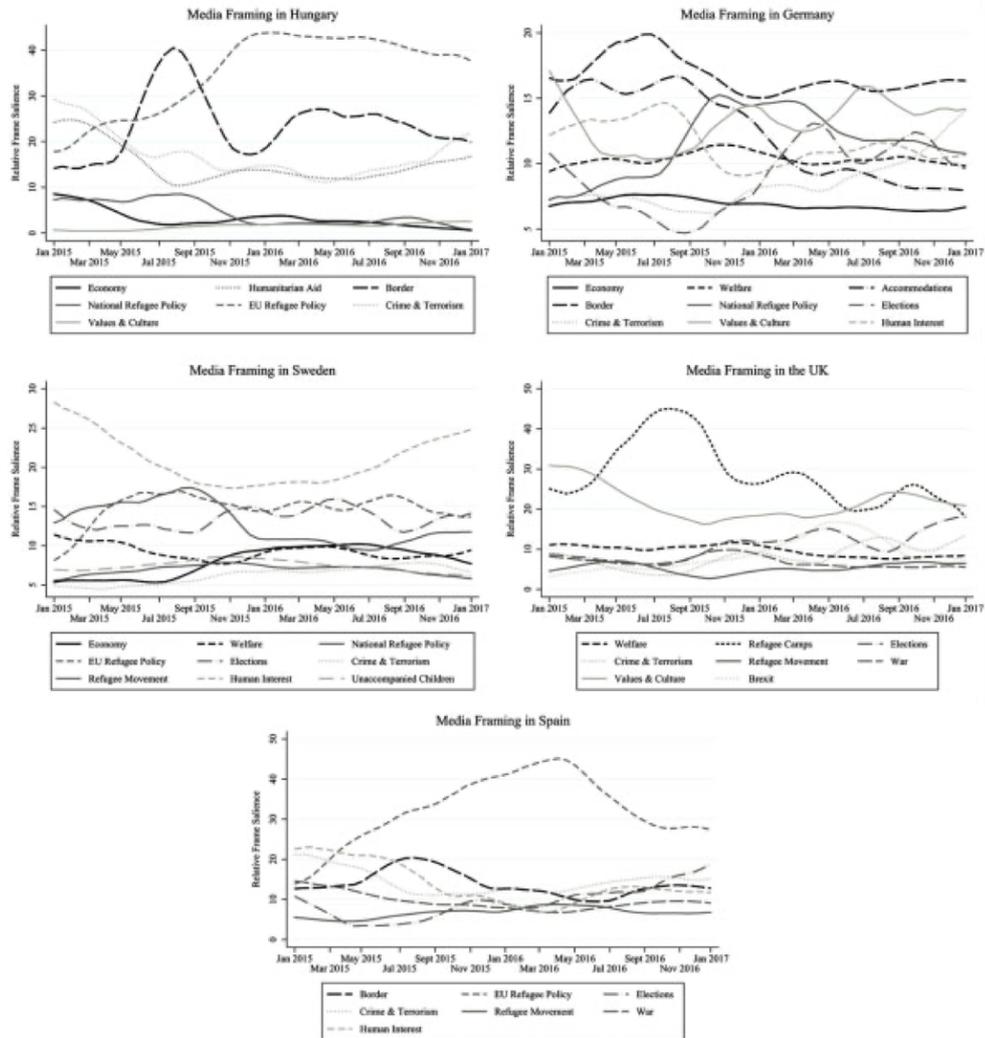
Appendix no. 14: Dynamics of refugee coverage in Europe (Graph 1.14)

*Media Framing Dynamics of the 'European Refugee Crisis' i177*



Appendix no. 15: Media framing dynamics (Figure 1.15)

*Media Framing Dynamics of the 'European Refugee Crisis'* i179



Appendix no. 16: Prevalence of the migration related stories in the selected Czech media (Table 2.1a)

Media	Právo	MF Dnes	E15	LN	HN	Haló n.	Blesk	Aha!	Total N=
Prevalence	26,7%	19,9%	5,6%	15,1%	10,8%	15,9%	4,0%	2,0%	100%
	[67]	[50]	[14]	[38]	[27]	[40]	[10]	[5]	[251]

Appendix no. 17: Prevalence of the migration related stories in the selected Austrian media (Table 2.1b)

<b>Media</b>	Der Standard	Die Presse	SN	Total N=
<b>Prevalence</b>	36,7% [92]	34,7% [87]	28,7% [72]	100% [251]

Appendix no. 18: Prevalence of different themes in the coverage (Table 2.2)

Themes present in the coverage:	Czech media:	Austrian media:	Media total:
Immigration figures / levels	10% [25]	6% [14]	8% [39]
Mortality / mortality figures	4% [9]	1% [2]	2% [11]
Threat to national security	12% [29]	6% [16]	9% [45]
Threat to welfare / benefits / resources	2% [6]	4% [11]	3% [17]
Threat to communities / cultural threat	2% [6]	2% [5]	2% [11]
Health risk for countries of destination	0% [0]	1% [2]	0% [2]
Search and rescue / aid supplies	3% [8]	5% [13]	4% [21]
Human rights	1% [3]	1% [3]	1% [6]
Migrant / refugees / asylum seekers success stories	0% [0]	1% [2]	0% [2]
Mafia / traffic	4% [11]	1% [2]	3% [13]
Political response / policy	26% [65]	23% [58]	25% [123]
Receiving / rejecting	15% [38]	13% [32]	14% [70]
Post-arrival integration	3% [7]	10% [26]	7% [33]
Humanitarian (elements)	2% [4]	0% [1]	1% [5]
Humanitarian (key theme)	4% [11]	4% [11]	4% [22]
Crime	6% [14]	16% [39]	11% [53]
Journey	5% [13]	3% [8]	4% [21]
Other	1% [2]	2% [6]	2% [8]
N=	251 articles	251 articles	502 articles

Appendix no. 19: Actors present in the coverage (Table 2.3)

Actors present in the coverage	Czech media	Austrian media	Media total
Domestic politician	15% [38]	47% [119]	31% [157]
Citizen	17% [43]	30% [75]	24% [118]
Refugee / migrant	90% [225]	94% [235]	92% [460]
Foreign politician	43% [109]	23% [58]	33% [167]
NGO / Civil society	12% [31]	12% [31]	12% [62]
Journalist	9% [23]	4% [10]	7% [33]
UNHCR / UN	7% [17]	8% [19]	7% [36]
Academic	2% [6]	6% [15]	4% [21]
Police	23% [58]	13% [33]	18% [91]
MEP	0% [0]	0% [0]	0% [0]
IOM	0% [0]	4% [10]	2% [10]
Church / religion	2% [5]	4% [10]	3% [15]
EU Commission	11% [28]	7% [17]	9% [45]
Law / judiciary	13% [32]	10% [26]	12% [58]
National rescue team	4% [9]	2% [5]	3% [14]
Trafficker / smuggler	10% [24]	3% [7]	6% [31]
FRONTEX	2% [6]	2% [6]	2% [12]
Think Thank	0% [0]	0% [0]	0% [0]
Business	0% [0]	1% [3]	1% [3]
Other	29% [73]	19% [47]	24% [120]
N=	251 articles	251 articles	502 articles

Appendix no. 20: The terms used to describe those trying to enter the EU in Czech media  
(Table 2.4a)

Terms	Czech media
Uprchlík	55% [137]
Migrant	61% [153]
Imigrant	6% [14]
Žadatel o azyl	7% [17]
Cizinec	0% [0]
Přistěhovalec	0% [1]
Ekonomický uprchlík	0% [0]
Ekonomický migrant	1% [3]
Ilegál	0% [1]
Běženec	31% [79]
Other term	6% [14]
N=	251 articles

Appendix no. 21: The terms used to describe those trying to enter the EU in Austrian media  
(Table 2.4b)

Terms:	Austrian media:
Flüchtling	61% [152]
Migrant	27% [67]
Immigrant	1% [2]
Asylsuchender	4% [11]
Asylbewerber	10% [25]
Ausländer	0% [0]
Einwanderer	2% [5]
Zuwanderer	3% [7]
Wirtschaftsflüchtling	1% [2]
Wirtschaftsmigrant	1% [2]
Illegaler	0% [1]
Other terms	27% [67]
N=	251 articles

Appendix no. 22: Frames present in the coverage (Table 2.5)

Frames present in the coverage:	Czech media:	Austrian media:	Media total:
Settlement	6% [15]	12% [31]	9% [46]
Reception / distribution	42% [106]	30% [75]	36% [181]
Securitisation	29% [72]	20% [50]	24% [122]
Criminality	18% [44]	18% [46]	18% [90]
Economisation	3% [7]	7% [17]	5% [24]
Humanitarianism	16% [41]	18% [45]	17% [86]
Victimisation	8% [21]	8% [21]	8% [42]
Labour market integration	1% [3]	8% [19]	4% [22]
Other	6% [15]	2% [5]	4% [20]
N=	251 articles	251 articles	502 articles

Appendix no. 23: Explanations offered in the coverage (Table 2.6)

Explanations:	Czech media:	Austrian media:	Media total:
Fleeing ISIS / terrorism	0% [1]	1% [3]	1% [4]
Fleeing a repressive regime	3% [8]	2% [5]	3% [13]
War / conflict / atrocities	15% [38]	8% [19]	11% [57]
Poverty	1% [3]	0% [1]	1% [4]
Economic reasons	3% [8]	4% [9]	3% [17]
Absence of border control	1% [2]	0% [0]	0% [2]
Enforced conscription	0% [0]	0% [0]	0% [0]
Climate change	0% [0]	1% [2]	0% [2]
Pull factors of Mare Nostrum / patrols	1% [3]	0% [0]	1% [3]
Family reunification	0% [0]	0% [0]	0% [0]
EU-US foreign policy stoking conflict	0% [1]	0% [0]	0% [1]
No explanation	73% [184]	85% [214]	79% [398]
N=	251 articles	251 articles	502 articles

Appendix no. 24: Solutions to the migration crisis present in the coverage (Table 2.7a)

Solutions:	Czech media:	Austrian media:	Media total:
Reducing levels of the refugees	11% [27]	8% [20]	9% [47]
Taking in refugees	16% [39]	13% [33]	14% [72]
Aid for refugees	8% [19]	0% [1]	4% [20]
United / EU response	16% [39]	9% [22]	12% [61]
Creating refugee processing centres in North Africa	2% [6]	2% [4]	2% [10]
Increasing of the search and rescue operations	4% [11]	4% [9]	4% [20]
Closing down the migration routes	7% [17]	2% [5]	4% [22]
More security at borders	18% [45]	7% [18]	13% [63]
Taking action against smugglers	2% [6]	2% [5]	2% [11]
Conflict resolution	0% [0]	1% [3]	1% [3]
Act against jihadis	2% [6]	1% [3]	2% [9]
Amend of the Dublin convention	0% [0]	1% [3]	1% [3]
Greater restrictions on benefits	0% [1]	4% [10]	2% [11]
UN Syrian Vulnerable Persons Relocation Scheme	0% [0]	0% [0]	0% [0]
Change of foreign policy	3% [8]	0% [0]	2% [8]
Replacing Mare nostrum	0% [0]	0% [1]	0% [1]
EU propaganda campaign denying Europe as a paradise	0% [0]	0% [1]	0% [1]
Action on climate change	0% [0]	1% [2]	0% [2]
Other solution – further specified	11% [28]	12% [30]	12% [58]
No solution	22% [56]	45% [112]	33% [168]
N=	251 articles	251 articles	502 articles

Appendix no. 25: Other solutions to the migration crisis present in the coverage (Table 2.7b)

Other solutions:	Czech media:	Austrian media:	Media total:
Better integration processes	0% [0]	5% [13]	3% [13]
Building a humanitarian corridor	0% [0]	0% [1]	0% [1]
Closing borders	0% [0]	0% [1]	0% [1]
Deal with Turkey	4% [10]	0% [0]	2% [10]
Help in Syria	0% [1]	0% [0]	0% [1]
More police control	0% [0]	0% [1]	0% [1]
More general security	0% [0]	1% [2]	0% [2]
Peace in Libya	0% [1]	0% [0]	0% [1]
Peace in the country of abandonment	0% [0]	1% [2]	0% [2]
Refugee quotas	3% [8]	0% [1]	2% [9]
Rejecting the boats on Italian borders	1% [3]	0% [0]	1% [3]
Sending the criminal migrants back	0% [0]	0% [1]	0% [1]
Setting a maximum migrant quota	0% [0]	2% [5]	1% [5]
Stricter conditions of awarding asylum	0% [0]	1% [3]	1% [3]
Turkish invasion to Syria	2% [5]	0% [0]	1% [5]
N=	28 articles	30 articles	58 articles