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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

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Department of Security Studies

Master's Thesis

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Kristýna Čermáková

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Securitization of Migration in the Czech Republic
– Role of Refugee Women in the Discourse on Migration

Master's Thesis

Author: Bc. Kristýna Čermáková
Study program: Security Studies
Supervisor: Mgr. Jakub Záhora
Year of the defense: 2018

Declaration

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

In Prague, the 11th of May, 2018

.....

Kristýna Čermáková

References

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Abstract

This master's thesis explores the topic of the securitization of migration in the Czech Republic and the gender dimension of the discourse on migration. After a theoretical exploration of the migratory process and the specificities of its female face, a discourse analysis of the Czech media will present the main epistemological core of the work. The primary research question attempts to identify the ways in which the Czech media contributes to the shifting perception of migration as belonging to the sphere of politics, even presenting migration as a threat to security.

The thesis is divided into four chapters. The first chapter provides a theoretical insight into migration studies, the motives to migrate and the phenomenon of forced migration. Despite the general assumption of mainstream academics that migrants are mainly men, the second chapter shows that women's experiences with migration differ greatly from those of men. Based on the Copenhagen stream of thought, the discourse analysis of the Czech media carried out in the third chapter points to the construction of perceptions about migration within Czech society. The absence of gender in the public discourse on migration is further analyzed in the last chapter.

The missing gender dimension proved to be two-fold. First, the male-dominated academic discourse is neglecting half of the picture by leaving out women – authors Hansen (2000) and Aradau (2004) started the debates on this paradox. Second, the Czech public discourse on migration lacks any discussion concerning gender. The thesis aims at uncovering these two blank areas, shedding light on the academic and political benefits of including women in the discussions. The last sub-chapter summarizes outcomes of in-person interviews with both male and female refugees living in the Czech Republic, as well as the representatives from the UNHCR and OPU. These real-life examples support the conclusions of the paper and serve as a proof of the necessity of a more balanced public discourse regarding the topic of migration.

Abstrakt

Diplomová práce se zabývá sekuritizací migrace v České republice a genderovou dimenzí diskurzu o migraci. Po teoretickém úvodu do problematiky migračního procesu a jeho specifikách v případě žen následuje diskurzivní analýza českých médií, představující hlavní epistemologické jádro práce. Výzkumná otázka se snaží identifikovat způsoby, jakými česká média přispívají k zařazování migrace do sféry politiky, a potažmo mezi bezpečnostní hrozby.

Práce je rozdělena do čtyř kapitol. První kapitola představuje základní teorie migračních studií, motivy migrace a fenomén nucené migrace. Navzdory ústřednímu akademickému předpokladu, že migranti jsou převážně muži, druhá kapitola poukazuje na zásadní rozdíly zkušeností žen a mužů s migrací. Diskurzivní analýza českých médií prováděná ve třetí kapitole, založená na výzkumné metodologii Kodaňské školy, se zaměřuje na konstrukci vnímání migrace v rámci české společnosti. Absence genderu ve veřejném diskurzu o migraci je dále analyzována v poslední kapitole.

Chybějící genderová dimenze se ukázala být dvojího typu: v první řadě se jedná o akademický diskurz dominovaný muži, který je tím pádem ochuzen o polovinu názorů – autorky Hansen (2000) a Aradau (2004) svými články zahájily debatu o tomto paradoxu; za druhé se jedná o nepřítomnost genderu v českém veřejném diskurzu zaměřeném na migraci. Cílem diplomové práce je rozebrat tyto nedostatky, a tím poukázat na akademické a politické přínosy zahrnutí žen do veřejných diskuzí. Poslední podkapitola nabízí shrnutí výsledků osobních rozhovorů s uprchlíky a uprchlicemi žijícími v České republice, jakožto i zástupci UNHCR a OPU. Tyto reálné příklady potvrzují závěry této diplomové práce a slouží jako důkaz nutnosti vyváženějšího veřejného diskurzu na téma migrace.

Title

Securitization of Migration in the Czech Republic – Role of Refugee Women in the Discourse on Migration

Název práce

Sekuritizace migrace v České republice – role uprchlic v diskurzu o migraci

Keywords

migration, critical security studies, securitization, Copenhagen School, gender, feminism, emancipation, refugees, female refugees

Klíčová slova

migrace, kritická bezpečnostní studia, sekuritizace, Kodaňská škola, gender, feminismus, emancipace, uprchlíci, uprchlice

Initiatory Premise

Women and girls make up to 50 per cent of any refugee, internally displaced or stateless population. However, the policies regarding the receiving of refugees and potential asylum admission do not usually reflect upon the fact. Refugee women who are unaccompanied are especially vulnerable to discrimination, as well as sexual and gender-based violence. The lack of education often results in early pregnancies, which become the subject of prevention and one of the WHO Millennium Development Goals. Migration has undergone the process of securitization, which has strongly affected the refugees seeking asylum on the EU territory. As of March 2017, the total share of female first time asylum applicants in the EU-28 Member States accounted for 32 per cent (Eurostat). This significant portion of incoming refugees faces various challenges based on their gender. Several IO agencies (UNHCR Prague, UN Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict, the Inter-Agency Standing Committee's Sub-Working Group on Gender) and NGOs (Organizace pro pomoc uprchlíkům) acknowledge the fact that the problems female refugees are facing along their way are different from the men's. Nevertheless, the help available is in many cases insufficient. The main method for the empirical research will be in-person interviews with refugees and professionals working with refugees in the Czech Republic.

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Table of Contents

Introduction	1
1. International Migration	4
1.1 The phenomenon of migration.....	4
1.2 Motives of international migration and forced migration.....	11
1.3 Czech experience with forced migration	14
2. Female Face of Migration	20
2.1 Principles of female migration.....	20
2.2 Global trends in female migration	24
2.3 Female refugees – a gendered analysis of forced migration.....	26
3. Securitization of Migration in the Czech Republic	31
3.1 Theoretical background: Copenhagen School	32
3.2 Discourse analysis of migration in the Czech Republic	36
3.3 Migration as a security threat.....	58
4. Role of Refugee Women in the Discourse on Migration	63
4.1 Absence of gender in the Copenhagen School – emancipation and feminism.....	64
4.2 The importance of voice and its lack by female refugees.....	66
4.3 Experiences of female refugees in the Czech Republic.....	68
Conclusion	74
List of References.....	77
List of Appendices	84

List of Abbreviations

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CEAS	Common European Asylum System
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CSS	Critical security studies
ČSÚ	Český statistický úřad (Czech Statistical Office)
EASO	European Asylum Support Office
HIV/AIDS	Human immunodeficiency virus infection and acquired immune deficiency syndrome
IDP	Internally displaced person
kritnet	Network of Critical Migration and Border Regime Studies
MVČR	Ministerstvo vnitra České republiky (Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic)
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OPU	Organizace pro pomoc uprchlíkům (Organization for Aid to Refugees)
PM	Prime minister
RRTV	Rada pro rozhlasové a televizní vysílání (Council for Radio and Television Broadcasting)
SPIR	Sdružení pro internetový rozvoj v České republice (Association for Internet Development in the Czech Republic)
SPD	Svoboda a přímá demokracie (Freedom and Direct Democracy)
UN DESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; the UN Refugee Agency

List of Tables and Figures

Table 1: Asylum statistics in the Czech Republic in the years 1997-2016	18
Table 2: Monitoring of the Czech radio and TV broadcasting programs.....	41
Table 3: Novinky.cz – discourse analysis.....	49
Table 4: iDNES – discourse analysis	52
Table 5: Aktuálně.cz – discourse analysis.....	55
Figure 1: Migrant women as a percentage of global migrant population.....	25
Figure 2: Gender distribution of asylum applicants across different age groups.....	29
Figure 3: Issue scale derived from Buzan et al. (1998, p. 23).....	34

Introduction

“Refugee movements and other forms of forced displacement provide a useful barometer of human security and insecurity.”

(UNHCR, in: Edwards 2009, p. 800)

International migration is an old phenomenon but one of a great relevance in the contemporary world. Thanks to globalization and technological advancements people are capable of overcoming long distances to start new lives elsewhere. The reasons to move are ample, generally dividing migration between voluntary and forced. Despite the growing possibilities to travel far, the dangers connected to the migrants' journeys are equally as high. The security concerns regarding both the migrants but also the receiving populations are forming a significant portion of current discourse. This master's thesis will make a link between the two by exploring the way migration is being securitized in the society and discovering the discrepancies between the media image and real-life experience of refugee women.

The studied time period starts in 2015, when the numbers of people arriving to Europe began to quickly rise. Also known as the European migrant crisis, or the European refugee crisis, comprised of both types of above-mentioned migrant types – asylum seekers (forced migrants) and economic migrants (voluntary migrants), which was a fact causing a lot of confusion in the understanding of the events. This work will mention both groups but the main concentration will be on the former – individuals seeking international protection. Most of the migrants came from Muslim-majority countries of regions south and east of Europe, including Western Asia, South Asia and Africa. In the first two years over 2.5 million people applied for asylum in the EU countries (European Parliament ©2017) and decreasing but still relevant numbers continue to apply until today.

Even more specifically, this work will look at migration from a gender perspective, and address the issues of the unheard part of the migrant population – women. The main research question is: “What are the ways Czech media contribute to the securitization of migration in the Czech Republic?” The findings of the analysis will be further explored in interviews with refugee women, presented towards the end of the thesis. The reasons for me to choose the topic of female forced migration are multifold. Firstly, my interest in critical security studies scholarship developed during my studies of the master's

program at Charles University, especially the aspect of giving voice to marginalized groups of society. Secondly, migrant women are one such group that is excluded from public debate, and thus is lacking the possibility to voice their insecurities. Furthermore, I am interested in the ways that the topic of migration has been polarizing the society since 2015, shaping the political decisions and affecting the overall atmosphere in the Czech Republic as well as the rest of Europe. The main inspiration for the work was a book by Alison Gerard from 2014 called *The Securitization of Migration and Refugee Women*, whose main geographical focus is Europe's southern external border and the EU Member State of Malta.

The thesis proceeds in four parts that lead to finding possible answers to the research question. The first chapter provides an introduction to the topic of migration, including its theoretical background in fields such as geography and sociology. Critical literature on migration served as the main source for this part. After providing a clear distinction between the motives behind voluntary and forced migration, the last sub-chapter will narrow the focus on immigration to the Czech Republic. Even though the Czech Republic is not the primary destination of choice for international migrants and commonly qualifies as a transit country, the main concern will be put on the conditions of refugees and the Czech Asylum Policy.

Second chapter will look at the specificities of female migration, its distinct principles and global trends. The UNHCR documents represent crucial primary sources not only for this paper but also for the international community that thanks to these guidelines begun to reflect upon specific needs of female migrants. The UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women issues periodic reports about the state of affairs in each of the member countries. The Czech Republic, being one of them, has been repeatedly accused of violations of women's human rights and not reaching up to the standard set by the Policy on Refugee Women. The findings from this chapter will be further developed in the fourth one, focusing on the actual experiences of female refugees with living in the Czech Republic.

The third chapter analyzes security through the lenses of the Copenhagen School of security studies. A body of literature concerned with securitization provides ground knowledge for the realization of the analysis of securitization of migration. The processes of politicization and securitization will be demonstrated on the discourse analysis of the topic of migration in the Czech Republic. The securitizing actors chosen for this

analysis are Czech media, specifically the most popular radio, television and news platforms. The first part of the discourse analysis uses the monitoring reports published by the Council for Radio and Television Broadcasting of the Czech Republic, which mainly serve to evaluate objectivity of the broadcast material. Secondly, we will perform a discourse analysis on the selection of forty-five online news articles talking about migration. Considering that the readership of such articles increases by the number of their shares on social media, we have chosen the ones that have been shared the most. Special focus will be put on the way women are being portrayed and the relative representation of their gender-specific issues.

The last chapter will serve as a synthesis of the three previous ones, pointing out the impacts of securitization of migration on female refugees in the Czech Republic. The main contrast presented in the fourth chapter is the absence of gender in the Copenhagen School realm of thought. The arguments of emancipation and feminist theories will be introduced through articles by two leading critical scholars: Claudia Aradau and Lene Hansen. The importance of voice and body in the construction of subjectivity is very high in addressing security concerns of specific identity groups (security referent objects, according to the Copenhagen School). At the very end, we will present actual experiences of refugee women in the Czech Republic given in personal interviews. That way it will be possible to evaluate how migration presented by media corresponds with the reality lived by female refugees.

This master's thesis uses different critical approaches to study migration in terms of security and insecurity. The Copenhagen School presented in the third chapter is being criticized later in the paper, pointing at its blank spots regarding gender and definition of referent objects of a widened spectrum of security. The goal is to warn about the way public discourse constructs reality and shed light on the unspoken aspect of migration that is in fact relevant for both migrant and receiving societies.

1. International Migration

Migration and the resulting ethnic diversity are topics connected with strong emotions in contemporary societies. The fear of the unknown is often times stronger than any rational thought or even personal experience, as people worry about the consequences of a mass invasion of strangers who are not familiar with the local culture and whose intentions are undisclosed. These uncertainties are partially justified and definitely should not be underestimated, but the problem arises when media and public figures purposefully overemphasize the topic of migration in order to manipulate the public. The resulting fearful mood equally increases the political salience of migration. This social phenomenon is connected with ample misunderstandings and the first chapter of this work will aim at clarifying the most common inaccuracies by providing a systematic picture of what migration actually is and explaining related concepts.

Research on migration is interdisciplinary; sociology, political science, history, economics, geography, demography, psychology, cultural studies and law are all relevant subjects (Brettell and Hollifield, p. 4). Each of these disciplines uses a different set of tools to analyze the migratory phenomena based on the available theories and methods. That is why every researcher will look at the complexity of migratory processes from a different angle and will stress different aspects, such as the motives for migration, results that migration brings, individual features of migrants or the responses of the receiving societies. In order to understand this sensitive topic, this chapter will describe its major constituents and present the evolution of theoretical thinking. After describing the phenomenon itself, the text will proceed towards the specifics of forced migration, which will uncover its general trends. The last chapter will draw from the theoretical introduction and apply the findings onto the Czech case.

1.1 The phenomenon of migration

Migration is hardly ever a simple individual action with easily identifiable motives that led to a change of residence. In reality it is a complicated process full of both external and psychological obstacles resulting in a complete change in one's life, which substantially affects the descendants in the future. Moreover, the experience of migration and of living in a foreign country often leads to modification of the original plans,

so the migrant's actual behavior upon arrival to the destination (and already on the way) is in fact quite different and spontaneous. Attempts to achieve a better understanding of this complex phenomenon started already in the late 19th century. Researchers from a wide variety of fields were debating whether it would be useful to develop separate theories for different categories of migrants, such as forced and voluntary or for refugee, family or economic migration. The most prevalent theories will be presented in a chronological manner, while special attention will be dedicated to the critical approaches to the migration studies.

Major theories in migration studies

Migration is a phenomenon as old as humanity itself. Already prehistoric tribes were known for their migratory movement in search of better life conditions. In academic circles, most authors who study this phenomenon nowadays agree that the founding father of modern migration studies is the nineteenth-century geographer Earnst Georg Ravenstein. He is especially known for his two articles from 1885 and 1889, both entitled *The Laws of Migration* (Grigg 1977, p. 41). The earlier paper was based on the British Census from 1881, and thus described mostly internal migration within the United Kingdom where Ravenstein himself had moved from Germany at the age of eighteen. The later one extended the findings using data regarding the place of birth of people from more than twenty countries of Europe and Northern America (Lee 1966, p. 47). These laws covered the characteristics of migrants (age, sex), both places of origin and destination, distance and path traveled. The major causes of migration are according to Ravenstein economic and the phenomenon is a key attribute of development.

Despite several critical reactions,¹ Ravenstein's work inspired many future researchers and remained a pivotal theoretical source for contemporary migration studies. This renewed interest begun in 1943 by publication of H. C. Darby's article on the nineteenth-century migration within England, which attracted more attention to the 'laws of migration' by his fellow geographers (Grigg 1977, p. 41). Geographers of the first half of the twentieth century developed migration models based on Ravenstein's theory were called gravity models, predicting the volume of migration between places

¹ N. A. Humphreys and Stephen Bourne commented on Ravenstein's 1889 article in the same issue of the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society "Discussion on Mr. Ravenstein's Paper" (Lee 1966, p. 47).

and countries based on distance, population size and economic opportunities in the destination and origin areas (Castles, Haas and Miller 2014, p. 28).

The next author to bring something new to the theory of migration was Everett S. Lee, focusing on the volume of migration, the development of streams and counter-streams, and the characteristics of migrants. His definition of migration talks solely about “a permanent or semipermanent change of residence” (Lee 1966, p. 49), without regarding the distance traveled or the voluntariness of the act. Though not all kinds of spatial mobility categorize as migration; excluded are for example movements of nomads, migratory workers and seasonal change of residence, the distance is still a central factor determining the difficulty of the process. Lee presents four sets of factors that play roles in the act of migration:

- Factors associated with the area of origin;
- factors associated with the area of destination;
- intervening obstacles, e.g., distance, physical and structural barriers, cost of travel;
- personal factors (Lee 1966, pp. 50-51).

Each factor can either push people out of their area of residence (for example growth and density of population, lack of economic opportunities and political repression), or pull them into a new destination (for example demand for labor, availability of land, economic opportunities and political freedoms). Lee’s so-called push-pull models take into consideration variety of different influences that result in migration. The disadvantage is that these models lack the ability to determine how these factors interact with each other, thus the conclusions are rather arbitrary (Skeldon 1990, pp. 125-126). In fact, certain phenomena, such as return migration or simultaneous occurrence of emigration and immigration are in contradiction with the given theory.

The second half of the last century gave birth to a more economic theoretical approach. Inspired by the process of modernization, neoclassical migration theory sees human mobility as an intrinsic constituent of evolution. It is a function of geographical differences in the supply and demand for labor. The given wage differentials encourage workers to move from low-wage, labor-surplus regions to high-wage, labor-scarce regions (Castles, Haas and Miller 2014, pp. 29-30). Sjaastad (1962, p. 92) offered an alternative to

the neoclassical approach by viewing migration as an investment resulting in an increase of the productivity of human capital through the hard and soft skills of migrants. By pointing to the structure of labor markets, the human capital theory helps to explain the selectivity of the migration process (the fact that migrants tend to come from specific sub-sections of societies, such as the more educated and higher skilled).

Despite its contributions, the neoclassical migration theory has been criticized for its unrealistic central assumptions. First, people do not always act rationally, so their decisions sometimes do not correspond with the objectively best solution. Second, no one disposes of perfect information in order to be able to evaluate situations without error. Migrants are never fully aware of the wage levels and employment opportunities in the destination areas. The third assumption is that markets are perfect and accessible for the poor. Since the central presumptions are questionable, the neoclassical theories are often incapable of explaining real-life migration patterns, particularly when migration happens in situations of high poverty and other limitations (Castles, Haas and Miller 2014, pp. 30-31). Both push-pull and neoclassical theories omit the human aspects of individual choices regarding migration. Age, gender, knowledge, social contacts, preferences and perceptions of the outside world all play important roles. Historians, anthropologists, sociologists and geographers have shown that human desire to change residence or to stay is strongly influenced by historical experiences and connections (e.g. colonial past), as well as by family and community dynamics (Portes and Böröcz 1989, pp. 609-611).

The 1970s and 1980s brought about a more structuralist point of view by stressing the growing gap between developed and underdeveloped countries. Early post-colonial times accentuated the highly unequal access to resources by various classes and groups and the increasing concentration of wealth in certain parts of the world (North America, West Europe and South Africa). As opposed to neoclassical perception of migration as a voluntary act, historical-structural theories focus on the economic and political forces that lead people from poor countries to supply cheap labor in the industrialized parts of the world, which results in reinforcing these inequalities. A more comprehensive world systems theory focused on how the less developed 'peripheral' regions have been incorporated in the world economy by the 'core' capitalist nations (Massey et al. 1998, p. 35). Both of these theories were at first concerned with internal migration, but from the mid-1970s began to analyze international labor migration. Migration was seen as

reinforcing the effects of military and economic hegemony of the First World (Castles, Haas and Miller 2014, p. 33).

Dependency and world systems theories could be considered as heralds of globalization, which understood migration as a phenomenon enrooted in a much broader picture of relationships between societies. Taking into consideration multitude of possible definitions, globalization could be understood as “the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life” (Held et al. 1999, p. 2). A key indicator of globalization is a rapid increase in cross-border flows of all different sorts.

This work will focus on movement of people, which has become easier thanks to advancements in transport, technology and communication. Despite some suspicions about weakening of the nation-state, national dimension remains in the center of migration analysis. Nation states, for the most part, stayed in charge of their respective policies on cross-border movement that have direct effect on the migratory movements. Among other crucial topics under national agendas are citizenship, public order, labor markets, taxation, social welfare, health services and education (Castles, Haas and Miller 2014, pp. 33-35). Globalization migration theory is thus another important approach leading towards a better understanding of current migratory trends.

Critical approach to migration studies

Over the course of the twentieth century scholars have been trying to draft relevant theories whose accuracy could have been tested by empirical analysis. These techniques for studying the real world were considered to be neutral. From the 1980s social scientists studying migration started to question the existing theories. The reason to challenge the positivist approach was connected to the strengthening voice of distinct groups whose experiences substantially differed from the reported mainstream. Similar trend could have been identified in other branches of social science – security studies for instance. There too critical approaches did not consist of one coherent body of scholarship; it rather included disparate theories, each focusing on a specific aspect of reality, for example poststructuralism, feminisms, postcolonialism, constructivism, and critical geopolitics, to mention a few. The end of the Cold War and the respective changes in geopolitical order opened a window of opportunity for a major epistemological reconstruction.

A common feature of the conventional theories, in which social sciences elaborate in order to apprehend reality, is that they become widely accepted at a time when the phenomena of concern have evolved beyond their grasp (Portes and Böröcz 1989, p. 606). In other words, by the time a classical theory becomes a part of popular discourse, its relevancy to ongoing events is on decline. After the fall of the Berlin Wall only few topics of social science were more dynamic than international migration. Portes and Böröcz (1989) take the orthodox theoretical perspectives on migration – such as push-pull and supply-demand theories about the origins of migrant flows and assimilationist theories about the process of adaptation – and provide alternative explanations to the processes of mainly economic migration.

Same as other transbordal activities, migration takes place not between compartmentalized national units but rather within an overarching system, which itself is a product of past historical development. Nation-states play an important, but not exclusive role within this system, which also includes the activities of a multiplicity of private actors from large corporations to working class households. The activities of these unofficial actors across national borders are the reason for the limited effectiveness of official efforts to regulate immigration (Portes and Böröcz 1989, p. 626).

Neoclassicists viewed migration as a voluntary action driven by personal evaluation of economic advantages resulting from a move, like that from Europe to the United States before 1914. However, migration is in fact a process that follows given patterns that are drawn from structural factors such as social stratification, market access, power inequalities, the legal framework as well as engrained cultural preferences. Cohen (1987) writes that the availability and control of labor is both a legacy of colonialism and the result of war and international inequalities. The late colonial era was an exemplary time period when large-scale recruitment of labor took place.² Relations of hegemony and exploitation between core areas of industrialization and their underdeveloped peripheries are crucial to Cohen's analysis. His book *The New Helots: Migrants in the International Division of Labor* stresses the 'subordination and encapsulation' of pre-capitalist forms of production (Cohen 1987, pp. 48-50). Cohen provides three regional case studies, which help to understand all the different factors determining the worldwide

² For example, the British supplied workers for the railway construction in East Africa from India, the French, Germans, Belgians and the Dutch hired miners from Turkey and Morocco, and Californian agribusiness was fueled by Mexican labor (Cohen 1987).

migratory movements. His argument includes a discussion of feminist theories on the importance of unpaid work within the family for the reproduction of labor power.

In recent decade a new body of migration theories has emerged, adopting the post-positivist assumption that a researcher cannot claim to be detached from the realities he or she studies, and thus can never be objective. Research on migration has become an integral part of social sciences and the humanities in general. Various platforms supporting this growing interest in migration studies include working groups, research projects, conferences, academic papers, special issues, workshops and book series. Beyond that, governmental authorities increasingly call for practical and applicable knowledge on migration and integration processes on a large scale.

Despite the growing concern with migration, scientific journals which would allow for critical reflections on migration studies and knowledge production itself are scarce. A German initiative that has been trying to fill this gap since 2015 is called *movements – Journal for Critical Migration and Border Studies*. The journal attempts to develop both an adequate understanding of the complex, heterogeneous and powerful realities of migration and a critique of the current forms of governing it (Movements ©2015). The journal is closely linked to the *Network of Critical Migration and Border Regime Studies – kritnet*, which was founded in 2008 in order to strengthen critical migration and border studies within German-speaking academia. One of *kritnet*'s research centers is the *Critical Migration & Border Regime Research Laboratory* under the Institute of Culturology and European Ethnology at the University of Göttingen. Besides challenging the conclusions about international migration by the international cultural anthropology, the lab also deals with the topic of ever evolving border regimes (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen ©2018).

Another relevant institution focusing on critical migration is the *Centre for Critical Migration Studies* based in Malta. As listed on the website, “the centre brings together academics, practitioners, and activists from a range of fields and geopolitical spaces to theorise key aspects of the dynamic migratory process, while opening reflexive and informed spaces for practice” (Critical Institute ©2018). All of these initiatives together in collaboration with NGOs form a larger interdisciplinary European network that is involved in critical research on migration, racism and borders. Openly addressing the specific issues through lenses of affected groups (based on gender, race, religion, or social background) stirs discussions in the public space. This critical approach offers

basis for a social change and progress. In the next chapter this work will further analyze migration through gender prospective.

1.2 Motives of international migration and forced migration

Migration is a phenomenon which affects every dimension of social existence and develops its own internal dynamics. The concept of the migratory process sums up the complex sets of factors and interactions which lead to migration and influence its course. The factors include motives of migration, political situation in the countries of origin and destination, social status and wealth of the individual, location and available paths to leave the country (physical and administrative), and many others. Migration is not a solo activity; it usually involves many people on the way, that being the migrant's family, administrative workers, border officers, NGO employees and volunteers, civil servants at the destination – considering the cases of legal migration.

Even though the final decision to move into a new place of residence is based on highly individual criteria, there are some objective characteristics of the environments and situations that tend to be sources of emigration. The main categories of motives are economic, political, social and cultural. A different perspective looks at migration as either voluntary, or necessary. Economic motives produce mainly voluntary migration, consisting of a choice of an individual to move to seek a better life. There are however many situations resulting in migration as the only option to ensure survival and security of people. This distinction, between voluntary and forced migration, does not have to strictly correlate with the different categories of motives. There may be some social, cultural, and even political motives that are not threatening one's security but this is left to be decided by the receiving countries who are possible guarantors of international protection.

The difference between a migrant and a refugee

The great majority of people (around 97 percent) in the world do not classify as international migrants (Castles, Haas and Miller 2014, p. 27), yet their communities and way of life are often affected by migration. The distinction between a voluntary and forced migration has already been touched upon but its thorough comprehension is crucial not only for the remainder of this work but also for an informed participation in the current discourse. The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) provides the following definition of a refugee:

“A refugee, according to the Convention, is someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion.” (UNHCR ©2010)

In other words, refugees are persons fleeing armed conflict or persecution. These are people for whom denial of asylum has potentially deadly consequences. One of the most fundamental principles laid down in international law is that refugees should not be expelled or returned to situations where their life and freedom would be under threat. Migrants on the other hand choose to move not because of a direct threat of persecution or death, but mainly to improve their lives by finding work, or in some cases for education, family reunion, or other reasons.

Refugees fall under the category of ‘forced’ migrants but it is important to note that not all forced migrants receive the status of a refugee, which requires the transborder movement. Most forced migrants in fact flee for a reason not recognized by international law, often remaining in their country of origin (Castles, Haas and Miller 2014, pp. 221-222). At the same time, the distinction between ‘forced’ and ‘voluntary’ migrants does not say anything about the difficulty of the individual act of moving. Voluntary migrants equally face constraints and many forced migrants dispose of a certain level of agency, for instance in a form of resources which allow them to leave in the first place.

UNHCR and the legal background of forced migration

The UN Refugee Agency, or the UNHCR,³ is a United Nations program with the mandate to protect refugees, forcibly displaced communities and stateless people, and assist in their voluntary repatriation, local integration or resettlement to a third country. The principle to provide asylum to persons who are facing persecution in another country is already grounded in Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of human rights of 1948. The text of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees⁴ is until now the central

³ UNHCR stands for the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, which was established in 1950, during the aftermath of World War II. Its headquarters is located in Geneva, Switzerland and since 1997 belongs to the United Nations Development Group (UNHCR ©2010).

⁴ The Statute of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was adopted by the General Assembly on December 14, 1950 as Annex to Resolution 428 (V). In this Resolution the GA calls upon the governments to cooperate with the High Commissioner in the performance of his or her functions concerning refugees falling under the competence of the Office. In accordance with the Statute, the work of the High Commissioner is humanitarian and social and of an entirely non-political character (UNHCR ©1950).

document of international refugee protection. Amended in 1967, Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees removed the geographic and temporal limits of the 1951 Convention, thus gave it universal coverage. It has since been supplemented by refugee and subsidiary protection regimes in several regions, as well as via the progressive development of international human rights law (UNHCR ©2010).

For the sake of this work, the above-mentioned documents, founding the ‘refugee status’, shall be evaluated from the gender point of view. Neither the Convention nor the Protocol mentions women as such. Article 3 under the first chapter of the Convention covers its non-discriminatory nature, but the statement does not mention gender as one of the criteria: “The Contracting States shall apply the provisions of this Convention to refugees without discrimination as to race, religion or country of origin (UNHCR ©2010, p. 17).” Chapter 4, related to Welfare, refers to women in connection with labor legislation and social security. Article 24 urges the contracting states to provide the refugees who are legally staying on their territory with the same treatment regarding work laws, such as remuneration, overtime arrangements, paid holidays, apprenticeship and training, as well as women’s work and the work of young persons (UNHCR ©2010, p. 25).

General trends in forced migration

As mentioned earlier, not all forcibly displaced people are recognized as refugees. In order to receive the refugee status, one has to seek international protection for the reasons of persecution, conflict, violence, or human rights violations. Those individuals who sought international protection but whose claims for refugee status have not yet been determined, irrespective of the date of the request, are called asylum-seekers (4.2 % out of all forcibly displaced people in 2016). Refugees then include individuals recognized under the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, its 1967 Protocol and the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa. Those refugees recognized under the UNHCR Statute form a quarter (25.4 %) of all forcible displaced people in 2016.

Another group consists of stateless persons (4.8 % out of all forcibly displaced people in 2016), who do not possess the nationality of any state. By far the largest group of forcibly displaced people (54.1 % in 2016) does not get to cross the international border. The IDPs (or internally displaced persons) were forced to leave their homes or places

of habitual residence as a result, or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights, natural or man-made disasters. Slightly more than ten percent of refugees or IDPs have returned to their countries of origin (10.4 % of returnees over the course of 2016), either spontaneously or in an organized manner (UNHCR ©2016).

Over the past two decades, the global population of forcibly displaced people has grown substantially from 33.9 million in 1997 to 65.6 million in 2016. Most of this increase was concentrated between 2012 and 2015, driven mainly by the war conflict in Syria, followed by other conflicts in the region such as in Iraq and Yemen, as well as in sub-Saharan Africa including Burundi, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Sudan, and Sudan (UNHCR ©2016, p. 5). The increase of recent years has led to a major increase in displacement: from about 1 in 160 people a decade ago to 1 in 113 today.

Although still at a record high at the end of 2016, the growth in the number of people who have been forcibly displaced has slowed for the first time in recent years. During 2016, 10.3 million people were newly displaced, including 3.4 million who sought protection abroad and 6.9 million people who were forced to flee but remained in their own countries. These 10.3 million new displacements equated to an average of 20 people being newly displaced every minute of every day in 2016. Still, many others returned to their countries or areas of origin to try to rebuild their lives, including 6.5 million IDPs and over 550,000 refugees (UNHCR ©2016, pp. 13-14).

2016 was the third consecutive year for Turkey to host the largest number of refugees (2.9 million), followed by Pakistan and Lebanon (1.4 and 1 million respectively). This makes Lebanon the country with the highest number of refugees per capita. Every sixth person living in Lebanon in 2016 was a refugee, which shows that developing regions hosted 84 percent of the world's refugees under UNHCR's mandate, with about 14.5 million people (UNHCR ©2016, p. 2-3).

1.3 Czech experience with forced migration

Despite the fact that the migratory rates have remained relatively stable, the interest in the phenomenon is currently higher than ever before. The situation is no different in the Czech Republic, a small Central European country. Despite its geographical position in the heart of Europe, far from the places where immigrants arrive in Europe and nowhere near the major migratory paths, the interest in the recent migratory wave has dominated public discussions and gained a lot of space in the media. Even though international migration is nothing new, prior to 1989 Czechoslovakia was nearly exclusively a country of origin, from where persons were fleeing the totalitarian regime attempting to find a better life west from the Iron Curtain. After the fall of communism, Czechoslovakia first became a transit country but later served as an important destination for many emigrants from the formerly Soviet countries, the Balkans and non-European regions.

Czech Asylum Policy

International protection in a form of either asylum or subsidiary protection is rooted in the legal system of the Czech Republic. The applicable provisions are embedded in Article 43 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Basic Freedoms, which states that the Czech and Slovak Federative Republics provide asylum to foreigners who are being persecuted for the application of political rights and freedoms (Listina základních práv a svobod 1992). It is worth noting that none of the other factors, determining who is a refugee, are touched upon, more specifically persecution based on race, religion, nationality or membership in a particular social group.

The Asylum Act dates back to the 11th of November, 1999 and defines the conditions of entry and stay of foreign nationals who have applied for international protection, have a status of a refugee, or are enjoying subsidiary protection on the territory of the Czech Republic. It also determines proceedings on international protection matters, as well as the rights and obligations of the applicants for international protection, of recognized refugees and of persons enjoying subsidiary protection in the territory. Chapter 3 formulates the powers of Ministry of the Interior and Police of the Czech Republic in this area of public administration. Lastly the Act covers the topic of integration, state integration program and available asylum facilities. Here the criteria for granting asylum have been extended comparing to the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Basic Freedoms.

Section 12 states: “Asylum will be granted to a foreign national if it is established in the course of international protection proceedings that the foreign national is persecuted for exercising political rights and freedoms, or has legitimate fear of being persecuted on the grounds of race, gender, religion, nationality, belonging to a particular social group or for holding certain political opinions in the state of which he/she is a citizen or, if the foreign national is a stateless person, in the state of his/her last permanent residence” (Zákon o azylu 1999, p. 9).

The Asylum Act has been, since its entering in force at the beginning of 2000, amended several times, the latest being the version from November of 2015. Reflecting the practice of the Czech immigration administration, the most recent amendment brings about various changes in favor of the asylum applicants. For instance, a third person can sit in at the entering interview, which gives the applicant a chance to be accompanied by an advocate. Another crucial change is that the applicants can legally work as soon as six months after successfully applying for international protection (previously it was twelve months). Furthermore, in case of a repeated request for an international protection in the Czech Republic, the level of danger upon applicant’s potential return to his/her country of origin is being thoroughly examined. If there is no apparent risk of a serious harm, the applicant is sent back.

As a Member State of the European Union, the Czech Republic has, amongst other things, bound itself to cooperate in the area of asylum and refugee issues. The main idea behind the common EU asylum policy is focused on the development of the Common European Asylum System (CEAS), which should serve as a common-ground for the Member States who should based on the EU Regulation boost their individual international protection strategies, but also attempts to create a system of support for those Member States subjected to a particular pressure. In the case of a large intake of asylum seekers within a specific country, EASO can provide temporary support. An operation plan is drawn up describing the goals of the plan, duration, geographical area and team responsibility. This program provides expertise in asylum seeker policies allowing for a smoother transition between countries (European Asylum Support Office ©2010).

Another European instrument is the Dublin System, a term used for mechanism by which one state responsible for examining of alien’s application for asylum is determined within the framework of EU Member States, Norway, Iceland, Switzerland and Lichtenstein. The objective of the system is to eliminate the phenomenon of so called

“asylum shopping” when the application for international protection of one individual is held simultaneously or successively in several Members States. The system is also designed to prevent “refugee in orbit” situation where thanks to the third safe country concept no state deems itself responsible for examination of the asylum application in merits (MVČR ©2008). The Dublin system is in place since 1997 and the Czech Republic adopted it upon its entry to the EU in 2004.

It is worth noting that the status of refugees, as opposed to asylum policies that are specific for every state, is covered by international law, and thus is embedded in international treaties such as the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the associated 1967 Protocol, also known as the Geneva Convention. Comparing to the right for asylum, the concept of refugees was first mentioned less than a century ago.

Major trends in immigration to the Czech Republic

In 2015 a total of 405,093⁵ migrants lived in the Czech Republic. These are all residents who live permanently in the country but were born in another country. The number of applicants for international protection is determined by two major inputs – the scope of events and conditions in the countries of origin and legislative and political changes in the countries of destination. The new Asylum Act came in force in 2000 in the Czech Republic. 2001 was a year with by far the highest number of submitted applications for international protection. 18,094 people applied for asylum in the Czech Republic, with the leading figures from the Ukraine, Moldova, Romania, Vietnam, India and Georgia. That same year only 83 persons received asylum in the Czech Republic. However, those numbers do not suffice to estimate the acceptance rate of the Czech asylum policy. Decisions are not necessarily made within the same calendar year as the submission of that particular case, as well as there are many returning applicants each year. In addition, asylum procedures can also be closed, if the applicant disappeared or withdrew the application.

Looking at cumulative numbers from years 1997 through 2016 provided by the Department of Asylum and Migration Policy of Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic, Table 1 shows the countries supplying the highest numbers of applicants

⁵ The amount includes granted refugees but no asylum seekers. The data are based on the results of censuses, as well as on estimates and projections of the United Nations Population Division (WorldData.org ©2017).

for international protection, as well as the countries whose citizens have gained the largest number of asylums over the course of last twenty years.

Table 1: Asylum statistics in the Czech Republic in the years 1997-2016

Asylum Application Submissions		Asylum Granted	
Country of Origin	Applied	Country of Origin	Granted Asylum
Ukraine	15,548	Russian Federation	382
Russian Federation	9,544	Belarus	355
Afghanistan	5,328	Iraq	199
Vietnam	4,987	Ukraine	182
Moldova	4,616	Afghanistan	181
India	4,164	Myanmar	165
Slovakia	3,936	Armenia	123
TOTAL	82,246	TOTAL	2,520

Source: Own elaboration (MVČR ©2017, WorldData.org ©2017).

By far the leading numbers of applicants for asylum in the Czech Republic come from the Ukraine, with its peak in 2001. The recent Ukrainian crisis and War in Donbass resulted in a slight increase in submitted applications for international protection but the number of acceptations did not reflect the fact. Ukrainians form the largest group of immigrants living in the Czech Republic, which would explain why it is also a country where they tend to apply for international protection. However, the amount of applications does not increase the chance of receiving an asylum. The statistics show that asylum is not being handed out proportionally to the number of people who applied, every application being evaluated individually.

Over the course of last twenty years the most asylum acceptations belonged to immigrants from Russia, followed by Belarus and Iraq. 101 Iraqis were granted asylum in 2016, which is the highest number ever given to a single nationality. The increase in granted asylums for the citizens of Myanmar between the years 2008 and 2013 was a reaction to an internal conflict between Myanmar Armed Forces and Karen National

Union, which resulted in displacement of approximately half a million people (Glatz et al. 2013). Similarly, there are other conflicts that result in an increase in submitted applications and some of them equally in more acceptations. Overall, the acceptance rate of granted asylum in the Czech Republic is slightly higher than six percent. That being said, the statistics show that there are many returning applications each year, and on the other hand some applicants do not stay until the final decision and move on to another country. This experience supports the idea of a unified European asylum system, either in a form of the Common European Asylum System or the Dublin System.

In recent years there has been a lot of public interest put into the migration wave coming to Europe from the Middle East as well as North Africa and West Asia. Media commonly used terms such as ‘refugee invasion’ and ‘migration crisis’ to describe the phenomenon and many misconceptions were created regarding to who were the people arriving in recent years by boats in Greece, Italy and elsewhere. In fact, they happen to be both migrants and refugees. Most people arriving in Italy and Greece have been from countries mired in war or which otherwise are considered to be ‘refugee-producing’ and for whom international protection is needed. However, a smaller proportion is from elsewhere, and for many of these individuals, the term ‘migrant’ would be correct. When it comes to the number of refugees coming to the Czech Republic, the number of asylums granted since 2015 is nowhere higher than in previous years and accounts for tens of individual cases. The topic of the European migration will be further discussed with regard to female refugees.

2. Female Face of Migration

In traditional migration studies the central assumption is for the migrants to be men, while women are expected to stay behind or follow later (Pettman and Hall, in: Shepherd 2015, p. 285). However, since Mirjana Morokvasic's ground-breaking article *Birds of Passage are also Women* (1984), feminists have shown interest in women on the move. In her work, Morokvasic focuses on migration of Yugoslav women and their working conditions in France, Germany and Sweden between 1976 and 1979. The study shows that women are not only experiencing widely different treatment at work than men, including job offers, conditions and salary, but also are facing prejudice and hardship after having decided to find employment in a different place (Morokvasic 1984, pp. 886-888, 891-895). The most commonly adopted view is, however, that migration and incorporation of women in waged employment bring both gains and losses: they may enhance women's exploitation but at the same time women can gain independence, respect and perhaps awareness that their condition is not fated and that it can be changed.

Notwithstanding the male-dominated academic sphere, gender plays a central role in any discussion of the causes and consequences of migration. Apart from the differences between male and female experiences at the job market, described by Morokvasic (1984), all of the aspects of the migratory process bring about different challenges for women. The following chapter will describe the main threats that female migrants have to face on their way, as well as prior and after their transfer to a different country. Another set of problems results from the lack of voice given to female migrants, which significantly hampers their chances to tackle these difficult situations. The issue of women lacking a voice will be more widely explored in chapters three and four that will be dedicated to exploring the present/absent gender dimension of the public migration discourse.

2.1 Principles of female migration

It was already mentioned that migration studies, similarly to other social sciences, have been mostly male-dominated, which resulted in many misconceptions and erroneous assumptions when it comes to migration of women. Ravenstein's influential 'laws of migration' (1885) stated, in no uncertain terms, that women were more migratory than men, particularly among internal, short-distance movers. Ravenstein being the most

cited author in the field of migration studies, his works were later revisited by many scholars (Donato et al. 2006; Alexander and Steidl 2012) and some of them explained why his argument was flawed by an imprecise interpretation of the used data, which created the illusion of a highly feminized internal migrant population (Alexander and Steidl 2012, pp. 224-225). Yet it inspired others to consider gender as an important influence on migration.

Over the last thirty years, scholarly research and feminist theory have changed considerably; the study of migration has become more interdisciplinary and women-centered research has shifted toward, and to some degree has been supplemented by, the analysis of gender. Recent gendered studies of migration have coalesced around work done in anthropology and around qualitative, relational, and eclectic methods, rather than the positivist quantitative analysis that is characteristic for sociology. One or more neighboring disciplines, including the humanities, have also influenced work on gender and migration, often as a result of migration scholars' participation in multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary programs and publications in women's studies, ethnic studies, or other area studies (Donato et al. 2006, p. 11). Despite this evolution in quality and purport of migration analysis, there are still many stereotypes embedded in the understanding of the phenomenon. Gatt, Hazibar, Sauermann, Preglau and Ralser (2016) have identified seven remnants of the 'genderless' or 'gender-omitting' understanding of migration:

- **Conventional male-breadwinner/female-caregiver model:** Migrating women have been discursively constructed as being dependent on their migrating husbands: as those staying behind with the children and/or following their husbands later on in the context of 'family reunion'.
- **Bias towards heteronormative ideas:** People who identify themselves beyond the heterosexual matrix and whose realities of life and survival strategies assert themselves beyond 'starting a family and family reunion' are rarely found in traditional migration research.
- **Other dimensions of inequality (such as class, ethnicity or people's cultural-religious background):** Cumulative effects like multiple discrimination (e. g. of women of color from the South in lower-class positions), but also status inconsistencies (e. g. the privileged position of upper-class women from the South) do not come into focus.

- **Eurocentrism and postcolonialism:** This includes the idea of the West or the Global North to have an exclusive, absolute monopoly on ‘civilization’ and ‘emancipation’ and to therefore serve as a model and a guideline for the East or the Global South, respectively. Sexualized violence against women is redirected towards an ethicized and radicalized outsider.
- **Migrants as passive objects:** Migrants are viewed merely as victims of external circumstances (wars, disasters, economic hardships) or mafia-like networks run by unscrupulous ‘human traffickers’ or ‘refugee smugglers’. This perception is even more pronounced in case of migrant women.
- **Methodological nationalism:** It is based on the assumption of the autonomy, unity and internal homogeneity of national societies and their heterogeneity towards other nations, from which they are separated by virtually natural borders. In this way, transnational projects and biographies often go unrecognized.
- **Gaps in collective memory:** To this day, migration in general and female migration in particular have hardly played any role in the classical science of history as well as in the memory reservoirs of chronicles and archives. (Gatt et al. 2016, pp. 2-4)

Clearly, gender cannot be excluded from a study of migration, nor can be other aspects of social differentiation such as race, ethnicity, social class, stage in life, generation, location and legal status. None of these is reducible to any other, yet they constantly cross-cut and interact, affecting life-chances, lifestyles, culture and social consciousness, and immigrant groups are just as heterogeneous as the rest of the population (Castles, De Haas and Miller 2014, p. 61). Migration patterns are highly gendered, in terms of the causes and consequences of movement. A large part of female migration, whether internal or across borders, is for purposes of marriage or because the husband is moving. But international migration for work shows clear demarcations and separate niches for male and female labor.

In the past, many labor migrations were male-dominated, and women were often dealt with under the category of family reunion, even if they did take up employment.

Since the 1960s, women have played an increasing role in labor migration – a trend known as the ‘feminization of labor migration’, which contributed to the growth of awareness about women’s role in global migratory movements (Castles, De Haas and Miller 2014, p. 16). The growing demand for women’s labor reflects their commodification as cheap labor. Making labor cheap depends, in part, on ideologies of femininity. Women’s labor is seen to be temporary, supplementary and helping out the ‘real breadwinner’. Women are constructed as naturally patient, persevering, and good with their hands. They are assumed to be already experienced in forms of women’s work which may be replicated on the assembly line, for example in sewing. This work is classified as unskilled, even though when men do it, it is called skilled (Pettman 1998, p. 392). Ghosh identifies eight types of factors determining women migration:

- Migration upon marriage, to husband’s residence;
- Migration as part of a family, because of voluntary family movement;
- Migration by individuals but as part of family reunification;
- Forced migration (alone or with family) due to displacement caused by wars and other violence and strife, natural calamities, loss of land because of development or other projects;
- Migration for education;
- Voluntary migration for work;
- Involuntary migration for work, through coercive pressure, because of debt bondage, or as part of a trafficking network;
- Return migration after a period spent away from the home. (Ghosh 2009, pp. 10-11)

Besides these motives for migration, there are many other factors that change the whole migratory process significantly. Any of these types of migration can be initiated individually or collectively, pursued in either legal or illegal way and in orderly or irregular manner. The migrant woman decides whether to seek official or unofficial help. Each specific combination of circumstances will affect migrant’s life and gender will play an important role every step of the way. Racism, sexism and class domination are three specific forms of social normalization and exclusion which have developed in close relationship to each other. Essed (1991, p. 31) argues that racism and sexism,

which are both allegedly fixed biological and cultural characteristics, combine under certain conditions into one, hybrid phenomenon. Migrant women are especially vulnerable to this ‘gendered-racism’. Women are positioned differently in relation to many of the aspects or sites of migration, from family politics, through the mix of opportunities and constraints at the border or in the new state, to wars and conflicts triggering large-scale displacement, and the global political economy with its increasingly globalized division of labor (Pettman and Hall, in: Shepherd 2015, p. 285). This gives an example why it is important to take into consideration and talk about the gender dimension of migration.

2.2 Global trends in female migration

According to the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs statistics,⁶ there were nearly 258 million people living in a country other than their country of birth in mid-2017, out of which 48.4 % were women. This percentage varies by the area of destination in a sense that there are 51.8 % female immigrants to ‘more developed regions,’ but only 47.7 % female immigrants to ‘high-income countries’.⁷ The total international migrant stock has been steadily growing over the last twenty years, maintaining the percentage level of total population around three percent, but the countries of destination have altered towards the more developed regions. While the rate of migration to low-income countries has been on decline, the number of migrants as a percentage of total population headed to the more developed regions has risen from 7.2 % in 1990 to 11.6 % in 2017.

Most of the growth in the global population of international migrants has been caused by movements toward high-income countries, hosting 64 million of the 85 million migrants added since 2000. The number of migrants as a fraction of the population residing in high-income countries rose from 7.7 % in 1990 to 14.1 % in 2017. Similar trends of a shift towards more developed regions as countries of destination are valid for migrant women. International migration makes an important contribution to population growth in many parts of the world and even reverses population decline in some countries or areas. Between 2000 and 2015, migration contributed 42 % of the population growth in Northern

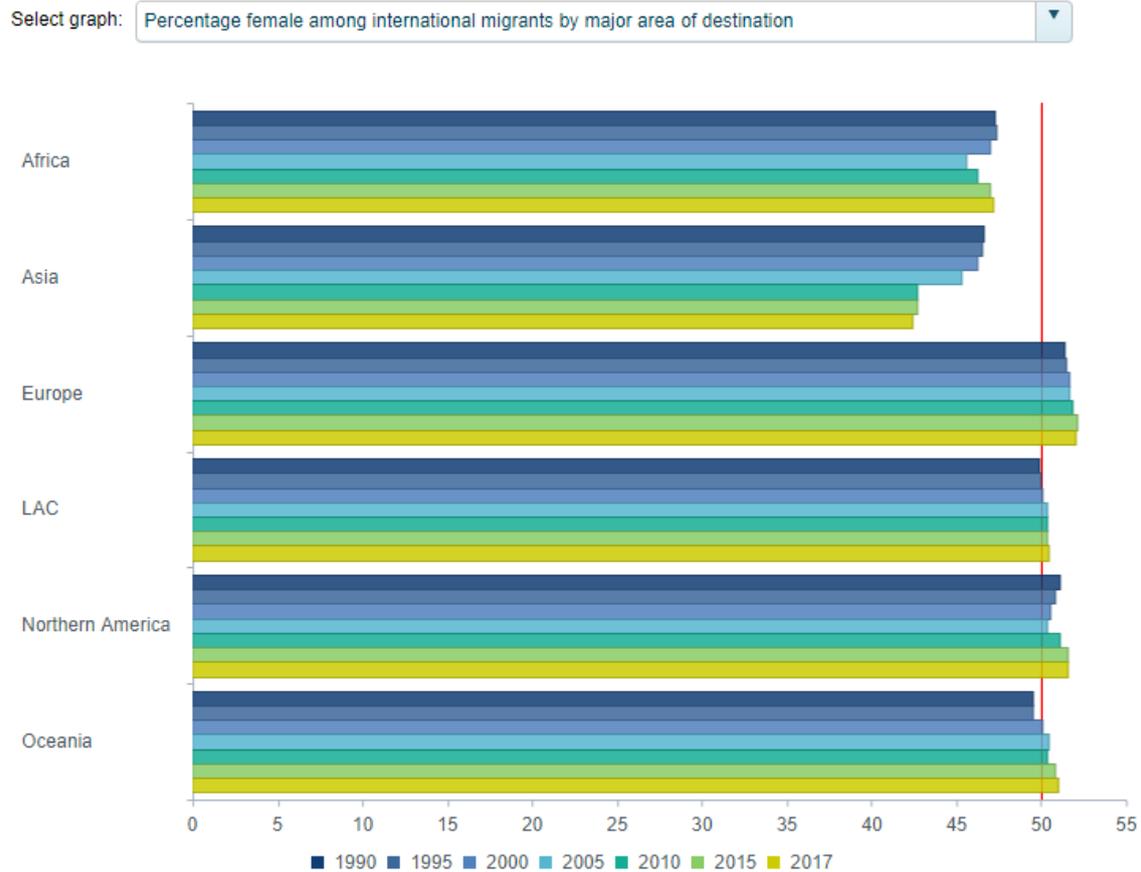
⁶ The data presented are based on national statistics, obtained from population censuses as well as population registers and nationally representative surveys (UN DESA ©2017a). That is why the actual numbers tend to be higher because the official estimates do not include illegal and temporary migrants.

⁷ These two categories do not overlap, which means that a more developed country does not have to classify as high-income (e. g. Bulgaria, Serbia, the Ukraine), and a less developed region can consist of high-income countries (e. g. Israel, United Arab Emirates, Uruguay) (UN DESA ©2017a).

America and 31 % in Oceania. In Europe, the size of the total population would have declined during the period 2000-2015 in the absence of migration (UN DESA ©2017b).

Figure 1: Migrant women as a percentage of global migrant population

International migrant stock 2017: graphs



Source: UN DESA. International migrant stock 2017: graphs. *Population Division - International Migration* [online]. New York: United Nations, ©2017c [accessed 2018-04-04]. <<http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/data/estimates2/estimatesgraphs.shtml?5g5>>.

In mid-2017 there were 124 million migrant women worldwide. As Figure 1 shows, female migrants outnumber males in all regions except for Africa and Asia. While in Africa the female/male ratio has remained more or less stable (except for a noticeable drop of female portion of the migrant stock in 2005), Asia has experienced a visible decline in the rate of incoming women. In some countries of Asia, male migrants outnumber females by about three to one. Only Europe and Oceania have experienced a rise of the female migrant ratio. The exact numbers of female international migrant stock can be found in Appendix 1. When it comes to countries of destination, it is worth mentioning that not every country is a realistic option. Forced migrants fleeing danger are

“pushed” into the closest possible safe zone that they are able to access. In case of voluntary migration, the choice of destination can rely on variety of factors, for example the immigration laws and administrative procedures. Especially for migrant women, the state of prejudice and discrimination in the potential country of destination are decisive. This explains why the less developed regions of Asia and Africa are receiving less female immigrants, as they would rather start their new lives in countries with functioning legal system and respect for human rights.

2.3 Female refugees – a gendered analysis of forced migration

As seen earlier in this chapter, women’s experiences with migration are significantly different from the men’s. This fact leads to an assumption that forced migrants who are women will have different needs that their male counterparts and thus special legal protection will be necessary. Until the mid-1980s, little research or analysis of forced migration trends focused on gender issues. With the increasing recognition of the large number and proportion of female refugees and displaced persons, and the changing role of women more generally, significantly more attention is paid today to these issues by both researchers and policy-makers. Fueling this momentum was the UN Decade on Women from 1976 till 1985, and two world conferences held in Nairobi and Beijing, at which the impact of displacement, violence and conflict on women was the focus (Edwards 2010, pp. 22-23). The 1990 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) *Policy on Refugee Women* represented an important breakthrough in this process, as UNHCR committed to mainstreaming the needs and contributions of refugee women into its policies and operations (Martin 2010, p. 104).

The Policy was adopted by the international community at the time of determination of refugee status worldwide. The goal was “to ensure that the specific protection needs and the legal rights of refugee women are understood and that adequate measures are taken to respond” (UNHCR ©1990, p. 8). More specific guidance on the handling of gender-based claims to refugee status was addressed in the *Guidelines on the Protection of Refugee Women*, adopted by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Geneva in 1991. This document equally addresses problems that are hampering the establishment of a proper legal protection for refugee women, some

of which had already been embedded in the first internationally recognized agreement about refugees:

The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees defines a refugee as a person who is outside of his or her country of origin and is unable or unwilling to return owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, Article 1(A)(2). The claim to refugee status by women fearing harsh or inhumane treatment because of having transgressed their society's laws or customs regarding the role of women presents difficulties under this definition. (UNHCR 1991, article 54)

The issue is that the definition of refugees, as defined in mid-20th century, does not consider the gender aspect of migration, which is central to finding strategies of tackling gender-based persecution such as rape, widow burnings, honor killings, domestic violence, forced marriages, and female genital cutting (Martin 2010, p. 105). In promulgating the 1990 *Policy on Refugee Women* and the 1991 *Guidelines on the Protection of Refugee Women*, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees took a universalistic position that gender-based persecution is an abuse of fundamental human rights. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees argued that when Governments are unwilling or unable to protect women from such persecution, the international community should provide asylum (Martin 2010, p. 104).

Emerging research on the widespread presence of gender-based violence during the journey to access legal protection in the Global North indicates that such violence has a significant impact on women's mobility. Women migrants face violence from all different sides: state and non-state actors including family members, and those involved in facilitating their migration (Gerard 2014, p. 62). Crossing international borders does not end the violence – in fact, there are noticeable relationships between gendered violence and border controls, refugee camps and detention centers. The *EU Qualification Directive*⁸ regarding refugee determination, applicable across all the Member States, specifies that persecution may include gender-specific persecution of a sexual nature (European Commission ©2016, p. 21 article 28). It also suggests that gender should be one of the deciding factors during refugee determination.

⁸“The Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council on standards for the qualification of third-country nationals or stateless persons as beneficiaries of international protection, for a uniform status for refugees or for persons eligible for subsidiary protection and for the content of the protection granted and amending Council Directive 2003/109/EC of 25 November 2003 concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long-term residents” (European Commission ©2016, p. 1).

On the national level, though, gender and refugee protection fails to account for the growing number of women asylum seekers. Data collection on women refugees is unsystematic and incomplete. Information is lacking on the numbers of how many women are traveling with partners, with children or alone (Gerard 2014, p. 60). According to various statistics, the access to refugee determination procedures is lower for women than men. For example, the share of female (non-EU) first time asylum applicants in the EU Member States is less than fifty per cent in all the age groups, except for the oldest, 65+ years old (Eurostat ©2017). The figures confirm that women are under-represented in asylum application processes in EU countries.

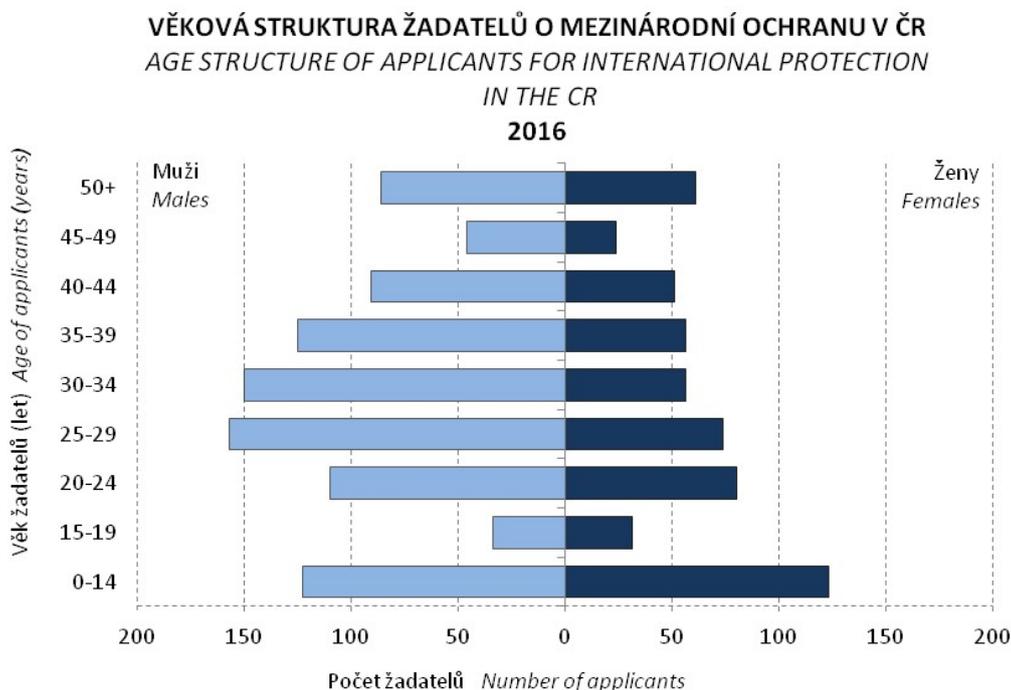
Similar statistics regarding asylum applications can be found in the context of the Czech Republic. Figure 2 shows the distribution of male and female applicants for international protection in the Czech Republic in 2016 across different age groups. Male applicants outnumber women in all the groups, except for children under 19 years where males and females are close to equal. In 2016, female asylum applicants in the Czech Republic (including the returning applicants) accounted for 38.84 % of the total (ČSÚ ©2017c). As a part of the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* the Committee⁹ issues periodical reports on the state of affair in every country. The sixth Report of the Czech Republic comprised of both positive and negative aspects regarding adequate protection of refugee women.

The Committee welcomes the progress that has been made since the last report regarding the availability of health-care services, legal liability, a strategy for equality of women and men, and adoption of several optional UN protocols¹⁰ (CEDAW ©2016, pp. 1-2). Principal areas of concern, on the other hand, include multiple sections of the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*: access to justice, national machinery for the advancement of women, temporary special measures, stereotypes and discriminatory practices, violence against women, trafficking and exploitation of prostitution, participation in political and public life, education and employment, to name a few (CEDAW ©2016, pp. 3-7). The Report includes recommendations as well as plans of action to tackle each of the drawbacks.

⁹ The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

¹⁰ These include ratification of or accession to the Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography, in 2013; the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, in 2013; Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, in 2014 (CEDAW ©2016, p. 2).

Figure 2: Gender distribution of asylum applicants across different age groups



Source: ČSÚ, Věková struktura žadatelů o mezinárodní ochranu v ČR v roce 2016 [online]. Praha: Cizinci v ČR - 2017, ©2017b [accessed 2018-04-08]. <https://www.czso.cz/documents/10180/67292023/29002717_2gl.jpg/19acef62-79e1-426a-ba29-ec7ec9c265fb?version=1.1&t=1509451967897>.

In 2015, the number of non-citizens crossing Czech territory en route to countries like Germany or Sweden increased significantly. The Czech Republic responded by boosting its detention efforts. In 2014 and 2015, the number of detained non-citizens rose dramatically. In the Czech Republic, women kept separate detention centers from unrelated men (Zákon o pobytu cizinců na území České republiky a o změně některých zákonů 1999, section 141(1)-(2)). According to the official sources, the separation principles are observed in practice. Families are then held in the same building at the Bělá-Jezová complex that is used for women. These sharp increases in number of refugees passing through the Czech territory together with reports of inadequate detention conditions prompted the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights to target the country for particular criticism (Rozumek 2015).

Regarding the immigration detention of women, in 2016, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women noted with concern that the State party's measures to address recent increases in the number of asylum seekers, refugees, and irregular migrants have not been in compliance with international humanitarian

and human rights law. The Committee expressed particular concern that many asylum-seeking, refugee or irregular migrant women – including pregnant women, nursing mothers and mothers with children – are deprived of their liberty in immigration detention by the state party. The committee urged the Czech Republic to respect the fundamental rights of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees, recalling its general recommendation No. 32 (2014) on the gender-related dimensions of refugee status, asylum, nationality and statelessness of women. The committee also urged the country to immediately cease the detention of asylum-seeking, refugee or irregular migrant women and their children and to implement less coercive alternative measures (Global Detention Project ©2016).

3. Securitization of Migration in the Czech Republic

Migration and the recent refugee wave arriving to Europe have been setting the agenda for most media platforms across Europe since 2014. Public discussions have been shaken up by news about the refugee influx, often based on irrelevant statistics and out-of-context visuals. In many cases migration has been treated like a security phenomenon. Critical theorists believe that security is being constructed through strategically chosen steps. The process of so-called securitization, which will be tracked in this chapter, also comes from a strictly male-dominated academic sphere. Similarly to traditional migration studies presented in the first chapter, the Copenhagen School does not allow for a balanced analysis of security from a gender point of view. Despite the fact that the range of referent objects has been enlarged by the ‘deepeners’ of security¹¹, no attention has been paid to the wide differences in experiences of male and female migrants. This paradox of gender absence in the Copenhagen School will be in the center of interest for the next two chapters.

International migration is seen as a challenge for states and their national communities since it is the state’s responsibility to protect its border as well as determine who may leave its territory, and who may enter, reside, work, and possibly become a citizen of the state. This is especially true in the post-9/11 world, where the securitization of immigration and homeland security are considered to be the primary concern of the Western countries (Pettman and Hall, in: Shepherd 2015, p. 286). In the process, migration can become a foreign policy issue, a security issue and a national political issue touching on identity politics, citizenship, labor and human rights. This chapter will focus on how existing critical approaches to securitization explain the current perceptions of migration in the Czech Republic. After setting the theoretical basis for the analysis, the text will concentrate on the role of various discursive acts that facilitated securitization of migration. Further on, the results of the securitizing process will be shown by how refugees and migrants are perceived by the Czech society.

¹¹ The shift involved the “deepening of the referent object beyond the state” (Buzan and Hansen 2009, p. 189), including both the individual and international level that can and do play a significant role in influencing national security.

3.1 Theoretical background: Copenhagen School

In the mid-1990s scholars of the Copenhagen School (Buzan et al. 1998; Wæver 1995) offered a radically new theory describing the construction of security threats. They assumed that security is not defined by what it is, but rather what it does – security as a series of speech acts affecting society by their embedded institutional, cultural and linguistic connotations. Buzan has pointed out that the moment when a certain topic becomes a national security issue depends not only on the nature of the threat and the way it is being perceived, but also on the intensity with which the threat operates (Buzan, 1991, pp. 133-134). This constructivist operational method served for analyzing and understanding how and when a topic becomes a security issue.

Buzan has started his analysis by disaggregating state security into several sectors (military, political, societal, economic, and ecological), which equally expanded a range of possible referent objects. The referent object, or the area under threat, was traditionally equated with the state, but this was extended by the Copenhagen School to include new referent objects depending on the given security sector (for example in environmental security, the global environment is often the referent object under threat) (Nyman in: Shepherd 2013, p. 53). The process of securitization is not understood as a moment of binary decision but rather a repetitive, political process between speaker and audience. There are multiple settings of securitizing moves, suggesting a model of at least four distinct types of audiences and speech contexts (popular, elite, technocratic, and scientific) (Salter, 2008, p. 321). That is why a close-up analysis of securitization is the only way to trace the causes and consequences of this highly context-dependent practice (Rychnovská 2014, pp. 10-11).

A formal model of securitization was developed by Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde when they connected the intersubjective establishment of an existential threat to substantial political effects while breaking free of procedures or rules one would otherwise be bound by (Buzan et al. 1998, p. 25). The attempt at securitization is called a ‘securitizing move’, which must be accepted or rejected by the target audience. The authors state three conditions for success: the internal grammatical form of the act, the social conditions regarding the position of authority for the securitizing actor¹², and features of the alleged

¹² The position of authority refers to the relationship between the speaker and the audience and thereby the likelihood of the audience accepting the claims made in a securitizing attempt (Buzan et al. 1998, p. 33).

threats that either facilitate or impede securitization (Buzan et al. 1998, p. 33). For example, these objects might include tanks, hostile sentiments, or polluted waters.

In more detail, securitization theory considers the ways in which areas of political life can be shaped by the framing of political debate in terms of existential threat and survival (Huysmans 1998, pp. 178-179). This can be done in many different forms and by many different actors, but the capacity of the actor to securitize an issue effectively is an important consideration, as the actor needs sufficient institutional and political authority for his or her statements to contribute to the shaping of political and social relations. As such, securitization is not reducible to speech acts alone, as one must also consider the conditions under which they occur and how these contribute to their form and to their subsequent success or failure. Securitization frames issues as exceptional politics and justifies actions outside of the normal political procedures. As such, security should be perceived as negative since it resulted from a failure to deal with situation using standard political course of action (Buzan et al. 1998, p. 29). As a reflection to this, the Copenhagen School also developed the concept of desecuritization during which the issues are moved from the security sphere back into the political sphere.

Another milestone that affected the general perception of security was the 9/11 series of attacks on the facilities vital to U.S. sovereignty and security. The responses spread across the world and securitization practices gained a global dimension. Terrorism became the number one security threat and after the 2004 Madrid train bombings and 2005 suicide attacks in London there was no doubt that it could happen anywhere in the world. The Security Council of the United Nations altered its rhetoric regarding self-defense and use of force. Terrorism being a universal threat to international peace and security, the UN Security Council opened up to the idea of using 'all necessary means' to combat all of its forms (UN Security Council ©2001). Since then, securitization moves had a widespread coverage, and thanks to new technologies reached much wider audiences. Speech acts by globally known figures have the power to affect perception of security threats all over the world.

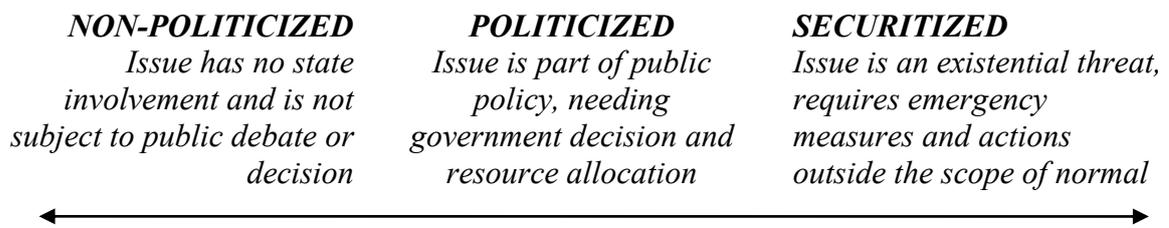
For the Copenhagen School, security issues are not objective and external but 'determined by actors' and 'intersubjective and socially constructed' (Buzan et al. 1998, p. 31). Since its inception, securitization theory has become increasingly popular as an approach to security, and it has been used to study the securitization of a range of

issues, from minority rights to immigration, trafficking, HIV/AIDS and the environment.¹³ The focus of this paper is to demonstrate how migration is being securitized in the Czech Republic, following the global trend. Analyzing Czech public discourse in the context of the recent migratory events will allow us to see the way social reality is being constructed through various speech acts, symbols and selection of topics covered by Czech media.

Politicization and securitization – similarities and differences

Securitization theory distinguishes between security & securitization and regular politics & politicization, placing the issues on a scale ranging from non-politicized to securitized, as shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Issue scale derived from Buzan et al. (1998, p. 23)



Source: Own elaboration (Nyman, in: Shepherd 2013, p. 54).

Politicization is thus the stage preceding securitization and is often associated with terms such as ‘problematization’, ‘agenda setting’, or ‘political competence’. Critical scholars of security have identified three categories of politicization problematic: “individuals and issues; the most diverse activities and social practices; and processes of depoliticization, repoliticization and diversion of devices (Bourbeau 2013, pp. 129-130)”. All of these support the idea that politicization is a process of social construction, meaning that the actual gravity of security threats is often distorted by various politicizing and securitizing moves. Neither politicization nor securitization is objective and the product of those requires a constant reassurance, which explains the repetitiveness of its construction. A second similarity between politicization and securitization lies in the unequal position of the agents participating in the processes. In fact, the securitizing actor or policy need to possess certain power and social recognition in order to be

¹³ To name a few of the authors who treated the different subjects of securitization: Doty 1998; Huysmans 2000; Roe 2004; Elbe 2005, 2006; Trombetta 2008, 2010; MacKenzie 2009 (Nyman, in: Shepherd 2013, p. 52).

considered. This power can be drawn from the actor's institutional background, which gives him or her advantage in the process by increasing their legitimacy to speak about political issues and set the agenda for other actors including their attempt at political or security requalification (Bourbeau 2013, pp. 134-135).

Politicians are classic examples of institutional agents. However, in a context of globalization and transnationalization, the analytical framework must allow the study of the role of media agents, mayors of big cities, pressure groups, non-governmental organizations and private security companies. The approach used must be able to absorb and problematize these assumptions. While the majority of studies have highlighted the role of state agents, Buzan et al. (1998) accept from the outset that other agents may requalify a social activity or an issue transforming it into a political, or even a security problem. Thus the inventory of agents involved in the politicization and securitization processes of an issue is done on a case by case basis. These actors cannot politicize or securitize only one isolated topic, because the environment in which they operate is not a social vacuum. The degree of the autonomy depends on a multitude of factors, including the character of the particular environment and nature of the politicized/securitized issue. The social space is defined by a constant mobility of power relations (Bourbeau 2013, p. 135).

To conclude, it is worth mentioning that neither politicization nor securitization is *de facto* negative. These phenomena of social construction can have both negative and positive impacts on the perception of the given issue. It is possible, for example, to politicize international migration in a positive light by highlighting the advantages of multiculturalism and the economic benefits. Similarly, securitization can bring about certain normative advancements that help to resolve some long-time problems and overcome stereotypical prejudices that people might hold about the topic that has been securitized. However, the voices of so-called securitizing actors are usually quite powerful, which gives them leverage over people who are willing to listen. Theoretically described by the Copenhagen School, these phenomena have been recently demonstrated by widespread waves of populism around the world. The financial crisis and the large influx of refugees contributed to its spike in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

International migration served as a tool for gaining political power for many populist politicians, when talked about during their pre-election campaigns. The relative success of the far-right, Eurosceptic and anti-Muslim political party SPD (Freedom

and Direct Democracy) in the Czech parliamentary elections in 2017 can serve as an example. The general rhetoric of the SPD leader, Tomio Okamura, was strongly anti-immigrant, bending facts in order to create fear of refugees, and populist, which could qualify his moves as securitization. The President of the Center of Muslim Communities (*Ústředí Muslimských Obcí*) in the Czech Republic, Muneeb Hassan Alrawi, told the Czech Radio: „[Okamura’s political] program was built on fear and intolerance, which is not a normal political program, but pure populism” (Mošpanová 2017). Populism shows the negative impacts of securitization and politicization on society.

3.2 Discourse analysis of migration in the Czech Republic

Security threats are commonly constructed through highly context-dependent and strategically negotiated discursive practices (Rychnovská 2014, p. 9). According to constructivist point of view, discourses as practices systematically form the objects of which they speak. Even though discourse analysis finds its origins in philosophy, law, linguistics, and literature, it was through the works of French philosophers Foucault and Derrida that it became an analytical method in the field of critical international relations (Salter and Mutlu 2012, p. 113). Discourse analysis takes textual, visual, or other semiotic material as primary data. On any given socio-political topic, there are multiple official texts, critiques, media coverage and historical accounts, which constitute the public discourse leading to the construction of new realities.

There are many actors contributing to the Czech public discourse about migration and the securitizing moves which could be tracked through analysis of their speeches. For the sake of this work, the main focus will be put on media – more specifically on the most popular Czech media sources in both broadcast and written forms.¹⁴ The analyzed material includes statements by politicians and other public figures who could be considered as separate securitizing actors. Nevertheless, the following analysis will treat the media as main actors because they are the ones choosing the content of their reporting, inviting certain people and selectively providing platforms to speak to the public. Special focus will be put on the presence/absence of mentions regarding women and gender in general, as well as a voice actually given to migrant women.

¹⁴ Appendix 2 shows a chart of the Top 10 most frequented media sources in the Czech Republic. Our discourse analysis will consider all of them except for Facebook.

Radio and television broadcasting in the Czech Republic

The migration discourse analysis is divided into two parts, each focusing on a different media type: broadcasting and written news. The first includes major providers of radio and television broadcasting. The analysis will elaborate on the outcomes of monitoring reports published by the Council for Radio and Television Broadcasting (RRTV) of the Czech Republic. The Council's main mission is to “[monitor] content of radio and television broadcasting” and “[supervise] the observance of legal regulations in the area of broadcasting and conditions stipulated in the decision on granting a license or in decision on registration” (RRTV ©1992). Control of radio and television broadcast content is monitored by analysts of the Office of the RRTV¹⁵. The monitoring is carried out on the basis of an internal conception aiming at the periodical control of all television and radio programs licensed by the Radio and Television Broadcasting Council. When selecting the scope and frequency of the monitoring, both the technical means of spreading the program and the spectator interference of individual programs are taken into account. The monitoring is also motivated by listeners' and spectators' complaints about specific broadcast programs (RRTV ©1992).

Outputs of the monitoring are reports that evaluate whether there has been a violation of law or licensing conditions in the broadcast. Every year, the Council for Radio and Television Broadcasting brings together dozens of analytical outputs that are then available on the RRTV website. The selected reports used for the discourse analysis of migration date back to 2016 and cover programs broadcasted by the main radio and television channels in the Czech Republic:

- Český rozhlas Radiožurnál;
- FREKVENCE 1;
- RÁDIO IMPULS;
- Česká televize (ČT1 and ČT24);
- NOVA;
- Prima.

¹⁵ Úřad Rady pro rozhlasové a televizní vysílání (RRTV ©1992).

The Council chose two time periods¹⁶, each 21 days long, that were significant in terms of events connected to the European migration wave that began in 2015 and analyzed the ways of informing about the issue in news and publicity programs broadcast by each of these media platforms. The goal of the analysis remained the same for all the cases: determine any possible deviation from the Act No. 231/2001, on Radio and Television Broadcasting and on Amendments to Other Acts¹⁷ (hereinafter referred to as the “Act” or the “Broadcasting Act”). Attention was paid to possible misconduct against the Sections §31 and §32 of the Act.

In evaluating the fulfillment of Section §31, paragraph (3) of the Broadcasting Act, the analysts focused on how the media collected, processed, classified and disseminated information, and how it reflected on the final form of media content. Central is the concept of journalistic objectivity, which emphasizes, on one hand, the provision of a sufficiently broad spectrum of opinions on mediated issues, and on the other, the provision of an equivalent space to advocates of individual opinion streams. Objectivity in this context can be interpreted as a routine journalistic practice that allows reflection of reality publishing all relevant, factually correct and undistorted (meaning complete) information that must be communicated in such a manner as to clearly separate facts from opinions. Other conditions for objective reporting on social phenomena are the observance of factuality (truthfulness, informality and relevance) and impartiality (balance and neutrality) (RRTV ©2016a). Securitization does not acknowledge objectivity as a relevant characteristic as such since the reality constructed through discourse is highly dependent on the speaker, context and different types of environment (historical, cultural, linguistic, etc.). Nevertheless, the evaluation of objectivity of the reported information provides an important message regarding truthfulness and the strategies used by the securitizing actor – in our case the media.

The second task of the monitoring was to find out what kind of image of migration-related events was created by the individual media. The aim was to reveal how the whole theme was framed. Media frameworks create conditions and determine forms of content interpretation for recipients. Media can provide listeners and viewers with predefined conclusions through their chosen media framework, which means that the recipients are being offered a particular way of interpreting and evaluating the communicated

¹⁶ First time period: August 24 – September 13, 2015; second time period: March 28 – April 17, 2016.

¹⁷ Zákon 231/2001 Sb. ze dne 17. května 2001 o provozování rozhlasového a televizního vysílání a o změně dalších zákonů (Zákon 2001).

information. The characteristics of every media framework consist of the medium type, selection of what facts, attitudes, contexts or values are emphasized, concealed or devaluated, which all leads to a certain intended meaning (RRTV ©2016a). The media framework gives a lot of insight into the particular reporting approach, which corresponds with the way reality is being constructed by the particular actor. In the context of securitization, these frameworks could be thus understood as securitizing moves.

The analysis should reveal how the Czech TV and radio media are working with information on migration and whether they are failing, in any respects, to fulfill paragraph 4 of Section §31. The aim was to find out whether the concerned media were approaching the topic conceptually in order to provide comprehensive information and analytical service, or rather if their approach was accidental and unconscious, reflecting only the media attractiveness of current events. Analytical outputs should have also assessed whether there were any manipulative aspects or traits of bias that cannot be traced when reporting about migration (RRTV ©2016a). This point is especially relevant for the discourse analysis because by stressing only certain aspects of the on-going events, the media are able to shape people's perceptions according to their wishes.

Section §35 of the Act states the broadcasting providers' responsibilities. Paragraphs of concern for the RRTV monitoring are the ones obligating the broadcasting providers to: (b) ensure that broadcast programs do not promote war or cruel and otherwise inhumane behavior in a way that is alleviating, excusing or approving of them; (c) ensure that the broadcast programs do not engender hatred on grounds of sex, race, color, language, faith and religion, political and other opinion, national and social origin, nationality and ethnic minority, property, gender or other status; (f) not to display, without cause, persons dying or subjected to severe physical or mental suffering in a way that reduces human dignity; and (i) not to include programs likely to reinforce stereotypical prejudices concerning ethnic, religious and racial minorities (Zákon o provozování rozhlasového a televizního vysílání a o změně dalších zákonů 2001, pp. 24-25). The mentioned responsibilities cover the same areas that could be considered as politicizing or securitizing moves.

To start the discourse analysis information about six topics presented in Table 2 have been distilled from the reports. To begin, a brief commentary on the selected categories, displayed as columns of the table above, is required. One way of evaluating the importance given to the migration issue by individual providers is the actual

broadcasting time. The first column shows the percentage of broadcasting time dedicated to cover migration or any closely related topic. The second number shows the ‘time ratio’ of the respective broadcasting time covering migration that consisted of a live reportage or an interview. That aspect is crucial for the analysis of politicization and securitization since the politicizing and securitizing acts are done through speech (among other means).

The second column lists the main ‘topics’ across the individual programs unveiling the orientation and focus of each broadcasting provider. Thanks to the core purpose of the monitoring, the analyzed content was entirely focused on migration. Yet each of the broadcasting channels focuses on different aspects of this complex phenomenon. By concentrating on the security aspects of migration the discourse is automatically shifted towards the realm of securitization.

The prime ‘subjects’ of the reportages are migrants – the Czech words in italics specify what were the most common titles used when talking about them. Besides the migrants themselves there were many other talked-about subjects participating in the migratory process and the most frequent ones are listed in the third column. The number at the bottom shows the analyzed materials from a gender perspective – how many times any of the radio programs mentioned men vs. women.¹⁸ For the television broadcasts, the analysis included visuals – how many men vs. women were portrayed in the presented photographs and footage.

The category ‘sources’ contains the main speakers and contributors to the actual reportages. It is clear that the main opinion leaders regarding the coverage of migration in Czech radio and on Czech TV were politicians, especially the Minister of Defense. Securitization is a construction of a social understanding of a certain phenomenon. The meaning of an issue is built on a preselected set of ‘symbols’, which are presented in the next column. These symbols are distilled from the ample information included in the RRTV reports and together create a certain feel or image of the topic of migration that had been presented to the listeners and viewers. The last column summarizes the overall results of the migration coverage. This data will be used in the last section of this chapter.

¹⁸ The RRTV reports of FREKVENCE 1, as well as the second report of RÁDIO IMPULS included no information regarding sex of the migrants (RRTV ©2016b).

Table 2: Monitoring of the Czech radio and TV broadcasting programs

	Time ratio Reportage	Topics	Subjects	Sources	Symbols	Overall evaluation
Český rozhlas Radiožurnál	22.2 % 76.4 %	Migrants in CZE, situation in Hungary, Czech politics, political aspects	Migrants (<i>uprchlíci, běženci, migranti, lidé</i>), institutions, EU, traffickers 1/3 +	Politicians (Sobotka, Chovanec, Merkel), institutions, police	ISIS, terrorism (reference to 9/11), migrants as recipients of aid	Objective and balanced info, experts involved, thematic variety
	18.4 % 77.8 %	Organizational aspects, case of Iraqi Christians, migrants in CZE	Migrants (<i>uprchlíci, migranti, běženci</i>), institutions, EU 2/2 +	Politicians (Chovanec, Sobotka), NGOs (AI, Pavel Čížinský)	Terrorism (Bruxelles attack), deportation, leaving CZE after attempt to integrate	Objective and balanced info, experts involved, thematic variety
FREKVENCE 1	23.4 % 10 %	V4 Summit, physical protection, dead migrants	Migrants (<i>běženci, uprchlíci, migrant</i>), politicians, locals -	Politicians (Zeman, Chovanec), migrants	Criminal aspects, CZE getting ready for refugee arrival – new refugee camp in CZE	Focus on politics in CZE and opinions of locals, thematic variety
	13 % 22 %	Iraqis wanting to leave CZE, EU asylum policy, situation in Turkey	Migrants (<i>uprchlíci, Iráčané</i>), politicians, security forces, Generace 21 foundation -	Politicians (Chovanec), foreign politicians	Terrorism (Paris and Bruxelles attacks), ISIS, failure of the Generace 21 project	Focus on the case of Christian Iraqis who attempted to leave CZE, pointed out the problematic side
RÁDIO IMPULS	15.2 % 18.4 %	Czech policy, migrants in CZE, situation in Hungary	Migrants (<i>uprchlíci, běženci, migranti</i>), EU, politicians, institutions, traffickers 0/2 +	Politicians (Chovanec, Sobotka, Babiš), institutions, journalists (iDNES)	Description of refugee camps, humanitarian work	Objective and balanced info, variety of opinions, experts involved
	9.5 % 7.8 %	Case of Iraqi Christians, organizational aspects, political aspects	Migrants (<i>uprchlíci, migranti, Iráčané</i>), EU, institutions, NGOs -	Politicians (Chovanec, Ověčáček, Mynář), celebrities (Bílá)	Terrorism (Bruxelles attack), situation in the Eastern European countries	Little time allocated for reporting on migration, narrow agenda
Česká televize (ČT1 & ČT24)	26 % 66 %	Political negotiations, numbers, routes and strategies, quota	Migrants (<i>masy, uprchlíci, migranti</i>), EU, politicians 74/62 +-	Czech politicians (Sobotka, Chovanec, Zeman, Pelikán, Babiš), migrants	Photo of a dead boy as a symbol of the refugee crisis, human dimension (personal stories)	Wide spectrum of topics, different perspectives and frames
	13 % 65 %	Migration in CZE, migrants in Europe, political negotiations	Migrants (<i>uprchlíci, běženci, migranti</i>), politicians, NGOs 43/32 -	Politicians (government, Chovanec), migrants, NGOs	Investigation of the terrorist attacks (Paris and Bruxelles)	Decrease of interest in the topic, focus on Iraqi Christians and quota

NOVA	21 % 85 %	Destabilization, influx of refugees, state control, humanitarian dimension	Migrants (<i>uprchlíci, běženci, lidé</i>) 75/69	Celebrities, Czech politicians (Chovanec, Sobotka, Zeman)	Masses of refugees, tragedy and suffering (= agency shots), garbage	Superficial coverage based on emotions, many aspects left out, no experts
	8 % 76 %	Terrorism, Migrants in CZE, situation in transit countries, politics	Migrants (<i>uprchlíci, migranti, běženci</i>) 30/27	Czech politicians (Chovanec), migrants	Masses of refugees, terrorism, failure to integrate, problems with extremism (= agency shots)	No own field knowledge, narrow selection of sources – no experts
Prima	25 % 89 %	Migration in Europe, political stances, public relation to refugees	Migrants (<i>uprchlíci, běženci, migranti</i>) 58/52	Czech politicians, vox pop, activists	Catastrophic discourse (masses, tragedy, threats)	Significant eurosceptic view, one-sided coverage of demonstrations
	16 % 83 %	Planned departure of Iraqi migrants from CZE, terrorism	Migrants (<i>uprchlíci, migranti, lidé</i>) 39/32	Czech politicians, incl. former ones (Klaus), NGOs	Suicide bombers, masses, failure of integration (= agency shots)	Biased, supporting private interests, guidance to negative opinions

Source: Own elaboration (RRTV ©2016b).

Since 2015, the public discourse in the Czech Republic has been adopting the topic of migration, following the Europe-wide trend. The broadcasting media, being the main source of information for the majority population, have been dedicating around one fifth of their news time to the coverage of various issues connected to migration. The time portion depended on the current events, as there was a decline in the time dedicated to migration between the first and the second studied time period. During the first time period (August to September 2015) many significant events took place, which is why migration often featured as an opening story or in several headlines (opening set of one-sentence news covering the most pressing news). As an example, the wave of immigrants arriving at the eastern border of Europe in mass complicated the situation in Greece, Bulgaria, but also Hungary, which is the eastern-most Schengen country (BBC News ©2015). As a result of this concentrated entry to the European continent, the EU started to negotiate a new migrant quota system. The Czech Republic being one of the few countries opposed to accepting quota, Bohuslav Sobotka convened the Summit of the PMs of the Visegrad Group in Prague (Visegrad Group ©2015), seeking confirmation of their equally negative stance towards the migrant system proposal.

On the contrary, the second time period (March to April 2016) was chosen more randomly in order to effectuate a comparative study. The time ratio dedicated to the topic of migration dropped for all the broadcasting providers. Several types of tools to report on the topic had been used and one can agree that interviews, live reportages or commentaries are the most persuasive and believable ones. The majority of the radio and TV stations have used over 60 percent of the time on some sort of a live entry. Opinions of influential people have been repeated over and over which led to an increasing pressure on the general public. Key sources of speech included government employees, political leaders, reporters, editors, migrants themselves and their allies. The most statements, quotes and opinions were coming from Czech Minister of the Interior at that time, Milan Chovanec. Among other politicians who were granted the time to speak on public media were the Czech Prime Minister Bohuslav Sobotka, President Miloš Zeman and the Minister of Finance Andrej Babiš. Specific quotes and the language used will be presented in the next sub-chapter. All of these figures played important roles in formulating the stances of the Czech Republic on the topic of migration and creating the general atmosphere, which could have been described as divided and heated. One part of the population was actively showing their support for refugees and in a way protesting against the distant attitude of the Czech political representation. Others, focusing on the potential dangers of a heavy influx of refugees on the Czech territory, were loudly expressing their hate and frustration with any friendly steps towards helping those immigrants.

The monitoring showed that public media have been portraying immigrants for the most part in a neutral way. All of them tried to show their human face and present some individual stories that would humanize them in front of the audience (since the vast majority of Czechs have never met any one of the recently incoming refugees). The only two providers that had not struck the right balance were televisions NOVA and Prima. When depicting refugees NOVA chose the purely emotional approach by showing pictures of masses of migrating people, refugee camps and overcrowded means of transportation. Photos of individuals were used only in a context of tragedy such as disease, injury, malnutrition or death. Similarly, TV Prima had been focusing on the disasters and threats connected to the phenomenon of migration. The visuals used by NOVA and Prima were received mostly through publicly accessible archives, and not taken by their reporters. When asked about the fact, the response of TV NOVA was that they were focusing

on the domestic side of the problem and that is why they did not choose to send their reporters on site (RRTV ©2016a).

Another central aspect of the process of social construction termed securitization consists of symbols used by the media to illustrate the current events. All of the broadcasting agencies connect terrorism to migration as two related phenomena. The second monitored time period especially brought about a lot of attention to the risks of suicide bombers and mass killings due to terrorist activities. The reasons were two terrorist attacks in European capitals – the November 2015 Paris attacks and the March 2016 Brussels bombings (BBC News ©2016). Same as for migration, terrorism was promptly shifted to the sphere of awareness of all Europeans after several cases happened right in the heart of the biggest metropolises. Terrorism became tangible and went through the processes of politicization and securitization. Various exceptional measures were implemented as a result of both migration crisis and a higher risk of terrorism in a form of increased activities of security and defense corps. Specific examples of these exceptional measures in the Czech Republic will be elaborated upon in the next sub-chapter. Among other symbols used in the broadcasts were the masses of people on the borders, deplorable conditions in refugee camps, humanitarian aspects, failure of integration, and the overall tragedy of humanity. The psychological dimension of securitization can be demonstrated by these symbols, which are usually stronger so that people can create an impression and a stance about the European migratory wave. All of these images, accompanied by a catastrophic discourse, contributed to spreading fear and a feeling of insecurity.

As one can see in the column ‘actors’ of the Table 2, very little attention was paid to the gender aspects of migration. In case of the radio stations, the ratios show the number of times that gender of the migrants was mentioned. FREKVENCE 1 and RÁDIO IMPULS in the second time period did not explicitly mention gender dimension of migration. A distinction between male and female immigrants was mostly made in connection with family-related issues. Specific mentions of a ‘man’ or a ‘woman’ were almost equally distributed and there was no explicit predominance of men over women, but taking into consideration the nature of Czech language, many of the other expressions used to describe migrants are masculine (e. g. *migrant*, *uprchlík*, *běženec*, *azylant*, *křesťan*, *Syřan* to name a few). In terms of the television broadcasting the gender of the migrants can be generally guessed from the footage itself. The monitoring reports provided

information about the frequency of showing men vs. women on TV and again, no significant prioritization of one gender versus another was found.

The last column of the table points out some specificities of each of the channels, means used to achieve their goals and concordance to the Czech broadcasting laws. All the radio stations and the Czech Television passed with the overall evaluation of objective and balanced. Their sources were found to be diverse and their informative services complex and analytical. TV NOVA, known for its tabloid orientation, was playing with emotions without any expert evidence. The RRTV Council however did not find any discrepancies with between their broadcasting and the Czech law. TV Prima, on the other hand, received two warnings and was asked an explanation of the fact that when two parallel demonstrations were happening, each of them supporting the opposite opinion from another, only one was reported on¹⁹. The second questionable topic was the coverage of the EU quota negotiations, where Prima was portraying the Czech Republic as hurt and pushed into accepting the immigrant quota despite being strongly against. No alternative views had been offered and not a single argument in favor of the quota system has been presented, even though in reality there was a strong discussion being held even among Czech politicians (RRTV ©2016b).

Broadcasting media play an important role in shaping opinions of the public. Through the choice of speakers, topics, images and a form of the information delivery they heavily contribute to the construction of public discourse. A certain distortion of reality is thus inevitable. Migrants themselves were mainly portrayed in a neutral way. However, the symbols used in relation to migration were definitely creating concern at the very least. A significant portion of the reporting time was dedicated to Czech and foreign politicians who, apart from the German chancellor Merkel, were all men. That not only gives one-sided point of view of the social phenomenon but also gives the political elites permission to finding radical solutions, which is a clear sign of politicization. After looking into the coverage of migration by the most popular Czech radio and television stations, it can be concluded that the topic has been shifted into the sphere of politicized, partially even securitized issues.

¹⁹ On September 12, 2015, Prima interviewed participants of the anti-Islam and anti-immigrant motorbike protest (“Za naši kulturu a bezpečnou zem”) but have not spoken to anyone from the demonstration for the support of refugees and against racism (“Za otevřenou Evropu, proti rasismu, xenofobii a náboženské nesnášlivosti v ČR”), which was happening only a few meters away (RRTV ©2016b).

Online news media in the Czech Republic

According to the Media Research statistics from 2014,²⁰ the most frequented online news websites in the Czech Republic are Novinky.cz (38 %), iDNES.cz (32 %) and Aktuálně.cz (18 %) (SPIR ©2015). These platforms will serve as a source of articles for the Czech media discourse analysis regarding migration and refugee crisis. For each of the three online news sources fifteen articles were selected by searching the words ‘refugees’ (*uprchlíci*), ‘migrants’ (*migranti*), ‘migration crisis’ (*migrační krize*) on the respective websites and choosing those articles that had been shared the most on social media.²¹ The topics of the selected articles vary from general information about the incoming migratory wave to Europe and situation in the countries that receive the biggest numbers of refugees (Greece, Italy, Hungary and Germany), to the stances of the Czech politics and their involvement in EU negotiations regarding migrant quota and common asylum system. The reason behind such a variety of topics included in the analysis corresponds with the nature of securitizing moves in general – through discursive acts the securitizing actors are able to create an impression of proximity. As a result, the recipients feel that even events occurring in a distance are affecting their lives. The topic of migration crisis has been treated in a rather complex manner by the Czech media. The majority of the online articles used news from international agencies and grand media houses that they simply either translated into Czech, or added commentary by a local figure.

The results of the analysis are compiled into three separate tables – each of them for one online news source. The articles have been published between October 2015 and April 2018 and are ordered chronologically according to the publishing date (first column). The headlines have been kept in their original wording because they represent a crucial part of the whole message. The importance of the article headlines is increased even more by the fast way of news consumption nowadays, which is facilitated by various mobile applications that display only the headlines, allowing the readers to simply scroll through and click only on those that catch their attention. The choice of language of the headlines is often times closely tied to the tone of current public discourse.

²⁰ The top 10 most popular news sources can be found in Appendix 2.

²¹ The rate of shares on Facebook and retweets are displayed next to the respective articles.

The rest of the categories focus on the manner refugees are talked about and what aspects of migration are emphasized. Names given to refugees do not present any significant surprise. An interesting category for the sake of this paper is in the fifth column, titled gender. An answer “yes” means that the article in some way talked specifically about either women or men. The main focus was put on expressions describing women. In some cases, the statements implicitly pointed to the fact that there must have been a woman involved (e.g. family). The names of the last two columns include the word “problems”, which does not always refer to its unwelcome or harmful quality. Problems of refugees summarize the mentioned subjects that the refugees and migrants have to deal with; problems with refugees on the other hand represent dealings of other actors.

Table 3 represents the first and most popular online news source in the Czech Republic, Novinky.cz. Already from the start, there is a visible difference in the choice of covered topics. Articles written on Novinky are by far the most straightforward, with a pragmatic undertone. The news are generally shorter, including a clear message and without much room left for discussion. One article usually presents only one point of view – in case of the migration crisis it is the stance of the Czech Republic and political consequences of migratory movements into Europe. Only four out of the fifteen articles mention women, one of which is specifically dedicated to a case of a pregnant Muslim woman who had been murdered by her family for the fact that she would have given birth to a child without a husband (Novinky.cz ©Oct. 7, 2015).

The server Novinky.cz uses a lot of negative symbols, such as violence, sexual assault, and war, which all lead to creating an image of migrants bringing danger into our lives. Several articles provide detailed information about problems caused by the arrival of refugees into cities in Germany and Hungary, as well as the challenges faced by the border guards in Greece, Italy and France, facing large waves of incoming migrants (Novinky.cz ©Jan. 8, 2016; Nov. 4, 2017; Jan. 24, 2018). Not a lot of space was dedicated to the problems faced by the refugees. The few mentions were very broad, single sentences. An interesting contrast was the article from the 22nd of August, 2017, talking about the expressed support for refugees by Pope Francis who said that the interests of individual refugees stand above national security (Novinky.cz ©Aug. 22, 2017). According to the article, Pope Francis offers a solution based on international solidarity and willingness to interpret the international laws in a more liberal way in cases when, for instance, the process of granting asylum becomes too lengthy.

The newest article talks about the struggles to integrate the masses of refugees accepted by Germany. It describes the difficult situations caused by language barriers – during birth, for instance. The refugees are in this case described as the ones who do not speak any common language and are often illiterate. The article describes experiences of several individual refugees, one of which is describing sexual abuses happening to his wife and daughter in the refugee communities, living outside of the German society (Novinky.cz ©Apr. 26, 2018). Overall, the selected articles published on Novinky.cz talk about migration in a rather superficial manner and focus on the problematic aspects from the Euro-centric perspective, with a special attention to the steps taken by the German government (Novinky.cz ©March 21, 2018).

Table 3: Novinky.cz – discourse analysis

Date	Link	Headline	Names given to refugees	Gender	Problems of refugees	Problems with refugees
7.10.2015	https://www.novinky.cz/zahranicni/evropa/382782-tehotnou-kurdskou-uprchlici-v-nemecku-zabila-rodina-aby-si-uchranela-cest.html	Těhotnou kurdskou uprchlici v Německu zabila rodina, aby si uchránila čest	<i>uprchlice, mladá Kurdka</i>	yes: young woman	war, rape	extreme practices of Sharia law
8.1.2016	https://www.novinky.cz/zahranicni/evropa/391310-mobily-ukradene-zenam-v-koline-se-nasly-mezu-uprchliky.html	Mobily ukradené ženám v Kolíně se našly mezi uprchlíky	<i>uprchlici, muži cizího původu, mladíci</i>	yes: men	X	sexual assault
5.2.2016	https://www.novinky.cz/domaci/393903-do-ceska-přileti-dalsi-krestansti-uprchlici.html	Do Česka přiletí další křesťanští uprchlíci	<i>křesťanští uprchlici, běženci</i>	no	X	accepting refugees, help with integration
22.8.2017	https://www.novinky.cz/zahranicni/evropa/447021-zajmy-uprchliku-jsou-dulezitejsi-nez-narodni-bezpecnost-tvrdi-papez-frantisek.html	Zájmy uprchlíků jsou důležitější než národní bezpečnost, tvrdí papež František	<i>uprchlici, migranti</i>	no	war, integration	individual vs. national security, increase awareness
28.8.2017	https://www.novinky.cz/zahranicni/447477-migranti-vymenili-calais-za-bilbao-do-anglie-se-zkouseji-dostat-i-dvakrat-denne.html	Migranti vyměnili Calais za Bilbao, do Anglie se zkoušejí dostat i dvakrát denně	<i>migranti, černí pasažéři, utečenci</i>	no	X	illegal migration, surveillance
20.10.2017	https://www.novinky.cz/zahranicni/evropa/452442-budou-uprchlicke-kvoty-nebo-ne-sobotka-je-po-ctvrtku-na-summitu-eu-optimisticky.html	Budou uprchlické kvóty, nebo ne? Sobotka je po čtvrtku na summitu EU optimistický	<i>uprchlici</i>	no	X	quota, EU-wide asylum system, help in the countries of origin
4.11.2017	https://www.novinky.cz/zahranicni/453955-nemecko-trapi-bolehav-nezletili-bezenci.html	Německo trápí bolehav – nezletilí běženci	<i>nezletilí uprchlici, Syřan</i>	no	X	under-aged migrant crimes, lying about age

30.11. 2017	https://www.novinky.cz/zahranicni/evropa/456381-v-roce-2050-bude-kazdy-desaty-nemec-muslim-migranti-ale-mohou-cisly-zamichat.html	V roce 2050 bude každý desátý Němec muslim. Migranti ale mohou čísla zamíchat	<i>uprchlíci, muslimové, přistěhovalci</i>	no (family)	war, integration	rising Muslim population
18.1. 2018	https://www.novinky.cz/domaci/460831-drahos-k-migracni-krizi-se-vyslovuji-jasne-vitac-nejsem.html	Drahoš: K migrační krizi se vyslovuji jasně. Vítač nejsem	<i>migranti, uprchlíci</i>	yes: women and men	need for solidarity	Muslim invasion, asylum proceedings
24.1. 2018	https://www.novinky.cz/zahranicni/evropa/461391-madarsko-loni-prijalo-1300-migrantu-ale-mlcelo-o-tom.html	Maďarsko loni přijalo 1300 migrantů, ale mlčelo o tom	<i>migranti, uprchlíci, běženci</i>	no	X	distinction between economic migrants and rightful asylum seekers
27.1. 2018	https://www.novinky.cz/zahranicni/evropa/461721-zastavte-priliv-bezencu-prosi-preplnena-nemecka-mesta-vladu.html	Zastavte příliv běženců, prosí přeplněná německá města vládu	<i>běženci</i>	yes: women (and children)	family reunion	full capacity of facilities in certain German cities (schools)
15.2. 2018	https://www.novinky.cz/zahranicni/463362-berlusconi-naskocil-na-protiimigrační-vlnu.html	Berlusconi naskočil na protiimigrační vlnu	<i>migranti</i>	no	state violence	illegal migration
23.2. 2018	https://www.novinky.cz/domaci/464319-pocet-zadatelu-o-azyl-v-cesku-loni-klesl.html	Počet žadatelů o azyl v Česku loni klesl	<i>uprchlíci, žadatelé o azyl</i>	no	x	returning asylum applicants
21.3. 2018	https://www.novinky.cz/zahranicni/evropa/466872-uprchlickou-krizi-nebudeme-opakovat-slibovala-poslancum-merkelova.html	Uprchlickou krizi nebudeme opakovat, slíbvala poslancům Merkelová	<i>běženci</i>	no	no	solidarity
26.4.2018	https://www.novinky.cz/zahranicni/evropa/470474-integrace-uprchliku-v-nemecku-necekane-drahy-maraton.html?szhp%3Drss	Integrace uprchlíků v Německu: nečekaně drahý maratón	<i>uprchlíci, běženci, migranti</i>	yes: pregnant woman	dangers within the communities of non-integrated refugees	integration, language barrier

Source: Own elaboration

The second set of articles was published on iDNES.cz and the summary of the analysis results are displayed in Table 4. Even though the selection of the articles from the individual sources was not synchronized in any way, many of the topics correspond to those from Novinky.cz. The headlines on iDNES are written in a very journalistic style. They start with the catchwords, such as an “exclusive survey” (*exkluzivní průzkum*), a “study” (*studie*) and “doctors:...” (*lékaři*), which is adding a sense of uniqueness to each piece of the news. The headlines are also written in a form of a full sentence, giving the reader a sense of the story only the title.

The topics covered by the selection of iDNES news are similar to the ones on Novinky. The difference is the tone and structure of the articles. iDNES clearly tries to engage a variety of speakers, including the migrants and refugees themselves. If not by using direct quotations they dedicate enough space to talk about their point of view (problems of refugees). Most of the articles then include both perspectives – causes of migration and day-to-day struggles of the migrants, as well as the consequences and situations that the receiving countries have to deal with.

iDNES.cz was the only site to use words that address specifically female migrants and refugees (*migrantky, uprchlice*). The gender face of migration is touched upon in six of the analyzed articles, four of which talk specifically about struggles that women have to face when on the road. The first analyzed iDNES article talks about sexual harassment faced by women in German refugee dormitories. This article is special in a sense that it presents a statement by an NGO²² worker who is a woman. That is an exception in the Czech discourse because most gender-sensitive statements treat women as subjects – never the speakers (iDNES.cz ©Nov. 26, 2015). The articles from August 10th, October 7th and October 22nd of 2017 also elaborated on the topic of pregnancy and sexual violence. Migrant women are often subjected to threat of sex slavery or rape, which for many of them lead to pregnancy. One of the articles talks about the pitiful state of hygiene in the refugee camps (iDNES.cz ©Aug. 10, 2017) and the necessity of help from the receiving countries specifically to the pregnant women.

²² *Women in Exile* is an initiative founded in Brandenburg, Germany in 2002 by refugee women in order to fight for their rights. In 2011 activists without refugee background joined in, forming *Women in Exile and Friends*, <https://www.women-in-exile.net/en/ueber-uns/>.

Table 4: iDNES – discourse analysis

Date	Link	Headline	Names given to refugees	Gender	Problems of refugees	Problems with refugees
26.11.2015	https://zpravy.idnes.cz/eny-v-nemeckych-ubytovnach-celi-sexualnimu-nasili-fh1-zahranicni.aspx?c=A151126_113107_zahranicni_ane	V uprchlických táborech bují sexuální násilí, ženy chtějí bydlet zvlášť	<i>běženci, přistěhovalci</i>	yes: women, men, female refugees	sexual harassment and violence	establishing separate accommodation facilities
3.2.2016	https://zpravy.idnes.cz/studie-k-migraci-doevropy-dc3-domaci.aspx?c=A160203_152501_domaci_jw	Studie: Uprchlíci nejsou organizovaní. Tuší ale, že Evropa řekne dost	<i>migranti, uprchlíci, běženci, příchozí cizinci, Syřané</i>	yes: women (and children)	war, political oppression, asylum denial	lack of information about motives to migrate
29.2.2016	https://zpravy.idnes.cz/utocnici-v-recku-podpalili-ubytovny-pro-uprchliky-f8t-zahranicni.aspx?c=A160229_100720_zahranicni_jj	Migranti prorazili plot na makedonské hranici, policie použila slzný plyn	<i>uprchlíci, migranti</i>	no (families, children)	dangers at the borders, inhumane conditions, repatriation	relocation and resettlement
14.3.2016	https://zpravy.idnes.cz/esi-migranti-pruzkum-06a-domaci.aspx?c=A160313_215408_domaci_bur	Exkluzivní průzkum: uprchlíci by nevdali, kdyby měli přísný režim	<i>uprchlíci, běženci, azylantí</i>	no	inhumane conditions in Syria, war	security questions, fear of unknown, control over the situation
20.3.2016	https://zpravy.idnes.cz/do-aten-maji-priplout-2000-migrantu-namori-zemreli-tri-lide-pmk-zahranicni.aspx?c=A160320_080132_zahranicni_zt	Přes moře plují další migranti. Od nynějška je však Řecko bude vracet	<i>migranti, uprchlíci, běženci</i>	yes: wife, girls	dangers on the way, administrative constraints	massive influx of refugees in Greece, employing enough people to handle it
19.4.2016	https://zpravy.idnes.cz/papez-uprchlici-vatikan-0wa-zahranicni.aspx?c=A160419_132336_zahranicni_bur	Jste dar, nikoliv zátěž, řekl papež uprchlíkům. A prosil je za odpuštění	<i>uprchlíci - dar, běženci</i>	no	X	financial support from the Church
26.7.2016	https://zpravy.idnes.cz/cesko-prijme-uprchliky-syrske-syrany-d89-domaci.aspx?c=A160726_062239_domaci_hro	Česko přijme osmdesát uprchlíků ze Sýrie, prověřují je tajné služby	<i>uprchlíci, syrští migranti</i>	no	learning about Czech culture, integration, language	thorough background checks, EU-wide relocation program

4.10.2016	https://zpravy.idnes.cz/amnesty-international-uprchlicka-krize-deset-statu-nerovnomerne-rozlozena-lsa-zahranicni.aspx?c=A161004_060840_zahranicni_ale	Většinu uprchlíků si bere pouze deset zemí, vyspělé státy jim mají pomoci	<i>uprchlíci, lidé na útěku</i>	no	X	unevenly distributed R2P refugees, insufficient resources
13.2.2017	https://zpravy.idnes.cz/imigranti-nemecko-podnikani-d15-zahranicni.aspx?c=A170213_120838_zahranicni_aha	Německá chuť podnikat skomírá, téměř polovinu byznysu rozjíždí imigranti	<i>imigranti, uprchlíci, běženci</i>	no	wish to start a business - qualification, discrimination	X
17.3.2017	https://zpravy.idnes.cz/uprchlici-umrti-2016-pocet-mrtych-iom-dsp-zahranicni.aspx?c=A170317_130727_zahranicni_pas	Loni zemřelo o čtvrtinu více uprchlíků, pašeráci totiž stále více riskují	<i>uprchlíci, migranti, lidé</i>	no	risk of death, smugglers	large influx
24.7.2017	https://zpravy.idnes.cz/vlada-24-milionu-libyjska-pobrezni-straz-f07-domaci.aspx?c=A170724_112712_domaci_kop	Česko dá 24 milionů, aby pomohlo zmírnit příliv imigrantů z Libye	<i>imigranti, žadatelé o azyl</i>	no	X	finances, costal/border protection
10.8.2017	https://zpravy.idnes.cz/rzhovor-koordinator-zachrana-uprchlici-stredozemni-more-lekari-bez-hranic-lsg-zahranicni.aspx?c=A170808_184539_zahranicni_ert	Pomáháme tam, kde EU selhala, říká zachránce migrantů ve Středozezemním moři	<i>migranti, běženci, uprchlíci</i>	yes: women, pregnant women	torture, sexual violence, disease, injuries	humanitarian help (MSF), psychological support
7.10.2017	https://zpravy.idnes.cz/uprchlici-tehotne-zeny-handicapovane-deti-zdravotnictvi-penize-doctors-of-the-world-goc-zahranicni.aspx?c=A171004_181619_zahranicni_kha	Lékaři: Péče o těhotné migrantky se zanedbává, ohrožuje to budoucí Evropany	<i>migrantky, těhotné běženkyně, uprchlice</i>	yes: pregnant refugee women	insufficient medical support, lack of hygiene	financial burden to take care of ill migrants
22.10.2017	https://zpravy.idnes.cz/kanada-uprchlici-zadosti-azyl-dkm-zahranicni.aspx?c=A171020_132031_zahranicni_ert	Kanada slíbila pomoc uprchlíkům, teď nestihá vyřizovat žádosti o azyl	<i>uprchlíci</i>	yes: pregnant wife, daughter (family ties)	famine, disease, war	asylum proceedings, help with integration
12.1.2018	https://zpravy.idnes.cz/nemecko-antisemitismus-migrace-imigranti-fi1-zahranicni.aspx?c=A180112_093635_zahranicni_aha	Němce děsí antisemitismus mezi imigranty, chtějí jim ukázat koncentráky	<i>imigranti</i>	no	integration courses	anti-Semitism in Germany from immigrants

Source: Own elaboration

Aktuálně.cz was the third online news platform subjected to the discourse analysis for this work. The variety of topics, speakers and points of view covered by their news are the widest of the three sets of selected articles. As displayed in Table 5, the articles on Aktuálně attempt to look at each piece of the news from various sides: domestic policy, foreign governments, the EU, the NGOs and also the migrants. The headlines often include a direct quotation or a question, which invites the reader to “join the debate” and engage more in thinking about the topic.

After the headline, the article generally provides more in-depth information about the issue. That being said, the main focus is again placed on the interest of the receiving countries, rather than the migrants themselves. Migration was always discussed on an intergovernmental level within the European context. The ongoing negotiation between the EU Member States regarding the quota system and common asylum policy formed a big portion of the news space. Regarding the quota, specifically, the Czech Republic was playing the discordant part, with its strongly opposing stance. Three of the articles on Aktuálně.cz (©Apr. 27, 2016; Dec. 5, 2017; Feb. 22, 2018) portrayed the Czech Republic as standing strong against the rest of Europe, defending its interests.

The gender of the migrants is mentioned in eight out of the fifteen articles, which is the highest rate of the three sets of samples. The emphasis is put on the family aspects of migration and the role of women in the process. One of the refugee men talks about the difficulties he is facing due to his life separated from his wife and son (Aktualne.cz ©Dec. 11, 2016). Higher danger for women of being kidnapped and use as sex slaves is thoroughly discussed in relation to the activities of the Islamic State in Syria in an article dated back to September 1st, 2016 (Aktualne.cz©). The most interesting is an article related to the shift in gender distribution towards women after the first incoming wave in 2015. The stereotypical view on refugees as “young and strong men” is being refuted by the UNHCR statistics, saying that the percentage of male refugees at the beginning of 2016 was down to 45 % (Aktualne.cz ©Jan. 27, 2016). The reasons behind this trend were twofold: families have a higher chance of acquiring asylum (or that is at least what the refugees expect) and there are a higher number of women who are looking to join their husbands.

Table 5: Aktuálně.cz – discourse analysis

Date	Link	Headline	Names given to refugees	Gender	Problems of refugees	Problems with refugees
24.1.2016	https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/domaci/v-praze-pristala-prvni-skupina-krestanskych-bezencu-z-iraku/r~60b541a6c2a311e59e52002590604f2e/	V Praze přistáli křesťanští běženci z Iráku. Uprchlí z Mosulu, děti nemohly čtyři roky do školy	<i>křesťanští běženci, uprchlíci, utečenci</i>	yes: wife, widow (family aspect, children)	bureaucracy, language	finances, integration
24.1.2016	https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/domaci/zeman-vzdelavaci-projekt-o-uprchlicich-je-idiotsky-a-nebezpecny/r~828491a8c28811e584160025900fea04/	Zeman: Vzdělávací projekt o uprchlících je idiotský a nebezpečný	<i>uprchlíci</i>	yes: women (harassment)	X	propaganda about welcoming immigrants - dangerous
25.1.2016	https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/zahranici/clenove-eu-se-ptaji-zda-ma-recko-nedostatky-pri-ochrane- hran/r~be60bed8c38a11e59e52002590604f2e/	Je Řecko schopné chránit svou hranici? ptají se ministři. Odpověď chtějí od Evropské komise	<i>uprchlíci, žadatelé o azyl</i>	no	X	border control (Schengen)
27.1.2016	https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/zahranici/mezi-uprchliky-je-ted-vice-zen-s-detmi-prichazeji-za-muzi- kt/r~9cfc406c4df11e5a8d7002590604f2e/	Do Evropy už nemíří jen "mladí a silní" muži. Mezi uprchlíky výrazně přibýlo žen a dětí	<i>uprchlíci, Syřané, Iráčané, Afghánci, Alžířané, Maročané</i>	yes: women, „young strong men“	family reunification, sexual violence	securing safety and privacy for female refugees
27.4.2016	https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/domaci/cesko-prijalo-prvni-uprchliky-podle-kvot-ctyrcelenna-rodina- z/r~4768217c0c7811e68ac7002590604f2e/	První uprchlíci přijatí podle kvót už jsou v Česku. Čtyřčlenná rodina ze Sýrie čeká na azyl	<i>uprchlíci, syrská rodina, běženci</i>	yes: mother, parents	learning about the new culture, rights and obligations	quota, integration
1.9.2016	https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/zahranici/islamsky-stat-tezi-z-migracni-vlny-v-libyi-unasi-a-zotrocuje/r~07c0e41a6dcf11e6888a0025900fea04/	Nikdo je nechrání, nikdo nehledá. Islámský stát "loví" pro své bojovníky uprchlice v Libyi	<i>uprchlice, běženci, muslimky, uprchlíci</i>	yes: women, girls (sexual assault)	ISIS, sexual slavery, kidnapping, getting to Europe	X
11.12.2016	https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/zahranici/tezke-chvile-pri-cekani-narodinu/r~dcbd1e6abc8311e6a070002590604f2e/	"My jsme v bezpečí, ale co oni?" Uprchlíka ničí samota, den bez ženy a syna trvá 10 000 let	<i>uprchlíci, Syřan, azylanti</i>	yes: wife, mother	bureaucracy, leaving family behind, life in refugee camps	integration
26.12.2016	https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/domaci/mezi-ceskem-a-nemeckem-pro-nas-neni-rozdil-hlavne-ze-se-tu- n/r~091a9f0cc91b11e6a78c002590604f2e/	Mezi Českem a Německem není rozdíl. Hlavně že se tu nestřílí, říkají křesťanští uprchlíci z Iráku	<i>křesťanští uprchlíci, Iráčané, běženci</i>	yes: married couple, wife, daughters	language, finding employment	providing housing, illegal migration

16.3.2017	https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/domaci/v-cesku-dlouhodobe-zavirali-uprchlicky-chteli-je-zastrasit-ri/r~ad5a274e099a11e798c20025900fea04/	Česko protiprávně zadržovalo uprchlíky v mnoha případech, bylo to nehumánní, tvrdí neziskovky	<i>uprchlíci, migranti, běženci, lidé na útěku</i>	no	inhumane conditions in detention centers	financing of the detention centers, refugees escaping
28.4.2017	https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/zahranici/druhy-soubezny-plot-na-hranici-se-srbskem-je-podle-orbana-ho/r~5ac1803e2c0111e7a8d6002590604f2e/	Na maďarsko-srbské hranici se už tyčí i druhá řada plotu, který má zabránit přílivu běženců	<i>ilegální migranti, masa lidí</i>	no	X	illegal migration, security
3.12.2017	https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/zahranici/berlin-choce-priplatit-migrantum-keri-dobrovolne-opusti-nemecko/r~c8794df4d80f11e7984d0cc47ab5f122/	Berlín chce připlatit migrantům, kteří dobrovolně opustí Německo. Je to hrozné, reagují aktivisté	<i>běženci, žadatel o azyl, uprchlíci</i>	no (family)	X	financial assistance, repatriation
4.12.2017	https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/zahranici/muslimove/r~6198e76cd67e11e7b6a9ac1f6b220ee8/	Do roku 2050 může být muslimů v Evropě třikrát víc, předpovídá výzkum. Ve Švédsku i třetina obyvatel	<i>migranti, lidé, muslimové, žadatelé o azyl</i>	yes: Muslim women (higher birth rate)	war, economic problems	massive influx
5.12.2017	https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/zahranici/evropsky-parlament/komise-asi-ve-stredu-posle-cr-k-soudu-eu-kvuli-kvotam-na-mig/r~df126422d9c911e7afac0cc47ab5f122/	Brusel jde do otevřeného sporu s Českem. Oznámí žalobu kvůli uprchlickým kvótám, hrozí vysoká pokuta	<i>migranti, uprchlíci, ekonomičtí migranti, syrští běženci</i>	no	X	quota, EU negotiations
22.2.2018	https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/zahranici/merkelova-eu-potrebuje-spolecny-azylovny-system-a-solidaritu/r~b90cbf6e17b511e8a72bac1f6b220ee8/	EU potřebuje solidární azylový systém, který odolá krizím, prohlásila Merkelová	<i>uprchlíci, běženci</i>	no	X	EU asylum system, redistribution
22.2.2018	https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/zahranici/zprava-ai-kritizuje-radu-zemi-sveta-za-antimigracni-politiku/r~de2964aa17ab11e8aca5ac1f6b220ee8/	Politici vyvolávají strach. Trump vede nenávistnou kampaň, kritizuje AI ve zprávě o lidských právech	<i>menšiny, uprchlíci</i>	no	human rights violations	populism and manipulation, quota

Source: Own elaboration

The article continues on by declaring that the more balanced male-female ratio is seen among the refugees from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan, as opposed to among immigrants from Algeria and Morocco. The risk of sexual abuse is accentuated by a piece of information from the Financial Times about women taking birth control prior to their arrival to Europe because they are expecting being raped (Aktualne.cz ©Jan. 27, 2016).

Several of the articles dedicate a lot of space to the refugees' point of view, including an interview with an Iraqi family who was granted asylum in the Czech Republic and was starting a new chapter of their lives in Prague (Aktualne.cz ©Jan. 24, 2016). On the other hand, the strong voice of the "opposition" prevailed, headed by the Czech political elites – President Zeman and Prime Minister (at the time) Bohuslav Sobotka. They kept stressing the fact that the incoming migrants represent a major bureaucratic burden for the European countries, resulting in the undesirable EU quota negotiations (Aktualne.cz ©Apr. 27, 2016; Dec. 5, 2017).

The analyzed articles represent only a small fraction of articles covering migration by the three chosen news providers. That is why there were three separate tables containing the distilled information relevant to our study. Even though any comparisons between the three sources would be rather coincidental, some general trends in the journalistic styles of each of them can be tracked down. Novinky.cz, which is the most consumed source of news in the Czech Republic, uses a very informative and abbreviated way of reporting. iDNES articles, on the other hand, are written in a very readable and popular manner. Articles on Aktuálně.cz try to incorporate a variety of points of view, emphasizing the domestic concerns. The latter was the most frequent to mention the gender aspects of migration.

All the online articles included cover photographs that could be divided into two categories: photos of migrants (individual, groups, crowds, on a boat, etc.) and political figures (the most commonly displayed was Angela Merkel). The visual complement plays an important role in forming the opinions of many consumers of online news. Given the fact that the three sets of articles were chosen at random and represent only a small fraction of all the articles published about the topic, it is impossible to track down the causalities of securitization of migration in the Czech Republic only from their analysis. However, the 45 online news articles provide a solid base for a qualitative analysis of the Czech media discourse.

3.3 Migration as a security threat

Discourse analysis was the method used to identify the politicizing and securitizing moments of migration in the Czech Republic. The politicizing/securitizing actor of interest was Czech media, keeping in mind that the media serve as a platform for politicians, institutions, celebrities and other public figures to speak to the public. In other words, there were many actors contributing to the final social construct of the perception of migration and its impacts on Czech society. The discourse analysis consisted of two parts, both handling a portion of the Czech media space. First, Czech broadcasting media, such as radio and television, and their coverage of the recent migratory wave were examined. The data for this part of analysis were drawn from the monitoring reports of the Council for Radio and Television Broadcasting (RRTV), which sought after the objectivity of migration coverage in two distinct time periods. The second part of the analysis focused on the written media, specifically their online form of news reporting. In this case, the empirical data was collected first-hand from the original articles. The selection of the concrete media companies was based on a survey, which can be seen in Appendix 2, of the top ten most frequented news sources in the Czech Republic.

Politicization of migration

In the first instance, politicizing moves that led the topic of migration into the sphere of politics will be identified. The frequency of politicians' involvement in discussing migration in Czech media is the primary indicator of the shift. Especially Czech politicians were given the longest time to speak on the analyzed TV and radio stations, including live reportages of their speeches, interviews and shows of political commentary. As an example, a statement from evening news from September 5th, 2015 will be used: "The former President, Václav Klaus, wants to stop the refugee crisis by [starting] a public petition. It should force Czech political leaders to stand up against it (the crisis)" (RRTV ©2016, s. 31). Such an idea, coming from a former president, adds to the seriousness of the topic and could be understood as a securitizing move, even though the petition has been vetoed by PM Sobotka.

One of the main focuses of Czech news broadcasting when talking about the migration crisis was the level of threat and security. On TV Prima Czech politicians were the most frequently asked respondents and the most talked about actors (RRTV ©2016d, p. 20). The current President, Miloš Zeman, made harsh comments about one of

the few educational projects in the Czech Republic focusing on migration (Aktualne.cz ©Jan. 24, 2016). The project was organized by the UNHCR, originally in Sweden, and was aimed at increasing tolerance of ‘otherness’ in Czech schools through a series of workshops, a book containing lesson plans, a film and a story in a form of a comic book entitled *We Shall Meet Again, Sanam* (Ekman 2015).²³ During a workshop about the project, one media outlet reported on this specific activity, prompting the President’s negative comments about the project and the subsequent removal of formal backing by the Ministry of Education. The project is still underway, but no longer specifically recommended by the Czech Ministry. The fact that the president undermined educational efforts of the Prague branch of UNHCR with his statement resulted in sending a negative message to the public space and hindered a chance for people to learn more about refugees. Instead of enhancing critical thinking, President Zeman intensified the animosity toward immigrants.

Migration even became a commonly discussed topic in the pre-presidential election period, which took place in January 2018. The candidates were often asked about their strategies of handling the migration crisis. Before the second voting round, there had been a series of billboards put up aiming at discrediting the candidate Drahoš and support his opponent Zeman. “*Stop imigrantům a Drahošovi. Tato země je naše! Volte Zemana!*”²⁴, the slogan said, which paralleled the situation of Mr. Drahoš being elected with a massive influx of migrants to the Czech Republic. The campaign appeared in front of a court, which did not find the slogan to be against any law with an explanation that it was vague and empty, but also that it was not in the competences of the Czech president to make a significant impact on the situation (ECHO24 ©2018). One of the analyzed articles on Novinky.cz provided reaction of Mr. Drahoš that specifically says: I have been making myself clear regarding migration from the very beginning of [my] campaign. [...] We do not want everyone here, migration must be avoided, people need to be helped in their countries of origin” (Novinky.cz ©Jan. 18, 2018). Even though the president sends an important message to the people by stating his opinion, the laws and actual decisions regarding immigration to the Czech Republic are being decided on by the Parliament and Ministry of the Interior respectively.

²³ Translated from a Swedish original, the comic narrates a story of a refugee boy, Hamid, who emigrated to Sweden from a war zone in Afghanistan, leaving his family behind. A sample of the illustrations can be found in Appendix 3.

²⁴ “Stop immigrants and Drahoš. This country is ours! Vote for Zeman!” (ECHO24 ©2018, own translation).

Last but not least factor adding to the politicization of migration was the notable part played by foreign political leaders and the emphasis on transnational negotiations regarding European migratory flows. Topics such as the refugee quota, the common asylum system and the EU-wide relocation program were constantly reported on by all the media sources. Many of the analyzed news articles talked about the ongoing negotiations with Angela Merkel defending the pro-integration stance by implementation of a unified European asylum policy based on solidarity and the Czech Republic, often represented by prime minister Sobotka, standing on the opposite end of the spectrum, conclusively refusing the adoption of quota (Aktualne.cz ©Feb. 22, 2018; Novinky.cz ©Oct. 20, 2017). Another question frequently discussed by the different media platforms was the financial burden for the European states connected with solving the migration crisis. Some of the headlines on the Czech television stated: “The European Union [...], through the mouth of the two agents, has pledged to give France five million Euros to build a new humanitarian camp. But the main topic (of the political meeting) [was] different – money, meaning who and how will pay for refugee costs. It is clear that a large sum will be necessary.” (RRTV ©2016c, p. 22)

Securitization of migration

All of the previously mentioned factors added up, shifting the topic of migration into a sphere of public policy, needing government decision and resource allocation (Buzan et al. 1998, p. 23). Secondly, any possible securitizing moves regarding the same phenomenon will be pointed out. According to Copenhagen School, securitization is a result of strategically used combination of speech acts, carefully chosen vocabulary, exceptional measures, and symbols and images. The main actors subjected to the discourse analysis earlier in this chapter were Czech media, who however often used quotations of highly-ranked politicians and public figures. The monitoring report of RRTV concluded that TV Prima used “catastrophic discourse” to cover the topic of migration, for example by comparing the situation to a natural disaster (e.g. “A wave of migrants is rolling over Europe”).²⁵ Multiple contributions described the situation as an “exceptional state” (RRTV ©2016d, p. 13), which is a typical sign of a successful securitization.

The whole state of affairs has been intensified by both vocabulary and steps proposed by politicians. An article on Aktuálně was titled: “Politicians are creating fear.

²⁵ “Vlna běženců se valí Evropou” (RRTV ©2016d, p. 13).

Trump is leading a hateful campaign, criticizing AI in a report about human rights” (Aktualne.cz ©Feb. 22, 2018). This was an exemplary moment of the transition of migration from the sphere of politics into a security issue. In order to demonstrate how the choice of vocabulary and its repetition construct the overall perception of the topic, several headlines used on Czech television are presented below:

“The dimension of the current refugee situation in Budapest is much more dramatic”;

“At the East Railway Station, the situation worsens every hour ... This situation is getting worse every day”;

“This situation is really getting worse every moment”;

“While the politicians are negotiating, the situation in Hungary does not improve ... the situation is starting to be unsustainable even in the refugee camps ... Davide, has Hungary taken any measures to soften the chaos?”;

“This situation is very dramatic here (Hungary).” (RRTV ©2016c, p. 26)

Securitization may equally result in implementation of exceptional measures. One example of exceptional measures on the Czech territory was represented by the “increased activities of security and defense corps”, which were spoken about as the main actors in 8.6 % of analyzed reportages on FREKVENCE 1 radio (RRTV ©2016e, p. 16). The security and defense corps consisted mainly of the increased presence of Foreign Police officers at the major transportation nodes, such as the international airport in Ruzyně, the main train stations in Prague and Brno and the Prague metro stations (Rendlová 2018). Their focus was not only on incoming migrants coming without valid travel documents and visa, but also at those who are helping the illegal migration as human smugglers, employers of illegal migrants and participants in a marriage of convenience.

More exceptional measures included random identity checks on trains and other means of transportation as well as areas adjacent to big train stations around the country. The President of the Czech Foreign Police stated in an interview for Aktuálně, published on August 6th, 2015, that “every illegal migrant who is detained poses a potential danger to the Czech Republic” (Hejl, for: Aktualne.cz ©2015). The Police President Milan Majer declared that the increased checks aimed at illegal migrants were a necessary measure in lowering a potential threat of unknown foreigners on the Czech territory. According to Majer, the primary reason behind detaining migrants is not the risk of them fleeing to a different country after they have applied for an asylum in the Czech Republic (which happens quite often since the ideal final destination for many is Germany – placing

Czechia in a position of a transit country). It is rather the fact that people without any documents of identification represent a greater threat because the police officers do not have any information about the person, their past and their intentions. These controls have mainly been taking place on the trains, but Majer continued on to say that the migrant smugglers are always ahead, switching to a different way of transportation (Ibid).

On the Europe-wide scale, eight countries temporarily reintroduced border controls, which had been abolished under the Schengen Agreement in 1985. Specifically Germany, Austria, Slovenia, Hungary, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Belgium realized exceptional measures based on the Schengen Borders Code, which provides Member States with “the capability of temporarily reintroducing border control at the internal borders in the event that a serious threat to public policy or internal security has been established” (European Commission ©2017). Starting in September 2015, the respective countries took individual actions based on the articles 23 to 25 of the Schengen Border Codex. Nevertheless, the European Commission recommended rehabilitation of the Schengen border-less regime by December 2016. The official stance of the Czech Republic was equally against introduction of border controls since it would mean violation of the *acquis communautaire* (European Commission ©2016).

More exceptional measures in the form of border fence construction were taking place in the primary zones of arrival, specifically on the Hungarian-Serbian border and the eastern border of Macedonia. The article from April 28th, 2017 talks about an enforced protection by “a second lane of fence, which should prevent the refugees from entering” Hungary from Serbia (Aktualne.cz ©Apr. 28, 2017). Even more drama happened on the Macedonian border, where “the migrants knocked down the fence and the police had to use tear-gas” to handle the situation (iDNES.cz ©Feb. 29, 2016).

Symbols and images used by the media platforms when talking about migration represent a powerful means to get the desired message across to the consumers: hurt children, terrorism, fear, death, masses of refugees arriving to Europe, to name a few. These symbols, as well as the photographs and footage included in the reportage are very self-explanatory and immediately come with strong emotions. Emotions are a powerful way to getting readers invested in a topic, which in a case of migration may lead to the construction of unfounded fear. Due to the media attention given to the Europe-bound migration wave, many people in the Czech Republic adopted the viewpoint that they are facing real danger and that migration represents a threat to national security.

4. Role of Refugee Women in the Discourse on Migration

As chapter 2 demonstrated, the migratory process brings very different experiences to women for its entire duration. Female refugees face serious hardship from the very start, as the motives behind forced migration are mainly connected to armed conflicts in the countries of origins. The forced migrants seeking international protection in the Czech Republic are mainly fleeing the wars in Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq (Rendlová 2018). The refugee women are bound by strong family ties to their spouses and their children, which complicates the initial phase of fleeing the conflict. Massey et al. (1993) introduces two types of migrant women which are both present in the refugee groups arriving to Europe. Some women are the primary initiators of their migration, while others are subjected to the decisions made by others (Massey et al. 1993, pp. 432-433).

On their way, women are facing increased dangers of sexual and violent nature from border officers in transit countries but also other refugees. The serious life threats from their countries of origin continue along their migratory path and usually do not cease to exist even after they are granted asylum in a third country. Despite the unifying UNHCR *Guidelines on the Protection of Refugee Women*, each country of destination tackles this omnipresent paradox of women's migration on its own. The Czech Ministry of the Interior has for instance established a detention center in Bělá-Jezová dedicated solely to women, women with children and families, which significantly lowers the threat. That being said, the Czech Republic is still among the countries that are lacking the sufficient support for female refugees (Global Detention Project ©2016).

Besides the objective risks faced by refugee women, the lack of possibility to address these issues by women themselves is a much deeper structural problem. The following chapter will look at the absence of women's voice in the academic as well as the public discourse regarding migration, which affects the general approach to finding solutions and tackling the inequalities. The first sub-chapter will focus on the missing gender dimension from the considerations of the Copenhagen School and the value added to the theoretical realm of studying security by emancipation and feminism. The practical demonstration of the gender absence will consist of further analyzing the Czech public discourse on migration in the second sub-chapter.

4.1 Absence of gender in the Copenhagen School – emancipation and feminism

The Copenhagen School of security studies has provided tools for analyzing threat construction through the theory of securitization. Based on non-democratic and exclusionary logic of security, it proposes an analytical approach to learning about different security threats and implementing extraordinary measures in order to tackle them. Scholars of the Copenhagen School generally disregarded the role of gender in defining security by focusing on language and status of various securitizing actors. In the early 1980s, Cynthia Enloe started asking the question, for which she has become rightly acknowledged as a key figure in feminist security studies: “Where are the women?”²⁶ Enloe started to dismantle the complexity of formal political practices, industrial development, economics, masculinism and mythology that had been forming what was known as ‘security studies’ (Shepherd 2013, p. 16). It is also important to note that, despite their common misuse, the terms ‘gender’ and ‘sex’ hold two different meanings: the latter is a pure biological, social and legal definition of categories such as male or female, M or F, man or woman, unlike ‘gender’, which is a bearer of identity, used in different forms (a noun/verb/logic) (Shepherd 2013, p. 12). Even though this work often mentions ‘women’ as such, the main emphasis is put on the gender aspects of the account of security politics and practices.

In order to further demonstrate the way ‘gender’ is viewed in this paper, the emancipation theory will be introduced in relation to security. In contrast with the Copenhagen School, emancipation, informed by the principles of universality and recognition, sees individuals as the ultimate referents of security (Basu and Nunes, in: Shepherd 2013, p. 63). Critical security studies (CSS or the *Welsh School*²⁷ as Steve Smith (2000, p. 89) has called it) have tried to conceptualize emancipation as an alternative to predominant constructions of security. Unlike securitization, emancipation relies on the intellectual tradition of the Frankfurt School and a critical tradition of thinking social change and resistance, which gives it a truly transformative potential.

Emancipation is the concept that allows for a radical ‘democratization’ of security. It looks at democratic politics and poses the question of institutional authority in claiming

²⁶ This question is the title of the first chapter in Enloe’s book *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Enloe 2000, pp. 25-56).

²⁷ The Welsh School is a variant within the critical security studies, based on the pioneering work of Ken Booth and Richard Wyn Jones at Aberystwyth University (Smith 2000, p. 89).

a voice for the silenced (Aradau 2004, p. 397). For Ken Booth, author of the fundamental work entitled *Security and emancipation* (1991), emancipation meant “the freeing of people (as individuals and groups) from those physical and human constraints which stop them carrying out what they would freely choose to do. War and the threat of war is one of those constraints, together with poverty, poor education, political oppression and so on. Security and emancipation are two sides of the same coin. Emancipation, not power or order, produces true security. Emancipation, theoretically, is security.” (Booth 1991, p. 319) This individual responsibility for speaking about one’s own insecurities against existing security articulations privileging the state or patriarchal power relations is a common feature for both emancipationists and feminists (Aradau 2004, p. 399).

Feminism is in the most general terms about giving voice to the silenced women. As Lene Hansen demonstrates in her article about the Little Mermaid’s silent security dilemma from 2000, voice and body are of a crucial importance for the construction of subjectivity. The previous sub-chapter has pointed out the absence of gender in the considerations of the Copenhagen School, which epistemologically relies on speech act theory. Hansen continues the exploration of incompleteness of the Copenhagen School saying that “if this is the most thorough exploration of wider security agenda, we should ask if there are important security problematiques excluded from the gaze of the Copenhagen School” (Hansen 2000, p. 286). As the leading European feminist focusing on Critical Security Studies, Hansen has started the discussion on the absence of gender in the conceptualization of society and identity in the security realm. The reason why this text has not mentioned Hansen’s article (2000) earlier is because it embodies the core of the argument – the lack of female voice in the current discourse.

A problem arises when the voicing of the security concerns increases insecurity for other subjects of power relations. Female trafficking can be used as an example – the feminist logic would securitize trafficking by giving voice to those who suffer. The state’s response, however, is revictimization of these women as illegal migrants and prostitutes, who then rely solely on activists demanding their protection. Such a move of ‘securing’ the victims of trafficking has, however, led to spiraling insecurity for sex workers (now subjected to increasing raids, interrogatories, and incarceration) as well as for asylum-seekers and refugees (suspected of having been trafficked or of being exploited) (Aradau 2004, p. 399).

Democratic politics is incompatible with the politics of security as all people cannot be equal sharers of security. Feminists, as well as proponents of the emancipation theory, are not completely rejecting the findings of the Copenhagen School. However, they are rather asking for a shift of security within the social realm and a redefinition of various categories of security have-nots. Aradau (2004) calls this critical contribution to security studies a ‘counter-securitization’. For female migrants the results of emancipation might be two-fold: on one hand, they might profit from the autonomy and new possibilities drawn from starting a new life without any ties to the troubles from the past; on the other hand though, it might lead to a complete separation from any community and complications with building strong social connections. But unless they will be a part of the common discussions regarding migration, the situation of female refugees will remain connected to threats drawn from their societal exclusion.

4.2 The importance of voice and its lack by female refugees

The previous sub-chapter treated the absence of gender in the securitization segment of academic literature – works belonging to the Copenhagen School. Here the thesis brings the argument forward by presenting the ‘silent security dilemma’ shared by female refugees and migrants in general, and demonstrating it by specific examples of the Czech discourse on migration. Copenhagen School misses two aspects of security that Hansen characterizes as the ‘security as silence’ and the ‘subsuming security’ (Hansen 2000, p. 287).

The first, ‘security as silence’ occurs when security cannot be voiced – “when raising something as a security problem is impossible or might even aggravate the threat being faced” (Hansen 2000, p. 287). As the discourse analysis of the Czech media showed, female refugees are not provided with platforms to talk about their security concerns. In the studied material from the most popular Czech media sources male speakers outnumbered women in case of both commentators and refugees themselves. The majority of public figures talking about the migration crisis, who were mainly represented by politicians, were men.²⁸ On the other hand, representatives of various organizations and NGOs working to support female refugees and immigrants in the Czech Republic are

²⁸ Women are generally underrepresented in Czech politics. Although women comprise 50 % of the population, their representation in politics is only 20 % on average. *Fórum 50 %* is a non-profit organization supporting equal participation of women and men in politics and in decision making (Fórum 50 % ©2018).

women. Those were sometimes invited to give their point of view on dealing with the incoming migrants. Their voices in favor of supporting refugees again added to the stereotypical division: male politicians pointing at the threats and assuming a more cautious stand versus female activists welcoming and helping the newcomers. In cases where refugees were granted voice, it was again men holding this privilege (Novinky.cz ©Feb. 5, 2016; Aktualne.cz ©Dec. 11, 2016, iDNES.cz ©Feb. 13, 2017).

The second blank spot in the Copenhagen School, as Hansen calls it (2000, pp. 287, 297-299), is ‘subsuming security’, which accounts for gender-based insecurities. The problem lies in the definition itself of the referent object that is being securitized. According to Buzan et al. (1998, pp. 119-120), the referent objects of securitization are understood as large, self-sustaining and distinct identity groups, of a mainly national nature. Female refugees rarely form ‘self-sustained’ gender communities, able to create a socially powerful argument regarding their insecurities. All the mentions of women by the Czech media concern individuals and their families, which is far from what the Copenhagen School understands as an identity group.

The Czech Republic has been explicitly criticized by the *Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women* for its remaining discriminatory measures in the areas of legal protection, political representation, violence against women and participation in public life, to name a few (CEDAW 2016, pp. 2-12). Female refugees in their positions lack the opportunity to address these problems and of their securitization.

According to the results of the Czech media analysis in chapter 3, female refugees are rarely part of the public debates. Despite the fact that women make up to 40 percent of all incoming seekers of international protection and also the intensity with which the topic of migration has been covered, Czech media dedicate very little time to talking about women and the specificities of their experiences. The radio broadcasts mention gender of the refugees very sporadically but when they do, they generally talk about women’s family-related issues. For example, Český rozhlas Radiožurnál had broadcast twice in the same day a reportage about a Syrian woman who was struggling to get to Europe with her children (September 8, 2015 – Ranní and Dopolnední Radiožurnál). Similarly, the same radio station repeatedly talked about whole migrant families fleeing the Syrian conflict, 13 times in total over the second studied time period from March till April 2016. The speakers in these entries were mainly NGO workers and mostly women.

On the other hand, men specifically were being mentioned in two contexts – jobs and violence. Entries about male immigrants as both taking jobs from Europeans (NOVA, Prima) and providing cheap labor to sustain the European job market (Rádio IMPULS, NOVA) were supporting the stereotypical perception of refugees. Several of the news articles subjected to the discourse analysis portrayed male refugees as violent “strong young men” who meant a serious threat to European women (Novinky.cz Jan. 8, 2016; Aktualne.cz ©Feb. 22, 2018). Men were also connected to the terrorist threats, which were commonly connected to the topic of migration to Europe (Český rozhlas Radiožurnál; RÁDIO IMPULS; Prima; Aktualne.cz). Politicians are the ones who lead this catastrophic, stereotypical discourse.

To sum up, female refugees are portrayed relatively less than their male counterparts by the Czech media and their stories are thematically rather narrow. When they are spoken about, they are nearly always connected to their family roles and responsibilities. Furthermore, gender dimension of the debates on migration is in majority of cases presented by women. Very few male speakers talk about female refugees in the Czech media, which on one hand corresponds with the fact that women can relate better to their experiences, but at the same time it narrows the perspective and diminishes the legitimacy of including women in the migration discourse. By including more men talking about the gender aspects of migration, the struggles and dangers faced by female refugees could be tackled in a more systematic and meaningful manner. Lastly, it is important to speak more about individuals in order to present relatable stories that the listener/reader might better relate to. As mentioned earlier, the emancipation theory calls for a more equally distributed security within society, even though it is important to ensure safe environment to those who decide to speak up since they are automatically placing themselves in risk.

4.3 Experiences of female refugees in the Czech Republic

According to the Czech Statistical Office, there were 2 972 foreigners with the asylum status living in the Czech Republic as of the end of 2016 (ČSÚ ©2017a). Over the course of 2017 and during the first three months of 2018 the Foreign Police granted asylum to 40 more applicants (MVČR ©2018). Out of these asylum holders currently residing in the Czech Republic – slightly over three thousand people – 1 271 are women

(ČSÚ ©2017a). These numbers do not include those whose procedure of granting international protection is ongoing and are residing either in one of the two ‘reception centers’ or in the ‘residential centers’.²⁹ The asylum procedure in the Czech Republic is governed by the Act on Asylum from 1999 and by the UNHCR representatives is viewed as one of the better functioning ones in Europe. Women thus form a significant portion of the refugee population in the Czech Republic and if considering only adults, women outnumber men.

In order to evaluate the Czech migration discourse vis-à-vis the real experience of refugees, personal interviews were led by the author of the thesis at the end of April and beginning of May 2018. The interviewees consisted of refugee men and women as well as employees of UNHCR and OPU. The core of the discussions was formed by five questions:

- What are the differences between a man’s and a woman’s (immigrant’s) experiences with living in the Czech Republic?
- Do you think that male and female immigrants are seen differently in the Czech Republic?
- What were the situations that made you feel that Czechs are listening to you and are taking you seriously?
- What was the hardest moment after arriving to the Czech Republic?
- Do you follow Czech media regarding news from your home country (written or broadcast)?

The interviews were held in mostly informal setting and not everyone was asked all of the questions. The discussion style obeyed recommendations of the OPU representative who has extensive experience with talking to refugees and migrants to the Czech Republic. Overall, the questions were aimed at finding out about differences in realities of refugee men and women. The last question was specifically touching upon the topic of media coverage of the migration crisis and related perception of the events happening in the refugees’ home countries.

²⁹ The procedure of applying for international protection in the Czech Republic is described in detail in a leaflet issued by Ministry of the Interior with the help of the UNHCR. Appendix 4 shows the English version of this information leaflet – ten language variations in total are available on the MVČR website.

There were 10 respondents in total, out of which 7 were women (6 adult women and a seven-year-old girl) and 3 men. The reasons behind choosing this particular group were several, based mainly on availability and willingness of each individual refugee. In terms of nationalities, 4 of the interviewees were Syrian (2 men, 1 woman and her daughter), 2 were from the Ukraine and 2 from Yemen. The last 2 were Czechs, employees of the Czech UNHCR office and the non-profit, non-governmental, humanitarian organization OPU. Since all of the interviews were done orally and each of the discussions focused more on a certain topic, a compilation of the outcomes will be presented in the five following paragraphs, each covering one of the questions listed above.

Right from the beginning, it is important to make a distinction that appeared several times during the interviews. Refugees as such are often perceived as a unitary community of people with similar past and mindset. In fact, asylum holders residing in the Czech Republic form a very heterogeneous group based on age, nationality, religion, social status, level of education and past experiences of the individuals. Besides the distorted public opinion, neither the Foreign Police authorities take these differences into consideration. Divergent beliefs and even opposing political views do not play a part in assigning people into accommodation. That way people who would be arch enemies in their home countries, live together and share sanitary facilities and kitchens in the centers dedicated to seekers of international protection³⁰. These differences determine the experiences of refugees in general. One Syrian respondent drew attention to women from the Third World countries whose initial position is inferior, which usually continues after their arrival to the Czech Republic. The UNHCR representative agreed that refugee women coming from Africa have the hardest time integrating in Czech society because of the language barrier, skin color and usually very humiliating past experiences. On the other hand, women from the post-Soviet countries are usually more prone to integration because their chances to understand and learn some Czech are higher, but also because their social networks are of an extent that they usually already have some connections in the Czech Republic upon their arrival. The OPU worker pointed out that a Muslim woman often substitutes for a large family and that way has in fact more control than her husband. Another crucial factor determining the degree of disparity between male and female experience is the age.

³⁰ These include the Reception Centers, where refugees undergo initial security and medical screenings, the Residential Centers, in which the applicants have the option to find accommodation until they are given the decision on granting international protection, and the Integration Centers, where the participants in the *State Integration Programme* live (Appendix 4).

There is a significant difference between refugees from the older generation (40 years+), who are still very much affected by the stereotypical gender roles of the past, and the younger ones, who follow the trends of emancipation.

The second set of answers concerned perceptions of refugee women and men by the Czech population. Both Syrian men answered that they do not see any significant distinction between the way female refugees are treated. One of them has a daughter and a wife who came to the Czech Republic two years ago (he has been living in Czechia for five years now) and especially the daughter did not have any encounters of a bad treatment. Female refugees are stereotypically perceived with pity, but in fact they do not feel like victims. Especially Muslim women reported that they do not feel left out and that they have the situation of their families under control. The UNHCR worker validated this fact by saying that “Muslim women often feel like princesses, expecting their husbands to treat them with courtesy. They are the dominant family members who make all the essential decisions.” The OPU volunteers are often surprised by the emancipated status of Muslim refugee women, more so than women from Eastern Europe and even Czechs. Two refugee sisters from Yemen (who have come to the Czech Republic about ten months ago along with their mother) mentioned the fact that women’s differences are more visible than men’s because of their clothes (speaking of a hijab, niqab and burka), and their habitual behavior.

Overall, refugees feel the most accepted in company of Czech volunteers and NGO workers. These people are interested in them as human beings without needing to ask too much about their traumatic past.³¹ The Syrian man declared that the main respect he gets is drawn from his position at work. The little 7-year-old Syrian girl said that she made the most friends in her gymnastics class because she is the most talented one. Generally the interviewed refugees agreed that the respect of Czechs is usually gained through proving their abilities, skills and knowledge. One major issue, pointed out by the UNHCR representative, commonly results from parents linguistically lagging behind their children. Refugee children usually have a better chance to learn Czech thanks to the compulsory schooling, which soon shifts them into a position of guides for their parents. The fact that the parents are relying on their children regarding any bureaucratic and administrative work leads to frustration and antipathy. This applies especially to refugee men who cannot

³¹ One of the main recommendations by the OPU workers regarding talking to refugees was not to revolve the questions around their past because that is where most of the trauma lies.

fulfill their roles of the heads of their families, and that is why the *State Integration Programme* has a special agenda for returning men to society. Women do not experience psychological harm in the same manner: their ideal would be to participate in creative workshops, which would help them with immersion into wider society. The problem is that Czechs are more involved in active way of passing time through sports and in the outdoors.

The hardest moments after arriving to the Czech Republic could be summarized under three topics: authorization of residence, thoughts of relatives and language barrier. According to the Ukrainian woman, the chance of receiving asylum increase for the cases of family reunification, supporting lonely woman with children and for people subjected to direct individual threat. The UNHCR worker refuted the assumption that men are the ones coming ahead of their families and women following couple years later along with their children. In reality there are many women arriving to the Czech Republic on their own, which is tied to the next point regarding family dimension of migration. The OPU employee said that many families are involuntarily divided during the migratory process. The Ukrainian refugee woman spent a lot of time talking about her husband, daughter and grand-children, who separated from her on the way and she has not been in touch with them ever since. The last commonly-mentioned challenge is learning Czech, which hampers the general integration. The *State Integration Programme* grants to recognized asylum-holders 400 hours of Czech language lessons. The major problem faced by refugee women is their inability to attend these lessons because they do not have anyone who would babysit their children.

The last question covered was the Czech media and their coverage of events in the refugees' home countries. Some of the respondents (the sisters from Yemen, and the older Ukrainian woman) said right up-front that they do not want to know "what nightmares are taking place in their homes." The Syrian man who has arrived to the Czech Republic in September 2017 follows Czech media with the purpose to learn the language and does not find any significant discrepancies. The other Syrian man, however, kept talking about the major distortions of reality due to the false motivation of the media, which is drawn purely by sensation and profit. Czech media are usually describing the events in a more extreme light, creating fear and horror in the eyes of the audience. Furthermore, the UNHCR representative sees major differences in the relation to Czech media between refugees based on their nationalities. Syrians are usually more educated, and able to speak good English, which allows them to follow international media instead.

Overall, men are usually more concerned about the happenings in their countries of origin than women, who worry more about the well-being of their family and their new lives in the Czech Republic.

To conclude, the interviews provided an interesting insight into the lives of refugees in the Czech Republic. The main ascertainment was that refugees belong to a massively heterogeneous group and that there are dozens of factors affecting their lives. Women's experiences are undeniably different from the men's, but as we could see from the answers this does not necessarily mean more hardship. Moreover, providing refugee women with a voice leads to a more democratic distribution of security and helps to find equitable solutions to the current issues. Aradau (2004) and Hansen (2000) pointed out the problem of the absence of gender in the securitization discourse. Their argument was further supported by in-person interviews with refugee men and women in the Czech Republic, enlightening both the analytical and political benefits of gender-balanced public discourse.

Conclusion

Security, as being or feeling safe from dangerous threats, is a primary concern of all humans on Earth. Critical theorists of security studies have been finding new approaches to looking at security since the traditional understanding focused solely on national security from military threats (Booth, in: Shepherd 2013, p. xv). The Copenhagen School extended the scope of security agenda in terms of five sectors of security (military, environmental, economic, societal and political) and referent objects (answering whose security is of concern) (Nyman, in: Shepherd 2013, pp. 52-54). Besides widening and deepening of security, the Copenhagen School provided a ‘constructivist operational method’ for understanding and analyzing how and when various phenomena become a security issue (Buzan et al. 1998, p. vii). This master’s thesis has used this method in order to look into securitization of migration in the Czech Republic.

Since 2015, Europe has been experiencing a significant influx of migrants from the Arab countries of the Middle East and North Africa. Many of these incomers have been fleeing military conflicts taking place in their home countries with the aim of finding safety and international protections in Europe. European media have been consistently reporting on the situation at the borders, as well as in the individual EU Member States. The way the media cover the events regarding migration has a determining impact on the perception of migration as such, and through the securitization lens significantly contributes to the construction of reality via discourse. The Czech broadcast and written media were subjected to discourse analysis in order to ascertain in what manner they contribute to the process of securitization of migration in the Czech Republic. As this thesis has proven, by choosing specific language, symbols, images and topics to cover, the media dictated the public opinions regarding migration. The level of involvement of politicians, use of dramatic symbols and the intensity of coverage all contributed to politicization and securitization of the topic of migration. The analysis of the radio and television broadcasts showed that for the most part the stations provided objective information, presenting the migrants in a neutral manner. Out of three TV stations examined, two of them – NOVA and Prima – have proven to be biased, portraying only the catastrophic aspects of the European migration crisis. Furthermore, the discourse analysis of the online media contributed significantly to the catastrophic migration discourse. Exemplary body of articles selected from the most popular online news platforms were often times using de-

contextualized information in order to increase the attractiveness and popularity of the articles. Catchy headlines played an important role in attracting readers' attention within the fast news consumption style of nowadays.

Moreover, the paper treated the gender dimension of the contemporary migration discourse in order to evaluate its relevancy. Several critics of the Copenhagen School (Hansen 2000 and Aradau 2004) addressed the absence of gender in the security analysis as a major discrepancy between the findings of the securitization theory and the reality. The discourse analysis in chapter 3 reflected on this blank spot by including the category of gender and did so through tracking the mentions of gender in the reportages and articles on migration. Overall, gender has not been regularly mentioned by the media: in the majority of cases, any mentions of female migrants and refugees were connected to pregnancy or motherhood, furthermore, the family aspects of migration are very important and often times account for the deciding factors in the process. However, based on the theoretical introduction (chapter 2) as well as the interviews with the refugees as well as the UNHCR and OPU workers, there is much more to the female face of migration.

The lack of voice by refugee women lowers their chances of integration into Czech society, and furthermore increases their insecurity. Lene Hansen (2000) demonstrated the issue with the 'silent security dilemma' on an example of the Little Mermaid and her inability to speak up when in a serious danger. Female refugees in the Czech Republic face a similar problem since speaking up without a proper platform often creates more threats to their safety and personal integrity. The in-person discussions with eight refugees (six of whom were women) provided an interesting insight into the realities of their lives after arriving to the Czech Republic. The biggest surprise was the fact that refugee women do not see themselves as victims, but rather as individuals in control of their destinies and those responsible for the well-being of their families as well as their own.

To conclude, the thesis showed the importance of gender in studying migration and in informing the general public about the migratory trends. Providing a voice to individuals who are directly involved in migration increases the relevancy of the public debate as well as the level of security of the refugees themselves. The topic of securitization of migration could be studied further by expanding the theoretical framework. A possible way of extending this line of research would be including the practice turn by the Paris School of the security studies. This theoretical approach

would be relevant especially in the study of borders, border regimes and their perception by different actors participating in the migratory process. In the interest of only choosing one the theoretical framework to cover, and maintaining the span of a master's thesis, the text has not addressed the border aspect of migration, where internal and external securities merge. In her article Morokvasic states that "migration [can be] a liberating process [that results] in a modicum of sexual equality, causing the rural cognitive modes about woman's place to no longer be operative", and it is a "rejection, conscious or unconscious of traditional female roles" (Morokvasic 1984, p. 892). Migration provides women with opportunities to move from an environment which is more oppressive to one which is less – from traditional to modern – and thus help them gain a better social status than they would ever get in their home countries. At the same time, it is important to follow up on the migrant's needs, providing them with safer and more equal opportunities. After talking to women who represent both the large international organization (UNHCR) and the non-governmental sector (OPU), the Czech society is slowly becoming a more accepting country towards refugees, including women.

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List of Appendices

Appendix 1: Progression of female migrant stock from 1990 to 2017 (table)

Appendix 2: Top 10 daily most frequented news sources in the Czech Republic (graph)

Appendix 3: Samples from “*We Shall Meet Again, Sanam*” (figure)

Appendix 4: International Protection Procedure – Czech Republic (figure)

Appendix 1: Progression of female migrant stock from 1990 to 2017 (table)

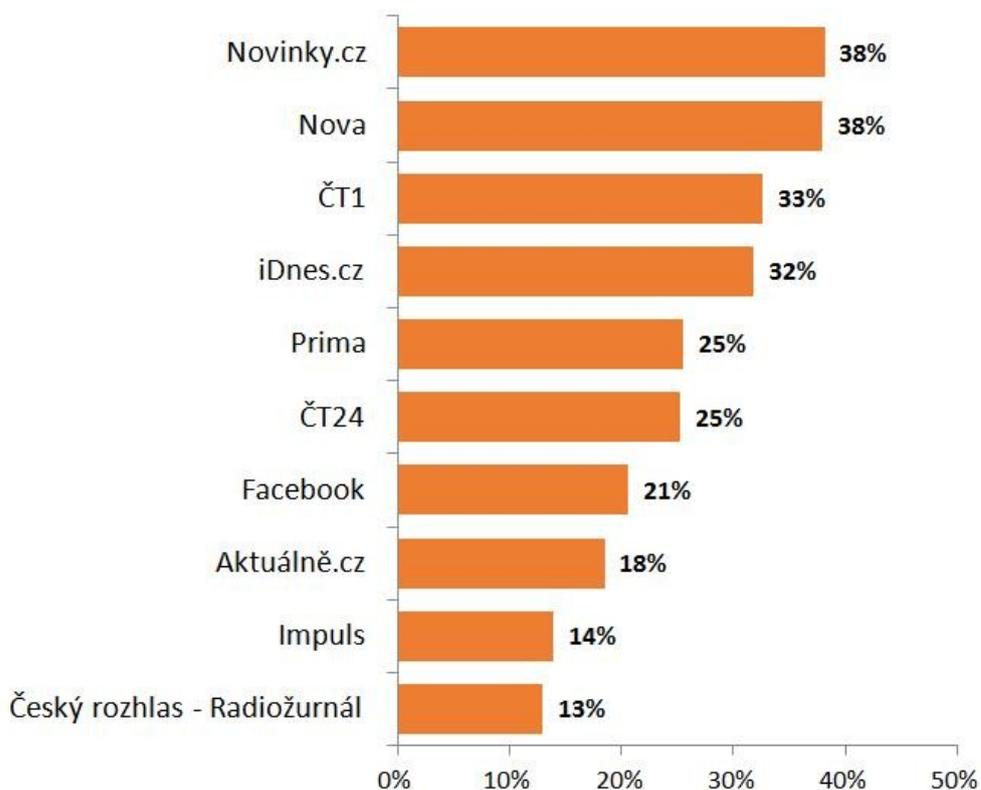
Sort order		Major area, region, country or area of destination	Type of data (a)	International migrant stock at mid-year (female)									
				1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015	2017			
1		WORLD		75 086 026	79 305 317	85 076 784	93 254 862	106 435 428	119 988 148	124 636 567			
2		More developed regions		42 121 221	47 225 596	52 858 984	59 408 174	67 309 653	72 719 861	75 628 927			
3		Less developed regions		32 964 805	32 079 721	32 217 800	33 846 688	39 125 775	47 268 287	49 007 640			
4		Least developed countries		5 516 710	5 870 950	5 035 934	4 813 011	4 995 324	6 932 299	7 272 621			
5		Less developed regions, excluding least developed countries		27 468 189	26 227 845	27 201 920	29 057 416	34 155 018	40 355 849	41 754 498			
6		High-income countries		36 450 724	42 252 993	49 173 151	57 289 846	67 947 194	75 092 796	78 673 206			
7		Middle-income countries		34 222 945	32 168 908	31 782 350	31 947 930	34 408 515	39 300 050	40 132 478			
8		Upper-middle-income countries		16 462 057	16 361 286	16 577 858	17 591 945	19 261 259	23 528 861	24 272 895			
9		Lower-middle-income countries		17 760 888	15 807 622	15 204 492	14 355 985	15 147 256	15 771 189	15 859 583			
10		Low-income countries		4 269 524	4 638 211	3 906 530	3 769 830	3 829 377	5 329 554	5 560 221			
11		Sub-Saharan Africa		6 945 013	7 287 746	6 506 087	6 621 680	7 371 925	10 341 448	10 975 090			
132		EUROPE		25 278 517	27 218 398	29 056 240	32 610 041	36 659 671	38 822 374	40 510 569			
133		Eastern Europe		11 794 049	11 321 792	10 727 855	10 384 599	10 089 706	10 478 183	10 590 768			
134		Belarus	B	676 956	642 975	608 993	599 994	590 994	586 944	584 638			
135		Bulgaria	B	12 463	18 793	25 122	34 480	42 446	74 447	85 574			
136		Czechia	C	52 989	77 278	101 562	140 821	162 933	177 228	184 730			
137		Hungary	B R	191 325	175 032	158 738	192 571	226 404	239 789	251 850			
138		Poland	B	645 595	560 676	486 928	425 470	380 154	355 232	366 693			
139		Republic of Moldova	B	304 546	205 525	138 699	97 357	97 127	92 359	90 511			
140		Romania	B	78 224	71 755	66 521	78 898	84 265	134 250	173 949			
141		Russian Federation	B	5 869 526	6 003 475	5 917 446	5 860 991	5 680 309	5 928 065	5 932 256			
142		Slovakia	B	23 108	38 792	65 123	71 775	79 981	88 613	91 348			

Source: UN DESA. International migrant stock: The 2017 revision. *Population Division - International Migration* [online]. New York: United Nations, ©2017a [accessed 2018-03-14]. <<http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/data/estimates2/estimates17.shtml>>.

Appendix 2: Top 10 daily most frequented news sources in the Czech Republic (graph)

TOP 20 denně nejvyužívanějších zdrojů zpravodajství

ZÁKLAD: Celý vzorek, N=1016



Zdroj: Studie Zpravodajství a zpravodajské weby 2014,
N=1016, 15+, MEDIARESEARCH



Source: SPIR. TZ Mezi zpravodajskými zdroji vedou Novinky.cz, zprávy v televizi sledují spíše starší lidé [online]. Praha: Sdružení pro internetový rozvoj, ©2015 [accessed 2018-04-04]. <<http://www.netmonitor.cz/tz-mezi-zpravodajskymi-zdroji-vedou-novinky-cz-zpravy-v-televizi-sleduji-spise-starsi-lide>>.

Appendix 3: Samples from “We Shall Meet Again, Sanam” – cover page, p. 5, p. 33 (figure)



Source: EKMAN, Oskar and BERGTING, Peter. Jednou se zase setkáme, Sanam: příběh o cestě za svobodu. Praha: META, o.p.s. - Společnost pro příležitosti mladých migrantů, 2015. ISBN 978-809-0629-622.

Appendix 4: International Protection Procedure – Czech Republic (figure)

Welcome to the Czech Republic

The book will provide you with the background information on the procedure for granting international protection and the basic rules of conduct in the Czech Republic.

Please observe these rules:

- You will be provided with the background information on the procedure for granting international protection and the basic rules of conduct in the Czech Republic.
- Please observe these rules.

Basic Information

CZECH REPUBLIC

The Czech Republic is located in the central part of Europe. It has a population of about 4.7 million. The country is divided into 14 regions. The capital city is Prague with around 1.7 million inhabitants. The remaining population lives in other towns, villages and rural areas.

The official language of the Czech Republic is Czech. Christianity is the most common religion in the country. However, many Czechs do not profess any religion.

Map of the Czech Republic

The Czech Republic has a mild climate with hot alternating winters. Winter temperatures range between 0 and -15°C, with occasional snow. In summer, temperatures may drop below 30°C. Average annual rainfall is between 70 and 120°C. Czechs celebrate many holy days like St. Nicholas Day.

Procedure for granting international protection

The procedure for granting international protection is regulated by the Act on Asylum (No. 252/1995 Coll.).

An applicant for international protection must be a citizen of a country that is not a member of the European Union or a country that is not a member of the Schengen Area.

An applicant must be in the Czech Republic for at least 3 months before applying for international protection.

An applicant must be in the Czech Republic for at least 3 months before applying for international protection.

Right to seek international protection

You must meet the requirements set forth in the Act on Asylum (No. 252/1995 Coll.) to be granted international protection.

International protection may be granted to persons who are unable to obtain protection in their country of origin or in another country.

Asylum may also be granted to persons who are unable to obtain protection in their country of origin or in another country.

Residential Centre

During the procedure regarding your application, you will be accommodated in a residential centre. The residential centre offers you a place to live, food, and other necessary services. You will also be provided with information on the procedure for granting international protection.

The residential centre offers you a place to live, food, and other necessary services. You will also be provided with information on the procedure for granting international protection.

Reception Centre

When you arrive in the Czech Republic, you will be accommodated in a reception centre. The reception centre offers you a place to live, food, and other necessary services. You will also be provided with information on the procedure for granting international protection.

When you arrive in the Czech Republic, you will be accommodated in a reception centre. The reception centre offers you a place to live, food, and other necessary services. You will also be provided with information on the procedure for granting international protection.

Refusal to grant international protection

You can be refused international protection if you do not meet the requirements set forth in the Act on Asylum (No. 252/1995 Coll.).

You can appeal against the decision of the Ministry of the Interior regarding your application for international protection.

You can appeal against the decision of the Ministry of the Interior regarding your application for international protection.

Gaining of international protection

The Ministry of the Interior will hand over your application to the relevant authority. The authority will decide whether you are eligible for international protection.

The authority will decide whether you are eligible for international protection.

Important information

The Ministry of the Interior will make your application for international protection. The Ministry of the Interior will make your application for international protection.

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Important telephone numbers - toll-free

- 112 - European emergency phone number
- 150 - Fire
- 155 - Police
- 156 - Road emergency
- 158 - Health care
- 116 - Child helpline
- 116 - Helpline for children in need
- 263 61 13 13 - Helpline for women in need

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LIFE IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Freedom of speech is a fundamental right.
In the Czech Republic, everyone has the right to freedom of expression. You freedom has its limits. Do not insult dignity and freedom of others.
Do not offend anyone with respect and regard.



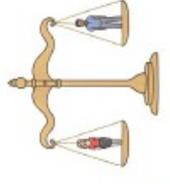
The Czech Republic is a democratic country.
All people have equal rights. The citizens of the Czech Republic may decide who will administer the country through free elections.



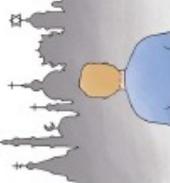
The Czech Republic abides by the rule of law.
Institutions in the country are regulated by laws and regulations. Laws and regulations must be applied equally to all people without any exceptions or special treatment.



The law takes precedence over religion.
All actions made in accordance with religious beliefs must not be used as an excuse to violate the law.



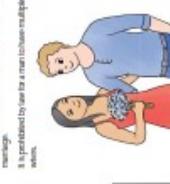
Religion is a private matter.
Everyone has the right to choose their religion or none at all. Respect the personal decision of others.



Women and men are equal.
Women make the same decisions regarding their life as men. Men and women work in all professions and have the same rights and responsibilities.



A woman may freely choose her husband.
A woman may live with a man even without being married. It is a decision that she makes for herself. She may choose to live with another man or not live with anyone at all. Only a person over 18 years of age may enter into marriage.



People of the same sex may live together and enter into a registered partnership in the Czech Republic.
A woman may live in a partnership with another woman and a man may live with another man. They can bring up children together.



Domestic violence and sexual harassment is prohibited.
Any violence against women and children as well as sexual harassment is prohibited by law. Victims of violence are advised to help themselves by reporting the crime to the police.



All children in the Czech Republic must complete compulsory education lasting nine years.
Any failure to adhere to compulsory education conditions is a criminal offense. Boys and girls attend the same school. They attend all subjects together, including physical education and sports.



Parents are responsible for the behaviour of their children.
Both parents are equally responsible for the behavior of their children. The minimum age of criminal responsibility for children is 15 years of age.



Private property must be respected.
For reasons of safety and security, the state may limit the use of private property. A passport vehicle may only be driven by a person over 18 years of age. There is strict control over the use of private property. It is not allowed to drive a vehicle if you have drunk alcohol or used an addictive substance. These rules also apply to pedestrians and cyclists.



Road traffic rules must be respected.
Everyone must follow the rules of the road. A person must not drink alcohol before driving a vehicle. It is necessary to wear a seat belt. It is necessary to use a seat belt when driving a vehicle. It is necessary to use a seat belt when driving a vehicle.



It is very important to be punctual.
When going to school, work and appointments, always arrive on time. If you are not able to attend, you must inform the relevant authority in advance.



Healthcare services are provided on the basis of health insurance.
Each resident of the Czech Republic must make contributions to public health insurance. Always check whether your own insurance covers the cost of the services you need. You are not allowed to charge a doctor any fee. Women may be treated by male doctors and men may be treated by female doctors.



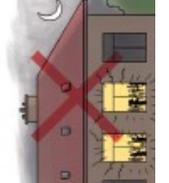
When entering a room, it is customary to say hello, and when leaving to say goodbye.
A greeting and a handshake are customary when entering a room. A woman is expected to shake hands with a man. A woman is expected to shake hands with a woman. A woman is expected to shake hands with a woman.



It is not unusual in the Czech Republic that people keep a greater distance while talking.
In public places, people tend to keep a greater distance while talking. It is not usual to touch another person during a conversation. It is not usual to touch another person during a conversation. It is not usual to touch another person during a conversation.



It is important to be polite and respect other people.
Respect people's privacy. Do not enter a room without permission. Do not enter a room without permission. Do not enter a room without permission.



It is customary to help the elderly and infirm people.
It is customary to help the elderly and infirm people. It is customary to help the elderly and infirm people. It is customary to help the elderly and infirm people.



Observe the norms of polite behaviour.
It is very important to be polite. It is very important to be polite. It is very important to be polite.



It is not allowed to litter in buildings and streets.
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Always make sure that you have your personal documents on you.
You must always have your personal documents on you. You must always have your personal documents on you. You must always have your personal documents on you.



The Police of the Czech Republic and the municipal police provide security for all inhabitants.
The police must be respected. The police must be respected. The police must be respected.

