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Institute of Sociological Studies, Department of Sociology

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**The Migrant Crisis and its Representation in
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung and Lidové
noviny**

Master thesis

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Abstract

Over the last two years the number of refugees and asylum seekers in European countries dramatically increased, with asylum claims mostly originating from countries affected by war and poverty, especially in the Middle East, Africa, and the Balkans. The rapid increase of the mobility of migrants raises contradictory reactions in society and individual countries can not agree on an acceptable solution. Against the background, Western European countries usually approach the immigrants more openly than Eastern European countries. A big role in the question of acceptance of migrants in different countries is played by the media. In contemporary society, the media constitute the main source of information about what is happening in the world and intermediate events in which the public cannot participate directly. Therefore it is important to examine how mass media in Eastern and Western European countries present the issues of solidarity, human rights, and the right to asylum. The aim of this master thesis is to find out what the main differences are in the case of printed mass media and whether the western newspapers create a better image of refugees than eastern media. As a representation of an Eastern European medium one Czech daily newspaper was chosen and from Western newspapers one German medium was selected. The purpose of the master thesis is not to generalize the results on all Western and Eastern media, but to examine if those two newspapers fit the generally accepted opinion that Western countries face the migrant crisis more openly than Eastern countries and what the main differences in reporting about the crisis are in case of one of the Eastern European and one of the Western European daily press. The method used was quantitative content analysis and the period of examination September 2015.

Keywords

Migrant crisis, refugees, Germany, Czech Republic, daily newspaper

Scope of the work: 134 892

Declaration of Authorship

The author hereby declares that he compiled this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature, and the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

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Prague, January 1, 2017

Alexandra Müllerová

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Předpokládaný název práce:

Migrační krize v očích českých a německých médií

Teoretická východiska:

Za poslední rok se rapidně zvýšil počet migrantů a žadatelů o azyl do evropských zemí a to převážně ze států zasažených válkou a chudobou, zejména z oblasti blízkého východu, Afriky a Balkánského poloostrova. Ne všechny žádosti jsou však vyřízeny kladně a Evropská unie je v řešení problému poněkud nejistá. Rapidní nárůst mobility migrantů vyvolává ve společnosti protichůdné reakce a jednotlivé státy se mezi sebou neumějí shodnout na přijatelném řešení. Velkou roli v otázce přijetí migrantů hrají v jednotlivých zemích média. V současné společnosti totiž představují média hlavní zdroj informací o dění ve světě a zprostředkovatele událostí, kterých se nemůžeme přímo účastnit. Ovlivňují chování, postoje, či názory jedinců, mohou rozšiřovat obzory poznání, vzdělávat, pomáhat v politickém i spotřebitelském rozhodování, ovlivňovat životní styl, ale také děsit, vyvolávat napětí, navádět ke společensky nežádoucímu jednání a uvádět v omyl. (Jiráček 2003:151). V České republice zatím s uprchlíky nemáme velkou zkušenost, jen minimální množství z nich totiž míří nebo v minulosti mířilo právě do naší země. Náš obraz o typickém imigrantovi tedy z velké části podléhá právě tomu, jak o uprchlících informují média. Ty mají nyní v rukou obrovskou moc při vytváření našich postojů. Jinak je tomu v západních zemích Evropy a ve Skandinávii, kde lidé s imigranty přicházejí do styku mnohem častěji a mají možnost vytvořit si na ně názor na základě osobního setkání. Tyto země se nyní v době vyššího nárůstu migrace a prosbami o azyl většinou stavějí k imigrantům otevřeněji než země východní Evropy. Zároveň se z jejich strany objevují stížnosti na pasivitu východoevropských zemí a jejich nesolidárnost k západním zemím a neochota problém řešit. Němci a Rakušané demonstrativně vítají uprchlíky nás – Čechy a Slováky – usvědčují z mravního selhání, svým sobectvím jsme se vystavili pohrdání (Šimečka, 2015). Je na místě všimnout si, jak řeší problém solidarity, lidských práv a práva na azyl masová média v západních zemích a u nás. Cílem mé diplomové práce je zjistit, jaké jsou rozdíly v případě tištěných masových médií a zda jsou ta západní k dané problematice vstřícnější a vytvářejí o imigrantech lepší obraz než média východní.

Cíle diplomové práce:

Cílem mé diplomové práce je analýza denního tisku za účelem zjistit, jak která země informuje o problematice, zda zastává objektivní stanovisko k problému a zda některá z médií nepodávají zkreslené informace nebo dokonce nevytvářejí o imigrantech negativní obraz. Dále také, nakolik je v jednotlivých zemích patrný rozdíl mezi způsobem, jak se s uprchlickou krizí vyrovnávají seriózní deníky a bulvární média u nás a v západní cizině. K analýze jsem si vybrala česká média, jakožto zástupce jedné z východoevropských zemí a budu je zkoumat v kontrastu k Německu, jakožto zástupci západoevropských zemí a zároveň jednomu z nejzkušenějších evropských států v oblasti problematiky imigrantů. Ráda bych zjistila, zda česká média informují o problematice s menší citlivostí a objektivitou než ta Německá a zda pomáhají v lidech utvářet negativní postoj k uprchlíkům. Vycházím z předpokladu, že německá média budou jakožto zkušenější v problematice informovat o tématu opatrněji a objektivněji než ta česká. Další otázkou jsou rozdíly mezi seriózním deníkem a bulvárem v Německu a u nás.

Metody a prameny:

Teoretická část mé práce bude založena na vlivu masových médií na jedince a společnost. V empirické části se zaměřím na kvantitativní obsahovou analýzu německých a českých deníků. Z každé země jsem vybrala z těch nejčtenějších jeden seriózní a jeden bulvární deník. Z německých se bude jednat o jeden z nejpopulárnějších světových deníků Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, který je znám svým konzervativně-liberálním přístupem a patří mezi nejrespektovanější a zároveň nejčtenější německé noviny. Druhým německým periodikem je nejprodávanější německý deník Bild, který je svým bulvárním zaměřením opakem a vhodným kontrastem k prvnímu zkoumanému. Z českých deníků provedu výzkum na nejčtenějších novinách, kterými jsou Blesk a na populárních a spíše seriózních Lidových Novinách.

Předpokládaná struktura diplomové práce:

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Introduction

Since the beginning of 2015 the number of refugees and asylum seekers who come to European countries has significantly increased. They are mostly from countries affected by war and poverty, specifically from the Middle East, Africa and the Balkan Peninsula. However, the member countries of the European Union are divided over solution of this migrant crisis. In May 2015, the European parliament published a regularly updated document called European Agenda on Migration, which deals with common migration policy and serves as a guideline for managing the migrant crisis. According to the Agenda, migrant politics and policy cannot be interchanged. The issue or problem would be better solved on an international level because, as it claims, it is the only way how to solve the crisis effectively. Migration and population movement has always been a part of our world, it is not a phenomenon that occurred suddenly. The things that have been changing are the point of view and the approach to its solution (de Haas, 2015). It has been changing both in different periods of time and in different locations/countries. Several authors who write about migration also point out the fact that the state, in which the countries of the global south currently are, and where the refugees are fleeing from is the result of colonization by the developed countries and therefore migration and its related problems need global cooperation and understanding of the nature of migration, instead of trying to prevent it (Castles, 2015). Rapid increases in population movement cause contradictory reactions that are visible in society, while these approaches compete on both the national and international level. The problem starts at the moment when different ways of solving the crisis divide society and political organizations such as the European Union. This potentially threatens its functioning. Particularly the Visegrad Four countries are fighting against adopting mandatory quotas advocated by the European Parliament. This escalates negative responses from others who argue that the approach of Visegrad countries is the opposite of existing European values and moral responsibility. Western countries argue that human mobility is a natural part of the globalized world, plus it is our natural right to grant asylum to those in need and to be in solidarity with them. French Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius commented the situation that attitudes of Visegrad Four countries are in conflict not only with European values, but also with the whole direction of the EU (Šimečka, Tallis, 2015).

The attitude of the Czech Republic concerning the integration of refugees is currently very dismissive. The latest CVVM poll, which was run in February 2016 and concerned immigration issues and particularly the admission of refugees arriving to the EU from areas affected by war, provides pessimistic results. Three fifths (61 %) of respondents hold the view that the Czech Republic should not accept these refugees, one third of respondents (31 %) would take them, but only until the end of war or the moment when they would be able to come back to the country of their origin. Only a very small amount of Czech citizens (3%) hold the view that the Czech Republic should accept these refugees and let them settle down here. Overall, the Czech community is increasingly averse to migrants and to providing them asylum. While in September 2015 only 50% of respondents were against accepting refugees, 5 months later the number increased to 61% (cvvm.soc.cas.cz/, 2016). A similar trend is visible in other Visegrad Four countries. In Slovakia 80% of citizens are against welcoming refugees, and in Poland 75%. In Hungary only every tenth person is for providing asylum to refugees (Rupnik, 2015). Czech citizens also responded to questions about the level of threat which may increase because of refugees. The majority of respondents reported that refugees are a significant security threat in confrontation with the Czech Republic (82 %), with Europe (92 %), and globally (81 %). Current affairs in the media that deal with the migrant crisis, follow more than three out of four respondents (78%) (cvvm.soc.cas.cz/, 2016).

In particular state media play a significant role in the issue of the migrant crisis. In today's society, the media represent the main source of information on current affairs and they moderate events, that we cannot experience personally (Jirák, 2003). In the Czech Republic we do not have much experience with war refugees because only a small amount of them have ever fled to this country. Exceptions are migrants from former Yugoslavia. The image of a typical refugee which Czech citizens adopt is based on information from the media. These days they have more control when it comes to people's way of creating attitudes. According to McCombs, the less experience people have with some topic, the higher the chance is that they will be influenced by the media. On the other hand, a person who has an experience with the issue (in our case refugees) will be more resistant to agenda setting of the media (McCombs, 2009).

This is supported by data which shows that although a majority of Czechs are interested in current affairs and although they do not have a personal experience with those

refugees, the number of those who do not want to accept refugees increased from 50% to 61% in 5 months period when the main refugee crisis took place.

The situation is different in Western-European and Scandinavian countries, where people come into contact with these immigrants almost daily and therefore have an opportunity to create their own personal opinion on them, based on personal experience. These countries are now - in a period of higher increase of migration and asylum claims – generally more open towards refugees than Eastern-European countries. For example in Germany, 60 % of the people support a decision of the government to provide asylum to 800,000 refugees (Kratev, 2015). Germans and Austrians, who are demonstratively welcoming the refugees, criticise us – Czechs and Slovaks – for the moral failure (Šimečka, 2015). In addition very often in foreign newspapers complaints appear of the major politicians of the Visegrad Four countries and also to other important and publicly known representatives of these countries. They are castigated for their racist comments about the migrant crisis, which they communicate through the media. Many published articles are concentrating on the behavior of the Czechs towards the refugees and which report about the fact that the Czech media legitimize and strengthen xenophobic attitudes in Czech society (Culik, 2015a). However, the highest amount of critique is received in Hungary, the country which is nowadays very often in contact with refugees. This can be underlined by the public expression of Hungarian Prime minister Viktor Orbán, who claims that migration is a German problem (Culik, 2015b). Prime minister of Slovakia Robert Fico competes with his Hungarian counterpart by claiming that all refugees are economic migrants, while Czech president Miloš Zeman repeatedly expressed his anti-Islamic opinions (Culik, 2015c). It is also important to mention a case that occurred in Hungary in 2015. An email was distributed by public television to Hungarian journalists, urging them not to publish pictures of immigrant children in the media, because it could provoke an increase of compassion in public (Kratev, 2015).

Therefore it is important to concentrate on the ways how the problem of solidarity, human rights, and the right for asylum is presented in mass media in Eastern and Western countries. The aim of my study is to determine what are the differences in printed media in one of the Central/Eastern-European countries (Czech Republic) and in one of the Western-European countries which has years of experience with the migrants (Germany). I

would like to establish if a selected German newspaper is more objective or positive towards the migrant crisis than a selected Czech newspaper.

I used the technique of quantitative content analysis to examine the press and describe the main differences in ways they write regarding the migrant crisis. My purpose was also to reveal if the newspapers report biased information or if they even create a negative image of refugees. I proceed from the assumption that the German medium - as experienced in the issue - will report about the topic more carefully and less negatively than the Czech one.

The example of a German newspaper that I chose for my analysis is one of the world's most famous dailies, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, which is known for its conservative-liberal attitude and which is one of the most respected and widely read German newspapers. This paper will be compared to Czech popular and rather serious Lidové noviny.

The theoretical part of the study focuses on Migration – especially on the current migrant crisis and the situation in Europe. Then the German and Czech experience with migrants were shown and also differences between West German and East German attitude towards migrants were described. In the last part of the theoretical part a study comparing European media and the way they represent the migrant crisis was introduced. In the second part of the master thesis the methodology is described in detail. In the last part the results are given and analyzed.

1 Theoretical background

1.1 World migrant crisis

Migration and population movement isn't a phenomenon which occurred suddenly, it has always been a part of the world. According to the UN Refugee Agency the world is now experiencing the highest level of displacement on record. About 65.3 million people around the world lately have been forced to leave their home. Among them there are nearly 21.3 million refugees, more than a half of them are children. In the world there are now about 10 million stateless people who have been denied a nationality and access to basic rights such as education, healthcare, employment and freedom of movement. Nearly 34,000 people are forced to displace every day because of conflict or persecution (unhcr.org, 2015). As a consequence of the war more and more people are trying to immigrate illegally. Five countries that took 4.5 million refugees are Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt. Turkey hosts most of them, concretely 2.5 million which is more than any other country worldwide. In the second place is Lebanon which hosts around 1.1 million of Syrians which makes 20% of its population. Jordan hosts approximately 635,000 of Syrians which is equal to 1/10 of the population. The other country is Iraq to where came 245,022 refugees from Syria. And on the fifth place is Egypt with its 117,658 Syrian refugees (amnesty.org, 2016).

According to UN approximately quarter of a million of Syrian residents were killed and about 13.5 million of Syrians currently need humanitarian aid. More than a half of Syrian population have left the country so far. Every second refugee who came to Europe through Mediterranean Sea was a Syrian trying to escape the conflict in his/her home country. Quite an interesting fact is that developed countries such as United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait aren't willing to provide those refugees with an asylum. Other rich countries such as Russia, Japan, Singapore and South Korea have adopted the same approach. On the other hand Germany provided asylum to a half of all refugees coming to Europe. If we exclude Germany and Sweden the rest of the EU member countries offered asylum to 0.7% of all Syrian refugees. The rest of the asylum provided mainly Asian countries mentioned above (amnesty.org, 2016).

There are several factors that stand behind recent migrant crisis. One of the first events that started the increase in migration is Arab spring. Many demonstrations and protests took place in countries such as Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Bahrain (Mendel, 2015). These riots led to changes in characters of some of the countries that became democratic. In Syria the situation changed dramatically and it is now in the state of a civil war. Another reason that led to the increase of migration from war-affected countries can be seen in military intervention of the United States, France, Germany and Italy in the fight against the Islamic state. Another reason that's worth mentioning is an uncontrolled smuggling of people across the border with Greece (rt.com, 2016).

Plenty of experts on migration point to the fact that the state in which developing countries currently are and where the refugees try to escape from is mainly a result of previous colonization caused by developed countries. Therefore to be able to solve the migration problems we should understand the nature of migration and work on its solution globally (Castles, 2015). The migrant crisis poses a challenge for developed democratic countries all around the world. In the majority of countries media are filled with photos of people that are trying to escape a war in their country and who are willing to risk their lives to a hope for a better life. But the reactions of European countries are mixed and plans for future activities are uncertain (lse.ac.uk, 2015).

According to Leopold Muller, an Associate Professor in Refugee and Forced Migration Studies at University of Oxford „there is a need to a broader framework based on international cooperation and responsibility-sharing. The elements of a solution to the contemporary crisis have to be at a number of different levels. These include improvements in search and rescue to return to at least the capacity of Mare Nostrum; more equitable burden-sharing and relocation of refugees within the European Union; support to gradually build to protection and human rights capacities of transit countries. In addition to these creative solutions and additional support are needed for refugee-hosting countries in regions of origin – and we need to promote the refugees' capacities to contribute to their host state. Finally, we need a European resettlement scheme that reflects a commitment to proportionately share responsibility for the global refugee population.“ (Betts, 2015).

Czech demographer Dušan Drbohlav claims that judging by our global experience with migration there have always been more pros than cons when it comes to cultural exchange between migrants and locals (Drbohlav, 2015).

A few decades ago a famous sociologist Ulrich Beck presented an idea of a cosmopolitan state that is based on an acknowledgement of the otherness of others. According to him, the cosmopolitan states should emphasize the need for solidarity with foreigners both inside the country and on international level. They should also fight against terror and its causes, and create conditions for coexistence of diverse religious and national groups. These states should also find a solution to global problems that can't be solved by individual state (Beck, 2004).

Europe with its population of over 500 million, has a considerable resources at its disposal to respond generously to the needs of arriving refugees that reach a number of over one million (Quinn, 2016).

1.2 European migrant crisis

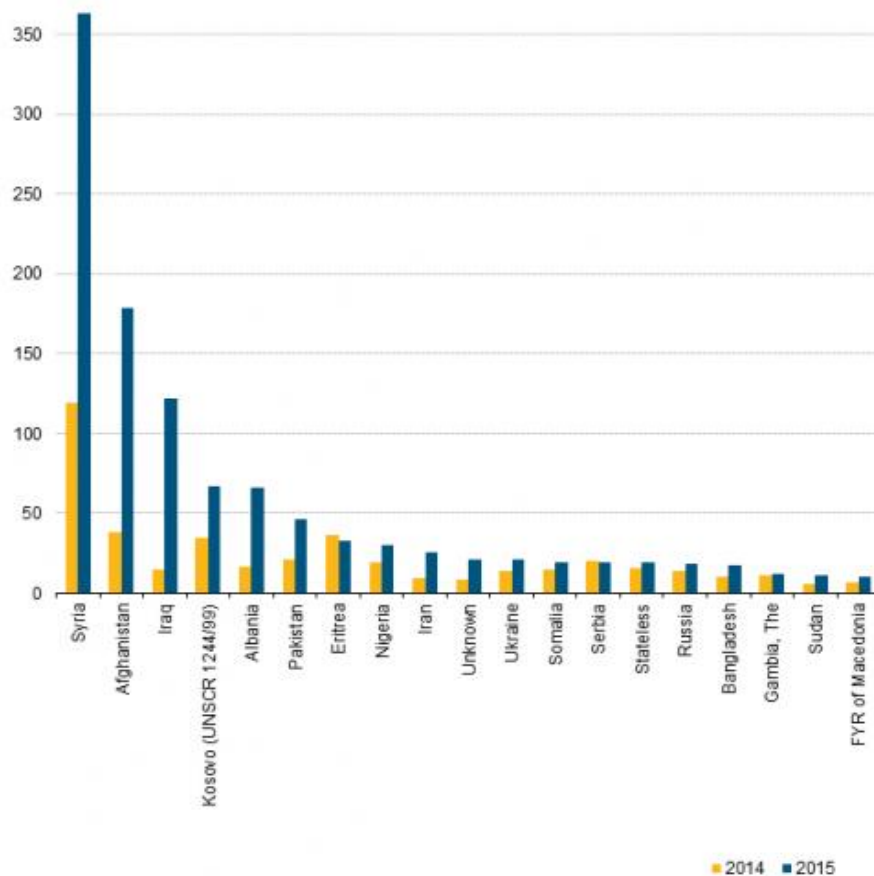
There was a rapid increase in Application for asylum in the EU member states in 2015. In the table bellow we can see that during 2015 over 1.2 million people were claiming asylum in the EU. When it comes to applications from citizens of non-member countries, there was an increase in the number of asylum applications within EU in the last 10 years. The number of asylum seekers rose even more visibly since 2013. In 2013 around 431 thousand applicants tried to find an asylum in EU, 627 thousand in 2014 and close to 1.3 million in 2015 (ec.europa.eu, 2016).

Figure 1: Asylum applications (non-EU) in the EU-28 Member States, 2005–15 (¹)											
(thousands)											
	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Total	234,7	197,4	222,6	225,2	263,8	259,4	309,0	335,3	431,1	627,0	1321,6
(¹) 2005–07: EU-27 and extra-EU-27.											

Source: Eurostat

Picture 1 – Asylum applications

The majority of them arrived by sea but some refugees have made their way over land, mainly via Turkey and Albania. In 2015 the most of the asylum applications were from asylum seekers from Syrian, Afghanistan and Iraq. Almost every fifth claim was from Syrian refugees. As we can see on the table below the number of Syrians seeking for asylum in countries of EU rapidly increased from 2014 to 2015. There were almost three times more applications in 2015 than the year before. The conflict in Syria was the main reason why the number changed so quickly and distinctly. But the ongoing violence in Afghanistan and Iraq, abuses in Eritrea, as well as poverty in Kosovo, are also leading people to look for new lives elsewhere (bbc.com, 2016).



Picture 2 – Asylum claims – 2015, 2016

“In 2015, the number of first time asylum applicants from Syria rose to 363 thousand in the EU-28, which was 29 % of the total. Afghan citizens accounted for 14 % of the total and Iraqis for 10 %, while Kosovans and Albanians accounted for 5 % and Pakistanis for 4 %.” (ec.europa.eu, 2016).

One of the most affected countries was Germany where the number of people seeking for asylum increased from 173 thousand in 2014 to 442 thousand in 2015. It was

more than a third of all applications received in EU (oecd, 2016). Even higher increase reported Scandinavian countries such as Finland (over nine times as high) and Sweden (the number of applicants doubled). Hungary reported increase of 400% and Austria of 300%. The biggest number of asylum seekers tried to find a new home in Germany (35%) and in Hungary (almost 14%). Most of the applicants (83%) who tried to move to Europe were less than 35 years old and almost half of them were between 18 and 34 years old (ec.europa.eu, 2016).

Although Germany had the most asylum applications in 2015, Hungary had the highest in proportion to its population, despite it closed border with Croatia in an attempt to stop the flow in October. “Nearly 1,800 refugees per 100,000 of Hungary's local population claimed asylum in 2015. Sweden followed close behind with 1,667 per 100,000. The figure for Germany was 587 and for the UK it was 60 applications for every 100,000 residents. The EU average was 260.” (bbc.com, 2016). In Czech Republic it was only 14 for every 100,000 residents, which means around 1400 applications in total.

1.2.1 Approaches to solution

During 2015, EU agreed the ‘European Agenda on Migration’ as the primary mechanism for responding to the unfolding crisis (Moriarty, 2016). According to the Agenda migration policy should be discussed and practically solved at the international level. That is the only way how we can solve the problem effectively. This requires a set of core measures and a common approach to migration, not only between the countries of European Union but also with the other international organisations and with the countries where are the refugees trying to escape from. The Agenda is calling for a safe Europe where people who escaped from war or natural disasters could get an asylum. It should also be a place where skilled and educated people who are able to enrich the local labour market, can find a job. The European countries must also provide refugees with a legal way of getting to Europe. It should avoid the situations when migrants come to countries illegally and automatically fall to the excluded sections of society. Agenda summarizes the main directions that European Union should follow to successfully cope with the migration crisis. It also suggests a specific steps how to fulfil this difficult task (European Agenda on Migration, 2015).

Two main inter-governmental organisations that tend to help refugees are UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) and International Organization for Migration (IOM). The UNHCR is one of the main humanitarian organisations that provides protection and help to all world refugees. International Organization for Migration discusses with its partners how to help better understanding of a migrant crisis; it also helps to support social and economic development through a migration; seeks for protection of human dignity and well-being of refugees. IOM is guided by the principle that well-managed migration brings benefits to both migrants and receiving societies (Vuchkovikj, 2016).

1.3 Eastern versus Western Europe

In September 2015 European Union discussed reallocation of 160 thousand of refugees to EU member states. Countries that refused to follow this plan were Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia. Before the EU summit about quotas took place countries of Visegrád Group had met in Prague to agree on one common approach to quotas and they decided to vote against them. Prime ministers of Visegrád Group countries didn't agree with the idea of multiculturalism that Western countries represent and they claimed that they don't want to „make the same mistake“ as them (Traynor, 2016). Eastern and Central European countries are very often blamed for not being sympathetic enough both with the refugees and with the Western European countries. They are also criticized for their racist rhetoric. EU Vice President Frans Timmermans said in an interview with BBC Radio 4 following: “Central European countries have no experience with diversity ... making them susceptible to fears about Muslim refugees. If no sustainable solution is found, you will see a surge of the extreme right across the European continent.” (ethicaljournalismnetwork.org, 2015).

The increasing support of far-right parties is now seen not only among Eastern European countries but also among Western states, which are more politically friendly towards refugees. This can be seen even in Germany, country which has in general relatively liberal approach to migrants mainly because of its post-war historical experience (Bauder, 2016). In March 2016, during the elections Angela Merkel's political party, which revolved around helping refugees, lost its previous huge support and conversely the anti-immigrant party Alternative for Germany strengthened. There is also many protests that regularly take place in Germany, organised mostly by far-right and anti-Islamic group

Pegida. For example in year 2015 a massive protest took place in Dresden where around 8,000 supporters of the group protested against migrant-friendly policy, that represent German government. In the last couple of months Pegida organised more than 200 events of similar kind. Such actions can also be seen in French Calais. Increase of far right extremism is also evident in French political right-wing, anti-immigration, euro-sceptic, nationalistic, economically protectionist party National Front, headed by Marine Le Pen, who won in 6 out of 13 French regions. In Sweden the Swedish right-wing group called the Sweden Democrats strengthened. Support of right-wing oriented political parties is evident in almost each country of Europe (Chadwick, Karnitschnig, 2016).

1.3.1 Rhetoric of politicians in Eastern Europe

Although increasing support of far-right parties can now be seen in both Western and Eastern European countries, the distinguishing feature of Eastern European countries, besides their anti-quotas attitude, is anti-Islamic rhetoric of main leaders of these countries. Central and Eastern European countries are often criticized for anti-migrant rhetoric of their politics that is published in media and has an impact on a general public. For example last year Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán claimed that acceptance of any Muslim refugees compromises safety and increases the risk of terrorism, criminality, anti-Semitism and homophobia. He noted that Muslim refugees aren't welcome in Hungary and pointed out that it is only up to Hungary if it will take the refugees or not. He also reminded that it was the Ottoman Empire which caused the bad relations between Muslims and Hungarians. A similar point of view shares Czech president Miloš Zeman, who claims that the integration of Muslims in European societies would be extremely difficult because of their very different values which don't have much in common with EU. He concurrently pointed to New Year's Eve attacks which happened in Cologne and interpreted them as a representation of a typical Muslim culture. He added that refugees create ghetto where they radicalize Muslims, instead of showing respect and gratitude to receiving states. Slovak prime minister claims that Muslim refugees don't represent the same values like Slovak conservative Christian society, which means that country can't provide them with the asylum (Damoc, 2016).

1.3.2 Migration in Germany and Czech Republic

More than 9% of German population are foreigners. It is more than average of European Union. In comparison in Czech Republic it is only 4% of population and the country is under average of the Union. Due to differences in historical background of those two European countries, the composition of their groups of foreigners is different. These countries also have different socio-cultural context of assimilation and therefore they have different approaches of those groups to the local society and attitude of the local society towards foreigners in general.

Germany

From all population of Germany (81.41 millions) around 10 millions of them are foreigners (World bank, 2016, [online]). Many of them (from year 1994 almost 4 mil.) hold German citizenship. For example in Stuttgart, live more than 600 000 people of 180 different nationalities. Furthermore almost 40 % of German residents are originally foreigners (die Zeit, 2012 [online]). The highest number of foreigners are Turks (Der Spiegel (2009, [online]), followed by Italians and people from former Yugoslavia. There are also many foreigners from European Union countries. The most of them are from Poland (292 109), followed by Hungarians (47 808) and Czechs (30 301). German history of post war migration started in the 50's when it was necessary to accept refugees because of an economic boom in Germany. At that time Germany started to define itself as a country which receives immigrants. The increase in the number of immigrants who in the end stayed in the country wasn't yet in 20th century viewed as a problem. After year 2000 a new law (which started to limit immigration) was adopted. In practice it meant that even an assimilated descendant of third generation of Turkish immigrants, who even didn't speak any Turkish, had difficulties to obtain German citizenship, although an ethnic German, who didn't speak German had it automatically (Jakoubek, Hirt, 2005). German law tries to solve the problem of migration by legislation which focuses on protection of original German values, notably those values, which are based on Christianity. It concentrates mainly on non European immigrants, mainly on Turks and people from Middle East and African Muslims. Migration of Turks started in 1961, when both countries agreed on a deal about mediation of jobs for workers. Similar agreement Germany signed with Greece and Yugoslavia. Although it was only temporary work, half of those

immigrants settled down there. The massive support of foreign workers was ended by oil crisis in 1973. Workers who settled down there permanently relocated to Germany their newly founded families, thereby a migrant crisis of second generation started. The last big wave of migration (before the current one) was the one in the 80's after military coup, when mainly Kurdish migrants came to Germany (Jungius, 2011). According to Jungius there are many practical problems with them these generations cope. Although they were born in Germany, they don't have a German citizenship, although some of them studies at prestigious universities. They must send in average four times more job applications than people who look German and have a German surnames (Jungius, 2011).

Czech Republic

According to census in 2011 the amount of Czech residents increased to 10 562 214 mainly because of foreigners. That year there were 449 450 of them, which is about 360 % more than 10 years ago (Census in CR, 2012, [online]). The biggest amount of those foreign residents are from Ukraine (124 281 people), followed by Slovaks (71 780), Vietnamese (60 289), Poles and Germans. Big amount of foreigners living in Czech Republic consist of people from non-European countries, but these are usually people from Ukraine, Vietnam and Russia. In general – with exception of USA – they are from former soviet „partner“ countries. Historically, unlike Germany, Czech Republic has never been a target country for immigrants. Until 1989 the migration in Czech Republic was operated in a way of emigration, not immigration. After 1989 situation has changed. But Czech Republic became a country of temporary labour immigration. Ethnic minorities or migration are not societal issues (Leontieva, 2010).

1.3.3 Western versus Eastern Germany

The special case of Germany underlines the fact that an experience with communism is one of the main factors which play a role in attitude towards refugees. More than 60% of attacks on refugees that took place in Germany between January 2015 and August 2015 were located in the former German Democratic Republic. Though there are many arson attacks on refugees in West Germany, especially in Bavaria and North Rhine-Westphalia, it is the former communist east that has the most anti-refugee incidents. Important fact is that this part occupies only one-third of the land area and there live only 10,5% of German population of refugees (Smirnova, 2015). Europe is dealing with the biggest influx of

refugees since World War II, and Germany accepts more of them than any of its neighbours. „The Amadeu Antonio Foundation which in Germany collects data on attacks and assaults against refugees and their accommodations counted 345 cases as of Aug. 25, a major increase compared to the previous year.“ (Smirnova, 2015). Most attacks on refugees' accommodations that were committed in Germany, was reported in Saxony and majority of them happened in countryside where the majority of right-wing extremists live. Higher rates of anti-refugee attitude in the East part of Germany correlate with overall lower rate of tolerance towards foreigners that is typical for the area of former German Democratic Republic (DDR). According to a research that was conducted in 2012 by University of Leipzig, it is obvious that in former DDR lives higher percentage of far-right supporters than in the West of Germany (Dillon, 2013). The director of the research Elmar Braehler explains it by the fact that people in the West part of Germany were more often in contact with foreigners and people of different cultures than East. This has been lasting till today because of the fact that only every tenth foreigner lives in the former DDR area. In Saxony where the most attacks on refugees happened lives the less percentage of them – only one per every 238 local citizens. It supports the theory that if people aren't used to be in contact with foreigners, they tend to be more aggressive towards them – because of various reasons such as fear or lack of knowledge and experience with different cultures. Saxon city Heidenau became a symbol of a new wave of neo-Nazism. In August 2015 a few hundred of citizens who support extreme right politics had a conflict with the police. They demonstrated against refugees and shouted statements supporting Adolf Hitler. The rioting in Heidenau has been among the biggest anti-refugee protests in Germany so far with more than 30 police officers wounded, but it is not exceptional. The study also revealed that the attitude towards refugees correlates not only with the previous experience with refugees but also with employment and economic situation. There is more support in the east part for expressions of xenophobic statements like "When there are not enough jobs, we have to send foreigners back to their home countries." (Smirnova, 2015).

1.4 Media

For many people media represent the best (or sometimes the only) way how to find information about ever-changing political, social and economic situation. Media by its agenda setting and also by the way they present various topics have power to create and shape public opinion. Moreover journalists often lack compact information for stories they

present. Mainly in cases when they inform about topics they are not familiar with well enough, or about situations that are happening in remote and hardly accessible places. This information is then unbalanced and biased (Semotam, 2016).

„Though media interest can be a useful means of drawing public attention to an important cause, it needs to be carefully managed, lest it become a distraction.“ (ieseinsight.com, 2016). Because of the fact that media has power to create both positive and negative opinions of public about the presented topics, the way how it represents migrant crisis has significant influence on the view of public on the problem of migration (Hugo, Aghazarm & Appave, 2011). According to Georgiou „It is widely accepted that the media intervenes in processes of individual and institutional communication to provide frameworks for the production and consumption of representations of issues such as migration.“ (Georgiou, 2011). There is a lot literature that point to the fact that the way how migration is represented in media, influence a public opinion and as well as the future impacts on integration of migrants.

Migrant crisis became real for many people in the beginning of September 2015 when media all around the world printed the photo of 3 years old Syrian boy Aylan who died on the way to Europe. But the migrant crisis at this extent started already one year ago. The role of the media in relation to migration is strong especially in post-communist countries, where people have no or very little experience with migrants. Many of them have never spoken to people from Syria or other Middle Eastern countries. Media therefore has power to create and shape opinions of Eastern European even more because of the lack of personal contact with migrants. When it comes to providing information on migrants, journalists all around the world have a very difficult job. Their job is to create a big amount of articles on this very current topic in a short period of time. The lack of time prevents the possibility of studying this very complex topic deeply and carefully. Germany is one of the exceptions where even tabloids usually provide reader with a very objective and unbiased information. This trend unfortunately isn't present everywhere in Europe. The case of Germany is unusual because of its very long experience with migration and also because of its careful post-war politics. In 2012 an association Mediendienst-Integration was launched there. This association calls for a fact-based information that media provide when they inform about migration. It shows to journalists a fact based and scientifically proven

information about the topic of migration to ensure that media will speak about migrant crisis objectively (Göroglu, 2016).

So far there was nothing similar to this existed for the other European countries, but the call for a better coverage of the topic in media and the fact that media often inform about the migrant crisis irresponsibly led three different organisation to create new manuals that focus on migrant crisis and try to help journalists to oriented themselves in the topic better. First of them was founded by Ethical Journalism Network. It is a 112 page report called „Moving Stories: International Review of How Media Cover Migration“. The report complexly informs about the migrant crisis and serves as a guideline in the topic. One of the tasks of the report is to provide a journalist with a description of specific concepts that are often mixed while speaking about the theme. It also serves as a tool that helps journalists to explain the problems associated with the refugee crisis correctly. The second one is called „Media-friendly glossary on migration“, that was made by United Nations Alliance of Civilizations. The third organisation that published a similar manual is International Organization for Migration and the book is called IOM Key migration terms. All of those manuals have the same purpose – to raise awareness of journalist about the topic, to educate them in terms of history, concepts, vocabulary, to show them statistics and to point to the fact that they should inform about the migrant crisis carefully. „With populism rising across Europe, having an open, informed, and fact-based public and media discourse, especially about migration, is more important than ever.“ (Hugo, Aghazarm, Appave, 2011).

1.4.1 Moving stories – How media cover migration

According to an international study Moving stories, which was published by Ethical Journalism Network (EJN) and which focused on how media reported about migration crisis in 2015, journalists often failed to present objective and complete information about the topic. They very often inclined to propaganda lead by politicians. Study was focused on medialisatation of current refugee crisis in member countries of European Union and another fourteen non-member countries. According to EJN, for the first time media failed just at the beginning of the main migration wave, because they informed exclusively about war in Syria and Iraq which started more than one year before the migration crisis began. If media informed about the wars they would have make people aware of possible future arrival of

refugees. Journalist also very often passively mediated negative speeches of politicians and their anti-migrant opinions and so they caused discomposure of general public. In addition, the media according to the study failed to provide detailed and reliable information regarding the crisis, mainly due to lack of editorial resources and well-informed journalists, who would be able to provide quality news. At the same time migration vocabulary was used poorly and individual concepts were often interchanged (ethicaljournalismnetwork.org, 2015). The study points out, that migrants often contribute to the receiving society and it is much overlooked and media mention it rarely. Journalists also usually overlook researches that describe how migration contributes to economic and cultural development of their target countries (ethicaljournalismnetwork.org, 2015). On the contrary, there is a tendency to show immigrants as a seemingly never-ending stream of people, who will try to steal jobs from local people, will be a ballast for country and ultimately endanger peaceful life of others (ethicaljournalismnetwork.org, 2015). According to EJM a huge problem is the fact that EU failed to plan ahead. Humanitarian aid was provided in late September 2015 and between April 2015 and September 2015 it was mainly volunteers who helped. In many media there was also an increase of hate-speech against minorities expressed by politicians. Only German media were supportive, other - mainly in the Western Balkans and East European countries - weren't. The study shows an example of an impact of local media in Bulgarian village Rozovo when reported asked local people why they protest against refugees. They answered that they know that refugees equals danger because they saw it on TV and have read a newspapers. Headlines that came from leading Bulgarian media were for example: „The newly arrived refugees are future ISIS fighters” or “Islamic State floods Europe with refugees” (ethicaljournalismnetwork.org, 2015).

Unverified information very easily finds a way into the headlines in the mainstream media including social media, mainly when it was information about how expensive it is to take care of refugees and how the country donates every migrant with a higher income than an average citizen earns.

Migrant crisis was a challenge for media to report about the crisis with accuracy and humanity, to treat rhetoric of politicians with caution and to ensure that refugees are mediated fairly. They should be aware of the impact of what they publish. According to the study, European media largely failed to play a responsible role.

1.4.2 Media in society

Media are social institutions that in a large scope provide communication in public sphere and, thus, contribute to development, establishment and transformation of culture, values and interpretation of the world. Media communication is both a transmission of communications (from one place to another), but also a source that confirms the validity of the ideology (Jirák, 2003). Media is a significant industry that is conditioned by a number of factors. The form of media production is influenced by individuals, structures of the relevant media organizations, employers or owners. The media also plays an important role in the shaping of various manifestations of the culture of the society, because they offer their message to a large number of recipients. (Jirák, 2003). Media are an important part of our everyday life. Their importance increased mainly in 20th century when the electronic devices and also so called new media appeared. (Trampota, 2010). For our current late modern society explosion of mediated society associated with daily contact with countless media outputs is typical. It guides our perception of the world around us, our civic attitudes, electoral and consumer behaviour (Trampota, 2010). In contemporary society media play an important role of a provider of information about current affairs. It provides us with information about events that we don't have a possibility to explore directly by ourselves. It also shapes our opinions, beliefs, decisions and behaviour - whether in terms of our civil and political opinion, or in the areas of marketing behaviour and in other spheres of human activity. However, since knowledge of reality and its description is always a report of human being, it is only the result of subjective choice. Media every day choose from a large number of events and they can provide audience with only a limited part of them. Whether media choose a specific topic and how much space they provide for it, is its implicit choice. Also the way they order the information and the final version of it is never value-free (Trampota, 2010).

1.4.3 Impact of media on society

Media have a significant impact on individuals and society. They influence behaviour, attitudes or opinions of individuals, they may expand the horizons of knowledge, educate, assist in the political and consumer decision-making process, influence a lifestyle (and hence health), but they can also frighten, provoke tension, incite to socially undesirable behaviour and mislead (Jirák, 2003).

One can not exactly say to which extent mass media influence the society, although there are three main phases of media effect. The first phase lasted from the early 20th century to 1930. In this time people believed that media have a power to shape opinions and beliefs, to change habits of people and their behaviour, and even to create political systems despite resistance. One of the first theories of this time was a Magic bullet theory that described media message as a bullet that can hit everybody who can see or hear it. It was believed that media have enormous power to shape public opinion and attract masses to almost every opinion (DeFleur 1996:174). This view wasn't based on scientific evidence but only on empirical observation of an attractiveness of media. It was one of the main reasons why this theory was refuted and replaced by another one. The second phase lasted from 1940's until 1960's and was shaped by increase of mass communication and empirical methodology in USA. Influence of this phase is surprisingly big. The most influential studies were about US presidential elections in 1940 and 1948 from Paula Felix Lazarsfeld. It has been proven that it is unlikely that the mass media has been a major changer of individual opinions, attitudes or behaviour of public. It was argued that the media have almost no effect. This theory hasn't been fully adopted neither and was further examined by scientists. The third phase that persists today is the one that is based on a collection of new evidence and new ideas about influence of mass media (McQuail, 1979). Methods that were used in previous phases are criticized and there is an attempt to replace them by better ones. The old methods are disproven because of the fact that it was a research that examined only short-term effects of media. According to a new theory a proper research should focus on long-term situations and it should examine individuals in a social context (McQuail, 1979). In a number of theories, hypotheses and assumptions about the effects of media some general parameters can be traced. According to them we can characterize various types of effects. A time dimension of monitored impact is one of the key roles – immediacy and short-term, or gradual introduction and duration in time, then the question of whether the effect is caused by any stimulus directly from the media, or whether it is brokered by someone else. It is also important whether the induced effect was intentional or unintentional. These three parameters represent basic criteria for the identification of particular types of anticipated impacts (Jirák, 2003).

Undoubtedly media has an important impact on each individual, institution, culture and society (McQuail, 1979). History of mass media clearly shows that media can effectively achieve goals of those who control or own them and that this kind of control is

a powerful ownership for those who seek political or economic power. The control of the media provides many opportunities. Media can attract attention to problems, solutions, or to people. Mass media can also grant a status and confirm legitimacy. In specific circumstances it can also be a tool for persuasion and mobilization. Generally, the media are effective means of communication in society (McQuail, 1979).

1.4.4 The effect of media on attitudes

Perceptions about the impact of media on attitudes are based on the assumption that the media are able to create and form offered content. They are also able to develop opinions, attitudes and belief of their users and consequently in all society (Jirák, 2009). All scholars who research media agree that media aren't neutral technologies through which unchanged meanings, messages and information flow (Sturken, 2009). While it is not possible to find universally valid models of influence, nevertheless it is proven that the media mostly reinforce existing attitudes and opinions (and thus prejudices). They even reinforce the general view of the world, the overall political orientation, and they are able to form the views of yet uncertain people (hence in an election campaigns a political parties pay so much attention to yet undecided voters). On the other hand, this doesn't mean that media don't create or modify already formed attitudes. Many studies focused on an impact of media on a voter's decisions are based on the concept that media influence attitudes (Jirák, 2009). There are many different theories about types of impacts, because different media influence different types of people (McQuail, 1979).

1.4.5 Media analysis – study of representation of Migrant crisis in European newspapers

The first detailed analysis of how newspapers in eight European countries reported the movement of nearly 750,000 people to Europe this year was conducted by European Journalism Observatory (EJO). The cross-border research made in the Czech Republic, Germany, Italy, Latvia, Poland, Portugal, UK and Ukraine, examined how three newspapers in each country – representing broadly left, right and tabloid newspapers –

covered three pivotal events concerning migrants and refugees in September. The three events, that were studied were: the photographs of the body of three-year old Aylan Kurdi, (September 2); the day Germany introduced border controls (September 13); and the EU summit aimed at agreeing a common European approach to the crisis (September 23). Six time frames were examined – two days before and two days after each event. Print, rather than digital, editions of newspapers were chosen as they were more comparable across the eight countries (en.ejo.ch, 2015).

According to analysis, Western media was generally more sympathetic with refugees, mainly in case of a young Syrian boy Aylan. On the other hand one week later they all came back to their original writing style. At the end of the month they were all more negative than at the beginning. A majority of Eastern and Baltic press didn't write about the Aylan case or only briefly mentioned it. In general the western media were more emotional, sensitive and sympathetic to refugees and crisis, meanwhile Baltic and Eastern countries were more negative, emotionless and anti-EU. The research conceptualized articles as a positive in case that they showed sympathy and humanity towards refugees and showed their eventual benefit to society. As a negative they coded articles that described refugees as economic migrants, infiltrated terrorists, crowds and the masses of immigrants, or those that showed refugees as a burden to society or violent people. Neutral articles were those that only informed about the facts. „EU policy stories were graded positive where they highlighted EU members working together to solve the crisis, negative where they highlighted the failure of EU members or policy to collaborate, accept quotas etc.“ (en.ejo.ch, 2015).

When it comes to the first studied situation – the drowning of young Aylan that happened on 3rd of September, Eastern media assigned much less space to this news than the West press. Western media (Italian, German, Portuguese and British) not only released it more space, they also reported about it more in detail. Press in Eastern Europe (Czech Republic, Poland, Latvia and Ukraine) concentrated more on politics, and they tended to be more negative and anti-EU. Only three out of twelve researched newspapers published the photo of Aylan – none of three Czech newspapers concretely. Among western newspapers it was published in eleven out of twelve. The Eastern media then criticized the Western ones for their „excessive emotionality“. These days in Western newspapers more articles that described positive impact of migration on a receiving country were also published. But

again, it has changed a few days later and everything came back to the original state. As for the German press, stories about refugees were already positive before the death of Aylan and they remained the same for the whole September. However this changed a bit at the beginning of October when the number of positive articles decreased. According to study, the biggest surprise was that the German tabloid Bild, which is traditionally known as rather combative press and even supports prejudices about refugees, published in September huge amount of sympathetic articles about migrant crisis. But in October it came back to its normal style, which is unsympathetic and reported about migrant crisis with articles like: „1.5 Million Refugees Expected – including families they could become 7 million.“ (en.ejo.ch, 2015).

Second event that was studied by EJO was German reintroduction of border controls (September 13). After this event there was an increase of negative stories in British, Czech and Polish media. These stories were mainly about negative representation of European Union and its inability to solve the crisis. On the other hand the German press remained positive towards refugees after this event, but were also more negative towards the EU. After the 13th of September German articles also started to criticize other countries for their reluctance to collaborate and help to migrants. The third event was EU summit seeking for European co-operation (September 23). After this event all of the researched media published less than half the number of “humanitarian” stories about migration than at the beginning of September. Overall the number of articles about the migrant crisis decreased (en.ejo.ch, 2015).

In September 2015 in Prague there was a meeting of Visegrád Four, where prime ministers of member countries (Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland and Hungary) agreed on common negative attitude towards relocation of refugees suggested by European commission. „Visegrád Group rebuked the quota plan, deeming it unfair to the host states as well as to the refugees (among whom, it was argued, Ukrainians fleeing the conflict in Donbass should be counted), as well as ineffectual (‘EC failed in solving migration, quotas make no sense - Czech PM’, 2016), compounded by the fact that asylum-seeking refugees would relocate to another destination, as several Syrian refugees relocated to Germany from the Czech Republic (‘Malí Syřané se měli léčit v Motole, rodina obratem odjela do Německa’. 2015). (...) Slovakia has expressed its disapproval by filing a lawsuit against the EU to the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg over its decision to relocate around

120,000 immigrants, with the Slovakian Prime Minister calling the mandatory quotas “nonsensical and technically impossible” as reported by POLITICO (‘Slovakia files lawsuit against EU’s refugee relocation’, 2015)“ (Damoc, 2016). The countries were judged because of this action by this act mainly by Germany and France. The countries were blamed for not being solidary both with EU member countries and refugees and for their unwillingness to cooperate on a common solution to migrant crisis. In my study I concentrated on media and researched whether they reflected same attitudes towards migration as the mentioned countries. Specifically, if German press Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung represented for-refugees stance and Czech media Lidové noviny more anti-refugee attitude.

2 Methodology

At first I defined research question and the method of analysis. Then I defined the sample – printed versions of Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung and Lidové noviny and the studied period was September 2015. I created hypothesis and analyzed all articles that were published in those two newspapers, during this period. The unit of measurement was one article which reported about the migrant crisis both directly or marginally. Then the variables were constructed and they were transferred into coding sheet. After I analyzed all selected articles, data was transferred to statistical program SPSS and analyzed there by use of crosstabs. Finally the conclusion was defined.

2.1 Research question and hypothesis

The main research question of this Master thesis was: does German newspaper Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ) describes the migrant crisis more positively than Czech Lidové noviny (LN)? If so, then how? The purpose was to find out what the differences between these two media are and how they report about crisis. My assumption was that German press will describe both the crisis and refugees more positively, while the Czech one will report about them more negatively. The main hypothesis was:

H1: FAZ reports about migrant crisis and refugees more positively both in the titles of the articles and in the articles as well.

The secondary hypotheses were:

H2: LN more often than FAZ reported about the migrant crisis in connection with policy and more often criticized the way how others try to solve the issue.

H3: LN more often than FAZ described refugees as a threat and the migrant crisis as something that disrupts calm situation in Europe and has negative effects.

H4: FAZ more often showed refugees as people who need help, or directly gave examples how locals helped refugees.

H5: FAZ more often criticized other countries for their unwillingness to help refugees.

H6: LN more often than FAZ reported that Czech Republic/Germany will help refugees only under certain circumstances.

H7: LN more often described refugees as economic migrants, while FAZ more often described them as people who are only trying to escape from war and don't have any other option.

H8: LN more often pictured refugees as people with different culture and different values, while FAZ more often showed them as a people who are similar to us and are able to integrate.

H9: LN more often showed the migration crisis as something that is not Czech problem, while FAZ showed the crisis as a problem on which solution German should participate.

H10: FAZ more often provided photos that could theoretically arouse sympathy, such as photos with children, families which are trying to escape, etc., while LN more often provided us with photos of young men.

H11: If a newspaper provided opinion of third person, it was more often positive towards migration when published in FAZ than LN.

2.2 Method of analysis

2.2.1 Media Content analysis

The media content analysis is a research technique developed by empirical sociology, which ensure objective, systematical and quantitative description of manifested content of communication (Berelson, 1984). Content analysis has descriptive character, however it is not always a mere description of manifested content. By using this method we can detect information that media consumer doesn't normally perceive or realize even though it influences him (Jiráček, 2009).

There are many definitions of the content analysis. I will mention here the one by Kerling who defines this method as systematical and objective method of analysis which is based on respecting of three basic elements: orderliness - a clearly defined procedure; objectivity - not subjective bias; and operationalization - proper classification of variables (Reifová, 2004). The purpose of content analysis is to measure categories according to defined coding scheme and to analyze frequency of occurrence of certain units in a given text (Hendl, 2008).

2.2.2 Quantitative content analysis

The method used in this analysis was the quantitative content analysis. The decision to use this analysis was based on several factors. Firstly, this method provides accurate results, is it not in the least distorted by author's subjectivity. Secondly, it allows higher degree of standardization of the examined elements, and, therefore, is suitable for subsequent comparison of data, which this research requires. Owing to a higher objectivity and standardization of data and also the possibility of statistical results processing, it is more convincing and more accurate than conducting of qualitative content analysis (Trampota, 2010).

Another reason why I chose this type of analysis was because of the effort to achieve the greatest possible reliability of the research. I tried to collect the data precisely to ensure that the results are reliable and so another author would – according to my coding sheet - collect the same or very similar data. I also tried to ensure that my study will be valid. In other words, I tried to define what I determined to examine in advance. Therefore, I created

the variables very precisely. Finally, I focused on achieving reliable processing of large amounts of data, for which quantitative analysis is suitable (Schulz, 2004).

Quantitative content analysis is the most frequently used technique for analyzing media content. This method can be used for an analysis of content with a clear meaning that can be read and coded quantitatively. This method is highly structured, selective process, which is based on method of measuring in social sciences and quantification and examination media content by couple of carefully selected characteristics (Scherer, 2004). This method is mainly oriented on variables, and because of the high level of structuralization this method is very verifiable.

Another advantage of the quantitative content analysis is the possibility to analyze immense amount of text. On the other hand, there are some disadvantages as well. The most important is the fact that researcher concentrates mainly on characteristics (variables) he/she predetermined, and so there is a risk that some important data would be lost during the process of coding.

2.2.3 Other possible methodological approaches

Various frameworks and perspectives for theorizing about media content often sharply differ by research methods. The methods varies from simple to extensive classification of content for organization or descriptive purposes to interpretative deep dives that are used for specific content where we want to reveal subtle and hidden potential meanings (McQuail, 2007) As I stated above I used the method of quantitative content analysis, but it was possible to use two other methods instead: the qualitative content analysis and discourse analysis.

Qualitative content analysis

This analysis doesn't quantify some predetermined categories, but concentrates on deeper structures of the text. Meaning of media content is inferred from text relations, contradictions and contexts. Some attention is also given to latent content, specifically to things that are hidden and can only be withdrawn from the whole context. While doing the qualitative analysis researcher chooses the topic and determines the main research questions. These questions can be modified during the process of the research, during data collection and also during data analysis. In the course of the research not only questions

may appear, but also new hypotheses and new options how to modify the selected research plan and how to continue with data collection and it's analysis (Hendl, 2008)

This method is very useful if in the beginning we don't know where exactly is the research leading (e.g. in case that we can't determine the categories in advance). The data analysis and data collection then simulcasts – the researcher collects the data, analyzes it and according to the results decides which data he/she needs (Hendl, 2005) The main disadvantage of this method is fact, that it's impossible to analyze a big amount of texts. This was one of the main reasons why I decided for the quantitative analysis instead of qualitative. Another reason was that the results can't be standartised and simply analyzed in statistical program. Researches also often stresses that it is highly subjective method. The analysis is strongly connected to its author and another researcher probably wouldn't come to the same results.

Discourse analysis

Another type of analysis which is also frequently used is the discourse analysis. This analysis also isn't based on predetermined categories, but directly on the text, from where it discovers these categories. This method concentrates on meanings that text can have in a given social context (Miessler, 2008). The technique also enables to discover hidden topics and structures of the text. This method would be quite a useful technique for my analysis because of the fact that it is concentrated on dimension of symbolic culture – the need of people to share meanings in society and intersubjectively define the world around them (Vávra, 2008). It is mainly the mass media which to a certain rate co-create this symbolic dimension and shape and the real world. Advocates of this technique stress that every text is always more than a simple form of information and we should analyze it together with its influence on recipient. This technique is often used for media analysis mainly because of the fact that it analyzes the content in its political and social context (Trampota, 2006). On the other hand, the disadvantage of this method is again its subjectivity that is caused by the fact that there is a high interpretation of researcher. Another weak spot of this method is low empirical value, which is caused by subjective concept and researcher's insights on the examined problem. The discourse analysis is partly based on linguistic and regarding the fact that it is in-depth interpretation of the examined text there could be a problem with validity and reliability. I wanted to ensure that my research will be both

reliable and valid. I also needed to analyze a huge amount of data, which could be problematic with qualitative analysis and I wanted to collect statistically processable data.

2.3 Operationalization

The coding unit was one article that reported about migration crisis. The articles were selected according to following key words that were related to topic of migration.

In the Czech daily press it was:

Migrant **uprchlík** **uprchlická krize** **migrační krize** **Blízký Východ** **muslim**
Islám **terorismus** **azyl** **žadatel o azyl** **utečenec** **imigrant** **přistěhovalec**
azylant **syrští křesťané** **islamofobie** **uprchlický tábor** **xenofobie** **kvóty**
Sýrie **Írák** **Afrika** **Arabové** **Afgánistán** **Turecko** **Německo** **útoky**
rasismus

In the German daily newspaper it was these words:

Migrant **Flüchtling** **Flüchtlingskrise** **Migrationskrise** **Nahen Osten** **Muslim**
Islam **Terrorismus** **Asyl** **Asylbewerber** **Asylsuchende** **Einwanderer**
Immigranten **Syriacs** **Christen** **Islamophobie** **Flüchtlingscamp**
Flüchtlingslager **Fremdenfeindlichkeit** **Kontingent** **Syrien** **Irak** **Afrika**
Arabern **Afghanistan** **Türkei** **Attacken** **Angriffe** **Rassismus**

2.4 Examined period

The studied period was September 2015. For the issue of European migration crisis it was an important month for a number of reasons. Firstly during this month the EU summit aimed at agreeing on common European approach to the crisis (23 September), secondly it was a time when Germany introduced temporary border controls (13 September). It was also a month when ‘Hotspot approach’ involves the establishment of EU-run reception centres in frontline member states like Italy and Greece to identify and fingerprint migrants and refugees – September. The meeting of the Visegrad Group also took place in September 4th. Also for millions of people across Europe the refugee crisis became “real”

when the image of three-year-old Aylan kurdi, a drowned Syrian child found on a Turkish beach, went viral world-wide at the beginning of September 2015. All those events caused an expansion of published articles in all European newspapers.

2.5 Analysis and Variables

All articles on the topic of the migrant crisis that were published in Franfurter Allgemeine Zeitung and Lidové noviny were subjected to the analysis. In total 701 articles were examined – of which 352 were published in Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung and 349 in Lidové noviny. About 70 variables were used for the research starting from the basic descriptive variables such as the title of the article, length of the article, placement in newspaper, date, author, etc. coming to variables that reflect how newspaper reported about migration crisis and refugees. I tried to construct the simplest possible variables to achieve the greatest possible objectivity of the collected data. Therefore, most of the variables had only two values (Yes/No). Some of the variables were added to analysis continuously, which means that they weren't measured on every article, but the amount of coded articles was always representative enough (always over 200 articles from each newspaper). Both daily presses were analyzed by identical variables. Everything was recorded in coding sheet in Excel. To data analysis the statistical software SPSS was used.

2.5.1 Variables and Coding

The first variables were descriptive – the type of the newspaper (LN was coded as 1, FAZ as 2), date (in format ddmm), week (from 1 to 4), the title of article (the literal title), article size (less than 150 words – coded as 1, 151-399 words – coded as 2, more than 400 – coded as 3), article location (title-page -1, the first half of newspaper -2, the second half -3), the type of article (news -1, comments -2, interviews -3) and in case it was the comment or the interview who was the author of it. The last descriptive variable was the profession of author of the article, because often it wasn't written by journalist but by some other professional like political scientist, psychologist, etc.

The second part of variables was focusing on simple tone of the article or headline – the tone of the headline towards refugees (positive -1, negative -2, neutral -3) and the tone of the article towards refugees (positive -1, negative -2, neutral -3). The example of positive headlines can be: „We don't know anything about their (refugee's) hardship“ (in

Lidové noviny 2.9.2015) or „‘Strong men? I saw many children and elders sleeping on the cartons‘ recounts Czech the situation about refugees“, the neutral headlines were for example: „Germans show refugees double face“ (in Lidové noviny 5.9.2015) or „There will be extraordinary EU summit about migration” and negative headlines: „Uncertainty near the border with Austria” (in Lidové noviny 15.9.2015) or „Tension in overcrowded refugee hostels in Germany: Refugees are creating weapons from furniture”. When it comes to the articles, these that were coded as positive were for example reporting about how Europe can help refugees, those reporting about refugees trying to integrate into new country, locals helping refugees, etc. Neutral were those objectively speaking about statistics about migrant crisis or any other articles that were reporting about facts and topic objectively. The negative articles were those showing how refugees cause problems in Europe, traffic complications, economic threat, or any other potential or factual problems.

The other variable was describing the article’s attitude towards migrant crisis. If the article sounded like „situation must be somehow solved by us (in case of German newspaper „us“ means Germany, in case of Czech newspaper Czech Republic), then it was coded as 1, in case that it sounded like „situation must be solved generally“, code was 2, it could also sound like: „the issue does not concern us“ (coded as 3), „the migrant crises threatens us“ (4), „we are solving the problem because we must“ (6) or none of the listed (7).

Then I created variables that belonged to some of six created groups that represented different view on refugees and migrant crisis.

The first group was representing variables that captured the articles that described **refugees as people who are nice**. Variables were graduated and each represented different view of positivity. These variables were: „The article is mentioning some positive aspects of migration (Yes (is mentioning) -1, No (isn’t mentioning anything like this) -2), The article is showing refugees as people who can easily integrate (Yes, it shows them like this -1, No -2), The refugees don’t have anything in common with terrorists (Yes (it is mentioning that they don’t have) -1, No (it isn’t mentioning it) -2), The refugees are people alike us (Yes – 1, No -2), Refugees are benefit for us (Yes – 1, No – 2). In case that article didn’t mention that they are benefit it was coded like 2 doesn’t matter if it wasn’t mentioned anything regarding it or if it mentioned opposite – for example „they are burden“, both were coded as 2.

Second group of variables focused on **help towards refugees** and on **circumstances that must be fulfilled in case if we help**. Variables were: does the article mention that... „...Refugees are people who need a help“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „...The help to migrants is matter of course“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „...Our country must help refugees“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „We must help refugees but mainly in their countries“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), “We should help refugees who are fleeing from war, but not economic migrants” (Yes – 1, No – 2), „We must help only Christian refugees“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „We will help in case if clear rules will be introduced and it doesn’t endanger us“ (Yes – 1, No – 2) or „Our country will help but only financially and somewhere else“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), “We don’t have a reason to help refugees” (Yes – 1, No – 2), “Refugees don’t need a help” (Yes – 1, No – 2) and “Article doesn’t concentrate on help toward refugees but on protection of the state against them” (Yes – 1, No – 2). These variables also graduated according to the amount of help, country is willing to provide. Then there was one more variable: „Does article describes how people help refugees?“ (Yes – 1, No – 2).

The third group of variables focused on variables showing that **refugees can’t stay** in their countries and the way of strength the newspapers used to describe the situation: „Did article mentioned that there is a war in the country of origin of refugees?“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „Did article mention that refugees are fleeing from war?“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „Did article mention that refugees don’t have any other option?“ (Yes – 1, No – 2).

The fourth group of variables focused on image of refugees as someone **who brings problems** to Europe and could be a threat. It was variables: „Did article mention any negative impact of migration?“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „Article mentioned that refugees could bring some illnesses to Europe “ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „Refugees cause complications in Europe (e.g. traffic, political, ...)“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „Refugees can be somehow dangerous (for individuals or country/ies)“ (Yes -1, No – 2), „Refugees could harm us economically“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „The article is more focused on state protection against refugees than on help toward them“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „Article mentions that refugees are ungrateful“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „Article mentions that refugees are mostly economic migrants“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „Article mentions that refugees are people with a different values and culture“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „Article mentions that refugees have something in common with terrorists“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „Article mentions that refugees aren’t able to integrate into our society“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), “Article mentions that refugees only want to relocate to Germany” (Yes

– 1, No – 2), „Article mentions that refugees will change our society/country“ (Yes – 1, No – 2).

The fifth group of variables was about **criticizing other countries or policy**. These variables belong there: „In the article there is a criticism of others who don't help enough“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „If yes who is the one the article criticize“ (open variable), „The article is about fact that other countries criticize us“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „If so why they criticize us?“ (open variable), „Does the author agree with the criticism?“ (Yes – 1, No – 2, Neither – 3), „The article criticise the others who force us to help“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „If so, who is criticized?“ (open variable), „In the article there is criticism of Germany for deciding for other countries“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „In the article there is a criticism of Germany for not coping well with the crisis“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „The article mentions that migration crisis is crisis of European policy“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „In the article there is criticism of the way how politics solve the crisis“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „The article reports how countries can't solve the crisis“ (Yes – 1, No – 2), „If so who can't solve it“ (open variable) and the last political variable was: „Refugees only want to relocate to Germany“ (Yes – 1, No – 2).

The sixth and the last group of variables concentrated on the opinions that were mentioned in the articles. I coded all the opinions mentioned in every examined article by writing down who is the author, if he/she is for or against refugees (or neutral) and then I coded if the tone of the article is for or against the person quoted.

As for photos I coded the size of the photo (very big = one see it immediately after having look at the page – 1, middle size – 2, small = one almost doesn't notice it – 3) and the content of it (open variable).

2.6 Data resources

The analysis was focused on two daily newspapers. One was Czech press Lidové noviny, which represented East-European press and the second one was German Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, which represented West-European medium. They are both political and economic newspapers with a good reputation of quality press and they belong to one of the most popular daily newspapers in their countries. The printed versions of them were analyzed. I also considered analyzing some other newspapers (Süddeutsche Zeitung, Mladá Fronta, Blesk and Bild) to make a comparison between them and to have a

better sample of German and Czech newspapers, but finally I decided to analyse only these two, mainly because of impossibility to obtain the copies of these newspapers for free. My second alternative was to compare two selected newspapers within two months - September 2015 and January 2016, because I wanted to capture the possible change that could supervene mainly after New Year's Eve attacks in German city Cologne. This idea wasn't realized after a constructive consideration and consultation with my supervisor.

2.6.1 Czech newspapers and Lidové noviny

Czech media are relatively strongly concentrated on capital city, Prague. The most read newspaper is tabloid Blesk (1.03 million readers per copy), followed by Mladá Fronta Dnes (631 thousand readers per copy) that is labeled as a daily press of a middle class with center-right political orientation. This newspaper isn't very serious and offers quite impartial articles and many attachments. The third most popular daily newspaper in Czech Republic is left-leaning Právo (284 thousand readers per copy) and the fourth is Lidové noviny (205 thousand readers per copy) (mediaguru.cz, 2016).

Lidové noviny was founded in 1893 and it is historically first Czech daily newspaper, it is related to First Czech Republic and some of the most famous journalists who espoused to ideals of humanism such as Tomas G. Masaryk, Ferdinand Peroutka and Karel Capek published in it (Bednařík, Jirák, Köpplová, 2011). In the period of communism it was samizdat medium. Lidové noviny defines itself as „daily press of educated Czechs“. The typical reader of them has a higher education, belongs to higher socio-economic groups, lives in a big city and has a higher salary than average (mafra.cz, 2016).

2.6.2 German media and Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung

Germany is compared to Czech Republic strongly decentralized and this decentralized structure is also visible in the case of its media system. A regional structure of daily newspapers is typical for the German-speaking decentralized federal (resp. cantonal) arrangement. It doesn't focus only on German market, but also on the other German speaking countries such as Austria and Switzerland, and it follows historical tradition of regional daily press. There is no syndrome of capital city, which we can see in case of Prague, where the capital city is in the center of attention. Conversely, although

many newspapers are based in Berlin, Press Agency (Deutsche Presse-Agentur) has its center in Hamburg and public television is based in Munich and Cologne (Mazzoleni, 2004). German market is also typical for a high amount of newspapers which targets on migrants. Some of them are printed and edited in Germany, the most famous is Hürriyet. There are also two other Turkish daily newspapers, press for Greek, Spanish and Balkan migrants (Mazzoleni, 2004).

Germany is a traditional "printing country" with many influential newspapers and high concentration of ownership (Bertelsmann, based in Gütersloh). For German newspapers is characteristic a large number and variety of titles, the strong position of local periodicals often in a monopoly position and only a few purely nationwide periodicals and a large number of magazines. In total there are 335 local and regional daily newspapers and 10 national daily newspapers (Mazzoleni, 2004).

The main German press which is famous also abroad and is highly quoted is Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. FAZ is a prominent and the second most read daily press in Germany. It is a liberal newspaper printed by independent foundation Fazit-Stiftung which is based in Frankfurt am Main. FAZ was founded a few years after the Second World War, in 1949 (Stöber, 2005). Its liberal/conservative attitude remains its main characteristic until today. FAZ has a very unique position of editor in chief supplied by five publishers who have the competence of chief editor and decide on the run of the newspaper collectively. Another typical trait of this newspaper is its broad network of international correspondents who include the highest experts, intellectuals and elites of artists (Stöber, 2005). FAZ is considered as one of the most influential medium which creates public opinion and actively raises cultural and political discussions. Articles in FAZ often influence public opinions and agenda settings. FAZ has always had rather conservative look and until 2007 photos appeared there only rarely. On the 5th of October 2007 first modern version with colorful photos was printed (Presseeurop.eu, 2012). From 2002 there is also English version of the newspaper called International Herald Tribune (Stöber, 2005). FAZ defines its reader as well situated and financially independent person (who in average earns 3955 EUR – German average is 2745 EUR). He is also sociable, spends time with family and friends, often practises sport. Many of its readers live in shared flats and the typical reader is usually optimistically minded.

2.7 Ethics

According to British sociologists every research that deals with people can cause ethical dilemmas (Giddens, 1999). Situation in my case was a bit easier because of the fact that I analyzed media content instead of human beings, but it doesn't mean that I didn't need to follow the ethical codex. According to American sociological association all sociologists should follow these ethical rules:

1. Maintain scientific objectivity of the research
2. Do not overestimate their abilities and competencies
3. Respect the rights of surveyed people on privacy and dignity
4. Protect the examined against personal damage
5. Guarantee the confidential treatment of research data
6. To ensure undistorted presentation of research results
7. Do not misappropriate role of the researcher to other (non-professional) purposes
8. Thank all their colleagues (Jeřábek, 1992)

In this master thesis I followed all of the rules above. At first I tried to make as much objective research as possible. On the other hand, despite the effort to choose the most objective method of data processing, I am aware of the fact that no research can be done without subjectivity on researcher's part. The chosen topic is already somehow subjective and says something about the interest of researcher or about his experience. Also the selected hypothesis and the exact heading of the research is somehow biased according to interest of the author. Despite this initial influence I tried to process research as thoroughly as possible. A big amount of data was used, I tried not to exclude from analysis anything what would in theory influence the results. Therefore I also included the photographs.

I also tried to do not overestimate my abilities by using the research method I am familiar with and statistical program for data analysis I know well. I chose the topic which is focused on media analysis as I have an experience in this field because of studying both media studies and sociology, and therefore I know how to analyze in this environment. According to American sociological association a sociologist should always „strive to maintain the highest levels of competence in their work; recognize the limitations of their expertise; and undertake only those tasks for which they are qualified by education, training, or experience.“ (asanet.org, 2008).

When it comes to the third point - as I didn't analyzed people but media, I worked with the material (newspapers) according to rights of databases that provided me with it. I made a copy of both press and used it only for purposes of this analysis. I didn't give the material to anybody else and didn't have any financial benefit from it.

I analyzed the data carefully not to cause any damages to any of the analyzed media. Both media were analyzed by using of the same coding sheet and data were collected objectively. Therefore I used the quantitative content analysis which should ensure the highest possible objectivity of the results.

I also tried to guarantee the confidential treatment of research data by again – no distribution and using them only for the personal purposes. I used the data which were legally available at a library of University of Economics in Prague.

I presented all the results. I didn't hide any data and gave an undistorted results. According to the association it is very important that „sociologists do not fabricate data or falsify results in their publications or presentations and in presenting their work, sociologists report their findings fully and do not omit relevant data. They report results whether they support or contradict the expected outcomes.“ (asanet.org, 2008). I was aware of this and followed this rule.

I didn't misuse role of the researcher into non-professional purposes.

And in the end of my study I thanked everybody who helped me with the analysis.

The American sociological association mentions one more ethical standard which is important especially for my study and it is “non-discrimination”. According to the association sociologists can't engage in any kind of discrimination in their work. They can't discriminate by „age; gender; race; ethnicity; national origin; religion; sexual orientation; disability; health conditions; marital, domestic, or parental status; or any other applicable basis proscribed by law.“ (asanet.org, 2008). I fully respected this rule when I wrote about refugees and was aware of the sensitivity of the topic I analyzed.

The last very important rule is not to copy work of someone else. Therefore I provided acknowledgment and reference when I used others' work and didn't present it as my own.

2.8 Limitation of study

Although the endeavor to choose the best possible method of analysis and to process the data as objectively as possible, I am aware of fact that no research is totally uninfluenced by research subjectivity. Already the chosen topic shows something about interests of researcher and his/her identity. Experience of researcher in the field of sociology also affects the study and its heading. Also the chosen hypotheses are subject of researcher. Knowing this, I compiled the research with the utmost care, used a large amount of data and variables and I have not excluded anything that might be important in shaping the media image of refugees in examined newspapers. I tried to make the research as reliable as possible.

However the results can't be generalised on all German and Czech media, because only one sample of newspapers from each country was examined. Different results would be found if researcher would examine another daily press or in case that different methodology would be used. To sum it up the study shows how Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung and Lidové noviny wrote about refugees and migrant crisis in September 2015.

3 Results and Analysis

The aim of the study was to verify the main hypothesis if the newspaper Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung describes migrant crisis more positively than Czech Lidové noviny. Other purpose was to reveal what are the main differences between these two newspapers in reporting about the crisis and the refugees. Which information they show and how they report about the issue. There were some general variables such as: "How was the tone of headline toward refugees" and "How was the tone of article toward refugees". Then there were others, more specific variables which analyzed topics that articles provided in the issue of refugees. The variables were divided in few groups. Each of the groups focused on different aspects of reporting about the refugees and the crisis. Some of the groups represented positive attitude towards refugees, some represented negative one. The first group was focused on information that showed refugees as a nice people. This group of variables revealed information that were describing refugees as people who are easy to integrate, same people like the locals etc. Second group focused on image of refugees as a people in need and revealed data about help towards refugees. In this group there were a

variables that graduated according the amount of help – from unconditional help over help in a certain situations, to opinions that refugees don't deserve any help. Third group contained variables that were focusing on data saying that refugees don't have any other option than to flee because of war in their country of origin. Fourth group described situations where refugees were showed negatively. It could be information that they are a threat, people who are not able to integrate, people with a different culture, etc. The group focused on any information that could arise in readers fear or distrust towards refugees. It also focused on any other form of negative image of refugees. Fifth group described politically written articles and criticism toward other political units and migrant policy. It contained variables which explored if there is a critique in the newspapers towards those who don't help refugees, those who dictate others how to help, etc. Other group of variables focused on opinions on migrant crisis, represented in newspapers. I coded if the opinion was positive, negative or neutral and if the author of the article agree or not with the criticism. The last group of variables focused on photos. Specifically what is the size of the photo and its content. All articles I analyzed were coded by all variables, so even the articles that weren't conclusively positive or negative, were captured.

The content analysis was made on 701 articles, specifically it was 352 articles in Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung and 349 in Lidové noviny.

3.1 Tone of the headline and the article as such

On the table below we can see that the tone of the headline towards refugees was twice more often positive in Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung than in Lidové noviny. On the other hand it doesn't mean that Lidové noviny would provide negative headlines. Only 11% of them were negative. Examples of those headlines are: "Thank you, don't come here." or "What about the cancellation of Schengen because of refugees?". Negative headlines were in Lidové noviny only a little bit more often than in FAZ (by 2%). Both newspapers usually published neutral headlines (80% in case of Lidové noviny and 74% in FAZ). The headlines usually sounded like: "Refugees? Serbia is a key player", "Quotes? Why not but how to redistribute them?"

headline towards refugees				
	positive	negative	neutral	in total
LN	9%	11%	80%	100%
FAZ	17%	9%	74%	100%

Table 1 – Headline towards refugees

The tone of the articles towards refugees was also in the most cases neutral. Only 21% of articles that were published in Lidové noviny in September 2015 were negative towards refugees. In FAZ it was 2,5x less, specifically only 8%. Positive image of refugees was more often in FAZ than in Lidové noviny. In FAZ there were 32% of articles that were positive towards refugees and in Lidové noviny it was 26%. So again, the Lidové noviny reported about refugees more often negatively, FAZ more often positively, but the most of the articles in both newspapers were neutral. Positive articles were these that described refugees as people in need of help, or that were focusing on how to solve their situation and to help them. Neutral articles for example only commented the situation without any evaluation and an example of the negative ones could be report about how the country will be threatened after the arrival of the refugees.

how article shows refugees			
	positively	negatively	neutrally
LN	26%	21%	53%
FAZ	32%	8%	59%

Table 2 – How article shows refugees

More specific data illustrates the table below. The table shows variable “How article reports about migrant crisis”. Values of this variable were: “Migrant crisis should be solved by us and also others”, “Migrant crisis should be solved by someone else or somewhere else”, “Migrant crisis threatens us”, “We care about migrant crisis only because we must” and “None of these”. Here we can again see a German initiative to actively solve the crisis. Twice as many articles saying that crisis should be solved by us were published in FAZ than in Lidové noviny (64,4%). The German daily press published more often information that German labour market is preparing for new refugees or how to include the refugees in the working process. These news reflect the German effort to actively face the refugees crisis and help the refugees to solve their situation. More than

half of the articles that were published in FAZ reported about the crisis like about an issue that must be solved by some units including Germany. On the other hand in Lidové noviny only 30% of all articles reported about crisis in this spirit. Neither Czech nor German newspaper showed the crisis as something that is not our concern, but Lidové noviny twice as often reported about the issue as something which threatens us (in 18% of articles in comparison to 8% in German daily press). Above that Lidové noviny four times more often reported about the crisis as about issue that must be solved by someone else than us (4% of articles). In other words they more often delegated the responsibility to someone else. Twice as often there were also published articles that said that we only care about the crisis because we must as circumstances forced us (e.g. articles about how refugees illegally arrived to Czech Republic and we must place them into refugee facility, said without any sympathy). In FAZ these kinds of articles were published only in 5%.

journal * how article shows migrant crisis						
	must be solved - both by us and others	must be solved by someone else	it is not our bussiness	it threatens us	the country solves it because it must	neither of those
LN	30%	5%	1%	18%	10%	37%
FAZ	64%	1%	0%	8%	5%	21%

Table 3 – How article shows migrants crisis

3.2 Positive description of refugees

In this group there were variables that revealed positive information about refugees. The variables were: “Refugees can be beneficial for us“, „Refugees are people alike us“, „Refugees are able to integrate“, „Refugees don’t have anything in common with extremists“ and one more variable that described if „In the article a positive impact of refugees on situation in the country/world in general is mentioned“. I expected that refugees will be more often described positively in the case of Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. The results were following:

positive impact of migration on situation in country			
	mentions	doesn't m.	Total
LN	5%	95%	100%
FAZ	7%	93%	100%

Table 4 – Positive impact of migration on situation in country

Some kind of positive impact of migration on receiving country was mentioned in 5 out of 100 articles in case of Lidové noviny and in 7 out of 100 in case of FAZ. Although it was more often mentioned in case of German newspaper, it was generally mentioned rarely in both of them. Both newspapers usually didn't say anything regarding any positive impact of migration on the country.

Similar trend is visible when it comes to second variable, specifically if refugees are beneficial for us. It was mentioned in 4 out of 100 Czech articles and twice more, but only in 8 out of 100 German articles. Usually it wasn't mentioned at all.

refugees are beneficial for us			
	mentions	doesn't m.	total
LN	4%	96%	100%
FAZ	8%	92%	100%

Table 5 – Refugees are beneficial for us

Another variable was „Refugees are same people like us. This kind of information could arouse positive emotions toward refugees and eliminate fear of something unknown. I expected that this information will be more often reported in FAZ. Reality was that it was mentioned in FAZ almost as often as in Lidové noviny (even fractionally less), specifically in 8 cases out of 100.

refugees are people alike us			
	mentions	doesn't m.	total
LN	9%	91%	100%
FAZ	8%	92%	100%

Table 6 – Refugees are people alike us

In other words both newspapers mentioned that refugees are people like us in less than every tenth article.

Another variable was commenting the fact if it is possible for refugees to integrate to receiving country. Again I expected in FAZ it will be more often mentioned that refugees are able to integrate then in Czech LN. The data shows that this presumption was correct. The German newspaper showed refugees as people who can integrate almost twice as often as LN. Almost every fifth article mentioned something about a possible integration of refugees. These kinds of articles for example informed about situation when refugees are studying local language in schools or how they are working. In Lidové noviny it was only every tenth article that informed about possible integration of refugees.

refugees are able to integrate			
	mentions	doesn't m.	total
LN	11%	89%	100%
FAZ	19%	81%	100%

Table 7 – Refugees are able to integrate

Last variable of this group was „Article mentions that refugees don't have anything in common with extremists“ – these kinds of articles could again potentially evoke a feeling that refugees are not dangerous and point out the fact that extremist Muslims and Muslims are two different groups. This was mentioned in every tenth article in case of FAZ and in every twentieth in case of Lidové noviny. Again, usually this information wasn't mentioned in none of newspapers.

they dont have anything in common with extremists			
	mentions	doesn't m.	total
LN	5%	95%	100%
FAZ	8%	92%	100%

Table 8 – Refugees don't have anything in common with extremists

So far we can see that both media were quite objective and didn't provide positive discrimination in their articles. The articles in FAZ were slightly more often positive then in Lidové noviny, but the difference wasn't striking.

3.3 Help towards refugees

The second group of variables were focused on help towards refugees. Expectation was that in the German newspaper articles about unconditional help towards refugees will be published more often than in the Czech newspaper. I expected that in Lidové noviny

there will be more often articles that will inform that we will help only under certain circumstances. The variables graduated from „Article mentions that to help refugees is a matter of course“ over „We must help refugees in case that...“ to „There is no reason why we should help refugees“. I expected that willingness to help will be higher in case of Germany and help under certain circumstances will appear more often in the Czech newspaper. The table below illustrates the data:

<i>Does the article mentions that ...</i>	LN	FAZ
our country must help	13%	34%
to help refugees is a matter of course	29%	53%
refugees are people who need help	34%	65%
we should help to refugees who are feeing from war, not economical migrants	10%	9%
we will help only if clear rules will be introduced	10%	7%
we must help refugees mainly in their country of origin	4%	4%
we must help refugees if they are Christians	0%	0%
our country will help only financialy and somewhere else	2%	0%
there is no reason why we should help refugees	7%	5%
refugees don't need our help	2%	2%

Table 9 – Article mentions that ...

We can see that statements like “our country must help”, “to help refugees is a matter of course” and “refugees are people who need our help” were almost two times more often visible in the German daily press FAZ than in Lidové noviny. More than every second article in FAZ reported that it’s the matter of course to help refugees, two out of three reported that refugees need help and every third article contained claim that our country must help. In case of Lidové noviny less than every eight article that claimed that our country must help, and every third who claimed either that it’s matter of course to help and that refugees need help. We can see that German newspaper wrote more positively about refugees when it comes to help toward them. Other variables described information that we will help under certain circumstances. I expected that it will happen more often in case of Czech daily press that the article will contain claim that we will help only under certain circumstances then in case of the German newspaper. Results were that it didn’t appear in

none of two journals. To be precise there was a slight difference and Lidové noviny contained claims that we will help only under certain circumstances a bit more often, but it was very rare. Only 2 out of 100 articles mentioned that our country will only help financially and somewhere else (while there was no article like this in FAZ) and every tenth mentioned that we will help only if clear rules will be introduced (7% in FAZ), but everything else was equal as we can see on the table above. None of the newspapers ever mentioned that we will only help refugees that are Christians, only every fourth article out of 100 in both newspapers mentioned that we should mainly help in the country of their origin and only 2 out of 100 articles in both Lidové noviny and FAZ informed about the refugees as someone who don't need a help. On the other hand 7% of articles in Lidové noviny and 5% in FAZ contained opinion that there is no reason why WE should help refugees.

There was one more variable and it captured articles that shows local or any other people who are helping refugees. Such articles could possibly motivate other people to a positive action towards refugees. It was case of 14% of articles in FAZ and twice less in Lidové noviny. It was probably also because of the fact that there are almost no refugees in Czech Republic, so there is not that many opportunities to help them as in Germany.

article shows how other people help refugees			
	mentions	doesn't m.	total
LN	8%	92%	100%
FAZ	14%	86%	100%

Table 10 – Article shows how other people help refugees

To sum this group of variables up we can say that there was almost no discrimination or negative articles that would claim that people shouldn't help refugees. As for the articles that claimed that we should help refugees and that they need a help there were more often published in German newspaper.

3.4 Refugees don't have any other option then to flee

The third group of variables captured information that refugees must flee because there is a war in their country. It contained three variables: "They don't have any other option then to flee", "There is war in the country of origin of refugees" and "Refugees are

fleeing from war". Again, I expected that the German press will be more often emphasizing this than the Czech daily mail. Results confirmed it. Almost every fifth article in FAZ contained information that refugees don't have any other option than to leave their country of origin, while twice less articles in Lidové noviny mentioned the same. The aim was to find out if the German press images refugees as helpless more often than the Czech one and it arouse more positive attitude of reader towards refugees by this information.

they don't have another option than to flee			
	mentions	doesn't m.	total
LN	8%	92%	100%
FAZ	17%	83%	100%

Table 11 – Refugees don't have another option than to flee

The fact that there is a war in the country of origin of refugees mentioned 35% of German articles and 30% of Czech ones. Almost the same amount of them, but a bit less, mentioned that refugees are fleeing from war. The fact that this information appeared in newspapers a bit less often can be explained by argument that this claim is a bit stronger and already mean that refugees couldn't stay in the country and need help.

there is war in the country of origin of refugees			
	mentions	doesn't m.	total
LN	30%	70%	100%
FAZ	35%	65%	100%

refugees are fleeing from war			
	mentions	doesn't m.	total
LN	25%	75%	100%
FAZ	32%	68%	100%

Table 12 and 13 – There is war in the country of origin of refugees. Refugees are fleeing from war

3.5 Negative image of refugees and the migrant crisis

This group of variables captured information that were negative towards refugees and migrant crisis. At the table below we can see that some negative toward refugees were more often published in Czech daily mail Lidové noviny. Specifically information that accepting refugees could have some negative effect on country were published quite often in both newspapers. Almost every third article in Lidové noviny was in this tone and every fifth in Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. The statement that refugees cause complications in Europe was again published quite often. Every fourth article in Lidové noviny sounded

like this and in FAZ it was 15%. This kind of articles reported mainly about a traffic jams that are on some of the European highways, the fuss around Euro-tunnel, chaos on train station in Budapest, etc. Another statement was that refugees could be dangerous for us. Here we can see a major difference between two analyzed newspapers. Only 8% of the German press were in tone that refugees could be dangerous, meanwhile every fourth article in the Czech press was written in this spirit. As for the variable “article mentions that refugees can cause an economic troubles to us, we can see that trend was opposite. Almost twice as many articles in this spirit published FAZ than Lidové noviny. The reason is probably the fact that Germany is taking care about the biggest number of refugees in whole Europe, which is financially challenging. As far variable “Article focus on protection against refugees rather than on help towards them” this was again more often case of the Czech daily press. Almost each fifth article focused mainly on protection and not on help. In case of German newspaper it was only 7%, so around twice or three times less. Lidové noviny also more often mentioned that refugees only want to go to Germany, than the German FAZ (12% and 8%). Then there were three other variables that didn’t show refugees positively: “refugees don’t appreciate our help”, “refugees can bring illnesses” and “refugees are only economic migrants”, but neither FAZ neither Lidové noviny showed refugees in this light. As for variable “refugees will change our country” then it was FAZ who reported these information more often. Specifically 16% of articles published in FAZ reported that refugees will change our country and only 6% of articles in Lidové noviny. The interpretation can be that there is almost no refugee in Czech Republic and probably won’t even be many of them in future.

Article mentions ...	LN	FAZ
negative impact of migration on situation in country	31%	21%
refugees cause complications in Europe	26%	15%
refugees can be dangerous	26%	8%
they can cause economical troubles to us	9%	16%
article focus rather on protection against refugees then help toward them	19%	7%
refugees dont appreciate our help	1%	0%

refugees can bring illnesses	2%	0%
refugees are only economic migrants	3%	1%
refugees want to go only to germany	12%	8%
refugees will change our country	6%	13%

Table 14 – Article mentions ...

The other group that reported negatively about the migrant crisis contained three more variables that focused on statements that refugees are different than receiving society. These variables revealed information, that refugees have different culture, that they aren't able to integrate, and that they could have something in common with terrorist.

None of these statements weren't published in neither Czech nor German press very often. The most often it was the statement that they have different culture (8% in Lidové noviny and 5% in FAZ). The rest of them were only around 2% in both newspapers. So neither the statement that "they aren't able to integrate" nor the one that "they have something in common with refugees", were published more than in around two articles out of one hundred.

<i>Article mentions ...</i>	LN	FAZ
refugees have different culture	8%	5%
they aren't able to integrate	2%	3%
refugees have something in common with terrorist	3%	1%

Table 15 – Article mentions ...

3.6 Politics and policy about migrant crisis and it criticism

The fifth group was orientated on politics and criticism. My hypothesis was that Czech newspaper will more often publish articles that criticise others and their policy rather than on how to help. On the first table below we can see that Lidové noviny were more often critical towards policy of EU, Germany and politicians in general.

	LN	FAZ
in article there is a critique of Germany for not coping well with the migration crisis	12%	8%
article criticise Germany that they decide for others	10%	6%
article criticize that politicians can't handle the crisis	28%	14%
migration crisis shows crisis of European Union	19%	7%

Table 16 – Article mentions ...

Almost every tenth article in Lidové noviny criticised Germany for not coping well with the migrants crisis and also criticised Germany that it decides for others and dictates us how to behave to refugees. The German press FAZ was also critical towards German policy. 8% of articles in FAZ were criticizing German refugee policy and 6% of them criticise how Germany try to dictate to other countries how to behave to refugees. The two other variables focused on politicians in general and on policy of European Union. In this case Lidové noviny were significantly more critical. Twice as many articles saying something critical towards politicians and their steps in issue of refugee crisis were published in Lidové noviny. Specifically 28% of all articles published in September 2015 and had something to do with the migrant crisis were criticising politics. In FAZ it was 14%. As for criticism toward EU, almost every fifth article published in Lidové noviny was critical towards it, meanwhile in FAZ it was only 7% of them.

The other variable focused on information that countries in general can't handle the crisis.

countries in general don't handle the crisis			
	yes	no	total
LN	27%	73%	100%
FAZ	19%	81%	100%

Table 17 – Countries in general don't handle the crisis

27% of articles in Lidové noviny and 19% in FAZ mentioned this. Specifically the Czech press blamed mainly all European countries in general (every second critical article), then it blamed Germany (in 34% of critical articles), and then also Hungary, Croatia (both in 8%) and Turkey (2%). In case that German newspaper criticised someone

than it was usually itself (45%) and also all European countries in general (37%), it also criticised Hungary (12%) and Croatia (6%).

which countries it criticises specifically						
	Hungary	Germany	all European	Turkey	Croatia	total
LN	8%	34%	48%	2%	8%	100%
FAZ	12%	45%	37%	0%	6%	100%

Table 18 – Which countries don't handle the crisis

Sometimes also criticism of countries which don't help enough appeared. It was mainly case of the German press. As the table below reports, 22% of articles in FAZ criticised other countries that they don't help enough and only 7% of articles in Lidové noviny.

Article criticize others that they don't help enough			
	yes	no	total
LN	7%	93%	100%
FAZ	22%	78%	100%

Table 19 – Article criticizes others that they don't help enough

In case that they criticised them for this it was mainly these countries:

who does it criticises?		
	LN	FAZ
Eastern Europe	0%	5%
Visegrad countries	15%	26%
Czech Republic	19%	0%
Hungary	12%	23%
Bulgary	0%	2%
Canada	0%	2%
GB	0%	11%
France	0%	9%
everyone who doesn't help	12%	9%
EU	23%	9%

bishops and cardinals	12%	0%
all developed countries	8%	0%
refugees in country of origin	0%	2%
countries of Persian Gulf	0%	2%
Eastern Germany	0%	2%

Table 20 – Who does it criticise?

Lidové noviny criticised mainly European Union and them itself – Czech Republic (19%), Visegrád Four countries (15%). Hungary (12%), everyone who doesn't help (12%), bishops and cardinals (12%) and all developed countries (8%). FAZ criticised mainly Visegrád Four countries (26%), Hungary (23%), Great Britain (11%), France (9%), everyone who doesn't help (9%) and EU (9%). As we can see the direction of criticism partly differed in both newspapers.

Some of the articles also criticised others that they force us to help. This was mainly case of the Czech press, because in FAZ these articles appeared only in 2%. In Lidové noviny it was 15%.

article criticize others that they force us to help			
	yes	no	total
LN	15%	84%	100%
FAZ	2%	98%	100%

Table 21 – Article criticize others that they force us to help

If they criticised someone who force us to help then it was mainly EU for the mandatory quotas and then also Germany. In those few cases when Germany criticised someone who force it to help it was only criticism of itself. In other words these couple of articles criticised Germany that it force Germany to help.

who force us to help					
	West Europe	Germany	Germany and France	EU - quotas	total
LN	2%	33%	2%	62%	100%
FAZ	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%

Table 22 – Who force us to help?

Other variable focused on articles that showed how other criticise us. It was again mainly case of Lidové noviny, because every fifth article mentioned that someone else criticises us. In FAZ it happened only in every twentieth article.

article shows how others criticise us			
	yes	no	total
LN	19%	81%	100%
FAZ	5%	95%	100%

Table 23 – Article shows how others criticise us

If this happened then the reason why others criticised us was mainly because of quotas and the fact that we don't want to accept them in case of Lidové noviny. If the critique of this kind appeared in FAZ then it was for pro-migrant policy of Germany and Angela Merkel.

they criticise us for						
	refugee marking	quotas	we don't help enough	for attitude of Angela Merkel	we decide for others	total
LN	2%	96%	2%	0%	0%	100%
FAZ	0%	8%	0%	77%	15%	100%

Table 24 – They criticise us for ...

The last variable described if the article agree with the criticism. Lidové noviny usually didn't agree with the critics toward Czech Republic and refused it and Germany more often agreed.

does author agree with criticism?				
	yes	no	neither	total
LN	21%	64%	16%	100%
FAZ	46%	23%	31%	100%

Table 25 – Does author agree with criticism?

To sum it up Czech press more often criticised politics and migrant policy in general, mainly policy of EU and Germany. Lidové noviny also criticised Germany and EU for dictating other what to do. The most criticised countries or political units were: EU (for quotes by Lidové noviny), Hungary (for not coping well with migrant crisis by FAZ), Czech Republic (by Lidové noviny for not helping enough), Visegrád Group (by Germany

for not accepting quotas) and Great Britain (also by FAZ for not doing enough). Lidové noviny more often showed articles about how others criticise us because of refusing the quotas and the author of the articles usually didn't agree with the criticism. FAZ also often criticised those who don't help enough.

3.7 Opinions on migrant crisis

Another group of variables focused on opinions on migrant crisis showed in newspapers. I analyzed if the opinion was for or against refugees and also if the author of articles agreed with it or not. On the first table we can see how often FAZ and Lidové noviny published positive, negative and neutral opinions on the migrant crisis. The most opinions that were published in both newspapers were positive towards refugees. A bit higher amount of positive opinions was published in FAZ.

opinion on refugees			
	positive	negative	neutral
LN	50%	30%	20%
FAZ	54%	31%	16%

Table 26 – Opinion on refugees

The second table provides not only data about opinions but also about their representation in newspapers. We can see that if the opinion of person published in Lidové noviny was positive towards refugees that it was presented almost in all cases neutrally. If the opinion was negative, it was usually also presented neutrally, but amount of the negative critique increased in comparison with the first case. In the other words if the opinion was negative towards refugees, author of the article more often showed his dissenting opinion. And in the last case – when the opinion was neutral, the article showed mostly neutrally, but more often positively than in both previous cases. As for the German daily press I expected that both the opinion and presentation of it will be more often neutral than in case of Lidové noviny, but the opposite was true. If the opinion was positive, than it was in half cases equally presented either negatively either positively. A bit more often the positive opinion was showed negatively. On the other hand when the opinion was negative, it was very often showed negatively, so author of the article didn't agree with the critique to refugees. The last case – the neutral articles were also often presented negatively. To summarize it, although both newspapers were mostly neutral when it comes to presentation

of opinions of the others, the Czech daily press was more objective and neutral than the German one.

opinion on refugees					
			Does article agree?		
			yes	no	neutral
Ln	opinion of person	positive toward refugees	4%	0%	96%
		negative toward refugees	6%	14%	80%
		neutral	9%	0%	91%
Faz	opinion of person	positive toward refugees	20%	24%	56%
		negative toward refugees	8%	33%	58%
		neutral	0%	17%	83%

Table 27 – Opinion on refugees

3.8 Photographs

The last group of variables focused on photos. On the table below we see that in Lidové noviny young men and fleeing families were pictured the most often. In FAZ it was locals helping refugees and young men. Despite the expectation children weren't pictured often in none of the newspapers and even more often in Lidové noviny. Interesting is also the fact that fleeing families were almost three times more often seen on photos in Lidové noviny than in FAZ. When it comes to category something else, it was usually politicians. Masses of young men, catastrophe, police, controls at borders, war areas and demonstration also weren't popular material showed on photos in the newspapers.

content of the photo							
	mass of refugees	children	young men	fleeing families	catastrophe	refugees helping	something else - politicians, etc
LN	13%	3%	22%	16%	2%	0%	20%
FAZ	13%	1%	17%	6%	0%	3%	24%

	refugee camp	locals helping refugees	police	was areas	masses of young men	controls at borders	demonstration againsts refugees
LN	9%	2%	0%	3%	5%	3%	3%
FAZ	0%	24%	1%	6%	4%	0%	0%

Table 28 – Content of the photo

3.9 Summary

To sum it up, the German newspaper press presented the migrant crisis more often positively than the Czech one. The difference was not extreme, because both newspapers usually described refugees objectively. German press more often described the refugees as people who need help, who are fleeing from war and whom they must help because refugees do not have any other option than to flee. These articles for example presented stories of refugees who had to flee from their home and lost everything. FAZ also described refugees more often as people who are able to integrate. These articles showed how refugees study in local language schools etc. The Czech Republic does not have such an experience with the integration of these refugees, so articles of this kind were not frequent. These kinds of articles not only described how they integrate now but showed an optimism towards future integration, where the German daily press was more positive. FAZ also more often showed how locals help refugees. These kinds of articles could influence people and motivate them to be sympathetic with the refugees. Lidové noviny more often pointed to the potential negative impact of the crisis on countries, described refugees as people who are causing a complication in Europe and as a threat. An example of such an article can be the one published in Lidové noviny on September 7. The article is called „I will bring to Europe all my family“ and the content of the article is about refugees that on Hungarian-Austrian borders waste food, behave aggressively and tell others that they will never come back to their country of origin, because their new home is Germany, where they will soon bring all their family. On the other hand there were also cases when the German press wrote about refugees more negatively. It was in situations where it wrote about how refugees will change the country and articles about an economic impact on the country. An example of such a headline is „Refugees can economically hurt us“. Because of the fact that in the Czech Republic only a few refugees claimed asylum, this result is quite understandable. When it comes to policy, FAZ more often criticised others lack of

help, specifically the countries of the Visegrád Four. Lidové noviny was generally more critical towards politics and political units such as particular countries or organisations. It often blamed Germany and the EU for not coping well with the crisis and for forcing us to help.

Both newspapers described refugees as people who are beneficial for us only very rarely and if so, then it was about economic benefits they could bring us in case they will be included in the labour market. The photos the newspapers chose to represent the crisis differed. FAZ often published photos of locals helping refugees and fleeing young men, while Lidové noviny published fleeing young men or families.

3.10 Hypothesis and their falsification/verification

FAZ reports about the migrant crisis and refugees more positively both in the titles of the articles and in the text.

The main hypothesis is valid. When it comes to headlines twice as many of them were positive towards refugees in case of FAZ, where 17% of all headlines were positive, meanwhile in case of Lidové noviny it was 9%. When it comes to articles – more of the positive ones were published again in FAZ. Specifically it was 32% of all articles that were positive towards refugees, while in Lidové noviny it was 26%.

LN more often than FAZ reported about the migrant crisis in connection with policy and more often criticized the way how others try to solve the issue.

This hypothesis is valid. As we can see above, Lidové noviny reported about the migrant crisis in connection with policy more often than FAZ. 28% of articles criticised politics who according to Lidové noviny do not handle the crisis well. In case of FAZ it was twice less. Lidové noviny also more often criticised others in general for not coping well with the crisis (27% of articles in comparison with 19% in FAZ).

LN more often than FAZ described refugees as a threat and the migrant crisis as something that disrupts the calm situation in Europe and has negative effects.

This hypothesis is also valid. FAZ showed refugees negatively only in 8% of articles while Lidové noviny did so in 21%. Lidové noviny reported about the migrant crisis as

something that threatens us in 18% while FAZ only in 8%. It also more often showed refugees as someone who can be dangerous (in 26% of articles in comparison with 8% in FAZ), plus they imaged them as someone who causes complications in Europe (26% vs 15%) and described the migrant crisis as something that can have a negative impact on the country (31% vs 21%). The articles in Lidové noviny more often focused on protection against refugees than on help towards them (19% vs 7%).

FAZ more often showed refugees as people who need help, or directly gave examples how locals helped refugees.

This assumption was also confirmed. FAZ gave almost twice as often examples of situations when locals helped refugees than Lidové noviny (14% of articles in FAZ, meanwhile 8% in Lidové noviny). FAZ also twice as often showed refugees as people who need help (65% of articles vs 34% in Lidové noviny). It also more often wrote about how the country must help them (34% of articles in FAZ and only 13% of articles in Lidové noviny) and more often said that to help refugees is a matter of course (53% in FAZ and 29% in Lidové noviny).

FAZ more often criticized other countries for their unwillingness to help refugees.

This hypothesis is valid as well. FAZ criticised other for not helping enough in 22% of articles which was three times more often than in Lidové noviny (7%). It mainly criticised the countries of the Visegrád Group, especially Hungary.

LN more often than FAZ reported that Czech Republic/Germany will help refugees only under certain circumstances.

This hypothesis is not valid. We can falsify it. Although FAZ more often wrote about refugees as people who need help unconditionally, neither Lidové noviny nor FAZ showed refugees as deserving help only under certain circumstances. The assumption was that Lidové noviny more often published information that refugees deserve help only if they are Christians, only if clear rules will be introduced or that they only need help in their country of origin. Both newspapers mentioned this more or less with the same frequency – almost never.

LN more often described refugees as economic migrants, while FAZ more often described them as people who are only trying to escape from war and do not have any other options.

This hypothesis is partly valid. The first part – that Lidové noviny described refugees as economic migrants, was not proved. Only 3% of all articles published in Lidové noviny described refugees as economic migrants and although this number was higher than in FAZ (1%), it described them like this very rarely. The second part – “FAZ described refugees as people who are trying to escape war and do not have any other option” is valid. FAZ mentioned twice as often that refugees do not have any other option that to flee (in 17% of articles, Lidové noviny in 8%). Both newspapers mentioned quite often that there is war in their country of origin and that they are fleeing from it, nevertheless FAZ mentioned it a bit more often. Specifically 35% of articles in FAZ and 30% of articles in Lidové noviny mentioned that there is a war in their countries. When it comes to the second, very similar variable “refugees are fleeing from war” the results were similar – 32% of all articles in FAZ mentioned it and 25% of articles in Lidové noviny did so.

LN more often pictured refugees as people with different culture and different values, while FAZ more often showed them as a people who are similar to us and are able to integrate.

This hypothesis is again valid only partly. The information that refugees have different culture appeared more often in Lidové noviny (in 8% of articles and in FAZ in 5%). FAZ mentioned more often that refugees are able to integrate (19% of articles in FAZ, 11% in Lidové noviny). Neither FAZ nor Lidové noviny mentioned very often that refugees are people who are not able to integrate, but they also did not mention that they are the same people like us.

LN more often showed the migration crisis as something that is not a Czech problem, while FAZ showed the crisis as a problem on which solution Germany should participate.

This hypothesis is partly valid. FAZ three times more often published articles describing that our country must help refugees (34% vs 13%). FAZ also twice as often showed migrant crisis as something that must be solved by us with others (64% of articles in FAZ vs 30% in Lidové noviny). Lidové noviny published twice as often articles that

were saying that we are helping only because we must (10% vs 5% in FAZ). On the other hand neither FAZ nor Lidové noviny published many articles that would say that the crisis must be solved by someone else than us (only 5% of articles in Lidové noviny and 1% of articles in FAZ). They also did not describe the problem as something that is not our business (only 1% of articles in Lidové noviny and 0% in FAZ).

FAZ more often provided photos that could theoretically arouse sympathy, such as photos with children, families which are trying to escape, etc., while LN more often provided us with photos of young men.

This hypothesis is not valid. We can falsify it. As we can see on the table n. 28 photos of children were more often published in Lidové noviny, but only in 3% of all articles and in general were not popular in any of the newspapers. Photos of fleeing families were ageing more often published in Lidové noviny. In 16% of articles in Lidové noviny this kind of photo was included. In FAZ it was only 6% of photos that imaged fleeing families. Photos of young men were more often shown in Lidové noviny (22%), but also very often in FAZ (17%). In FAZ a photos of locals helping refugees were the most popular.

If a newspaper provided the opinion of a third person, it was more often positive towards migration when published in FAZ than LN.

This hypothesis is valid, but the results were quite balanced. 50% of opinions presented in Lidové noviny were positive towards refugees and only a slightly higher percentage of them (54%) appeared in FAZ.

4 Analysis and discussion

From the analysis it is evident that both newspapers informed about the migrant crisis differently. German daily newspaper Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung showed the crisis more often positively than Czech Lidové noviny. The analysis of two selected newspapers obviously can not be generalized on Eastern-European and Western-European attitudes towards the migrant crisis, but it confirms the publicly often mentioned thesis about a better approach of Western countries, including the media, to the migrant crisis and refugees.

One of the ways how Western countries substantiate the lack of solidarity that Eastern countries show, is their communist past. German chancellor Angela Merkel repeatedly blamed European post-communist countries from not learning from their past and from the fact that refusing someone who is different is in principle wrong (<http://www.politico.eu/>). Angela Merkel is not the only one who points out the fact that the discord about a common solution of the crisis is mainly between post-communist countries and the others. Czech publicist Jan Čulík, currently living in Great Britain wrote the article “Fencing off the east: how the refugee crisis is dividing the European Union” where he points to the fact that the post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe have a different history, which now can be seen in our attitude towards the migrant crisis. Čulík claims that one of the main sources of the negative approach towards refugees is for example the fact that they were until recently used to be the ones who were helped and not those who should help someone else. On the other hand Western countries got used to provide help to others who were fleeing from communism and they learned how to cope with the migrants (Culik, 20015 b). The same opinion shares the French political scientist and historian Jacques Rupnik, who says that post-communist countries were used to live in isolation and they did not know how to cope with migration. According to him it is a paradox, because until recently it was they who were fleeing from their countries and therefore were in a similar situation like refugees today. For example after 1956, more than 200 000 Hungarians found asylum in Austria or in other European countries. In a similar situation were Czechs and Poles after 1968 and 1981. (Rupnik, 2015). Authors who study migration also mention that the lack of solidarity of Eastern countries is alarming mainly for the reason that freedom of movement was one of the main aims the countries tried to reach

by revolution in 1989. Now, when they reached it, they refuse to provide it to others (Rupnik, 2015). The hypothesis that the experience with communism could be one of the main reasons of the negative approach towards refugees also is confirmed by statistics which show that worse attitudes towards migrants are held in the former NDR than in the Western part of Germany. One of the main roles also plays fear of the unknown. Firstly the former communist countries are not used to share the country with people who believe in a different religion or values. Only few people from these countries used to have a chance to travel and meet different cultures personally. Fear of the unknown, which is deeply rooted in everybody, is understandable. Moreover according to the Allport theory of conflict, fear and hatred truly arise mainly in areas of homogeneous societies with a small amount of migrants (Allport, 1979). Behind the different attitude towards refugees maybe also stands different opinion on freedom and democracy that Eastern European countries have. The opinion that everybody deserves the right to live freely in a democratic country might not yet be the common shared attitude of people who used to live in communism.

5 Conclusion

The aim of this work was to compare how the German newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and the Czech daily *Lidové noviny* report about the migrant crisis. The study came from a presumption that the media play a significant role in forming public opinion. Because of the fact that media has a power to create both positive and negative opinions of the public about the presented topics, the way how it represents the migrant crisis has significant influence on the view of public on the problem of migration. (Hugo, Aghazarm & Appave, 2011). There is a contradiction between how Eastern and Western European countries face the migrant crisis. Eastern countries are blamed by Western for not helping refugees enough. Therefore it is important to concentrate on the ways how the problem of solidarity, human rights and right for asylum is presented in mass media in Eastern and Western countries. The aim of my study was to determine what are the differences in printed media in one of the Central/East-European countries (Czech Republic) and in one of the West-European countries which has years of experience with the migrants (Germany). The purpose was to establish if a selected German newspaper (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*) is more objective or positive towards the migrant crisis than selected Czech newspaper (*Lidové noviny*). I used the technique of quantitative content analysis to examine the press and describe the main differences in the ways they write about the migrant crisis. The period studied was September 2015. The results of the study showed that *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* reported about the migrant crisis more positively than *Lidové noviny*. In general both newspapers provided information about the crisis in most cases neutrally, but the differences were the following: the German newspaper more often described the refugees as people who need help, who are able to integrate, who are fleeing from war and whom we must help because refugees do not have any other option than to flee. It more often showed how locals help refugees. *Lidové noviny* more often pointed the potential negative impact of the crisis on countries, described refugees as people who are causing a complication in Europe and as someone who is a threat. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* more often criticised others that they don't help enough, while *Lidové noviny* was generally more critical towards politics and political units for not coping well with the crisis and for forcing us to help. As for photographs *FAZ* often published photo of locals helping refugees and fleeing young men, while *Lidové noviny* mainly published fleeing young men or families. Although we can

not generalise the findings of the study to whole media in both countries, the study corresponds with the generally shared opinion that Western countries approach the refugees and migrant crisis more positively than Eastern countries. For the future research it would be interesting if the analysis of other German and Czech newspapers would be made to compare it with the dailies I analyzed. It would be also beneficial to analyze how media in other European countries reported about the crisis in the period analyzed in this study. And last but not least it would be interesting to reveal if the way how the newspapers report about the crisis changed, in other words if Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung and Lidové noviny reported the issue differently in year 2016 than in September 2015.

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