



**GÖTEBORGS  
UNIVERSITET**

**Middle Eastern Migration  
Through the Eyes of Czech Press**

Hana Mišove

Program: Master in Communication

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Email: [h.misove@gmail.com](mailto:h.misove@gmail.com)

## **Abstract**

The following thesis analyzes the coverage of Middle Eastern and African migration by two major Czech newspapers, Blesk and MF Dnes. The articles which were analyzed were published during February 2017, 85 in total. They reported on Middle Eastern or African migration to Europe, as well as immigration and asylum policy within the EU. The analysis focused on what topics were covered in the articles, what sources were used to draw the information from, what location the articles covered and how they framed the issue in terms of causes, effects and solutions.

The analysis found that politics was the most frequently covered topic which was prevalent in about a third of all articles. Politics was followed by crime committed by refugees and migrants and the theme of humanitarian aid and support for refugees.

Both newspapers relied heavily on other news media (notably the Czech Press Agency) which were featured as sources in over three quarters of all articles. Political sources were the second most common, being featured in about 60% of all articles. iDNES featured NGOs, experts and refugees significantly more than Blesk, providing a wider range of sources.

While Blesk was very much focused on the Czech Republic which was covered in over 40% of its articles, iDNES showed a larger focus on what is happening abroad. While the Czech Republic (along with Germany) was still covered the most (in 19% of all articles), it wasn't as frequent as in Blesk.

Most of the articles didn't cover the causes of migration and if they did, they didn't do so in an extensive fashion. In iDNES, the causes were covered more frequently than in Blesk. In both of the papers, the causes were mostly identified as external, that is to say migration was mostly attributed to war, poverty and persecution.

The majority of the articles of both newspapers covered negative sociocultural effects of migration (most frequently crime and human suffering). Only one article in each newspaper focused on the positive effects Middle Eastern and African migration had on the host country. Both of these articles were focused on economic benefits.

Most articles mentioned some sort of proposed or executed solution. These solutions were quite balanced in terms of being humane (aiming to improve the refugees' and migrants' conditions) or restrictive (aiming to limit migration).

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## Introduction

It is estimated that over 60 million people worldwide have been forced to leave their homes due to war and persecution. Out of these 60 million, a third are refugees - those who have left their home country due to war or persecution (UNHCR 2017). The drastic increase in these numbers, which have not been this high since World War II, has been caused mainly by the civil war in Syria which has been ravaging the country for the last six years (UNHCR 2016a). Most Syrian refugees found shelter in the neighboring countries, namely Turkey (2.5 mil.), Lebanon (1.1 mil.) and Jordan (628 000) (UNHCR 2016a). Many headed for Europe, along with refugees and migrants from other countries, such as Afghanistan or Iraq. Over a million refugees and migrants found their way to Europe in 2015, many drowning while trying to cross the Mediterranean Sea on rickety rafts. Although the number of arrivals started to decrease the following year, the EU countries still struggled to provide the arriving refugees with food and shelter (UNHCR 2016a).

The EU countries have tried to reduce the numbers of arriving refugees and migrants by increasing border controls and, in some cases, building fences. An agreement with Turkey was made in an attempt to discourage foreigners from trying to enter the EU illegally (UNHCR 2016a). However, many EU citizens have felt that stricter measures needed to be taken. Anti-immigrant sentiments have started to rise in many countries which has given boost to many nationalist and far-right parties, such as the National Front in France or the Sweden Democrats. With the promise of stopping immigration and protecting the citizens from the perceived threat to their country's cultural identity, populist parties have won over many electors (BBC 2016).

Ever since the rising numbers of refugees started arriving at Europe's shores in 2015, the issue has been filling the front pages of national newspapers. Mass media wield significant power when it comes to shaping the opinions of their readership. In the digital age, they are a constant presence in our lives. We construct our opinions about political and social issues based on the media-generated images we encounter (Gamson et al. 1992), which is why the topics journalists decide to cover and the way they choose to spin their stories matters a great deal.

The reality we live in is complex and it is not in the power of a journalist to encompass it in its entirety. In order to present a comprehensive story which the reader can easily follow, they must select a particular angle to focus on. And therein lies the power of media frames - in selecting certain features of a story while omitting others (Entman 1993). One can try to project objectivity by referring to "hard facts" which are backed up by reputable sources. However, conveying mere facts to the public does not equal good reporting, because facts only acquire meaning through the context in which they are embedded (Gamson et al. 1992).

It is undeniable that the language in which a story is written can powerfully influence us. Tversky and Kahneman (1981) famously demonstrated how our decisions can be easily swayed by a few carefully chosen words. In their experiments, they showed that two different ways of framing the exact same problem can push the reader towards two different decisions.

Analyses about the coverage of refugees often agree that the image portrayed in the media is not very well-balanced. Based on recent studies, the media often focus on the negative, failing to point out what refugees and migrants could contribute to the host country (Berry et al. 2015). According to some analyses, stories of suffering go underreported and sensationalism runs wild. What is more, news can be filled with political bias and opportunism when political leaders use information channels to put forth their own agenda (Ethical Journalism Network 2015). These trends differ in various countries, of course. For example, an analysis by the European Journalism Observatory

found that Western countries were generally covering the issue of the refugee crisis in a more compassionate way, often publishing stories about the refugees' suffering. Eastern European and Baltic states, on the other hand, were more negative and unemotional in their portrayal (European Journalism Observatory 2015).

This thesis focuses on how refugees and migrants are presented in two Czech newspapers and how this coverage compares in terms of the selection of topics, sources and framing used in the articles. The analysis is carried out on two of the most popular newspapers in the country, Blesk and iDNES, on articles which were published during February 2017 (85 in total).

## 1. Background

In order to provide some context for the analysis of the Czech press, the following part contains some background information about the Czech demographic and political situation in regard to the issue of African and Middle Eastern refugees and migrants. Next, a short overview of various analyses of press coverage in the EU countries is presented.

### 1.1. Czech Republic

The Czech Republic is a fairly homogenous country in Central Europe. The Czech population has very little experience with mass migration, especially from Middle Eastern or African countries. In 2015, foreigners accounted for only 4.3% of all population, making the Czech Republic one of the countries with the lowest rate of foreigners in the EU (ČSÚ 2015). Most of the foreign population residing on Czech territory comes from the Ukraine, Slovakia, Vietnam and Russia, that is to say mostly Central and Eastern European countries (Eurostat 2017). With immigrants coming mainly from countries which are quite close to the Czech Republic in terms of cultural and historical background, most Czech people lack personal experience with people of the Muslim faith. Experts estimate that only about 22 000 Muslims live in the Czech Republic (Biben 2015). With a population of 10.5 million people, they therefore represent mere 0.2%. According to sociologists, Muslims coexist with Czech people quite peacefully and are very well integrated (Biben 2015). Yet, the fear of them rises in the Czech population.

In a poll conducted in 2016 by the Public Opinion Research Center (CVVM), 1 028 Czechs were asked to share their views on the issue refugees. The results showed that 75% of the respondents viewed refugees as a threat to the Czech Republic and 89% as a threat to Europe (Červenka & Pilecká 2016). When asked about taking in refugees, most Czechs weren't very open to this possibility. While 30% were in favor of taking in refugees until they were able to return to their homeland, 64% were firmly against accepting any refugees altogether. Only 2% of the respondents were open to the possibility of letting refugees stay in the Czech Republic indefinitely. The survey showed that the respondents' opinions differed based on the refugees' land of origin, showing more willingness among the Czech people to offer shelter to refugees from Europe. While 35% of the respondents were in favor of accepting refugees from the Ukraine, only 13% were willing to accept refugees from the Middle East and Northern Africa (Červenka & Pilecká 2016).

According to the Eurobarometer survey from 2016, which compares the views of the citizens of all EU countries, Czech people are the most sensitive of the EU when it comes to migration. What is more, Czech attitudes get more negative as time passes. Whereas 44% of all EU respondents expressed the belief that immigrants can benefit a nation, only 12% of the Czech respondents believed the same. While migration from outside the EU was viewed positively by 37% of the EU respondents, only 14% of Czech shared the same opinion (European Commission 2016).

The rather negative attitude that can be seen in the general population is often shared by prominent Czech politicians. The Czech Republic was one of the countries which resoundingly voted no the proposed EU refugee quota system in 2015, along with Slovakia, Hungary and Romania (Traynor & Kingsley 2015). The plan to share 120 000 refugees from Greece and Italy among all EU members was seen as an attack on the country's sovereignty by many Czech politicians. The Czech interior minister Milan Chovanec made his opinions clear when he tweeted that common sense was lost that day (Traynor & Kingsley 2015).

The Czech prime minister Bohuslav Sobotka, the leader of the Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD), shares the views of his interior minister and is opposed to any EU resolution that would make taking in refugees mandatory. He is not opposed to the idea of taking in refugees, but stands firmly in the belief that doing so should be done on a voluntary basis, purely in the competence of member states (ČTK 2015a). While he warned that large numbers of refugees could lead to the collapse of European social systems (ČTK 2015b), he has distanced himself from more hardened opinions of the Hungarian prime minister Viktor Orbán and the former Polish prime minister Jaroslaw Kaczynski (Buckley 2016). Unlike Sobotka, the deputy prime minister and the leader of ANO, Andrej Babiš, rejects the idea of taking in any refugees. He even went so far as to blame Angela Merkel's immigration policy for the terrorist attack in Berlin in December 2016 (Aktuálně.cz 2016). The Czech president Miloš Zeman, a polarizing figure whose comments often stir the media, is convinced that Muslim values are incompatible with European society. He suggested that the crisis should be resolved by relocating migrants to empty places in north Africa and uninhabited Greek islands (Buckley 2016).

Be it due to less favorable policies, the negative stance of a large part of the population or little established presence of people of African or Middle Eastern origins, the Czech Republic is not a goal destination searched out by many refugees. In 2016, the Czech Republic received only about 1 500 asylum applications, mostly from Ukrainian citizens, out of which only 134 came from Syrian nationals (ČTK 2016). Despite the disapproval of Czech political elites, based on the quota system, the Czech Republic is to provide shelter to 2 691 refugees in the following years (iDNES 2016).

## **1.2. Issues with Media Coverage**

Numerous analyses have studied how the press covers the issue of refugees and migrants in Europe. Berry et al. (2015) prepared a report for the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in which they analyzed the press coverage of the migrant crisis in five EU countries, Spain, Italy, Germany, the UK and Sweden. They focused on the overall themes of the articles, sources and labels (e.g. refugee, migrant...), refugees' countries of origin, what drove their population flows and what solutions were proposed. The analysis found that out of the five countries, the Swedish press was the most positive towards refugees and migrants, with a significant part of it being devoted to humanitarian themes. The British coverage was evaluated as the most negative of the five, especially the right-wing press which showed hostility towards refugees and migrants. The use of labels was very different across these countries. Germany and Sweden used the term "refugee" and asylum seeker most frequently, whereas in Italy and the UK, the word "migrant" was used most often. Spain preferred the term "immigrant" in most cases. In all countries, there was only a limited amount of articles which focused on the benefits refugees and migrants could bring to the country. The analysis also found that the sources used in the articles were usually representatives of governing parties or coalitions. (Berry et al. 2015).

A report by the researchers from the London School of Economics (Georgiou & Zaborovski 2016) looked into the coverage in eight European countries including the Czech Republic. It focused on the media narratives, sources and frames concerning the management of the crisis. According to the report, during 2015, news narratives about refugees gradually turned from sympathetic to more suspicious and hostile. The authors concluded that refugees were given little room to express their point of view and share their experiences. They were mostly presented as silent actors and victims.

Furthermore, very little context was provided and the articles often failed to make a connection between the refugees' arrival with the war and suffering in their home countries.

Another analysis (Horsti 2007) focused on the news about asylum seekers published by the Finnish News Agency (STT). The author found two dominant frames which frequently emerged from the coverage: illegality and control. According to the analysis, the articles tended to frame asylum seekers as a threat to society. News about individual refugees were reported mainly if there was an illegal dimension to the story and the articles often emphasized the bad living conditions and health issues the refugees were struggling with. The analysis found that because the news agency focused mainly on Europe, it was creating the impression that the refugee migration is primarily a European problem, whereas the majority of refugees was actually living in developing countries. The news stories were mostly framed from the authorities' point of view and rarely from the refugees'. The analysis concluded that the news stories often used similarly problematic language, employing words evoking a natural disaster or war (Horsti 2007).

Unlike Horsti, Van Gorp (2005), who analyzed Belgian press coverage, defined his frames prior to the analysis. He focused on the innocent victim frame and the intruder frame, which he carefully operationalized in a frame matrix which was based on the type and the role of the asylum-seeker defined in the article, the problem definition, problem source, attributed responsibility, policy solution and moral evaluation. His results showed that one fifth of the articles referred to asylum-seekers 'purely' as innocent victims and one fourth as intruders. He also found that the victim-frame which emphasized humanitarian policy was more prevalent, especially in the francophone press.

In the Czech Republic, a study carried out by researchers from Masaryk University analyzed the evening news programs of two most popular television channels in the country, the Nova channel and the state-owned Czech Television (Tkaczyk et al. 2015). The study found that both channels provided a rather one-sided coverage which highlighted the security and administrative side of immigration, while neglecting to report on the causes of the crisis. The analysis also focused on the speakers who were given room in the programs and found that very little experts on migration were interviewed (1%). While refugees, especially men, were given some room to express themselves (in 15% of cases), the vast majority of these contributions consisted of short statements and shouts which often weren't translated into Czech. The analysis concluded that the reporting could lead the viewers to believe that the crisis was caused by refugees and not by external factors, which could impede the audience from empathizing with them (Tkaczyk et al. 2015).

The third most popular Czech television channel, Prima, fared even worse when it comes to reporting on refugees without bias. The channel faced a scandal when a news outlet published a story featuring a recording from a staff meeting. The management of the television was caught instructing the reporters that refugees should be presented as a threat in its programs (Břešťan 2016).

## 2. Theory

The following part provides theoretical background for the concept of framing as used in mass media research, as well as the way framing influences its audiences and the issue of media's objectivity.

### 2.1. Concept of Framing

As the concept of framing is used in numerous disciplines, it lacks a single, unified definition. There are several perspectives one can use. In linguistics, it was notably used by Fillmore. By frame, Fillmore (2006) means "a system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits" (p. 373). By this he meant a set of concepts which is known in the literature under various names, such as "schema", "script" or "scenario". Based on his theory, the concept of frame depends on language processing, because a particular frame is activated in the perceiver's mind upon hearing certain words or grammatical structures (Fillmore 1976). Fillmore particularly focused on frame semantics which studies word meanings, the process how new meanings are assigned to words, the principles of creating new words and phrases and the way the total meaning of a text is drawn (Fillmore 2006).

Another use of the concept of framing was in Minsky's (1974) work about artificial intelligence. Minsky describes a frame as "a data-structure for representing a stereotyped situation" to which certain information is attached (Minsky 1974, 1). Frames are utilized when one faces a new situation, for example. In order to find the best way to react to it, one will reach to their memory and select a convenient frame which they will then adapt to fit the reality that is presenting itself.

However, this thesis focuses on framing in terms of mass media research which studies the way journalists use frames in their writing, that is to say what sort of a "spin" they give to their stories (Scheufele 1999). Framing is a fundamental part of news reporting. News frames are necessary in order to communicate current events in a comprehensible and efficient way (Scheufele 1999).

According to Entman (1993), to frame is "to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman 1993, 52). An utterance may serve more than one of these four functions, but doesn't necessarily use all of them. By making a piece of information more salient, for example by a well-chosen placement, repetition or association with familiar symbols, it becomes more noticeable and memorable to the reader (Entman 1993).

The use of a certain frame does not eliminate all potentially incongruent information in the article. It simply makes one of the possible interpretations more discernible and memorable than the alternatives (Entman 1991). Using a certain frame in a news story also does not mean that it will be detected by every member of the audience. Framing is a dynamic communicative process that involves an interplay between the frame and the audience (de Vreese 2005). A news frame consists of two levels, the characteristics of the news text and the information processing that is activated in one's mind (Entman 1991). When new information is being perceived by the reader, it interacts with their preexisting schemata, clusters of ideas that guide the information processing (Entman 1993). It is based on this interaction that the reader comes to draw a certain meaning from an article.

Because of the way a frame is processed, one must raise the issue of audience autonomy. A researcher will usually try to identify the dominant meaning of a text, that is to say the

interpretations which are the most likely to be noticed and processed by the reader (Entman 1993). In other words, the interpretation which is the most heavily supported by the text itself and which is compatible with the audience's schemata. But this dominant meaning might not be detected by everyone, which could pose a problem for researchers, since it suggests the possibility of multiple possible interpretations. Nevertheless, according to Entman (1993), researchers should not try to uncover all possible interpretations differing from the dominant meaning. Based on social science research, if a text is written with a frame which emphasizes a way of thinking in mutually reinforcing ways, relatively few members in the audience will draw a conclusion opposing the frame (Entman 1993). Although people can create their own links, using their memories, according to the research, they don't tend to be very well informed in the matters of social and political issues, which means that it is framing that influences them in the first place, not their pre-existing notions (Entman 1993).

## **2.2. How Do Frames Influence Audiences?**

While the process of forming opinions is complex and there are numerous factors that affect it, research has left little doubt that audiences are influenced by the framing of an issue (Iyengar 1990b). News have the power to change of opinions through the definitions and interpretations they choose to feature in the story (Shah et al. 2002). More specifically, it has been shown that frames influence how viewers interpret issues and events, attribute responsibility and evaluate political action (Carragee & Roefs 2004).

According to the 'accessibility bias' argument, the information that affects us the most is that which we can easily recall. That means information that we have been frequently hearing or reading. Easily accessible information has a larger effect on the audience's attitudes and choices (Iyengar 1990b). In certain topics, like the world of politics, where people are largely dependent on the media in order to obtain information, the influence can be quite significant (Iyengar 1990b).

Iyengar (1990a) who studied the framing on television news programs argues that there are two types of framing in a news story. Firstly, thematic framing which focuses on a general trend (.e.g poverty rate) or public policy (e.g. welfare programs) and which provides background information about an issue - the whole picture, one could call it. Secondly, episodic framing, which focuses mainly on the experience of an individual or a group (e.g. a story of a person suffering from poverty). In his experimental studies, Iyengar found that the two types of framing influenced how the viewer assigned responsibility. With the use of episodic framing, the individual was more likely to be held responsible, while a thematic frame brought out a stronger sense of societal responsibility (Iyengar 1990a). Not much research has been done to study Iyengar's hypotheses further and his experimental studies were limited. However, when Aarøe (2011) attempted to ascertain the strength of episodic and thematic frames, she found that episodic frames triggered more intense compassion, pity, anger and disgust than thematic frames.

When Valkenburg et al. (1999) tried to fill in the gaps in the research about the effect of frames on the audience by testing frames in terms of four categories: conflict, human interest, attribution of responsibility and economic consequences. They found that the thoughts after reading mirrored the frame used in the news story. For example, reading a story with a human interest frame emphasized emotions and individual implications, while an economic consequences frame focused thoughts rather on costs and financial implications (Valkenburg et al. 1999).

### **2.3. Just How Objective Can Be the Media?**

In the perfect world, the media are supposed to be the watchdogs who protect public interests, seek the truth and strive for objectivity and the portrayal of pluralist opinions (Callagan & Schnell 2001). However, publishing 'objective' news may prove to be difficult, because even with the best effort, journalist can be manipulated if they lack understanding of the concept of framing (Entman 1993).

When it comes to journalists deciding whether to run a story, Gans (1979) distinguishes two factors - the importance of a story and how interesting it is. Whether something is interesting is rather subjective and depends on a personal preference. As to the importance of a story, Gans distinguishes four considerations when deciding it: whether it features someone ranking high in the governmental and other hierarchies, the impact the event has on the nation, the impact it has on large numbers of people and the significance it has for the past and the future (Gans 1979).

Van Gorp (2005) raises the question of the nature of a frame. To what extent is a frame an objective characteristic of the news which arises from the event itself and to what extent is it created by journalists? He also asks whether a distinction can be made about how the media handle frames raised by politicians and other actors. Are they just a part of political discourse (Van Gorp 2005)?

The issue of politicians as sources has been raised many times. Research has shown that journalists tend to rely on official sources and routine channels (Gamson et al. 1992). By using information, quotes and analysis from elite sources, journalists are open to be exploited by individuals whose aim is to make their points of view known to the general public (Nelson et al. 1997). Whether a frame has the power to dominate the news depends on many factors (the individual's resources, their knowledge of journalistic practices and whether their frame resonates with broader values) (Carragee & Roefs 2004). But with this dependence on elite sources, journalists are likely to conform and confirm the frame presented to them, rather than search for data that could contradict it (Entman 1991).

The last consideration is connected to financial considerations. A newspaper needs to be able to pay for itself. Journalism therefore depends on attracting enough audience, so that they are able to sell space to advertisers (Gamson et al. 1992). This leads editors to adjust their content accordingly.

### 3. Methodology

This thesis aims to analyze the media coverage of the migrant crisis in two Czech major newspapers, Blesk and iDNES. The newspapers were selected based on their readership, as well as their different character. The analysis focuses on their online articles published in February 2017.

Blesk was founded in 1992 and is owned by the Czech News Center which runs numerous other newspapers and magazines, such as Aha! or Reflex (CNC 2017). It is a tabloid newspaper, which focuses on celebrity stories, news and sports. It is the most popular newspaper in the Czech Republic with the circulation of just over one million printed copies per day (Mediaguru 2016a). Its online version is one of the most visited news websites, with more than one million unique visitors per month (Mediahub 2016b).

MF Dnes (and its online version iDNES) belongs to the MAFRA media group, owned by Andrej Babiš, the leader of ANO, one of the strongest political parties. MF Dnes is a broadsheet which focuses on "current and high-quality news reporting" (MAFRA 2017). It sells about 630 000 printed copies per day (Mediaguru 2016a). Its online version is the second most visited news website in the Czech Republic, with more than two million visitors per day (Mediahub 2016b).

#### 3.1. Sample

When selecting the articles for analysis, I used a similar method to Berry et al. (2015). The articles were retrieved through Google search, based on a list of keywords: the labels used in the press to describe refugees and migrants, as well as terms linked to migration and asylum.

The keywords were as follows: refugee OR migrant OR immigrant OR asylum seeker OR asylum OR migration OR immigration (in Czech: uprchlík OR běželec OR migrant OR imigrant OR přistěhovalc OR azylant OR azyl OR migrace OR imigrace).

There is sometimes confusion as to what the difference is between a refugee and a migrant. A refugee is a person fleeing an armed conflict or persecution, someone who is forced to flee a dangerous situation in their home country and has the right for international protection. A migrant, on the other hand, doesn't move to a different country because of a direct threat to their life, but due to a desire to improve their living situation (e.g. searching for better work, education or hoping for a family reunion) (UNHCR 2016b).

After the first search yielded its results, the articles were sorted further, so that only relevant stories remained (meaning stories about immigration from Africa and the Middle East into Europe). The articles were narrowed down to stories about (Berry et al 2015):

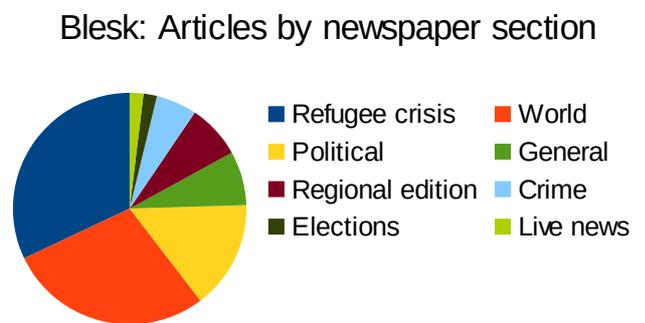
- Middle Eastern or African refugees, migrants or asylum seekers traveling to or already residing in the EU
- Immigration and asylum policy of the EU as a whole or any European country

Based on these criteria, 85 articles were selected, 53 from Blesk and 32 from iDNES.

Newspaper	Quality/Tabloid	Number of articles	Average word count (per article)
Blesk	Tabloid	53	393
iDNES	Quality	32	448

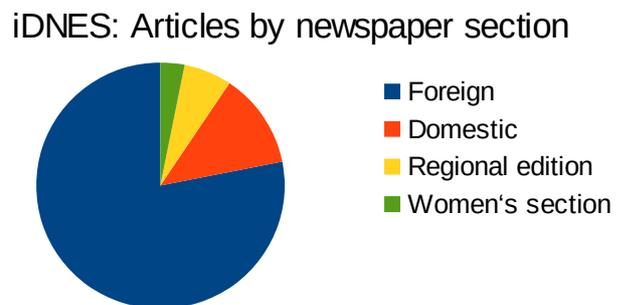
In Blesk, 53 articles were identified. They belonged in the following categories (as used by the newspaper itself).

Blesk		
Newspaper section	Number	Percentage
News: Refugee crisis	17	32.1%
News: World	15	28.3%
News: Political	8	15.1%
News: General	4	7.5%
Regional edition	4	7.5%
Crime	3	5.7%
Elections	1	1.9%
Live news	1	1.9%



In iDNES, 32 articles were identified in the following newspaper sections.

iDNES		
Newspaper section	Number	Percentage
News: Foreign	25	78.1%
News: Domestic	4	12.5%
Regional edition	2	6.3%
Women's section: Fashion	1	3.1%



### 3.2. Method

Just as there is no consensus about the definition of a frame, there is no consensus about how it should be identified in the news. Generally, there are two courses of action. Firstly, one can opt for the inductive approach (used for example by Horsti (2007)), based on which news stories are analyzed without a predefined set of frames, which means that news frames are analyzed as they emerge from the news coverage. One of the weaknesses of this approach lies in the fact that its results are difficult to replicate, which can make the comparison between different newspapers more

difficult (de Vrees 2005). Secondly, one can use the deductive approach (used by Van Gorp (2005)) in which frames are operationalized before the analysis. This means that the analysis can be easily replicated and the differences in framing between various newspapers are easily detectable (Semetko & Valkenburg 2000). This is why I chose to use the deductive approach.

While some researchers code a single frame per news article, others code multiple. When it comes to identifying frames in a text, Entman suggests that frames "are manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments" (Entman 1993, 52). Still, identifying them can prove to be a bit difficult, especially with fact-based reporting. Horsti (2007) wrote that she faced a problem in this regard, stating that because the articles she was analyzing were short and focused mostly on 'facts', they didn't necessarily lead towards a clear frame. However, she argued that even when analyzing rather factual reporting, the framing grows in significance when analyzed in large numbers, because it shows where the overall focus of the reporting lies.

Having considered the previous analyses which have been carried out, I decided to use the deductive approach, defining the analyzed frames beforehand. The analysis focuses on the following features of the news articles:

### 1. The theme of the article

In each article, the main theme was identified, so that a comparison could be made about each paper in terms of what topics it focused on in its coverage. This means that secondary themes played no role in this part. The aim was to find the main focus of the news story.

I looked into how Berry et al. (2015) used their themes and adjusted their method for this analysis. The themes were grouped in the following categories (based on the topics that emerged from the coverage):

- (a) **Political/Policy related:** Stories concerning individuals engaged in politics, public policies or government projects (the main focus lies in the political sphere)
- (b) **Arrivals/Departures:** Stories about refugees and migrants entering or leaving the country or applying for asylum
- (c) **Aid/Support:** Stories about humanitarian aid (often connected to conditions in refugee camps), as well as stories about the supporters of refugees and individuals who decided to help them
- (d) **Crimes committed by refugees or migrants:** Stories about criminality among refugees and migrants (excluding the crime of illegally entering a country, because this issue was often covered within the arrivals/departures theme)
- (e) **Prejudice/Crime against refugees or migrants:** Stories about reported discrimination, fear of refugees and migrants in the population or crimes committed against them
- (f) **Economy/Business:** Stories about a country's economy or private business

- (g) **Other:** Stories that didn't fit in any category (and didn't share any common theme that could constitute a category of its own, for which I set the limit of at least three articles per category)

## 2. The sources used in the article

When a newspaper decides to feature a certain source, it puts their framing in the limelight, allowing it to reach wider audience. This is why the sources which were used in the articles are analyzed. By sources I mean sources of information, as well as individuals who are given room to express their views and opinions. The groups of sources were inspired by a UNHCR report written by Berry et al. (2015) and slightly adjusted.

The sources were divided in the following categories:

- (a) **Political/Authorities related:** Politicians and people affiliated with them, political institutions, as well as local authorities (e.g. the City Council)
- (b) **Newspapers/News agencies:** Media that were cited in the text of the article or were given credit for being authors or co-authors
- (c) **NGOs/Activists:** Non-governmental organizations, as well as activists who engaged in public discussion (not counting protesters in a demonstration or individuals trying to help refugees in their daily life)
- (d) **Experts/Academics/Think-tanks**
- (e) **Refugees/Migrants:** Refugees, migrants and immigrants featured in the article
- (f) **Police:** People working for the police (e.g. police officers and spokesmen)
- (g) **Law:** People working in law, in court proceedings in particular (e.g. lawyers, state prosecutors and judges)
- (h) **Religious representatives**
- (i) **Citizens:** Citizens who don't belong in any other category

## 3. What location the article was reporting on

The country (or countries) which the article was about was identified for each article. I took into consideration not only the geographical location, but also the people. For example, if an article reported on the conditions in a refugee camp in Greece, but the role of a Czech person was emphasized (e.g. prominently featuring in the headline), both countries were added.

#### 4. Framing

The analysis focused on the following:

##### (a) Causes of the migration crisis

This part focused on the perceived reasons why refugees and migrants were coming to Europe. The two categories were inspired by the types of asylum-seekers used by Van Gorp (2005). In this analysis, however, the focus is less on criminality or the abuse of the right for asylum and more on the reasons why the refugees/migrants left their homeland.

1. **External factors:** Refugees and migrants were driven from their homes, for example by war or persecution.
2. **Internal factors:** Migrants were driven by their desire to live a more comfortable life or wanted to reunite with their families (they weren't forced by outside circumstances)

##### (b) Effects of the migration crisis

In this part, the perceived effects of the arrival of refugees and migrants was analyzed. Both directly and indirectly stated effects were taken into consideration (that is to say both directly stated opinions and stories that described an event that was an outcome of the actions of a migrant or a refugee). They were divided into three categories, both of which could be negative or positive.

1. **Political/Institutional:** Consequences related to politics or institutions
2. **Economic:** Effects in terms of the country's economy or private businesses
3. **Sociocultural:** Effects connected to social and cultural consequences (e.g. cultural enrichment of the country or crime)

##### (c) Solutions to migrant crisis (as used by Van Gorp (2005))

1. **Humane:** Solutions aimed at improving the conditions of migrants and refugees or facilitating their integration into the population
2. **Restrictive:** Measures aimed at limiting arrivals or deportation

## 4. Results

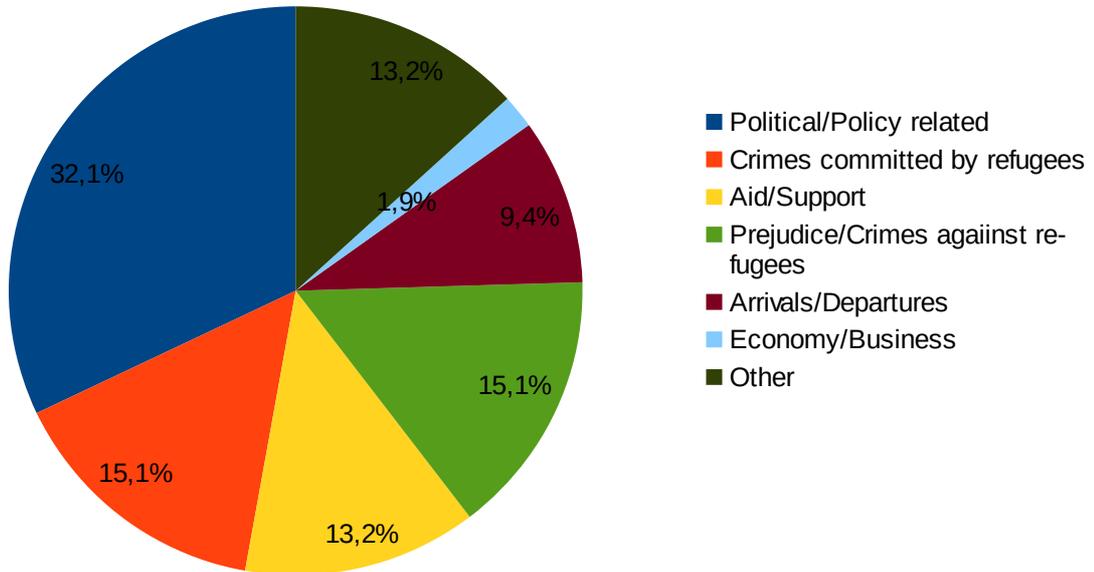
The following part present the results of the analysis. In each section, the data from both newspapers is first presented in a table, followed by a more detailed analysis.

### 4.1. Themes

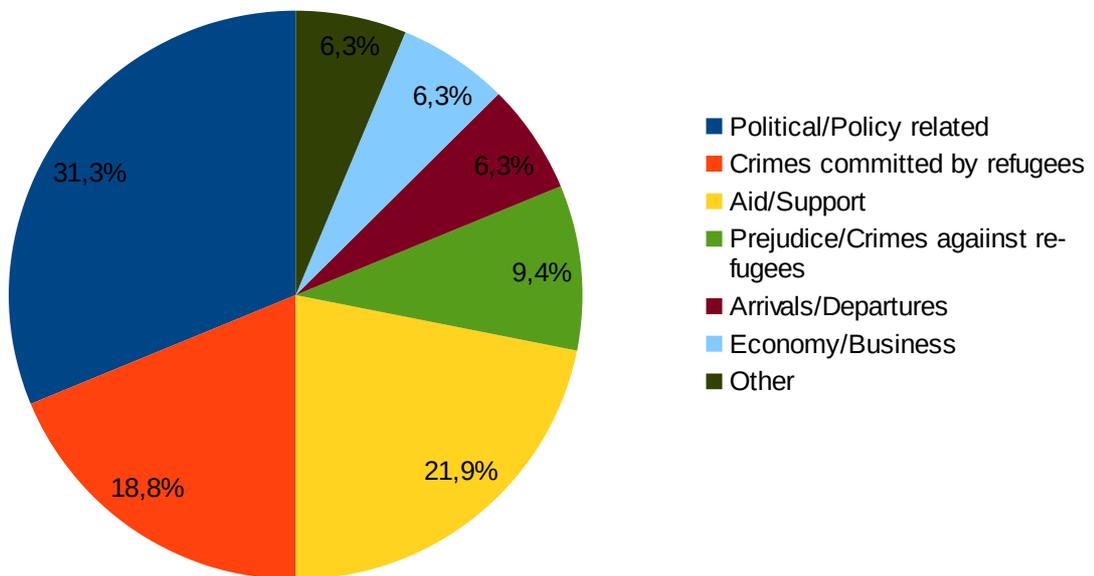
In this section, the main theme of each article was identified. The main themes were sorted into seven different categories, all of which can be seen below.

<b>Themes</b>	<b>Blesk</b>		<b>iDNES</b>	
	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Political/Policy related	17	32.1%	10	31.3%
Crimes committed by refugees or migrants	8	15.1%	6	18.8%
Aid/Support	7	13.2%	7	21.9%
Prejudice/Crime against refugees or migrants	8	15.1%	3	9.4%
Arrivals/Departures	5	9.4%	2	6.3%
Economy/Business	1	1.9%	2	6.3%
Other	7	13.2%	2	6.3%

Blesk: Themes



iDNES: Themes



#### 4.1.1. Blesk

The most prominent theme which emerged from Blesk's news coverage was politics and issues related to public policy. Almost one third of all articles (17) featured political issues as their main topic. About a half of them (8) were devoted to the Czech political scene. A half of them covered the opinions of various political representatives and their proposed solutions (e.g. Zdeněk Soukup from ANO or Petr Robejšek from Realisté) and three of them covered stories about governmental

projects: two articles were devoted to the apparent end of HateFree, a project which fights against hate in the Czech society, and one reported on a project which targeted the propagation of fake news.

In foreign politics, Germany was the country which was featured the most often. More specifically, the stories covered Angela Merkel's attempts to retain her post (and the squabbles about immigration policy which were making the situation complicated), Kai Wegner's proposal to target the gender imbalance among the incoming migrants and policy aiming to improve identity checks of newly arrived migrants. As to other countries, two articles featured the story of Donald Trump and his comments about the dangers of immigration and, more importantly, his mention of an attack in Sweden which apparently did not happen. Other articles featured for example the toughening of the Hungarian immigration policy and the issue of sharing refugees among the EU countries.

The topic of politics was followed by stories about crime, that is to say two themes: crime committed by refugees and migrants and crime committed against them (along with the issue of discrimination and fear in the population). Each of these categories accounted for 15% of all articles (8 articles each).

As to articles about crimes committed by refugees and migrants, sexual assault and terrorism was covered most often (both of which were featured in three news stories). Sexual assault was the topic of a story about a Czech nurse who was sexually assaulted by an Afghani, an ISIS member who raped a refugee before coming to Germany and a German teacher who was raped by 9 Iraqi men. Terrorism was featured in an article about the reopening of the Louvre museum after an attempted attack and the deceased French terrorist Rachid Kassim. Other stories featured money forgery committed by a Czech gang and violent riots which broke out in Sweden.

Stories covering crime against refugees and migrants and discrimination were quite varied. Two featured reports about the discrimination and hate in the Czech Republic and Germany respectively (based on data provided by the UN and Amnesty International). Another covered statistics about violence committed against migrants in Germany. Four articles reported on individuals rather than societal trends. These stories include the case of Adam Bartoš, a Czech activist and far-right politician who was accused of inciting hatred towards Jews and immigrants and a story about a German housing estate whose residents built a fence around it after finding out that refugees were being moved to the area.

The theme of crime against migrants was closely followed by stories about humanitarian aid and support for refugees. These represented 13% of the news coverage (7 articles). Three sub-themes emerged in this category. Firstly, stories about refugee camps and humanitarian aid which reported on the conditions in Belgrade, Berlin and the Greek island of Lesbos. Secondly, the support for refugees, namely the protests in Barcelona and the pleas of British activists to help child refugees in France. Thirdly, there were the individual cases of people who decided to help refugees and were punished for their actions. These were the stories of Swedish reporters who helped a Syrian boy on his journey to Sweden and a French farmer who was fined for aiding illegal migration.

Five articles (9%) were about migrants and refugees' arrivals, deportations and asylum applications. One story featured the Turkish diplomats applying for asylum in Germany because of the persecution they faced in Turkey. The rest was about migrants arriving in the Czech Republic and the EU. The articles mostly concerned the numbers of arrivals, the ways they got into the country and the risks which were linked to their presence in the country. The whole theme was strongly linked to illegality, particularly because the police was often used as the primary source.

Only one article belonged in the economy theme. It reported on the growing döner kebab business which is blooming in Germany and which was set up by immigrants who came into the country after World War II.

The rest of the articles was varied and was sorted into the "other" category. There was for example the story of an apparently fake Swedish expert who debated immigrants on American television, a report about a Czech woman who assaulted a policeman during a pro-immigrant protest and a news story about a film festival which featured a film about refugees.

#### **4.1.2. iDNES**

Just like Blesk, iDNES covered political stories in approximately a third of all articles (10 in total). Domestic politics was covered only in one article which was reporting on the political program of Petr Robejšek from the newly formed political party Realisté. The rest of the articles covered foreign politics. Hungarian immigration policy and the views of the prime minister Viktor Orbán were covered in two articles. Two articles covered Switzerland, namely its new law which facilitates the naturalization of the children of immigrants and a film produced by the Swiss government which aims to discourage immigrants from coming to Switzerland in order to find new home. Other articles covered for example Italian immigration policy, Trump's mistaken claims about a terrorist attack in Sweden or a newly formed right-wing political party in Denmark which holds conservative views about migrants.

One fifth of the articles (7) was devoted to the coverage of humanitarian aid and support to refugees and migrants. The coverage of iDNES was quite similar to the coverage of Blesk. It reported on the pro-immigration protests in Berlin and Barcelona and the British activists' pleas to take in children refugees from Northern France. Conditions on Lesbos were reported on from the perspective of the perspective of the same NGO as in Blesk (People in Need), but through the eyes of a different worker. The story of the French farmer who was fined for his attempts to help refugees was also covered, as well as a story about an American fashion designer who created a coat for refugees which serves also as a tent.

Humanitarian aid was followed by the topic of crimes committed by migrants and refugees which represented almost a fifth of all articles (6 in total). Two of them reported on radicalism and terrorism. One of them described how Islamists were exploiting the vulnerable situation of children in refugee camps in order to recruit them and one was about a raid of a Berlin mosque which was known for its connections to terrorists. The rest of the crime stories was varied. They were about a German student who was raped and murdered by an Afghan man, riots which broke out in Sweden, migrants who breached a barrier protecting the Spanish territory of Ceuta and a Czech gang (consisting also of African migrants) forging euros.

The rest of the themes were present to a lesser extent. The issue of crime against migrants and discrimination was present in three articles: one was about the rising number of attacks targeted at migrants in Germany, another about a survey about Czech people's worries (which featured the issue of immigration) and a story about a "white" Hungarian village which was promoting life without homosexuals and Muslims.

Two articles focused on the topic of arrivals and departures, specifically the statistics about illegal immigration to the Czech Republic and about the numbers of asylum seekers in the Czech Republic.

In the economic and business theme, two articles were published. One about the large numbers of businesses that were being started by immigrants in Germany and one about a camel park proposed by a Swedish businessman who wanted to employ immigrants in order to run it.

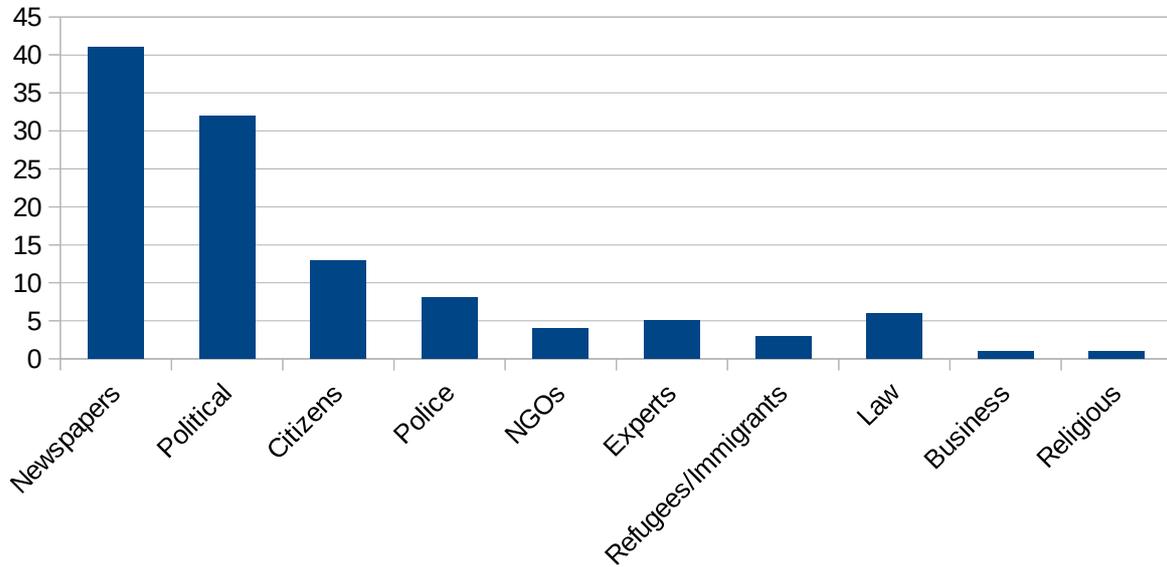
### 4.1.3. Comparison

Politics was the number one theme for both Blesk and iDNES, both of which delved into political and policy related issues in almost a third of all articles. There was not much difference between the two newspapers in the following theme either. Crimes committed by refugees and migrants represented approximately one sixth of each newspaper's coverage. The difference in focus can be seen in the theme of aid and support (13% for Blesk and 22% for iDNES) and crimes against immigrants, along with the issue of prejudice and discrimination (15% for Blesk and 9% for iDNES). Arrivals and departures were given a bit more space in Blesk, representing almost a tenth of all articles, as opposed to iDNES, where they represented only 6%. The topic of economy was not widely covered by either of the papers and appeared only in very few articles.

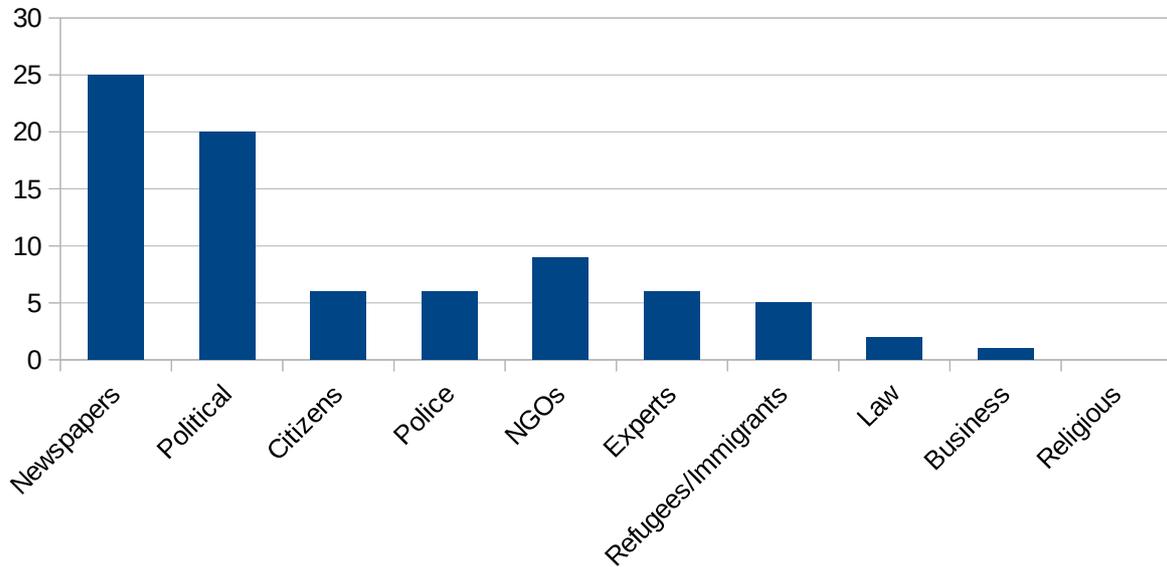
### 4.2. Sources

Sources	Blesk		iDNES	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Newspapers/News agencies	41	77.4%	25	78.1%
Political/Authorities related	32	60.4%	20	62.5%
Citizens	13	24.5%	6	18.8%
Police	8	15.1%	6	18.8%
NGOs	4	7.5%	9	28.1%
Experts/Academics/Think-tanks	5	7.5%	6	18.8%
Refugees/Immigrants	3	5.7%	5	15.6%
Law	6	11.3%	2	6.3%
Business/Economics	1	1.9%	1	3.1%
Religious	1	1.9%	-	-

Blesk: Sources



iDNES: Sources



#### 4.2.1. Blesk

The analysis shows that Blesk relies heavily on other newspapers and news agencies. An overwhelming majority of the articles (77%) contained information shared by another medium. The main source of information was ČTK, the Czech News Agency, which was featured as the sole

author of 6 articles (11%) or a co-author of almost a half of them (24). Besides ČTK, 19 more news outlets and news agencies were featured, usually from the country where the story was happened. Among the most frequently featured were DPA (4 articles), AFP (3 articles), AP (2 articles), BBC (2 articles), the rest of the sources was featured only once.

More than a half of the articles (60%) relied on information or opinion provided by a political actor or someone connected to the government or local authorities. This partially reflects the fact that the theme of politics was the most common theme, present in almost a third of all articles.

Two domestic politician's opinions were widely covered, each got his own article: Zdeněk Soukup (ANO) and his proposal to change the constitution in order to protect European and Czech culture from Middle Eastern influences. Another is Petr Robejšek (Realisté) and his political program for his newly formed party, including immigration policy. Both maintain that certain steps need to be taken in order to protect Czech and European culture from outside influences, emphasizing that the protection of one's values is not synonymous with racism or xenophobia. Besides these two politicians who were covered in detail, one article features the opinions of prominent members of four Czech parties to Trump's migration ban (Blesk 3), namely the prime minister Bohuslav Sobotka (ČSSD), Tomio Okamura (SPD), Ondřej Benešík (KDU-ČSL) and Karel Reis (ANO). While one of them, Tomio Okamura from a SPD (Liberty and Direct Democracy) supported Trump's decisions wholeheartedly, the rest mostly agreed that such ban was rushed and not very well thought through, even though it was deemed well in the rights of a country to protect its borders. Two articles shortly mention the Czech president's Zeman's negative views on refugees. In these articles, the story was mainly about another issue and Zeman's views were provided solely as background information. In connection with the HateFree project, the former minister for human rights Jiří Dienstbier (ČSSD) and the current minister Jan Chvojka (ČSSD) were featured. However, these two articles were primarily about the project promoting tolerance, so the politicians weren't sharing their views on the issue of migration.

Foreign politicians were mostly those from governing parties. German politicians who were given space were mostly from the governing coalition of CDU/CSU (e.g. chancellor Angela Merkel, the Bavarian prime minister Horst Seehofer, interior minister Thomas de Maizière). The most quoted politician of all was the American president Donald Trump (5 articles), mostly because his claims about the attack which didn't take place in Sweden (along with the subsequent riots) were covered in three articles. Other foreign politicians featured in the articles were for example Viktor Orbán or the first vice-president of the European Commission Frans Timmermans.

The third most common source were various citizens of the country (25% of all articles). They were mostly people directly connected to the issue that the article was reported on, for example the person accused of a crime, a witness or the curator of an exhibition that was being covered. Two articles covered the opinions of locals, one at a protest and the person living in a housing estate that built a fence against refugees.

Citizens were followed by sources from police and law, that is to say lawyers, prosecutors, judges etc (they were found in 15% and 11% of all articles respectively). They were present usually in articles covering crime. However, the Foreign Police Department was used as a source in articles about incoming migrants in the Czech Republic, which is why the articles highlighted the issue of illegality.

Very few experts were used as sources. There were five instances in total (9% of all articles). One was a security expert who was asked to evaluate Donald Trump's travel ban, other were experts from the UN who were quoted in an article which covered the UN's report about the discrimination

against refugees in Germany. The other two weren't very relevant to the issue of migration. One was an expert on social media and another was an "expert" - the story was about how he might not be legitimate, because he was featured on American television as a national expert, but no one in Sweden knew who he was.

NGOs and activists were used as sources only in four articles (8%) mostly present in stories about humanitarian aid. NGOs were mostly organizations helping in refugee hot spots, like Doctors Without Borders, Refugee Aid Miksalište, People in Need.

Refugees and migrants were given very little opportunity for expression. They were quoted only in three articles (6%). First was a migrant sentenced for life imprisonment for murder, another was an immigrant businessman who was connected to the kebab business and the last one was a protesting Syrian refugee whose quote about Syrians being the victims of war was featured in a story about a pro-immigrant demonstration.

#### **4.2.2. iDNES**

More than three fourths of all articles relied on some sort of a newspaper or news agency for information. Just like Blesk, iDNES also heavily relied on ČTK which contributed to almost a half of its articles (it was featured as a co-author in 11 articles and as the sole author in four). 23 other media were featured as sources, most frequently The Guardian (5), BBC (4) and AFP (3).

Sources related to politics and local authorities were used in over 60% of all articles which means they were the second most frequent source. The only Czech politician who was quoted was Robejšek from a newly formed party Realisté. Foreign political sources varied. They were top country representatives, like Donald Trump or Viktor Orbán, as well as various ministers and spokespeople. The former politician Alf Dubs, saved by Nicholas Winton, was used as a source in two of them, concerning pleas to the British government to take in refugees.

NGOs were used as sources in 28% of all articles (9 articles), mostly in the theme of aid and support. Among the NGOs were for example the Italian Refugee Council, the Swiss Refugee Council or Caritas.

Both experts and police sources were represented in equal measure, in 19% of all articles. There were no experts on immigration among the sources. Among them was, however, a former military general, an expert on terrorism (in an article about a raid of a German mosque), an expert on tourism (in an article about a planned camel park in Sweden) an economist and a professor of sociology.

Citizens and refugees were represented in 16% of the articles. Citizens were for example the inhabitants of a "white" only village in Hungary who were commenting on the new policy, a French farmer fined for helping refugees or a Swedish filmmaker mentioned in a report, protester in Barcelona.

Refugees and migrants were used as a source in five articles. Three featured quotes from refugees, one from a 9-year-old girl in Sudan, another from a 17-year-old refugee in France waiting to be taken in to Britain and one from a Syrian refugee protesting in Barcelona. Two articles featured immigrants as sources. One featured an immigrant running a business in Germany and another featured an immigrant's reaction to a proposed camel park in Sweden which was supposed to employ migrants.

### 4.2.3. Comparison

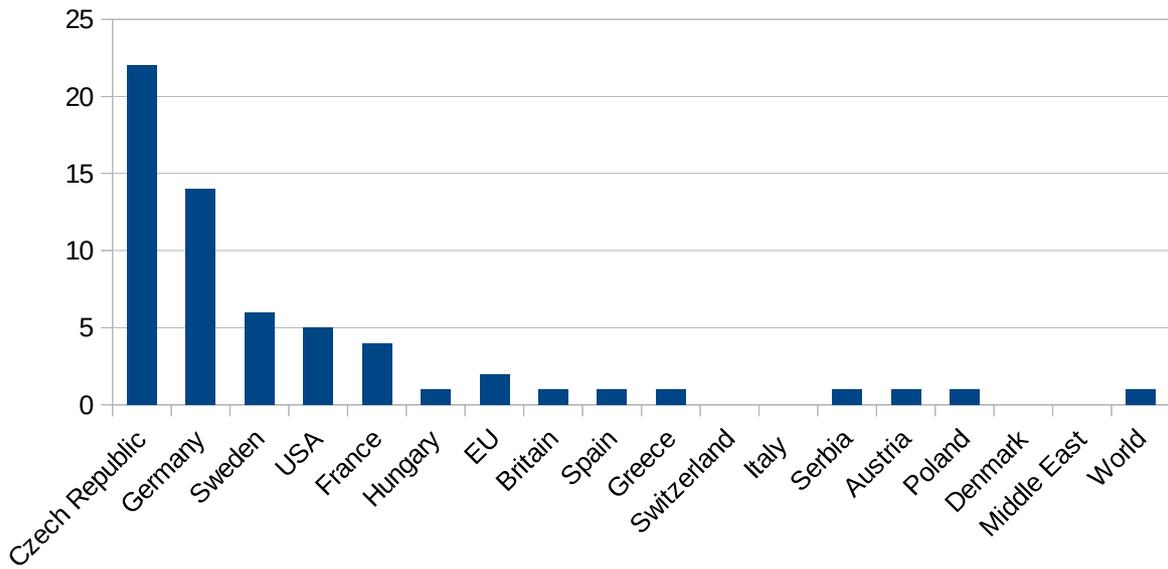
As to sources, the greatest contributors of information turned out to be other newspapers and news agencies. In both papers, they were used as sources in over 75% of all articles. The largest contributor was ČTK, the Czech Press Agency, which was the author or co-author in about a half of all articles. The second most important sources were political. In both Blesk and iDNES, they were used in more than 60% of all articles.

iDNES featured NGOs and experts significantly more often than Blesk. NGOs and activists were featured in iDNES articles almost four times as much as in Blesk (28% versus 8%). Whereas in Blesk, experts were only consulted in 8% of the articles, iDNES used them in 19%. However, these experts never specialized in the issue of migration (coming from fields such as social media or security). There was also a large difference in the room refugees and immigrants were given in the coverage of each newspaper. Whereas in Blesk, they were only quoted in 6% of the articles, in iDNES it was 16%.

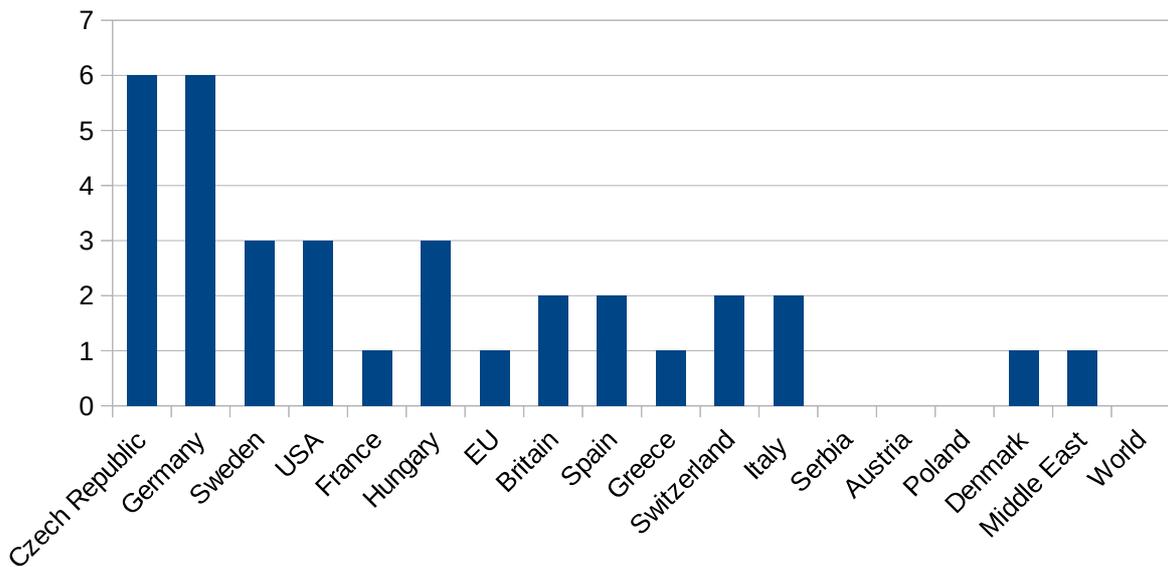
### 4.3. Locations

Location	Blesk		iDNES	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Czech Republic	22	41.5%	6	18.8%
Germany	14	26.4%	6	18.8%
Sweden	6	11.3%	3	9.4%
USA	5	9.4%	3	9.4%
France	4	7.5%	1	3.1%
Hungary	1	1.9%	3	9.4%
EU	2	3.8%	1	3.1%
Britain	1	1.9%	2	6.3%
Spain	1	1.9%	2	6.3%
Greece	1	1.9%	1	3.1%
Switzerland	-	-	2	6.3%
Italy	-	-	2	6.3%
Serbia	1	1.9%	-	-
Austria	1	1.9%	-	-
Poland	1	1.9%	-	-
Denmark	-	-	1	3.1%
Middle East	-	-	1	3.1%
World	1	1.9%	-	-

Blesk: Locations



iDNES: Locations



#### 4.3.1. Blesk

Although the Czech Republic hasn't taken in many migrants from the Middle East and Africa, Blesk focused mainly on the Czech Republic which represented more than 40% of all articles. The articles were about various topics, ranging from policy and statistics about immigration to crime stories and cultural events. One quarter of all articles was about Germany, a neighboring country which has received the highest numbers of refugees and migrants, followed by the United States, Sweden and

France. Most of the articles about the U.S. and Sweden were dedicated to Donald Trump's claims about an attack in Sweden which didn't happen, after which riots broke out.

#### 4.3.2. iDNES

News about the Czech Republic represented a much smaller portion of iDNES news coverage. Articles about the Czech Republic constituted only 19% of the coverage. Half of the articles featuring the Czech republic were stories about asylum related statistics, detained migrants and concerns plaguing the Czech nation. The rest focused on foreign issues. About a fifth of articles was dedicated to Germany, followed by Sweden, the U.S. and Hungary which were covered in three articles each.

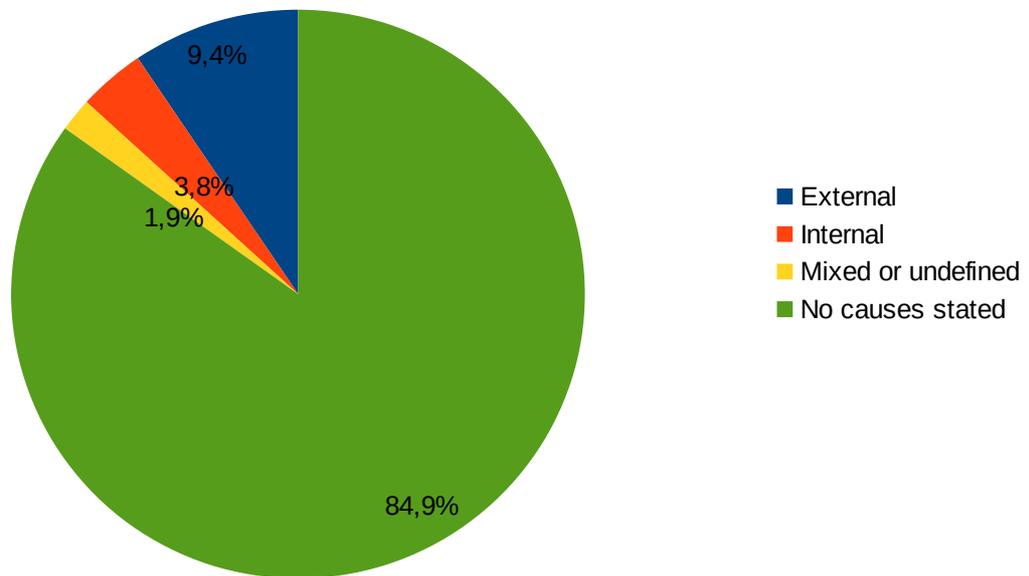
#### 4.3.3. Comparison

In Blesk, there was a large focus on the Czech Republic even though it has taken in a mere fraction of the migrants and refugees who have arrived in Europe. While more than 40% of the Blesk articles were devoted to stories about the Czech Republic, iDNES only reported on them in less than a fifth of all articles. The second most covered country was Germany (26% in Blesk and 19% of iDNES) which doesn't come as much of a surprise, as Germany is one of the Czech Republic's neighboring countries and is the EU country which has taken in the most refugees. Other countries which were featured quite often were Sweden, the U.S., France and Hungary.

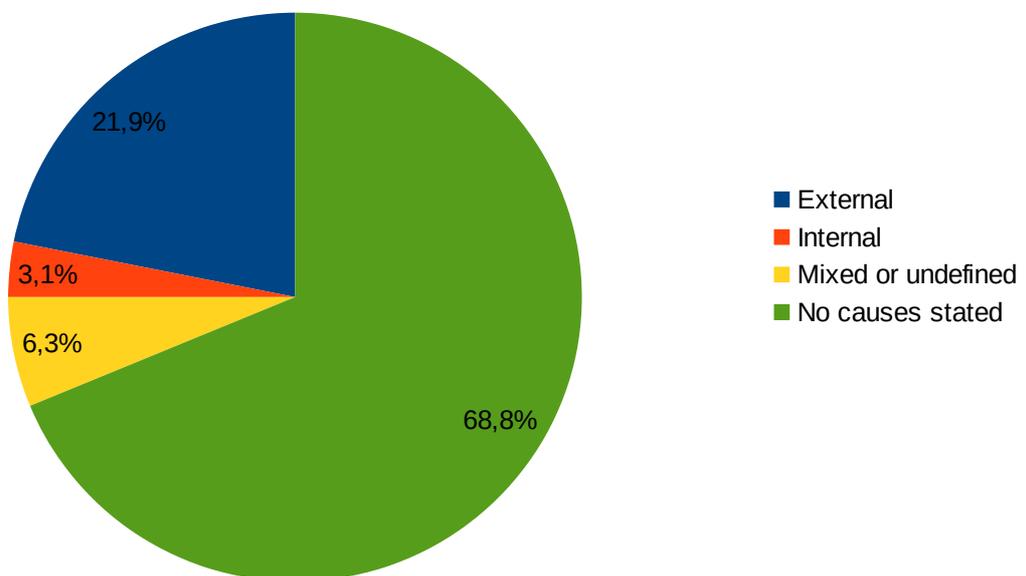
#### 4.4. Causes

	Blesk		iDNES	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
External	5	9.4%	7	21.9%
Internal	2	3.8%	1	3.1%
Mixed or undefined	1	1.9%	2	6.3%
No causes stated	45	84.9%	22	68.8%

Blesk: Causes



iDNES: Causes



#### 4.4.1. Blesk

Only 15% of all articles contained some framing regarding the causes of the migration flow (or an individual's decision to travel to Europe). Most of them (5) were external, that is to say that the causes stated were war or persecution. Here are two examples of such framing. One is a quote by Barbara Winton, the daughter of Nicholas Winton, who appealed to British prime minister May to accept child refugees.

"Donald Trump's refugee ban echoes the terrible failures of the human spirit that, on the eve of the Second World War, saw country after country close its borders to Jewish refugees in urgent need of protection. My father knew that each and every one of us share in a responsibility to our fellow men and women, a responsibility to offer sanctuary those fleeing persecution." (Blesk 20)<sup>1</sup>

Another example is a quote from a refugee in a protest in Barcelona.

"We are the victims of war. We want the dictator (the Syrian president Bashar al-Assad) and the Islamic State organization, which are two sides of the same coin, to leave so that we can go home,' declared a Syrian refugee to the applause of the protesters." (Blesk 33)

More often than not, the cause was only introduced in a short mention. For example, in an article about an ISIS member who had raped a woman before his arrival in Germany there is a short mention about the war in Syria which is relevant to the rape allegation (Blesk 12). In another example, an article about the EU countries sharing refugees, Frans Timmermans talks about people "who have the right for international protection", that is to say refugees who were forced to leave their homes because of a turbulent situation in their country (Blesk 14). Lastly, there is an article about Turkish diplomats applying for asylum in Germany and the situation in Turkey, where thousands of people are being prosecuted by the state (Blesk 48).

Only two articles stated internal causes, one being the reunion with one's family which can be found in an article about the Swedish reporters who helped a Syrian boy get to Sweden to his cousin (Blesk 15). In an article about Stephen Hawking's musings about migration, economic reasons are mentioned.

"The rural poor flock to cities, to shanty towns, driven by hope. And then often, finding that the Instagram nirvana is not available there, they seek it overseas, joining the ever greater numbers of economic migrants in search of a better life. These migrants in turn place new demands on the infrastructures and economies of the countries in which they arrive, undermining tolerance and further fueling political populism." (Blesk 13)<sup>2</sup>

One article contained framing that could not be defined as internal or external, because it simply contained the notion of looking "for a better life" (Blesk 44).

#### 4.4.2. iDNES

iDNES identified the causes for migration in almost a third of all articles. Like in Blesk, the causes which were identified were mostly external, that is to say war and persecution (6 articles). Here is an example from an article about British activists appealing to British government to care for child refugees from France.

"Alex Foster from the British Red Cross sees the government's decision as greatly disappointing. 'We understand that local authorities must have the means to take in children refugees. But there is currently 21 million refugees in the world. We live in a time which calls for having compassion with people fleeing from war and persecution,' he claims." (iDNES 7)

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1 The original English version was used as published by the Independent (Smith 2017).

2 The original English version was used as published by The Guardian (Hawking 2016).

Another example is an article about a pro-immigrant demonstration in Berlin. Here, a distinction is being made between the two types of causes, between refugees and those who are looking for a better economic situation. However, Syrian refugees are identified as those fleeing from war, unlike their Balkan counterparts.

"Almost 1.2 million migrants and refugees have come to Germany in the last two years. Authorities are trying to speed up the process of granting asylum to asylum seekers who have a high chance of getting it, mostly for refugees fleeing from the civil war in Syria. (...) That is why Germans sped up the process of deporting candidates who have only a negligible chance of getting asylum. These are mostly people who have fled for economic reasons from poor Balkan countries." (iDNES 10)

On the other hand, an article about Italian immigration policy framed migrants as motivated by economic reasons (although they do not exclude the possibility of external causes).

"Statistics also show that the initial rejection of an application is in 70% of all cases turned into granting asylum during an appeal. That is despite the fact that the country is primarily the destination of economic migrants from African countries." (iDNES 14)

Three articles contained causes which presented both internal and external framing. For example, here is an excerpt from an article about a television show funded by the Swiss government which is aimed at discouraging Nigerians from arriving in Switzerland. The critics and the supporters of the film have different opinions about the migrants' motivations.

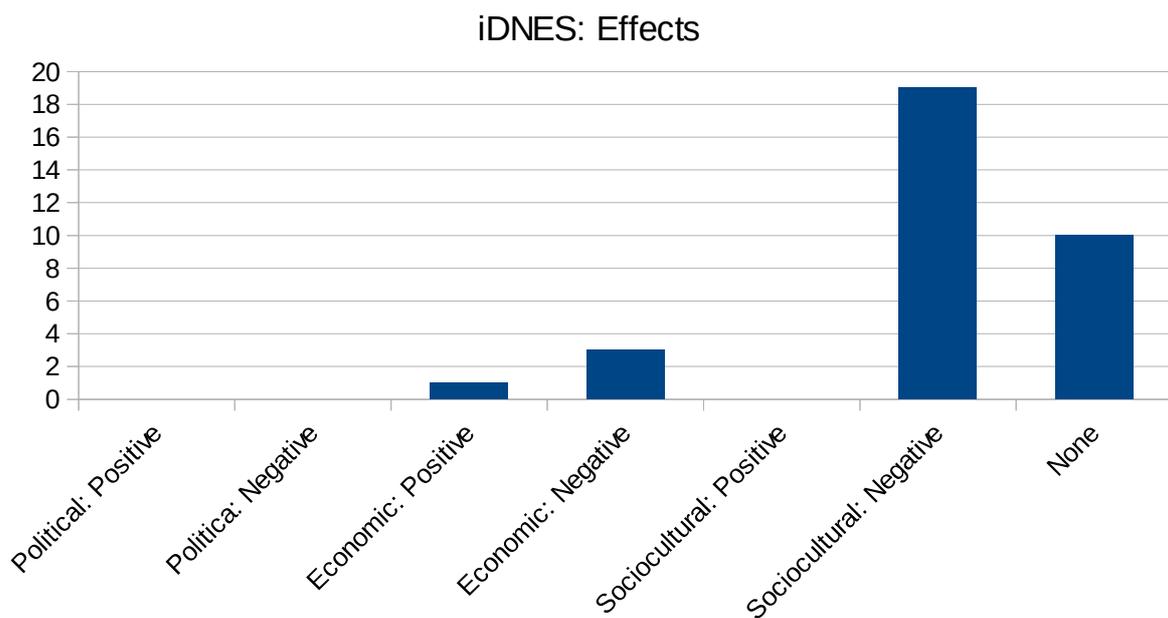
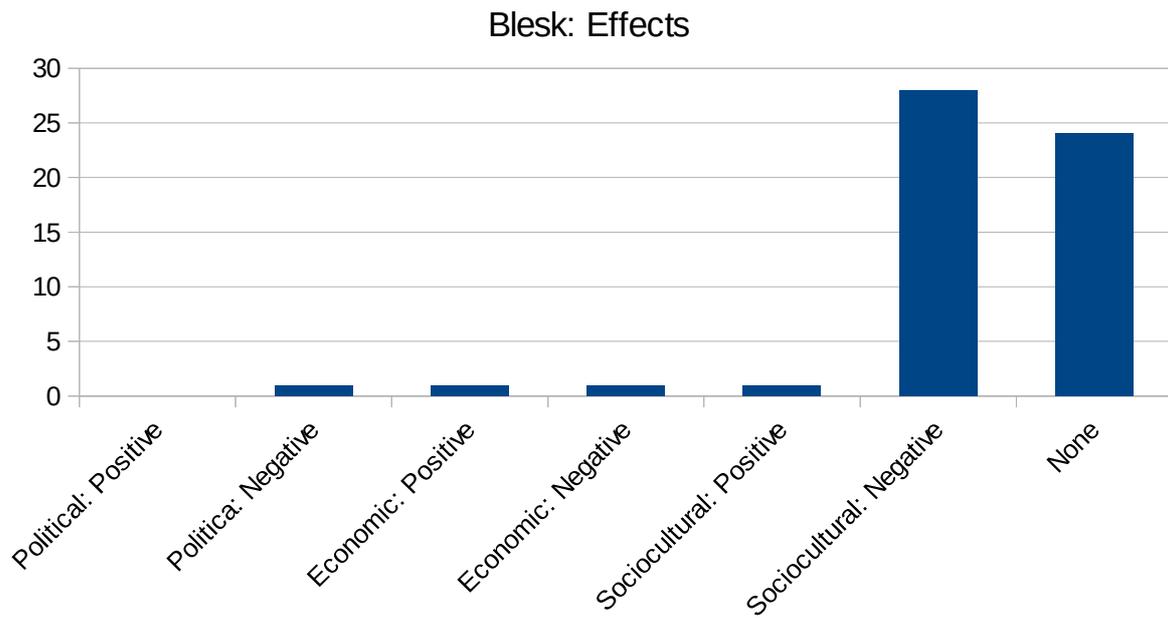
"'We decided that migration is often caused by incomplete or even false information', said Lukas Rieder, the spokesperson for the Swiss State Secretariat for Migration (SEM). Smugglers, according to him, often describe Switzerland as a paradise on Earth or Eldorado. With this show, Bern wants to provide Nigerians with 'objective information' without the 'didactic and educational tone' which was in the information videos showed until now. (...) The show project has received criticism from organizations who are devoted to helping migrants and immigration. 'The show won't do much. We have to mainly fight the causes of migration,' said Stefan Frey, the spokesperson of the Swiss Refugee Council (SFH) which covers several organizations. 'The show is hardly going to keep away a father who can't feed his family,' he added. According to Frey, the north of Nigeria is also in a state similar to civil war." (iDNES 27)

#### **4.4.3. Comparison**

Only 15% of Blesk articles contained an explanation as to why migrants and refugees from the Middle East and Africa were undergoing their journey, as opposed to a third of all iDNES articles. Most of the attributed causes were external, meaning war and persecution, and were mostly mentioned in a short mention, without going too much in depth.

#### 4.5 Effects

	<b>Blesk</b>		<b>iDNES</b>	
	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Political/Institutional: Positive	-	-	-	-
Political/Institutional: Negative	1	1.9%	-	-
Economic: Positive	1	1.9%	1	3.1%
Economic: Negative	1	1.9%	3	9.3%
Sociocultural: Positive	1	1.9%	-	-
Sociocultural: Negative	28	52.8%	19	59.4%
None	24	45.3%	10	31.1%



#### 4.5.1. Blesk

From the data, it is clear that the articles overwhelmingly focused on negative effects, mostly on sociocultural ones which were covered in just over a half of all articles. Only one article focused on the positive sociocultural and economic effects immigrants could have on the country. It was an article about the döner kebab, a meal that has captured the hearts of the German nation and represents a thriving business.

"One can say that the thinly sliced meat roasted on a vertical spike, stuffed into pita bread or some other roll, topped with salad, beats the sausage duo popularity-wise. It is also an eloquent symbol of the cultural and economic influence of Turkish immigration on German society." (Blesk 19)

It is important to mention that if a negative sociocultural frame was identified, it wasn't necessarily the main frame of the article. For example, a negative sociocultural frame related to crime was identified if there was a mention of a terrorist attack perpetrated by a Middle Eastern national in the background information of an article about a case of a man wrongly accused of being a terrorist.

The negative sociocultural frame which was prevalent in the news stories can be divided into two groups. Firstly, the one where the negative sociocultural consequences impact the refugees and migrants and secondly, where they impact the population of the host country.

When it comes to negative sociocultural effects impacting the host country, there were 18 articles which contained these frames. In 12 articles, the negative sociocultural frame was related to crime committed by migrants. This was for example terrorism, the forgery of money or rioting. This frame showed how certain refugees and migrants could represent danger to the society. This potential danger did not need to be expressly stated in the article, since the effects were implicitly communicated by the event itself.

In 6 more articles, negative sociocultural effects were attributed to refugees directly, for example by a politician directly stating there could be adverse effects stemming from migration. This was the example of a German politician who was concerned about the gender gap in the arriving migrants or a filmmaker's warnings about the link of the refugees' arrival and a rise in violence.

If a Czech politician's opinion about refugees and migration was featured, it was often calling for caution, particularly when it came to Czech culture and values. Three articles stand out in this regard, an article covering the political program of Petr Robejšek and his newly formed political party Realisté (Realists), the change of constitution proposed by Zdeněk Soukup from ANO, so that it would include Czech culture in it, and an article about an essay published by Jindřich Forejt, the former head of protocol of the president (compromised because of alleged drug use) which discusses the situation in Denmark in terms of the effects recent immigration has had in it. All three of them maintain that certain steps need to be taken in order to protect Czech and European culture from outside influences, emphasizing that the protection of one's values is not synonymous with racism or xenophobia. These three examples therefore deal with the issue of a potential cultural threat.

"The point is to prevent the end of our culture which originates from certain roots. I think it would be good if the constitution or its preamble defined what European and Czech culture is," said Soukup for Blesk.cz..." (Blesk 1)

"He then points out the risks that arise should refugees become the majority in some parts of the country. 'The new 'Danish' people might not consider the national flag with a Christian symbol as 'their own' and might want to replace it with something 'neutral'." (Blesk 46)

Eight articles were about prejudice and crime against refugees and migrants, about how their move to the new country negatively affected them. These were articles about fear in the society resulting in various actions, such as an increasing number of gun licenses or the construction of a fence between a refugee center and a local block of flats. Lastly, there were articles about the suffering of

refugees in refugee camps where unsatisfactory living conditions were a problem or the numbers of lives which were lost in the sea. This means that the effect was human suffering.

#### **4.5.2. iDNES**

Almost 60% of all articles (19) contained a negative sociocultural frame.

When it comes to negative effects impacting the refugees and migrants, six articles were about the issue of human suffering related to refugees. These articles concerned refugee camps (for example the dire situation of child refugees who have no one to care for them) or the refugees' perceived inability to lead a good life in Europe because of how hard it is to find work (iDNES 2).

As to negative effects impacting the host country, seven articles contained frames related to crimes perpetrated by migrants, for example terrorism, money forgery or rape. Besides crime, several articles contained frames of perceived threats immigration represented. Two articles delved into the possible cultural threat which immigration could bring. For example, in an article about a village which encouraged people who weren't too fond of Muslims and homosexuals moving in, the protection of traditions was stated as necessary.

"It is very important for the village to keep its traditions. Should a large number of Muslims arrive here, they wouldn't be able to integrate themselves in the Christian community,' says the mayor..." (iDNES 5)

Two articles were about the negative economic effects. The first case was the Hungarian minister's claim that the Hungarian economy needs to be protected from immigration (iDNES 31). Secondly, in Italy, many people apparently saw immigrants as a threat to job opportunities, thus damaging the locals (iDNES 14).

"In the country, where youth unemployment is around 40%, many see it as a hidden way to take job opportunities away from their own people."

Only one article described the positive effects immigrants had. This was related to the boost immigrants were giving to German businesses since they represented an important part of new business owners.

"The business spirit in Germany is fed by immigrants. In 2015, they founded 44% of newly registered companies in the country and they represent a fifth of German businessmen. (...) Refugees and migrants are by definition people who are willing to take risks. Some of them sailed the sea and crossed half of Europe on their run from war. That is why they're not easily scared by bureaucrats and bankers evaluating their application for a business loan." (iDNES 13)

#### **4.5.3. Comparison**

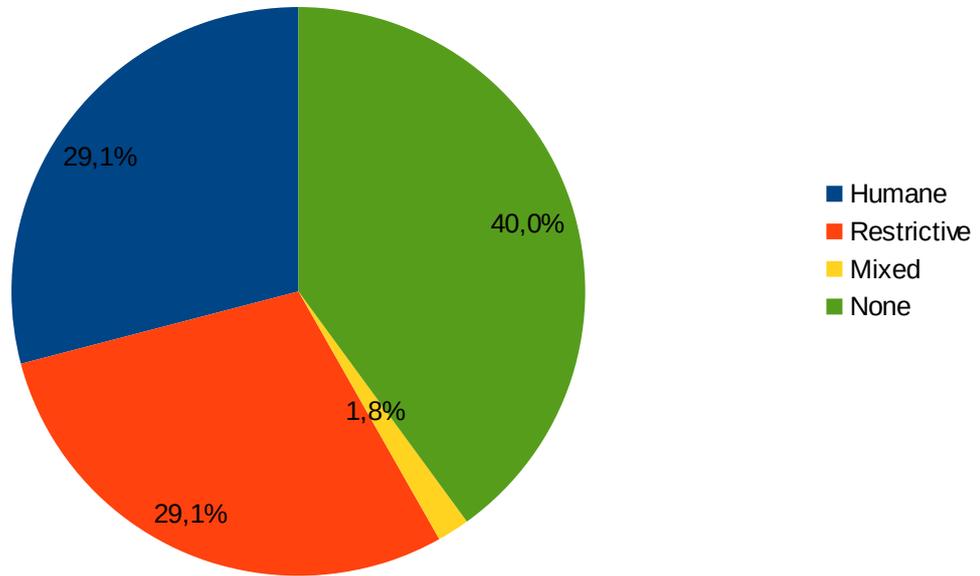
The majority of the articles of both newspapers (53% of Blesk and 59% of iDNES) contained negative sociocultural effects. In most cases, these negative consequences impacted the host country, often in the form of crime (e.g. terrorism or rape). Negative sociocultural effects also impacted refugees and migrants which was shown in articles about the living conditions in refugee camps or in stories mentioning the loss of life at sea. Only one article of each showed that there

were positive effects, too. The two stories were about positive effects the immigrants had on the economy.

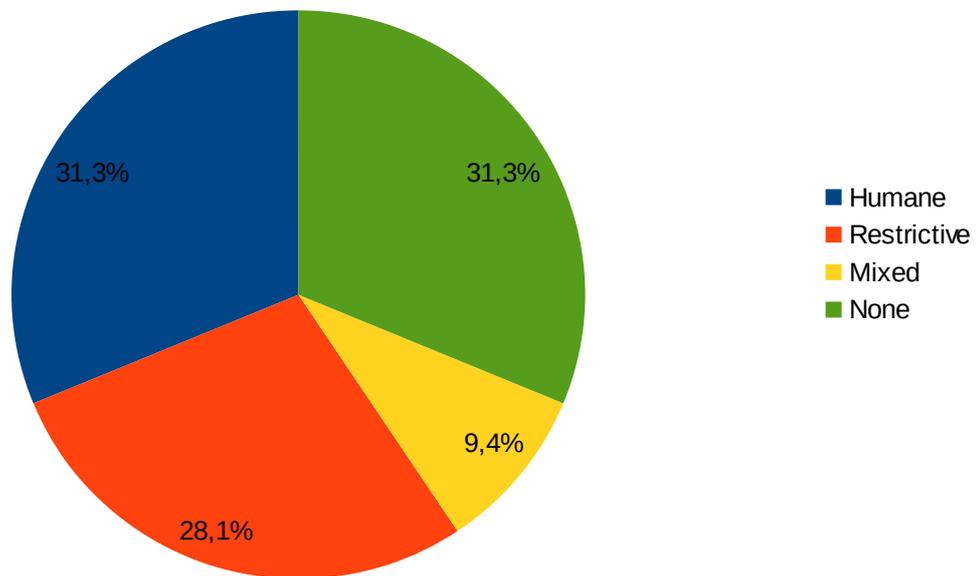
#### 4.6. Solutions

	<b>Blesk</b>		<b>iDNES</b>	
	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Humane	16	29.1%	10	31.3%
Restrictive	16	29.1%	9	28.1%
Mixed	1	1.8%	3	9.4%
None	22	40%	10	31.3%

Blesk: Solutions



iDNES: Solutions



#### 4.6.1. Blesk

When it comes to frames concerning solutions, the ratio of humane and restrictive frames was very balanced in Blesk, with each frame representing about 30% of all articles. One article was evaluated as mixed, containing both in a significant measure.

As to restrictive measures, among the very common ones were better border protection, the closure of the Balkan migration route and the agreement with Turkey. These were often presented as the reason why the migration flow has ebbed since 2015. When it comes to proposed solutions, they varied. There was the proposition to limit the numbers of arrivals (e.g. Blesk 5 and 53) or facilitate deportations (Blesk 41). For example, the Czech politician Zdeněk Soukup proposed a change of the Czech constitution, so that it would contain the definition of the Czech and European culture, as a means of providing a better protection of Czech traditions (Blesk 1). The German politician Wegner proposed a solution for the unbalanced gender ratio of the arriving immigrants.

"Starting next year, Wegner wants to keep a record about how many adult men and women with the refugee status have arrived in Germany. In case the number of men outnumbers the women in one month, only women, children and couples should be allowed in the country from then on. As soon as the ratio is balanced again, the border would be open to all refugees again." (Blesk 47)

Among humane solutions, one could find the promotion of tolerance, improving the living conditions in refugee camps or providing help as individuals.

"We must offer help to those who are the most vulnerable and allow them to be reunited with their families,' he believes." (Blesk 7)

An exhibition was shown as a way to promote tolerance.

"It is not so much about how the arriving refugees feel, but more about the relationship the Czech and Slovak society has towards them. We are trying to make the unknown known and to provide an experience with refugees,' stated the exhibition's curator Lenka Kukurová." (Blesk 2)

There were also other solutions which would help the migrants' and refugees' situation in their new country such as creating a website to facilitate finding a job.

"I just wanted to work in IT.' The programmer Hussein Shaker remembers the frustrating times when he couldn't find any work fitting his qualifications beside a job in a call center. That's why he and his colleagues started the MigrantHire website where immigrants can find work. Currently, there are 13 000 registered applicants and 4 000 job posts." (Blesk 19)

Only one article was evaluated as mixed, because the humane and restrictive measures were equally represented. It was a quote by Timmermans, the vice-president of the European Commission, who proposed a complex solution which encompassed both these frames.

"According to [Timmermans], successful migration policy cannot only consist of better border protection, efforts to improve the situation in critical areas and the fight against traffickers. 'If you leave out the element of solidarity among the member countries, the rest is not enough,' believes Timmermans." (Blesk 14).

#### **4.6.2. iDNES**

In iDNES, the ratio of solutions was also quite balanced. 9 articles (28%) contained the restrictive frame, as opposed to 10 articles (31%) which represented the humane frame. Three articles were evaluated as mixed.

The measures presented were quite similar to the solutions covered by Blesk. For restrictive measures, it was border control, coast guard cooperation or detaining migrants before leaving for Europe.

"On Monday, Hungary started to build a second row of barriers which were constructed last year at the borders with Serbia in an effort to stop illegal entering of migrants into the territory." (iDNES 31)

Switzerland reached for a solution which was aimed to prevent migrants from coming at all - a film which was supposed to discourage Nigerians from seeing Switzerland as a desired destination.

"The aim of the work with the working title Missing Steps is not only to enchant the viewers with an interesting story, but most of all discourage the Nigerians and the inhabitants of other African countries from leaving their country for a better life in Switzerland." (iDNES 27)

The only mixed article was a description of a general's stance towards the arriving immigrants. He combines the idea that people fleeing war need to be helped with the notion that their stay doesn't need to be permanent.

"In my opinion, except for well-founded exceptions, there is no need to grant these people asylum for an unlimited amount of time, only to provide a limited-time protection in the spirit of the international law until the situation in their home country calms down. And I of course envision them respecting our laws and culture during their stay here." (iDNES 1)

#### **4.6.3. Comparison**

The ratio of the solutions which were proposed or identified was quite balanced, with humane and restrictive solutions presented in an equal measure in both newspapers. The solutions which were proposed or described were quite varied. However, the most common restrictive measures were better border controls, the closure of the Balkan migration route and the agreement between the EU and Turkey about returning illegal migrants. Humane solutions promoted tolerance and help to people in need.

## 5. Limitations

The collected sample of this thesis was rather limited. The 87 collected articles represented only a month's worth of news articles of two different newspapers, which needs to be taken into consideration when evaluating the results. One cannot generalize from such sample, even though it can show important trends.

What is more, I was the only person coding the articles which means that the reliability of coding was not checked. If I were to work in a pair, we could compare the coding in order to make sure that both of us reached the same results (and tweak the methodology, if problems were found). As I am alone, such reliability checks did not take place and most likely, my point of view influenced the results.

The frames of various articles were given the same value no matter how salient they were in the article. This means that a frame which spanned throughout a whole article and a frame which was only present in two sentences were treated equally in the analysis, because the final percentage was working with the amount of articles which contained a certain frame (no matter the extent).

Just because the causes of migration weren't identified very often in the analyzed articles doesn't mean they weren't covered by the newspapers at all. Because of the selection of the articles, stories about the war in Syria or the unrest in the Middle East would not make the cut unless they contained mentions of refugees or migrants traveling to Europe.

## 6. Discussion

Politics was the number one theme for both Blesk and iDNES, both of which delved into political and policy related issues in almost a third of all articles. This is reflected in the choice of sources, too, since political sources were used very often, in over 60% of all articles in both newspapers. This shows that politicians and other sources related to politics were seen as a priority by the newspapers and were allotted a lot of room to express their opinions, which gave them the opportunity to influence large masses of people.

It also became clear that both newspapers rely heavily on information from other newspapers and news agencies. In both papers, they contributed to over 75% of all articles. The largest contributor was ČTK, the Czech Press Agency, which was the author or co-author in about a half of all articles. ČTK is a public corporation which is politically and financially independent. According to its website, it aims to provide objective and comprehensive information. It publishes 300 news stories per day from the Czech Republic and the rest of the world and one of its services is providing these news to news outlets. (ČTK 2017). Its influence on the papers is quite clear. In some cases, articles which covered the same story in both papers were basically identical, with some minor changes to the text (e.g. the story of the French farmer who helped refugees in Blesk 16 and iDNES 9).

Only 15% of Blesk articles contained an explanation as to why migrants and refugees from the Middle East were undergoing their journey. iDNES, on the other hand, covered the causes of migration in almost a third of its articles. Providing an explanation or motivation of someone's actions enables the reader to understand the wider context and see the reasons behind the refugees' and migrants behavior. A lack of explanations as to why migrants and refugees have decided to leave their homes might limit the sympathy the reader feels towards them. The reader might attribute the move to a desire to live a more comfortable, wealthier life in a richer country. However, as was mentioned in the limitations section, just because these reasons weren't covered in a large part of the analyzed articles doesn't mean the papers didn't report on them at all.

The largest issue with the news coverage was the fact that mere fraction (one article per newspaper) provided an insight into how immigrants could enrich a country, be it economically or culturally. The majority (51% of Blesk and 63% of iDNES) contained negative sociocultural effects refugees and migrants had on the host country. Both papers would benefit from covering more positive stories in an effort to at least slightly balance out the barrage of negative information their readers encounter on a daily basis.

The ratio of the solutions which were proposed or identified was rather balanced, with humane and restrictive solutions presented in a somewhat equal measure in both newspapers.

## **Conclusion**

Overall, iDNES was evaluated as a newspaper which used more varied sources and provided more room for expression to refugees, NGOs and experts. Blesk didn't provide much room for quotes by refugees and migrants and it would be beneficial to try to show more of their side of the story, instead of relying on political and police sources. Given the nature of their work, they are bound to see the issue of migration in a certain way, framing problems from an administrative or security point of view. This will color the perceptions of a person reading the article, particularly if it's one of many.

The largest issue which became clear during the analysis, not too surprisingly, was the focus on negative news of both of the papers. As was stated in the theory section, when we repeatedly see certain information around us, it becomes more significant to us and influences our opinions and convictions. By delving into the negatives most of the time, people, particularly those with no personal contact with refugees or migrants, can gain a negative image of a whole group of people. Both of the newspapers should strive to provide a more balanced reporting and realize that their power to influence comes with a responsibility.

The digital age is not making things easy for the traditional media. Much information is now freely available online and newspapers have to face new competition while struggling to survive financially (Ethical Journalism Network 2015). When faced with criticism, the media often explain that they simply cannot afford to report certain stories. However, as the Ethical Journalism Network's analysis says, they shouldn't use this as an excuse to adopt a "herd mentality", where they follow each other's stories, only informing the public about the most obvious events without delving deeper into the story (Ethical Journalism Network 2015, p. 2). Even if it might be difficult, they should strive to balance out their topics and include a wider context which would provide a more detailed picture of what is happening to the reader.

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