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German media cover migration“

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Varvara Filimonova, MA

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1. Introduction

Migrants and refugees are a crucial part of the European and international agenda today. Be it a separate country, or the European Union, or the entire continent, everyone is a part of a global migration process. For many reasons this topic was on a high demand in media coverage but was it actually reported neutral, or rather through the prism of personal opinion, bias, and political affection?

Many researchers have approached this topic from different theoretical perspectives, and media studies have also paid a lot of attention to the way that refugees and migrants are presented to the audience today. A significant switch from neutral and fact-based to emotional and opinion-evaluative reporting has happened (Sarikakis, 2017). At some point, media constructed a refugee ‘crisis’, applying techniques of coverage that are likely to be used in reporting natural disasters or catastrophes (Hameleers, Bos & de Vreese, 2017). And since this has happened, the line between ‘us’ and ‘them’ in media articles has been drawn. What we see in news articles today is never-ending underlining of ‘otherness’ of people who are coming to Europe and trying to assimilate into the European society (Chouliaraki, 2010).

To develop this theme and discover new possible explanations of how do media treat the topic of refugees and migrants, this study will begin with a theoretical perspective on factors that affect media coverage and continue with a quantitative content analyses accompanied by a critical discourse analysis of media articles to illustrate some parts of quantitative outcomes. To offer an international perspective of media coverage of refugees and migrants this paper will examine 9 online media from Austria, Germany and Great Britain.

2. Media and Politics

2.1. Complex nature of media

Today any kind of information circulates in the society with the help of various channels. Media, especially their online versions, allow different kinds of an audience to reach news, feel connected and be exposed to all sorts of politics.

Many researchers have discovered the complex nature of media: they no longer function in order to inform people but are a separate and crucial actor of social and political communication. A long time ago journalism started to be essential in the political context as a tool for reports, analyses of events, as well as setting of the social agenda (Hallin & Mancini, 2014). This idea has been already summarized and applied to communication studies in the theory of the agenda-setting function of mass media (McCombs & Shaw, 1972): media have a function of forming social agenda, shaping the political reality and through this media contribute to politics. As the informational flow could be endless, and audiences cannot receive information about the enormous amount of big and small events every day, people have to rely on media resources to find out what is the most important local and international news. And this is where the question of the pure objectivity of media arises: in most of the cases, it is simply impossible to find an article covering a political story or event that would be totally neutral. It would be unfair to forget about the framing theory when we discover hidden forces of media: in the second part of the 20th century various social and communication researchers have noticed that certain social frameworks appear in the communication with the help of media (Hall & Woodhead, 1980). Today the notion of framing is blurred and widen too much, but although many social scientists consider that this theory requires renovation and redefining of the major concepts (Cacciatore, Scheufele & Iyengar, 2015), in terms of

this research, we find it essential to outline that framing in media manifests through endless catchphrases, metaphors, spin and other similar tools in coverage of different types of news (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). Framing also expresses itself through various points and figures that are underlined specifically by media outlets. With a focus on the topic of the migration process and so-called refugees ‘crisis’, framing becomes obvious: media report this issue in a manner featuring techniques of framing. It is media who framed the peak of migration process in Europe in the year 2015 as a ‘crisis’, and many citizens relied on media to find out what was going on (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017). This also leads to the specific kind of frame called “blaming” that has a goal of presenting facts and explaining why this has happened with a mentioning of an actor who is to be blamed, which is widely used in reporting such situations as conflicts or crises. This is highly relevant to the migration topic as sometimes blame frame appears in this type of news. Applying vocabulary that has a straight connection to labeling leads to that particular events and happenings are connected with their reasons and sequences, and especially those who have caused them (Putnam & Shoemaker, 2007). Populist blame vision depicts blaming as a straight division between “us” and “them” in black and white without any compromise, and media often use this type of informing the audience about who is the one to blame. By applying labels as “us” and “them” media might dehumanize refugees and migrants and emphasize that these people are ‘other’ from the citizens of the Western society: articles using these schemes of reporting often tend to be emotional and non-objective, expressing the idea that ‘others’ are less deserving support and help (Kirkwood, 2017). This leads to the social discourse of “common humanity” and “strangeness”, which underlines the distance between actors and their characteristics, and questions what type of solidarity could possibly be expected in the society in cases like refugees ‘crisis’ in Europe (Chouliaraki & Orgad, 2011). Journalists use this technique

regularly, especially when it comes to crises coverage, and this can be seen in terms of migration theme: media tend to use same technologies and label migration process in Europe as a 'crisis'. This could be especially noted in the interpretive journalism, rather than pure reporting (Hameleers, Bos & de Vreese, 2017). Another vision of blaming frame sees it in the sense of responsibility. In this case, media would frame the news so that the audience would attribute the responsibility for the event to the individual or a set of reasons. The problem of such reporting is hidden in journalists' bias: how do they come to the conclusion that this or that individual is responsible, were they objective and free of emotional and personal conclusions, etc. Exactly this specific journalistic frame has lead to the widespread phenomenon of victims blaming the others for their misfortunes (Hallahan, 1999).

At the same time news reporting can be completely different: people may not find it so exciting, important or even dramatic when media simply cover the events. For instance, the migration process in Europe is an old story, and people from Africa and the Middle East have traveled to Europe for years. But if we take a look, we would notice that since Merkel's "refugees welcome" announcement has appeared in the news, the coverage changed significantly. The migration process turned into extremely visualized and dramatized news story, media started to tell the audience it is a 'crisis'. The news coverage of conflicts and crises today is exposed to the informational bias of journalism together with dramatization and personalization (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007). The dramatization of the reportage can be illustrated with a massive amount of articles, zest of sensationalism (for instance, promising headlines or emotional story-telling) and sometimes information that has not been double-checked properly (Klemm, Das, Hartmann, Kolmer & Schatz, 2015). As a result a phenomenon of a "crisis of pity" is appearing in media messages and perception of the audience: the suffering refugees are

being reported with emotional orientation, where the wrongdoers are blamed, and the contributors are being praised (Chouliaraki, 2010). The matter of sensationalism can be very threatening for readers' perception of the news; they can get driven away from real facts and hooked by the drama emphasized in media (Ransohoff & Ransohoff, 2001). Seeking for more public attention journalists also apply several hookers to the manner of news reporting, and those are (Busà, 2014):

1. Playing with words and/or word formation;
2. Using word that compliment editorials and newsroom preferences, as well as opinion expression (these are mostly adjectives with a strong meaning);
3. Irony and other figures of speech;
4. Metaphor as one of the most used techniques.

Among other features of dramatization, we shall also mention the arising attention to the issue from media, exaggeration of facts about the scale of a problem, and the tone of coverage that tends to be emotionally colored (Klemm, Das, Hartmann, Kolmer & Schatz, 2015). The increased attention to the topic of migration could be not helping at all, but even making it worse in terms of the audience's attitude: per example, when there is a constant attention to the area that experiences difficulties with helping refugees arriving at the European coast, media are always looking for some negative facts, terrifying stories, and shocking images (Chouliaraki, 2017). It has been even claimed by some researchers that the emotionality of coverage might have a negative influence on the readers' perception of the story (Biener, Ji, Gilpin & Albers, 2004). In addition to that today in the era of social media networks and user-generated-content we shall also mention the phenomenon that Chouliaraki (2017) calls "digital witnessing": this is the recording produced by non-professionals with a perspective of local citizens, and also this type of information sharing is adopted by NGOs and military/official actors (Chouliaraki,

2017). Chouliaraki refers to this eye witnessing in frames of conflicts deaths, but we find it related to the migration process and its recording produce by “amateur” reporters in Europe. It is essential to mention that media also use these images or videos of dead refugees or suffering migrants, but interpret them in their own manner depending on the newsroom’s point of view. In reporting on the topic of our interest media tend to refer even to several characteristics of tabloidization: reporting in a scandalous manner, gaining attention with the help of provocative images, etc. (Kivikuru, 2014). They have been using pictures of suffering refugees, dead bodies, injured children seeking for parents and so on in order to brutalize news stories with such a “shock effect” so that the European audience notices the difference between ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Chouliaraki, 2010).

2.2. ‘Otherness’ in media

As we have already stated above framing, blaming and dramatization of reporting on the topic of migration have ended up by developing of a strong stereotype in the media and society that defines European citizens as ‘us’ and refugees as ‘them’. Media often underline the ‘otherness’ of migrants and refugees (Kirkwood, 2017). European press has expressed various opinions about refugees, beginning with naming them weak and exposed to danger and ending with calling them dangerous, but what was common – either weak, or dangerous, but they are “outsiders”, “others” (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017).

It has been noted before that such attitude of media leads to the possibility of judgments, prejudice and stereotyping towards refugees in the society. Media might apply different techniques to express this kind of opinion, but one of the most obvious ways is using the language that would encourage aggression, discrimination, and violence against migrants (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017). Such manipulations with public opinion done

by media can easily lead to what is called “moral panic”: an occasion, when a certain person or a group of people are turned into dangerous for the society and its members, this person or these people are referred to with a broad use of stereotypical characteristics (Cohen, 2002). Cohen (2002) points out to the example of such applying of stereotypes, mentioning the fact that criminal activities are often associated with young black men. And in this case, media play an active role in building the reality for their audiences through agenda setting and framing. There are also two types of moral panic that are defined: quiet and noisy (quiet relates to cases with modest or no public and media attention, whereas noisy refers to cases with a high degree of social, political and media attention)(Banks, 2011). Researchers (Barclay, Bowes, Ferguson, Sim & Valenti, 2002, Buchanan, Grillo, Threadgold & Wengraf, 2004) described noisy moral panic in terms of migration process in Europe mentioning that media associate migrants and refugees with conflicts, aggression, and criminality. At the same time media do not recognize these people as individuals but talk about them as an anonymous faceless group, they dehumanize them, which public can understand as a fact that refugees do not deserve distinction (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017). And at the same time media tend to point out the personality and image of a migrant or a refugee, when they want to identify a person that is ‘other’, and has a ‘connection’ to criminal activities, which is supported by images of arrest or from police stations (Banks, 2011).

2.3. The role of media in political communication

As we have already seen, media are not only informing people but apply various techniques to the reporting, having much more complex nature that it may seem. As these features are leading to the fact that media influence public opinion and audience’s perception of refugees and migrants in Europe, it is crucial to find out what mechanisms

function behind media: how did they succeed to become so influential political and social actors?

One of such specific characteristics of media is an active role in the process of political communication. In the past political communication mostly consisted of sharing messages between political actors, audience, and media. And today this type of communication is not that straightforward anymore. Political communication now is a blend of all sorts of information flows aiming various public spheres: official and personal communication, an entertaining constituent of politicians' programmes, communicators with various channels to transmit their messages and so on. Traditionally political communication used conventional media to spread messages, but today there is a whole variety of channels in addition to professional news media: online news aggregators, social media, and blogs (Esser & Pfetsch, 2017).

Both political and economic actors today affect media, and this influences the nature of news sources, its social and political communication. News sources of different media systems and backgrounds can either be engaged in the horizontal process of communication (news resources are meant for a narrow amount of people – elite with a high level of education and political engagement) or vertical process of communication that means newspapers are targeting mass audiences with a various degree of political interest and activity (Hallin & Mancini, 2014). When the media system routine allows it, the instrumentalization of news resources could also take place: actors outside media, per example, social movements, separate politicians and parties, political or economic elites, have an access to control media and gain a certain political influence (Hallin & Mancini, 2014). McNair (2011) has studied political communication on the example of British media system and found major connected actors: political elites, economic elites, audience, and media. All of them are correlated and influence each other. The interaction

between stated above actors (see Figure 1) implies that media are a connecting link between political organizations and citizens.

This concept is reflected in the theory of mediacracy (Bodrunova, 2010) that defines two possible roles of media:

1. Etymology concept of mediacracy explains media as an essential, powerful and autonomous actor of such interrelations.
2. On the other hand, marketing concept of mediacracy sees media as a connection between political actors and audience.

Altogether both visions are leading to the fact that media interact with other participants of this communication and influence them at the same time. The interaction between all actors operates in both directions: political organizations influence media through public speeches, parties' programs, PR-techniques and political advertisement. At the same time, media influence political cluster with the help of the level of reportage, editorials, analytical stories and comments. The tone of coverage is a usual tool as well. In case of communication with the audience, which influences media through feedback, questions, opinion polls, media use the same technique as in communication with political actors (McNair, 2011). In addition, it should be also mentioned that a communication between political actors and media appear to be much more complicated as a certain level of emotional interaction is involved. These relations are about the influence and mutual power that is being shared and belongs to both parts. The reality is so complex today so that the agenda-setting process is forming by both politicians and journalists. There are also particular feelings like mistrust, suspicion, cynicism, and conflict to a certain extent being shared in both directions. The degree of how the audiences are treated in frames of political communication depends on the government

position and attitude towards the society: do they prefer “party-centred” or “citizen-centred” style of communication (Esser & Pfetsch, 2017).

In terms of our research, it is also essential to pay attention to the international and national specific features of news coverage. Therefore the comparative analysis of different countries and their media systems are extremely useful, and the news coverage of different countries may highlight the perspective of political reporting: international issues may be seen on both international and national levels. Various researchers (Esser & Pfetsch, 2017, Clausen, 2003) have found that there is an existing trend of domestication of international issues in news. It can be easily seen in a relation to refugees and migrants news stories: media tend to highlight this issue on a domestic level when the migration process certainly involves more than one country or just Europe. At this moment journalists are applying frames to the reportage, which depend on the ideology, national perspective, and preferences of the news outlet. What is also very important for us is that fact that the same tendency has been observed in terms of the European Union coverage: news and issues that have a relation to the EU are still being presented in a manner that underlines each member state of the Union as a separate country with its own problems and ideology (de Vreese, Banducci, Semetko & Boomgaarden, 2006). This influence the information that audiences in these countries are receiving as well: within the EU media of member states are not reporting the same issues in the same manner. The relation to the European Union agenda or national level may depend on the dispute of the issue that is being covered and the national society of a separate European country (Boomgaarden et al., 2013).

With an extreme popularity of social media websites, the audience’s opportunities in communication have significantly widened: almost every news resource has its profile in

social media like Facebook or Twitter and this has increased the chances of audience's voice in frames of politics to be heard. Such features as interactivity, digitalization, rapidity of communication, responsiveness, user-generated-content (UGC), and multi-functionality also support it. Social media networks are seen as platforms that guard "voice to the voiceless" and promote democracy (Kivikuru, 2014). In a relation to migration process in Europe posts and "reporting" from non-professional Internet users have focused much more on people themselves than conventional media and their online versions. For instance, there has been a lot of photos and videos produced by local citizens depicting migrants being exhausted, stressed, but at the same time happy that they made it to the European coast (e.g., in Greece or Italy) taking single or group selfies in order to record that they have reached Europe (Chouliaraki, 2017). In this case, refugees themselves have also contributed to the online reporting, when they have posted this images and/or videos online in their social media network profiles, sharing their "digital self-representation"(Chouliaraki, 2017).

The flow of information exchange between media, audiences, and politics today is never-ending due to the following reasons:

1. Digitalization of communication allows high accessibility and usability: the Internet user is not only a silent member of the audience, but also an active participant of the communication in media that constantly update and supply news and any other information. USG makes former readers to contribute and act like journalists. Such change of a routine that has been a rule for decades attracts more and more people to become active, and at the same time makes them dependent on media even more than before (Baran & Davis, 2014). As has been stated above the power of "amateur" reporting of conflicts, deaths, and suffering is growing significantly (Chouliaraki, 2017).

2. The question of professionalism in journalism is quite omitted nowadays because of the audience's active participation in social media: news is presented more personal today. And as a part of political communication, it allows narrowing the gap between political candidates and the audience that they address (Shirky, 2008). And qualities of a professional press, per example, autonomy, distinct professional norms, and public service orientation (Hallin & Mancini, 2014), are no longer necessary for published and posted news.
3. The Internet (especially online media and informational websites) has a power to spread the information, news and persuasive messages all over the world with no borders. This digital feature works for every stated-above actor: media, politics, and audiences. Every message now can be designed in that manner so it reaches the target-desired receiver: information can be easily noticed, communication happens in real-time and techniques of the viral spread of information are applied (Wallin, 2013).

Other authors support McNair's statement about that media, politics and public easily influence each other. The same idea of interrelation between media, social and political cluster expands with the supplement of the economic actor (Dahlgren, 2011). And even when media could function like a political institution, it shall not be forgotten that media are also a business with a certain profit expectation, so the power of the economic actors and their influence are extremely important (Hallin & Mancini, 2014). Dahlgren claims that economy is a crucial part of the media system that comes out through economic elites and media corporations (see Figure 2).

It must be also noted that today there is no such obvious connection between certain media and political parties as it used to be in the past, but rather with political preferences

such as, for instance, centre-right, left-centre and etc. What is more common today is that the career of journalists and other active members of media newsrooms can be formed because of their political affiliations (Hallin & Mancini, 2014).

Not only political and economic influences may define the way journalists behave in frames of political communication. Hanitzsch and Mellado (2011) observed various types of influences (including social, political, economic, ideological and other spheres) that journalism in different countries faces today:

1. Political influences, such as politicians, government etc.
2. Economic influences, such as profit expectations, advertisers etc.
3. Organizational influences, such as management, ownership, newsroom structure etc.
4. Procedural influences, such as routine, limited resources etc.
5. Professional influences, such as policies, codes, media laws etc.
6. Reference groups, such as competing media organizations, colleagues etc.

These various influences appeared to differ from one country to another and depend on complex factors like communicational environment, political reality, media system and so on. Two types of influences have a stronger connection between them than other: political and economic influences. In today's reality journalists might even hardly distinguish whether it is political or economic pressure they experience as the plexus of political and economic elites is becoming more and more complicated. They surely are one of the most forceful factors, but it shall be also remembered that journalists do not face these influences directly on a daily basis. They might be integrated within organizational and procedural influences, especially when we talk about media

organizations owned by the government, where politics could become visible with the help of their people in newsrooms and more governmental control over an ideology of a medium.

2.4. Media realms of the observed countries

As this research has a goal of studying the topic of refugees and the way the migration situation in Europe is covered in media today, we are going to examine nine online media from three countries: Austria, Germany and the UK. To do so we first want to briefly describe what kind of media systems these three states belong to.

According to media systems fundamentalists, Hallin and Mancini, Austria and Germany could be both placed within so-called Northern European or Democratic Corporatist Model when the UK belongs to so-called North Atlantic or Liberal Model (Hallin & Mancini, 2014).

Following characteristics of the Democratic Corporatist Model are crucial to mention (Hallin & Mancini, 2014):

1. The circulation of newspapers is high, and the mass-circulation press is developed.
2. Historically there has been a tradition of a strong press run by political parties. This has led to the evolving of the neutral commercial press.
3. The level of the journalistic professionalism is high. The role of codes and self-regulation in the work of journalists and newsrooms is important.
4. Freedom of the press is protected by the state, and both citizens and the government see media as an essential and powerful social institution, but at the same time intervention from the state takes place. For instance, there is a ban for any type of Nazi propaganda in the press of Austria and Germany.

5. Historically formed strong relations with social groups and movements still play an important role.
6. The political environment within the model could be characterized as a place where any type of citizens and/or social groups could participate equally in social life, and also with a help of media.

The North Atlantic or Liberal Model encompasses other features (Hallin & Mancini, 2014):

1. The circulation of newspapers is moderate, and the mass-circulation commercial press is developed.
2. The commercial press tends to be neutral, and in general, the work of journalists has an informational orientation.
3. Quality press of the UK has a strong political identification, and this has a link with the political connections of its readers, too.
4. Journalistic professionalization is also on a high level, but compared to the Democratic Corporatist Model journalists rely only on self-regulations without formal organization.
5. State role and intervention into the press is not significant, and the market and its rules and demands have the major influence on the press. The connection with business and economic actors in the countries that belong to this model is much stronger than with political actors.
6. All participants of the political communication see media not only as a part and servant of democracy but as a part of power as well.

In terms of this classification, we are going to face a news coverage of the European migration ‘crisis’ of media that are coming from two various media systems – Liberal and Democratic Corporatist Models, which allows us to notice the difference between the manner of reporting the refugee ‘crisis’. To sum up, media systems outlined by Hallin and Mancini are likely to differentiate into layers such as objectivity, opinion expression, level of professionalism, and the relations with political and economic actors.

It has been also underlined that German-speaking media tend to have a presence of both news reporting and sharing an opinion, and these two different types of news are separated from each other (Esser & Umbricht, 2013). On the other hand it is also necessary to talk about the dual nature of German-speaking journalists: they may follow official political announcements and speeches obeying to what is transmitted by politicians, and simultaneously they tend to highlight political conflicts (for instance, between political parties) and preferring one of the sides (Pfetsch, 2007). At the same time British media, which have been traditionally related to the Anglo-American model and had many features in common with the American press, today are going through a change. Throughout the years British media have adopted characteristics of European news outlets to a certain extent (Esser & Umbricht, 2013). British media do not tend to have a solid percent bias against politics, maintaining high professional standards, being impartial and civil-oriented; on the contrary neutral reporting has the widest presence with the simple broadcasting of information in news with a degree of responsibility for the society (Pfetsch, 2007).

In all three media spheres of Austria, Germany and Great Britain a strong level of political parallelism between parties and editorials can be observed. Two different factors that influence communication between political actors and media exist: the role of a journalist in terms of political communication and journalist’s attitude to the political

institutions. These factors influence journalists' professionalism, style of reporting (either it is neutral news containing political messages, or obvious opinion expression, and even criticism), respect or suspicion about a political institution, etc. Journalists' attitude leads to the respective political news management: when they are not confident and cannot rely on media, they try to influence and control political agenda (Pfetsch, 2007). Anyway, regardless the models that media belong to, media are more and more likely to turn to the methods of popularization and dramatization: emotional coverage, sensationalism, scandals, infotainment, private lives of politicians or figures that are a part of the news story, etc. (Umbricht & Esser, 2016).

3. Public diplomacy

Being part of the daily agenda refugees and the migration 'crisis' in Europe refer not only to separate European countries but to a decent amount of international organizations such as the United Nations or the European Union. The UN and the EU are important actors that participate in finding a solution, controlling and discussing a current situation of migration. They are also a common source of information and often mentioned in media coverage of the topic of migrants and refugees. In this regard, supranational organizations could recourse to public diplomacy and communicate their message to audiences through media. Public diplomacy is not a single technique or event, but a concept of various activities that evolved centuries ago. Modern understanding of public diplomacy encompasses a diversity of interpretations starting from an opposite of secret diplomacy and ending with a communication with foreign audiences all over the world.

The first use of the term “public diplomacy” in the modern sense is ascribed to Dean Edmund Guillion of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. It was created on the occasion of the establishment of the Centre for Edward R. Murrow for the Study of Public Diplomacy in 1965. At that time Public Diplomacy has been described as a tool essential for foreign policies’ formation and execution ("About U.S. Public Diplomacy PublicDiplomacy.org", 2004).

Many scholars and diplomats supported stated above definition several decades later, saying that public diplomacy helps to establish successful communication with the audiences all over the world, and is a weapon of a persuasion, equal to international relations only on the level of communication through media and NGOs etc. ("Definitions Of Public Diplomacy", 2005)

In frames of this research the following explications of public diplomacy should be named:

1. Public diplomacy is a tool of public affairs that has a goal of informing society about diplomatic activities and participation of a government or organization in international issues.
2. Public diplomacy could also be a substitution for an obvious propaganda that aims to promote and reach organization’s policy goals in the targeted countries and/or regions. Public diplomacy represents actions of governments to influence overseas publics within the foreign policy process; in this field media, multinational corporations, NGO's and faith-based organizations are also active participants next to governments (Snow, 2005).
3. Public diplomacy is used by supranational organizations in order to obtain a positive image. This variation interprets public diplomacy as a soft power (Nye,

2004). In this case, a difference between public and traditional diplomacy lies in the field of communication: public diplomacy bears on not only governments and foreign-society, but also non-governmental individuals and organizations. This fact makes public diplomacy a tool of wide range coverage. The goals and interests of governments or organizations are secured through such channels as media, business and cultural elites and academic institutions.

To the main impacts of public diplomacy the following effects could be assigned (Peterková, 2006):

1. Increasing awareness of people about the country (they think about it, update their ideas,
or change negative opinions);
2. Increased understanding of this country (creating a positive image, increasing consistency between countries looking at issues of global importance);
3. Awakening the interest of people in the country (strengthening bonds and cooperation in education as well as in science and research, promoting the perception of this country as an attractive destination for travel tourism or study, encouraging the public to buy our products and preparation for understanding and the promotion of our values);
4. Influencing people (influence firms to invest in our country, the public to support our positions or policies, the perception of our country as a preferred partner).

3.1. Public diplomacy of the related to the European migration ‘crisis’ organizations

The concept of Public Diplomacy applies differently to entities other than national or international authorities. And such international organizations like the United Nations and the European Union know exactly what to do to persuade the necessary audience. Both of these supranational organizations communicate the topic of migration and refugees in frames of public diplomacy.

Two supranational organizations – the UN and the EU – appeared to be connected directly to the migration crisis. Both these organizations have an established system and organs of public diplomacy.

In general, these organizations communicate with the public and media, or with the public through media and social media to report on the progress of their work, achievements, and goals in the relation to the migration process. Some of them might also mention the cooperation with other organizations and agencies and the productivity of their work. Basically, they do not share a lot on actual plans and actions to improve the situation (Kivikuru, 2014).

The European Union has dedicated this function to the European External Action Service’s (EEAS) subsidiary body. Among of its tasks are diplomatic connections and relations outside of the EU, support of the EU’s policy and services that contribute to its international value, importance and influence (Delegace EU, 2017). At the same time, each EU-member state expresses its national public diplomacy that is more focused on its own brand promotion with a little relation to the EU. To drive a comparison, issues like climate change, human rights or migration are on the list of the EU diplomacy. To do so the European Union transmits its values and official point of view through web pages,

blogs, and publications as well as delegations and visits of the EU officials. The EEAS appears to have an established cooperation with media so that the constant information from the EU can reach its audience. The EU uses media also as a channel to transmit its opinion and communicate with citizens, NGOs and other possible receivers of its messages on electronic media and social media networks (Duke, 2013).

There is a strong connection between internal and external public diplomacy because if the EU promotes itself as a paragon of peaceful coexistence, or an area of human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, it must be seen to be so also internally. Margot Wallström (former Vice President of the European Commission responsible for Institutional relations and communication strategy) mentioned that national governments prefer to claim credit for EU actions and solutions that support popular and blame “Brussels” for the unpopular ones. Governments fail to explain to their citizens why and how these decisions were taken and it leads to that many people are ill-informed about European issues and have a negative image of the EU. Everything mentioned above then causes political problems and instability (Duke, 2013).

The second supranational organization that has a straight correlation with the question of asylum seekers in Europe is the UN that works to support, promote and maintain respect for human rights in general and through authorized persons like the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Likewise the EU the UN has an established organ that performs public diplomacy – the Department of Public Information, which started its history back in 1946 to make sure that people are aware of the UN’s work ("Department of Public Information | United Nations", 2017). The UN uses conventional and digital forms of media (e.g. radio, newspapers, magazines etc.) to

reach their desired audience. To reach as many people as possible and to make sure that the diversity of nationalities receive the UN's message it is also necessary that the organization make use of the Internet so that public diplomacy could increase public opinion about the UN. Tasks like this are exercised through the UN's Information Centres that are spread all over the world ("United Nations Information Centres", 2017).

Another organization is also dealing with the information outreach of the UN all over the world with an emphasis on communication and building public support for the UN – United Nations Foundation. Communication with the public happens through public mass events and online campaigns as “Thank A Peacekeeper”, “Don’t Shut Down the UN”, “Price of Peace” etc. to strengthen the UN and its relations with governments all over the world. UN Foundations is using online tools of promotion and cooperation actively as well. Online campaigns focus lies in such fields as UN Peacekeeping, UN Reform, climate change and others. The UN activities are promoted through numerous websites, UN Radio Service, Social Media and blogs ("Building Public Support for the UN", 2015).

The UN is also operating according to the latest e-Diplomacy level, following essential steps in producing and sharing information: using social media and the Internet is equal to any other tool of diplomacy. The importance of personal level engagement with the audience, answering questions that are raised and paying attention to the needs of the readers/listeners and viewers. For the UN it is also crucial to catch up with cultural contexts of the countries, their languages, mentalities, and values, so that message would be framed according to these factors. A great example of this is the *MY World* global survey the United Nations is leading with partners, which invites anyone (with a heavy usage of social media), anywhere to contribute to the post-2015 development agenda (Sherinian, 2014).

The UN is also promoting widely a practice of involving celebrities (be it actors and actresses, singers, or social activist and politics) to draw attention to the topic that the organization is working on. Chouliaraki (2011) claims that this technique is primarily used to support the visibility of the UN as a brand, but not to underline the vulnerability of sufferers. We start to see these celebrities apart from their “celebrity image” and profession – these people turn into diplomats and humanitarians (Kivikuru, 2014). One of the important parts of this communication between celebrities and refugees is taking selfies together: celebrities are meant to support and stand next to migrants, which is a crucial act for the UN image and the reputation of a celebrity as a diplomat (Chouliaraki, 2017).

In addition UNHCR is one of the most visible in media agencies of the UN (see Results), being quoted, mentioned and related to the question of the European migration process; UNHCR cooperates with media, providing them with official statements and reports, but at the same time not investing forces in developing communicational structure of the refugees camps, be it radio or online form of communication and notification people who live in these camps (Kivikuru, 2014).

Seeing the Internet as a powerful informational outlet has led to many psychological factors of influence that are widely used to communicate with the audience:

1. Wide usage of psychological techniques and models to manipulate people and increase public diplomacy efficiency is a common thing today; many of these models could be perfectly applied to the field of politics and SM.
2. “Conversion Theory” that claims that the minority in a group can influence a majority with an incosummerable effect. Normally, people that belong to the majority and most amenable might be people who preferred majority because of

the fact that it was easy to do so, and they could not find an alternative. And when minority is confident and strong, their voices could be much more effective (Lee, 2014).

3. Information Manipulation Theory: this theory concept is based on a persuasive person breaking one of the four conversational maxims, which are Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner (Lee, 2014).
4. Social Influence Theory: this theory is about our perception of the relations with the influencer. For instance, when a person has a trust in something (person, political party, brand etc.) the message would be treated as reliable.
5. Yale Attitude Change Approach requires the speaker (or sender of the message) to be attractive, confident and reliable for the audience, once the credibility from the audience is gained, the message would be accepted in a positive way.

4. Global Governance

Even though the topic of the research states the question of the migration process in Europe and its reflection in media outlets of several European countries, we shall not forget that Europe itself is a union of countries as well as that the roots of this migration are coming from other continent and so the whole issue is surrounded by a complex system of international organizations and governance.

The concept of the global governance (Weiss, Forsythe, Coate, & Pease, 2001) unites the ideas of relations without pervasive political authority. Global governance can also mean at the same time a number of norms, laws, institutions, and policies that reflect trans-border relations between all sorts of actors (for instance, states, cultures, citizens,

intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations and economic actors). This vision includes all initiatives (coming from states or citizens) that have a goal to set a higher level of predictability, stability, and order to situations when transnational difficult tasks or concerning issues take place and relate to more than one state (Koser, 2010). The European migration crisis could be a good example of such situation when even within established global governance society, humans and states faced a challenge.

In this case, the UN plays a significant role as it is seen and accepted by many people all over the world as a part of global governance. Thomas G. Weiss and Ramesh Thakur discovered this relation in *Global Governance and the UN: An Unfinished Journey* (2010). While in many ways the UN's work has always been devoted to improving the way that international society operates, the birth of the term can be traced to the 1992 publication of James Rosenau and Ernst-Otto Czempiel's theoretical collection of essays *Governance without Government*.

In addition to interdependence and a growing recognition of the need for collective action, the emergence of global governance stems from the sheer growth in numbers and importance of non-state entities, which also are conducting themselves in new ways. Despite a number of imperfections, the UN is still the most global and most lawful organization that has resources to expand even more. The UN is a cornerstone of the multilateral diplomacy, and supports international actions with cooperation of different countries to solve problems of these countries. A good global governance is defined by a cooperation of various actors of different levels – local, regional, national or worldwide.

Weiss and Thakur (2010) have outlined five gaps between the nature of challenges that the world faces today and imperfect solutions available:

1. “Knowledge gap”;
2. “Normative gap”;
3. “Policy gap”;
4. “Institutional gap”;
5. “Compliance gap”.

4.1. Global governance and migration

Migration is not clearly defined on the global level, but there are still various approaches to this issue. Most of the countries have admitted that it is impossible to deal with migration without international cooperation. Logically a number of institutions that function on bilateral, regional, and multilateral levels have been established (Betts, 2011).

Multiple studies outline three various levels of global migration governance:

1. Multilateralism;
2. Embeddedness;
3. Informal Networks.

It should be emphasized that strong multilateralism of global migration governance could be observed in the field of the international refugee's regime, that is exercised through the UNHCR and the International Organization on Migration (IOM).

Different countries behave unwillingly in frames of multilateralism in other possible areas of migration: the ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of migrant workers and their families is still limited.

The level of global governance that relies on informal networks rapidly expands today. As can be guessed from the name this side of global migration governance has to deal mostly with sharing information, best practice and ideas. These networks could be either regional or inter-regional or trans-regional. And IOM has taken an important part in spreading the word and supporting such networks (Carmel, 2012).

UN-based multilateralism is often too binding and inflexible for states, whereas informal network-based governance is likely to be too exclusionary on behalf of the public. Coherent plurilateralism offers a way to draw the benefits of each together. Based on acceptance that 'one size does not fit all', meaning there are different types of migration and therefore not all types need the same cooperation, the need for existing institutions to work better instead of creating new institutions and that there is inadequate coordination and several gaps within the architecture, coherent plurilateralism can detect what functions global migration governance should involve, as well as examining how these functions are currently addressed in order to meet collective interest with a possible new policy at the end of this process (Betts, 2011).

The most important regulations the EU features regarding migration is the Dublin agreement within the European Union: It is the regulation under which asylum seekers can seek for application under the Geneva Convention. It states that the country in which the asylum-seeker first entered the EU will be held responsible for the particular asylum claim ("Dublin Regulation - European Council On Refugees And Exiles", 2013). After the Schengen agreement, which regulated the abolition of border controls in its member states, the focus of the EU's policy was to control its external border (Geddes, 2008).

4.2. Migration situation in the Middle East and Africa

Based on multilateralism facing cross-border issues, the main agency responsible for refugees in the UN system is the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. It is mandated to report directly to the General Assembly of the United Nations. Its funding structure is described as follows: “UNHCR is funded almost entirely by voluntary contributions, with 86 percent coming from governments and the European Union” (“What We Do - UNHCR”, 2015). By the end of June 2013, its budget reached a new annual high of US\$ 5.3bn, with its top donors being the United States, Japan, the European Union, Sweden and the Netherlands. In this donation structure lies the problem many authors (Kapp, 2001) point to when they debate on the refugee crisis in Europe: The High Commissioner for Refugees, Antonio Guterres, stated in an interview that promised donations were not transferred and budget demands to handle refugee situations around known areas of turmoil were only met to a third of the sought funding (Harriet, 2015). This led to cuts in basic supplies for refugees, like food and water. Combined with worsened prospects of war’s end, the hope of individual economical betterment and the strengthening of formations looking to exploit power vacuums of any sorts, which is coming ultimately with repression, people take their chances and try to immigrate to Europe. These factors were originally described with the push-pull-approach of Lee’s migration theory (Lee, 1966) and are still very valid for today’s migration patterns (Bommes, 2014).

5. Research Questions and Hypotheses

The goal of this research is to see how exactly media cover refugee and migration ‘crisis’ in Europe, what type of glance at this issue do they offer the public, what are the frames that they are using, and how do they present a process that did not emerged out of a thin air as a sudden and unexpected crises. We would also like to focus on the international side of this story: how is migration that touches almost every country in the world is being presented in European media, are international laws and supranational organizations that are major basis of this topic included into the discussion. And surely there is an aim of seeing how do media treat people – migrants and refugees – what kind of image are they building, how do they characterize these people to their readers.

To examine the above topics of interest of this study, the following research questions have evolved:

RQ1.1: How do media present the migration process in Europe in news coverage?

Is there a relation to the international laws and supranational organizations, or media rather cover this issue as a part of national agenda?

RQ1.2: What are the trends of media coverage on the topic of migration? Do media in Austria, Germany and the UK treat this issue in the same manner, or do they apply different techniques of reporting?

RQ2.1: In what manner do media report on migration and refugees in Europe: is the coverage neutral all the time?

RQ2.2: What is a connection between the tone of coverage and official position expressed by the politicians in different countries? Has the coverage changed in a relation to events associated with the European migration process?

RQ3: How do patterns of refugee ‘crisis’ coverage differ throughout the time: are there significant changes in same content analyses from the year 2015 and year 2017?

Based on these questions the following outcomes are expected as a result of this research:

H1.1: Media likely cover the issue of refugees and migrants as a national problem, rather than a question of the international agenda, mentioning international laws that have a connection to border controls rather than human rights. The presence of supranational organizations in coverage would be quite high with a domination of the EU.

H1.2: Austrian and German media would have the same patterns of reporting when British media would have different features of coverage.

H2.1: The majority of analyzed articles would express a neutral tone of coverage, but there still would be a negative or positive expression as well.

H2.2: Speeches of politics might influence the tone of coverage, as well as major events connected to the migration process and refugees.

H3: The significant difference could be noticed in frames of the international laws included in the coverage, pattern of the tone of coverage and intensity of media attention.

6. Method

To gain desired results and study the media coverage methods of quantitative content analysis, comparative analysis, and discourse analysis have been applied. As a beginning, this master thesis is based on the sample of 764 articles collected from 9 online media. The media are coming from 3 countries: Austria, Germany and the UK, and they are ORF, der Standard, Krone, Bild, Spiegel, Süddeutsche Zeitung, The Guardian, The Daily Mail and The Times (see Table 1). The same media outlets have been analyzed in the previous content analysis in frames of a study from the year 2015 (Filimonova, Lieb & Číhalová, 2016). At that moment the decision to study exactly these media was based on a fact that they were the most popular online news resources. We have discovered that in the case of Austrian online news site of the public broadcasting services (ORF) has been one of the most visited news websites. So that there would be no methodological contradiction, researchers have studied results for ORF articles separate, and have compared them with the rest of results, and found out that ORF expresses the same level of opinion expression and the amounts of publications per month as all other news websites. The same has been done in case of the recent content analysis, and the results have matched the pattern of other online media in the same manner. Thus, no contradiction has been registered the findings of all news sources have been combined and analyzed further together. Collected articles are coming from the time frame of 20.04.2016 – 20.04.2017. All articles have been analysed with a help of 3 coders and codebook that has been already used in the existing study so that the results could be compared in terms of the same categories: this study (Filimonova, Lieb & Číhalová, 2016) that has been created in frames of the Regional Academy on the United Nation, and has a focus on a migration process in Europe on the international level and points out that supranational organizations. The sample size of articles from the same countries (Austria,

Germany and the UK) of the existing study contained 2254 articles. They are coming from a time frame of 25.04.2015 – 15.09.2015 (see Table 2). After the evaluation of the results of a new content analysis, the comparative analysis with the result of the study from the year 2015 has taken place. Samples from both types of research include a variety of news outlets expressing different political orientation from liberal to conservative (see Table). All articles that had a relation to refugees and migrants were analyzed by different aspects:

1. Mentioning of countries affected by the process of migration in Europe;
2. Mentioning of supranational organizations (be it UN, EU or others), with a specific attention to the UN's agencies: which UN-body has a wider correlation with the issue of migration and refugees;
3. Mentioning of international laws that are related to migrants and refugees;
4. The tone of coverage towards refugees and migrants: positive, negative, or neutral. As this category might arise question regarding coders' objectivity in defining what is positive, and what is negative, the following explanation is necessary. Neutral coverage has been explained as an objective reporting and articles mostly consisting of pure facts. Positive coverage consisted of optimistic, supportive, cheerful, welcoming, suggestive articles towards migrants and refugees, where the level of humanization was also counted: people are seen as persons with their characteristics, needs, emotions, qualities, etc. Articles marked as negative has been described as pessimistic, aggressive, rich of negativity for labeling people and criticizing migrants and refugees articles, and also articles that tend to dehumanize people, ignoring them as individuals and personalities, but rather referring to them as a crowd, a faceless mass. As an example, the following words have been seen as negative: threat, enemy, undeserving, criminal, unwanted, invasion, influx, flow, stream, flood, pest, etc. And the following words have been seen as positive: help, aid, welcome, solidarity, friendly, etc.

The same codebook as in the existing study has been used in the recent content analysis with the categories slightly updated due to the introduction of new laws related to the topic. The inter-coder reliability was equal to 0.876 Cohen's Kappa or 0.877 Krippendorff's Alpha.

To deepen the example of how media treat migrants and refugees, what type of language they prefer to build this part of reality for their audiences, and how do they frame this issue, critical discourse analysis has been performed following content analysis. CDA has a sample of six articles chosen randomly from the sample of content analysis. Those articles are coming from Austrian, German and British media, and they have been studied with an attention to the specific words that media applied to refugees and migrants. The focus lied on the naming techniques used by media; we have searched for nouns, noun phrases, and word structures that give names to people coming to Europe as part of a migration process.

7. Results

7.1. Migration agenda in media of European countries

The issue of migration has been a part of the European media agenda for years but it would be fair to notice that it has reached a significant visibility in the year 2015. Since 2015 this topic has experienced its ups and downs in the media reporting but never remained silent. The observation period of the conducted content analysis encompassed the time frame from 20th April 2016 to 20th April 2017. Throughout this time the total of 762 articles coming from 9 online media has been collected. At the same time, the number of news articles from Austrian, German and British media that has been studied in the former content analysis in the year 2015 was 764 only in the timeframe of 5 months (April 2015 – September 2015). This points to the fact that priority of the refugee's issue in media agenda has dropped down notably.

Media of 3 observed countries have a slight difference in a number of articles (see Figure 3): 36% of news articles are coming from German media, 35% from Austrian media, while 29% from the British media.

In frames of one year, the amount of articles produced and available online has differed significantly (see Figure 4). This could be explained by the fact that media reporting has a close relation to the events happening on the national and international levels, and such differentiation between the intensity of the reporting in a various month could be linked to the following timeline (see Figure 5). The same pattern of reporting has been noted in the previous study in 2015, which has been reflected on the graph observing news articles of a period of April 2015 – September 2015 (see Figure 6).

One of the observed categories was mentioning of various countries of the European region that have a straight connection to refugees' crisis (see Figure 7). Germany appeared to be the most visible country in the news agenda as it was mentioned in 33% of the articles, and the second noticeable country was Austria (22%). Italy (15%), Turkey (15%), Greece (14%), and the UK (13%) have followed leading countries. Compared to the results of the study of the year 2015 it must be noted that the list of observed countries has partially changed due to the evolving of the crisis in the European region and switch between the affected countries (see Figure 8). However, Germany and Austria have been the most mentioned on the list with 31% and 23% respectively. While Italy (22%) and Greece (18%) has a higher degree of presence.

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

Being an international matter migration crisis and the question of refugees in Europe shall not only be observed on the national level and national media agenda of every studies country. It is crucial to outline the importance of supranational organizations in this regard. To do so a separate set of categories has been created. This part of the research enables to record the visibility, level of relation and importance of such organizations as the EU or the UN as could be seen in Austrian, German and British media. The first thing to mention is that clear majority of articles collected has mentions of supranational organizations in general with a result of 68% (see Figure 9). This number is higher when we compare it with the same figure in the research of 2015 when mentioning of supranational organizations was slightly above the half of the examined articles.

To be specific it is important to say that the split between organizations that media mention in a relation to the migration process in Europe is significant: the EU takes an outstanding place in this reporting with 86% of the articles, when the UN was mentioned only in 26% of the cases (see Figure 10). In the past study, the split between the EU (with 59%) and the UN (with 39%) was not so notable (see Figure 11).

It is clear that the EU has a closer relation to the migration process in the area, which can be explained, first of all, by the nature of this supranational organization. The EU's job is to cooperate with all member states, and media mention the European Union with a relation to such an important issue of the modern European life actively.

At the same time, the UN is still on the agenda, even though not as highly related as the EU. The nature of the United Nations is more complicated and has an outreach in so many fields of life so that it is important to see which exactly body of the UN has a relation to the refugee 'crisis'. It appeared that the leading organ of the UN is the UNHCR (63%), and the International Organization for Migration follows it with 27% of the cases. All other UN-agencies were not mentioned on the significant level (see Figure 12). The results of the year 2015 (see Figure 13) have also pointed out to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (62%), but at the same, time Secretary General had a wider presence with 14% of the articles when in this content analysis Secretary General has only 1%.

We have also studied the relation between countries being mentioned and supranational organizations. Germany has the highest rate of mentioning regarding the EU with 17%, and then there is Turkey with 14% and Austria with 13% (see Figure 14).

The UN does not seem to be so much related to particular countries, and the highest result of 5% is Italy, which is followed by Greece and Turkey with 4%.

If we take a look at the origin of the media that have been examined, we would see that Austrian media had a highest level of mentioning supranational organizations in general (24%), when German media had 23% and British 20. The same pattern can be seen in mentioning the EU – Austrian media had 22%, German media – 20% and British media – 16%. Unlike the EU the UN was covered differently in these countries: British media had the highest number of 8%, and Austrian as well as German media both had 5% (see Figure 15).

Comparing with the result of the year 2015 we can state that in terms of the supranational organizations in general Austrian media have been the most active as well (13%), and German and British media were very close – both had 12% (see Figure 16). But it should be said that this similarity was not found in frames of the EU and the UN: the EU was mostly mentioned by British media (9%), when Austria had 6%, and Germany even 2% (see Figure 17). The UN coverage reached 10% in German media and was followed by Austria with 7% and the UK with 2% (see Figure 18).

7.3. International laws and regulations in media coverage in the relation to migration crisis

There are many local, national or international laws that have a straight relation to the refugee ‘crisis’ in Europe. To narrow down this scope a set of related international laws has been tracked in media reporting. Among obvious laws are the Geneva Convention on Refugees and the Human Rights Convention as they are fundamental in

terms of migration. And as the analyzed media and the crisis itself are related to Europe it is essential to take into account a set of laws of laws that are applied to Europe. These are the Dublin III Regulation, Schengen Agreement, Quota System, Border Controls, the Dubs Amendment and others mentioned laws.

After conducting content analysis it was found that exactly a half of the articles have mentioned international laws. Out of this 50%, the most referred law appeared to be Border Controls (38%), Human Rights (10%) and the Dublin Agreement (7%). The Geneva Convention on Refugees was not mentioned in the news coverage a single time. Summary of a variety of laws related to the migration took 30% of the related articles (see Figure 19).

In the research of 2015 42% of the articles referred to the international laws, agreements, and regulations. So that means that out of articles collected for the research 58% did not include any laws being connected to the migration process in Europe, Quota System has been mentioned in 10% of the articles, while Border Controls and the Dublin Regulation had 8% each, and contrary to the results of 2017 the Geneva Convention was presented in 2% of the articles (see Figure 20).

The pattern of the reporting on the international laws and regulation appeared to be quite unstable (see Figure 21). Every international law except the Geneva Connection, which was not mentioned at all, had a continuous line of increase and decrease throughout the observation period. The study of the year 2015 has a result of a flatter developing of the coverage of international laws compared to 2017 (see Figure 22).

To outline the international and supranational nature of the refugees' issue an analysis of the relation between the EU and the UN and international regulations has been

performed. Bearing in mind that the UN has a much more modest presence in the reporting it is logical that most of the articles with laws mentioned have a connection with the EU. The highest number of articles (16%) contained mentions of Border Controls and the EU, and the other laws have followed with 12%. The most significant relation to the UN has been also noted with the same laws with 6% and 4% respectively (see Figure 23).

Also to deepen the connection an analysis of the coverage tone has been performed. In case of the UN, the majority of articles stating the laws were likely to have a neutral reporting (see Figure 24). The EU also tends to be mentioned in neutral reporting together with international laws (see Figure 25). In both of the cases, the mostly associated law was Border Controls.

The results of 2015 showed that the EU was mostly negative related toward the Geneva Convention (43%), Border Controls (29%) and other laws (24%) (see Figure 26). At the same time the UN was mentioned in the articles with the highest percentage of the negative tone of coverage related to Border Controls (53%), the Geneva Convention and Quota System (both 50%) and the Dublin Regulation (45%) (see Figure 27).

7.4. General tone of coverage

Another essential aspect of this content analysis was the tone of coverage in the media reporting: how do media present the news regarding refugees and migration. This point is extremely valuable for the research as we can possibly see the features of journalistic framing and understand how media outlets are setting the agenda. There have been three dimensions of tone towards the process of migration in Europe and refugees as individuals in the articles that were defined: positive, negative or neutral.

It was found that the majority of the articles (88%) did not express the opinion about refugees crisis be it negative or positive, when 7% of the coverage being analyzed

contained obviously negative attitude, and 4% had a positive tone of coverage (see Figure 28). Compared to the results of the year 2015 it shall be pointed that the coverage tends to be less neutral, but still more than a half of the articles (61%) were marked as neutral, 27% as negative, and 12% as positive (see Figure 29).

When we take a closer look we see that the tonality of the articles did not split throughout the coverage equally: negative or positive tone experiences constant ups and downs with the most of the negative articles being registered in October 2016 with slightly less than 20% of the articles, while 0% of negative reporting has taken place in August 2016. When we talk about the positive tone of coverage it has reaches its peaks twice with the maximum result of 10% of the articles in August 2016 and February 2017 (see Figure30).

Content analysis has also included the relation between mentioned countries and negative or positive tone of the coverage. The UK had the highest association with negative reporting with 12% of the articles, Germany and Austria have followed with 10% for each country. Surprisingly Hungary had the highest level of positive reporting with 8% of the articles, and the next two results are the UK and Austria (7% each) (see Figure 31).

The more precise analysis enables us to outline the difference between negative or positive coverage in media of different countries. Austrian online news sources had the highest number of negative articles in April 2016 and October 2016 (25% each month), while the most of the positive articles have been posted in September and October 2016 (14% and 25% respectively) (see Figure 32). German media tend to have more neutral coverage as most of the months did not contain positive or negative articles at all, and

June 2016 was a month with the biggest amount of positive articles (13%) and December 2016 with the biggest number of negative articles (11%) (see Figure 33). British news articles had more visible negative tone: 42% in July 2016 and 33% in December 2016 illustrate this. The highest level of positive reporting has been noted in August 2016 with 25% of articles (see Figure 34).

In the previous research, most of the media from various countries had an extremely moderate level of negative or positive coverage, and the only significant negative reporting has been observed in media of Austria and Germany (with 37% and 39% of articles respectively). British and Italian media had the biggest amount of neutral articles with 77% and 76% (see Figure 35).

Also, we have established a connection between mentions of international laws and the tone of coverage in the reporting of articles coming from Austrian, German and British media. Some regulations like Schengen or Geneva Convention did not have any presence in such connection, other were mostly neutrally reported with the highest result of Border Controls (18%) and summary of other laws related to the process of migration (14%). The positive or negative tone of coverage in relation to international laws and regulations was nearly non-existent, Human Rights only had 1% of articles with a positive tone, and Border Controls and other laws have also reached 1% with negative coverage (see Figure 36).

8. Discourse Analysis

To illustrate the findings of the content analysis, and present examples of how media cover the issue of migration and refugees on a daily basis we have also conducted a discourse analysis of six articles from those collected in frames of content analysis. These

articles are coming from various media of various countries so that we can show if there is some difference.

As we have observed among other categories the complex phenomenon of the tone of coverage be it positive, negative or neutral, discourse analysis aims to picture what kind of language do media apply speaking about refugees and migrants. As we have also mentioned before media tend to cover migration process as a ‘crisis’ and actively use different sorts of labeling. Bearing this in mind we have concentrated on seeing how refugees and migrants are named in the studied articles. Naming is a powerful tool to persuade the audience and manipulate public opinion. To see what type of naming is likely in coverage related to refugees and migrants we have looked for nouns, noun phrases, and word structures that give a name to people coming to Europe as part of a migration process.

When we speak about the question of migration and refugee ‘crisis’, it is necessary to outline the difference between two nouns – refugee and migrant. Refugee is a human being that is escaping persecution or armed conflict, and does not have a possibility to return home without threat of death or persecution, when a migrant is a person that is looking for improvement of life, and unlike refugees these people can safely return to their homes, if they want to do so (Baylis, Smith & Owens, 2017).

After analyzing six articles we have found out that migrants and refugees are named in a different manner by various media. Some media mostly emphasized that it does not matter who these people are – migrants or refugees – but they are people first of all. *Spiegel* has used the following language to state this: “... fewer people flee to Europe” (see Article 6, line 252), “... hundreds of thousands of people to Europe” (see Article 6, line 262), “... more than 180.000 people from North Africa” (see Article 6, line 281). *The*

Guardian has also referred to refugees and migrants as primarily people: "... these people" (see Article 5, line 213), "... not terrorists ... not criminals" (see Article 5, line 206). And also *derStandard* called them people again several times: "364.000 people" (see Article 3, line 84), "... so many people" (see Article 3, line 88), "128.500 people" (see Article 3, lines 91-92), "... mainly people from Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq" (see Article 3, lines 94-95).

In addition to stating that these persons are firstly human beings, people, the same media also emphasized that these people have personalities and they are not just a mass of faceless people: "a young Iraqi refugee who made it to Hungary" (see Article 5, line 159), "... 7.000 refugees currently hoping to reach EU" (see Article 5, line 231), "pro-democracy activist" (see Article 5, line 244).

Other newspapers have also called refugees and migrants people, but in a way that has a negative association. For instance, *The Daily Mail* published such a phrase: "people detected trying to enter the UK" (see Article 4, line 145), or *Krone* has put it this way: "1658 people without permission to enter Germany" (see Article 1, line 14). *The Daily Mail* even omitted once any noun be it refugee, migrant, person, human, and referred to people with the help of a figure only: "84.088 at the British border" (see Article 4, line 100), and the same article also contained the following phrase: "those caught trying to enter Britain are Syrians, Eritreans, Sudanese and Iraqis" (see Article 4, lines 154-155).

In other cases media named people as refugees and migrants, sometimes only using these words, and also adding details be it negative, positive or neutral: "from migrants and refugees" (see Article 6, lines 273-274), "refugees who had paid to be released" (see Article 5, lines 195-196), "only five migrants remain" (see Article 5, line 198), "migrants try to sneak into Britain" (see Article 4, line 94), "thousands of illegal migrants" (see Article 4, line 106), "migrants trying to come into Britain" (see Article 4, line 98),

“million refugees flee the country” (see Article 4, lines 143-144), “migrants camped in Northern France” (see Article 4, lines 147-148), “many illegal refugees” (see Article 2, line 45), “96 migrants” (see Article 2, line 56), “for many refugees at the main entrance point to Europe” (see Article 2, lines 71-72), “ten thousands refugees are on the Greek border” (see Article 2, line 73), “number of migrants and refugees” (see Article 3, line 83), “number of refugees in Greece” (see Article 3, line 87), “dozens of migrants illegally in the German border” (see Article 1, lines 3-4), “regularly illegal migrants” (see Article 1, lines 10-11), “millions of migrants from Africa and Asia” (see Article 1, line 39).

Another group of words used in media to name migrants and refugees reminds audience that these people are coming to Europe in hope of asylum: “all asylum applicants” (see Article 5, line 166), “asylum seekers being sent back to Hungary” (see Article 5, line 233), “asylum seekers in primary care” (see Article 1, line 35).

And the last case states randomly used rare words to label refugees and migrants: “decline of incoming” (see Article 3, line 82), “illegal stream” (see Article 1, line 2), “the biggest group of illegal enterers” (see Article 1, lines 15-16).

9. Discussion

This research was targeted to develop the existing study and collect more information so that some trend in media coverage of refugees and migrants could become visible. The scope of research questions narrowed down the field of study, and focused on the way that media present the European migration process and possible relation to supranational organizations and international laws (RQ1.1) and if German, Austrian and British media followed the same pattern in reporting this topic (RQ1.2); what was the tone of coverage applied to articles talking about refugees and migrants: neutral, negative

or positive (RQ2.1), and when it was either positive or negative, could some events happened in the same time frames, or statements of politician have a relation to it (RQ2.2); and finally did the pattern of reporting changed since the conducted study of year 2015 (RQ3). Overall this research has registered that the behavior of the way, how media have treated the question of migration, has both similarities and differences in two different timeframes (studies of 2015 and 2017). Nearly two-year gap has shown that a number of articles on migration and refugees have dropped down. An observation period of a first study (5 months in 2015) included 2254 articles when the sample of the current content analysis contained 764 articles. Several theoretical explanations could be linked to these numbers: media tend to use different techniques of reporting in various years. When media started to pay that much attention to the migration process and refugee issue it was presented as a whole new story (even though migration from African and Middle East countries has been a part of a European routine a long time ago). Media have been quite neutral in the beginning but rapidly switched to emotional and biased reporting for various reasons (this would be explained in details below) (Sarikakis, 2017). Applying mechanisms of agenda-setting and framing newspapers tried to persuade readers that this theme is shocking (for instance, using images of dead bodies, especially children), overwhelming (amount of articles published daily was much higher compared to other topics) and sensational (using the language that drives attention to the topic, emotional words, catch-phrases, etc.). Due to the solid amount of time that has passed from the beginning of so-called refugee ‘crisis’ that started in 2015 and beginning of “refugees welcome” policy, it was hard for the media to keep the topic on the top of the news just as it is, it was nearly impossible to create a new sensation out of this story that develops in Europe daily. We still observe opinion expression in articles, emotional narration and many other features of dramatization in reporting (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007), but it has

replaced such characteristic of dramatization as amount of articles and a scope of a 'problem' presented by media (Klemm, Das, Hartmann, Kolmer & Schatz, 2015), therefore the number of found articles has shorten. But at the same time we still observe a high level of ignorance towards refugees as human beings in many news sources, when they prefer to pay with an image of a suffering refugee (Kivikuru, 2014), adding pictures of people in poor conditions in order not to promote kindness and support, but seek for readers' attention and report emotionally (Chouliaraki, 2010). This partially supports H3 saying that the significant difference in the intensity of coverage would be observed. Additionally, the trends of events related to the migration process in Europe influence the intensity of reporting. When in summer and autumn 2015 European civil society, as well as political movements, have been overwhelmed with all that started to happen, the reporting on refugees has been much more saturated than we can see it now.

As migration process in Europe is only a part of the international issue it was extremely important to highlight the connection with such supranational organizations as the EU and the UN. The results that are coming from both of the analyses are pointing to the domestication of a problem (Sarikakis, 2017). Even though the number of articles that link refugee issue to the international level is higher this time (68% of articles), the presence of the UN, for instance, has dropped from 39% to 26% only. This might mean that when the 'crisis' started countries, governments and civil society expected the organization that has a straight connection to the problem to do a lot. In both time periods UNHCR is the leading mentioned agency of the UN, followed by the Secretary General in the year 2015, but not in the current analysis. Mainly articles that do mention the UN quote some official statements, but rarely talk about real help for refugees and migrants.

In many cases, these official announcements try to report on the plans to regulate the situation, and “how good they have done” something (Kivikuru, 2014).

On the other hand, the presence of the EU has increased, and this has a relation to the events that take place in Europe, and cooperation between member states. However it is often that articles regarding the EU and migration contain official commentaries, but not real action taken by the organization, as the ‘crisis’ is normally observed as a problem of every separate country, be it Italy, Greece, Austria or any other member country of the EU (de Vreese, Banducci, Semetko & Boomgaarden, 2006), which supports H1.1 partially regarding the reporting of migration on the national level and prevalence of the EU among supranational organizations.

The situation of migration and refugees has been evolving rapidly, and every new month people had to look for another route, another destination, and other possibilities to reach Europe. When conducting the study of 2015 following countries have been included in the observation: Austria, Croatia, Serbia, Hungary, Czech Republic, Italy, France, Greece, Germany, the UK, and Ireland. Due to the fast change of routes of refugees aiming to reach Europe, closings of the various borders, shipwrecks, and many other events, the scope of observation in 2017 has been changed to Austria, Hungary, Serbia, Italy, Germany, France, Greece, the UK, and Turkey. In both of the cases, Germany was the most reported country, which is easily explained by Angela Merkel’s activities, statements, and actions, as well as by the active and powerful role of Germany in the EU and international levels. Austria also was a highly mentioned country as even in the changing picture of refugee situation it is neighboring many countries that are dealing with arriving refugees and a home for many refugees already.

The level of activity of reporting on refugees and migration is also an important factor in seeing what kind of attitude media have regarding migration. As content analysis

has shown, in 2017 online newspapers from Austria, Germany and the UK did not have a significant difference in the intensity of coverage; media of all three countries have reported this topic almost evenly (with 35%, 36% and 29% of articles collected respectively). When we continue to observe what are the patterns of media coming from these countries, we see that Austrian and German media have more similar numbers compared to British newspapers, for instance both Austrian and German media mentioned the UN in 5% of articles, and the EU in 22% and 20% respectively, when British media had 8% and 16%. However, Austrian articles tend to have a higher level of opinion expression be it negative or positive compared to German media; peaks in negative reporting in Austrian media have been noted in April 2016 with 25% of articles, October 2016 with 25% as well, and February 2017 with 20%. German media did not match this pattern, and most of the negative articles have been published in October 2016 and March 2017 with 6%, and December 2016 with 11% of articles. British media were even more expressive, and negative reporting has reached 42% of articles in July 2016 and 33% in December 2016. In the end, all these numbers disprove H1.2.

Altogether this means that news outlets of different European countries maintain more or less the same degree of attention to migration process in Europe, when countries that are included in the scope of reporting may change according to what is happening in Europe.

Throughout the whole observed period of the content analysis (as well as the period of the already existing study) the majority of articles (88%) were found to be neutral towards refugees and migrants, which supports H2.1. However, the modest number of articles expressed either positive or negative attitude towards migrants and refugees. As we have seen above attitude did not follow a mild pattern, but experience its

ups and downs. Bearing in mind that every month contained different types of events this could be a possible explanation why the rise of negative or positive articles happened.

When we speak about positive articles (which has been identified by the coders as those humanizing refugees and migrants, supporting them, etc.) we can see that events as shipwrecks or child abuse have taken place. (see Figure 3). For instance, in the observed period of time the following events have coincided with the rise of positive articles amount: shipwrecks in Libya and the Mediterranean Sea (June, September and December 2016), people that has been successfully saved in the Mediterranean Sea (August 2016), and report on the high level of migrant and refugee child abuse in Libya (February 2017). Various researchers have stated that media often use an image of a refugee, especially of a suffering refugee (Kirkwood, 2017): for instance, the famous picture of a dead boy on the beach that has died in the attempt to reach Greece. It is rather common that media tend to report in a positive manner when it comes to tragedies and a children topic. An image of a child is a strong part of such reporting. Media use such images and motives to humanize refugees and migrants, draw the attention of the audience to the fact that they are, first of all, people.

Using the image of a sufferer is another technique that media apply to the coverage regularly. In such articles, the positive attitude towards suffering people encourage readers to see them more personalized and humanized (Chouliaraki, 2010). The results of a discourse analysis point out that in articles with a positive tone, refugees and migrants are called people and human beings, instead of labels that tabloids preferably use (Sarikakis, 2017). Also when it comes to seeing refugees and migrants more detailed, reporting includes personal details, like names, origin, age, a reason for asylum seeking, background and other information that helps readers to see some migrants or refugee as a personality, and not a part of a crowd.

When it comes to negative attitude towards refugees and migrants, media tend to present them in a way that connects them with criminal and illegal activities and actions (Banks, 2011). In this case, media talk a lot about “illegal routs” that refugees are taking to reach Europe, underlining the fact that those, who have succeeded to do so, would need money to stay alive in Europe. Discourse analysis has also supported this idea: newspapers label actions of refugees and migrants as illegal and underline the fact that these people do not have a permission to enter this or that country. Newspaper often prefer to use a language that has an impact on readers, and cause emotions like fear or anxiety (Sarikakis, 2017) stating something as “illegal stream” or “million refugees flee the country”. Media like to decide without a reason and name some of these people “deserving” and “undeserving” (Gillespie et al., 2016), labeling attempt of people to get into Europe as trespassing and threatening. In articles like this media tend to emphasize the fact that this would add expenses to citizens of the European countries, and the costs are high. Such discussion topics as criminality and costs of supporting refugees, social contradictions and the range of migration issue in general lead to the emerging of a panic and negative attitude towards refugees and migrants in society (Banks, 2011). Media use these worries supported by right-wing politician statements in order to justify the negative way of covering refugees (Baylis, Smith & Owens, 2017).

Another important point that explains the negative tone of coverage towards refugees is that media do not provide a space for refugees’ and migrants’ voice, referring to these people as some faceless crowd (Sarikakis, 2017). Only in rare cases and examples (as has been referred above) media tell their audience something about refugees, drawing readers’ attention to the story of a person. In addition discourse analysis has shown that extremely often media do not define the difference between

refugees and migrants, and allow the audience to see these two words with a different explanation as synonyms.

Likewise positive coverage, amount of negative articles also matches the timeline of events that have happened in the observed period, and that confirms H2.2. The increases of negative coverage have checked with the following occasions: Austria builds a fence on the border with Italy and the Parliament of the country introduces “special measures” if a big amount of people is coming to the country (April 2016), protests in Macedonia in Idomeni Refugees Camp (April 2016), in July 2016 Hungary announced their decision to hold on a referendum so that citizens of the country could express their agreement or disagreement with the EU quotas, or the end of Calais Camp for refugees and arising issues because of that (October 2016).

This is also followed by another explanation of a negative coverage and supports H2.2: political announcements and phrases of politicians that media spread widely (see Figure37 and Table 3) are related to the tone of coverage. Many labels that media stick to refugees and migrants are seen in statements of politicians, and they express a solid amount of stereotypes and xenophobia, presenting refugees and migrants as a threat to various aspects of citizens’ life (Sarikakis, 2017). For instance, in June 2016 Sebastian Kurz has said: “There was a phase of uncontrolled influx into Europe”, “Rescue from the Mediterranean Sea shall not mean a ticket to Central Europe” and “Europe can collapse because of the refugee crisis and uncontrolled immigration”. Theresa May in July 2016 has expressed a need for more control and restriction regarding migration: “We must have an immigration system that allows us to control who comes into our country”, “Britain does not need net immigration in the hundreds of thousands every year... not every person coming to Britain right now is a skilled electrician, engineer or doctor... there is no case, in the national interest, for immigration on the scale we have experienced over

the last decade”. In October 2016 when the percentage of negative coverage has reached its maximum in the observed period (almost 20% of articles) May has announced: “We must control who comes to our country”, and Kurz has stated: “The European Union should no longer cling desperately to it [the refugee quota plan], Europe should say goodbye to it”. Much more politics like Angela Merkel, Viktor Orban, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Wolfgang Sobotka and others have stated their opinion and position, therefore creating sort of an image that media pass to their audience.

International regulations also play an important role in media discourse around refugees and migrants. Among all international laws that we have analysed in a relation to migration process in Europe the most quoted and mentioned by media appeared to be those, which have a connection to illegal and criminal activities (e.g. Border Controls), and talk about the fact that member states of the EU are not fulfilling the migration plan accepted for all countries (e.g. Quota System). Media often talk about complications on borders between countries, especially introduced border controls within Schengen zone, and the rise of the surveillance system and control (Gillespie et al., 2016). Media also tend to emphasize the securitization of the life in terms of migration, talking about the growing control of every state in Europe (Chouliaraki & Georgiou, 2017). The percentage of mentioning of international laws in newspaper articles has increased from 42% in the year 2015 to 50% in frames of the current research. This time Border Controls have appeared to be mostly quoted (38% out of 50% articles) and related international regulation regarding refugee ‘crisis’, and as well as in the past study Quota System is still a part of a discourse with 8% of counted articles. When media refer to the quota of refugees per country they approach this topic from various perspectives, for instance, they always report on how economically stable countries like France or Germany are in favor

of this measure, while countries like Romania are against (Baylis, Smith & Owens, 2017). High level of reference to these international laws in the observed articles could be explained in several ways. First of all, the timeline of events illustrates peaks in presence of any international regulation. For instance, Border Controls experience most of the mentions in April 2016 when Austria began to build a fence on the border with Italy at the Brenner Pass, which caused a wave of protests together with the official announcement of the Parliament about a new plan of actions. Also a massive chain of protests happened in the Idomeni Refugee Camp in Greece on the border with Macedonia; in August 2016 when an opposition to Merkel's "refugees welcome" policy started to increase in Germany; and in January 2017 when there were once again several shipwrecks near Libya and near European coast of Mediterranean Sea. When we focus on the Quota System, this regulation has been most mentioned in July 2016 when Hungarian government announced a referendum that aims to ask citizens of the country if they agree or disagree with refugee quota in the EU. Altogether it has been noticed by several researchers that media of "Western" countries in Europe tend to concentrate on these aspects of migration situation, emphasizing issues like control and restriction, instead of talking about human needs, rights, and help for refugees (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017). All at once it supports H1.1 that media prefer Border Controls over Human Rights.

At the same time, speeches of politicians did not ignore international law, and peaks of mentions in media political statements matched the topic. When we talk about Border Controls, in April 2016 Recep Tayyip Erdogan has said about the EU-Turkey deal: "At a time when Turkey is hosting 3 million, those who are unable to find space for a handful of refugees, who in the middle of Europe keep these innocents in shameful conditions, must first to look at themselves"; in August 2016 Angela Merkel has said: "We didn't embrace the problem in an appropriate way. That goes as well for protecting

the external border of the Schengen area”; and in January 2017 Merkel again has said: “If we do not succeed, that every country would introduce border controls”. And if we take a look at Quota System, its increase of media attention in July 2016 was accompanied by a statement of Theresa May: “There are millions of people in poorer countries who would love to live in Britain, and there is a limit to the amount of immigration any country can and should take. We must have an immigration system that allows us to control who comes into our country”. Such talks also have a powerful impact on society’s perception of refugee ‘crisis’: putting everything in this way media divert the audience from humanitarian catastrophe and a fact that everything that is happening now is a matter of an international scale, but rather focus on closed borders and national level of this issue (Sarikakis, 2017).

What has changed is a presence of Human Rights, there has been a switch to more references, but still, the total number of 10% from half of the collected articles is not as noticeable as 38% for Border Controls. The most vivid appearance of Human Rights in the reporting has been noticed in May 2016 when the EU Commission proposed to introduce fines for countries who are trying to ignore quota of refugees and do not fulfil their promise to help refugees, and at the same time a Syrian refugee has been shot at the Slovakian-Hungarian border; in September 2016 when there have been several shipwrecks and many thousands of people died; and in April 2017 when there has been registered a fire in the refugee camp in France, luckily no one has dies, but hundreds of people were missing without sufficient food, clothes, money, knowledge of the language, etc. These events are also supported by the following politicians’ quotes: in May 2016 Dimitris Avramopoulos has said: “If the current refugee crisis has shown something, then it is that the status quo of the general European asylum system is not an option”; in

September 2016 Tom Brake has said: “The plight of hundreds of children, a significant number of whom have a legal right to live in the UK, is being ignored. Some have died waiting for our government to act. This is disgraceful”; and in April 2017 Jean- Claude Juncker has stated: “On the other hand we have felt that refugees tragedy should not only be a problem of Greece and Italy, but a European problem”.

One of the few laws observed that had a relation to the positive manner of reporting appeared to be the Dubs Agreement, as most articles talking about suffering children, seeking for help sound so that people notice first of all an image of a child that needs help (Chouliaraki, 2010). Some of these articles invite the audience to contribute, support and encourage suffering children, sharing images, quotes, and facts about children in need (Chouliaraki, 2017). The Dubs Agreement has been introduced after the first study of 2015 has been conducted and been included in the observation only in the current research, which is also a part of the difference between media coverage patterns in years 2015 and 2017 (H3).

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Appendix

1. Figures

Figure 1. Elements of the political communication (McNair, 2011, P.6).

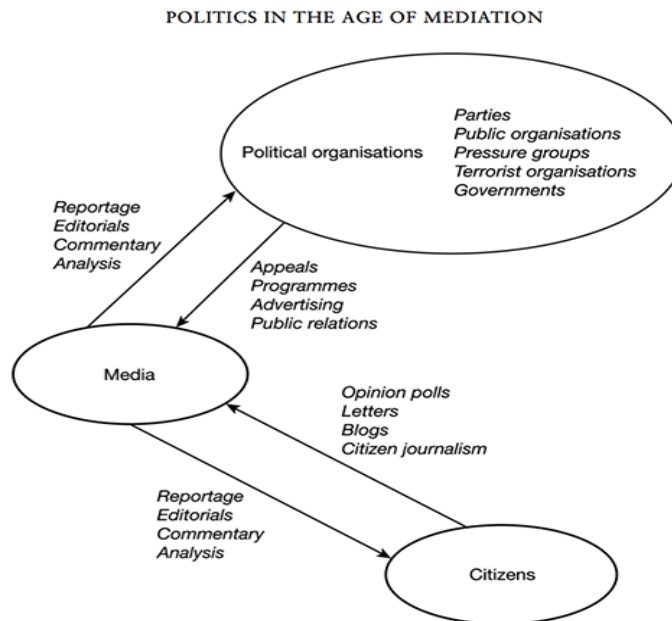


Figure 2. Actors of the political, and media communication.

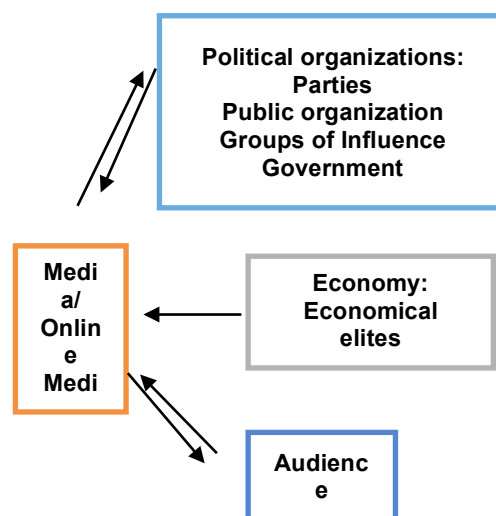


Figure 3. Split of the total amount of articles per media of different countries (April 2016 – April 2017).

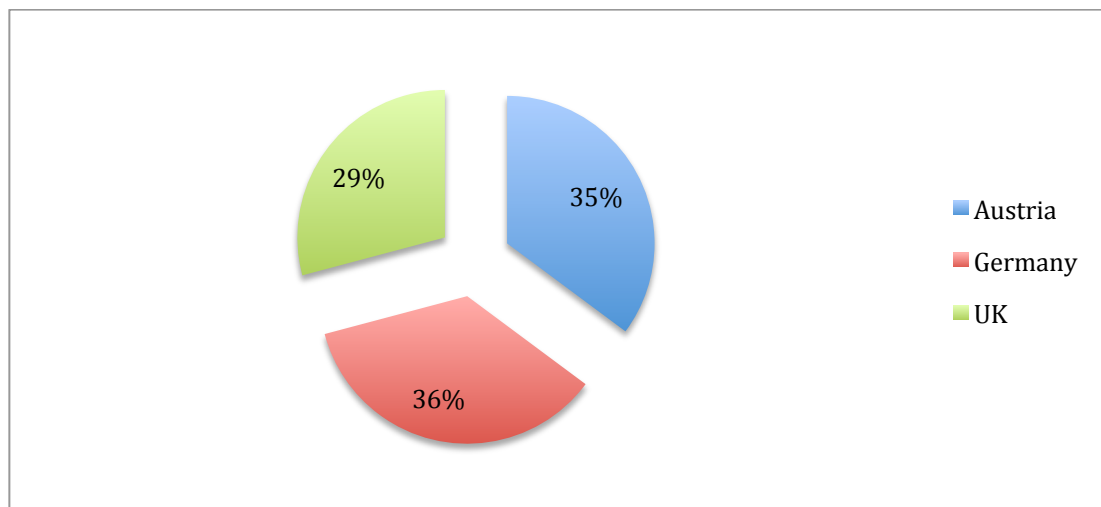


Figure 4. Amount of articles from 9 online media per month (April 2016 – April 2017).

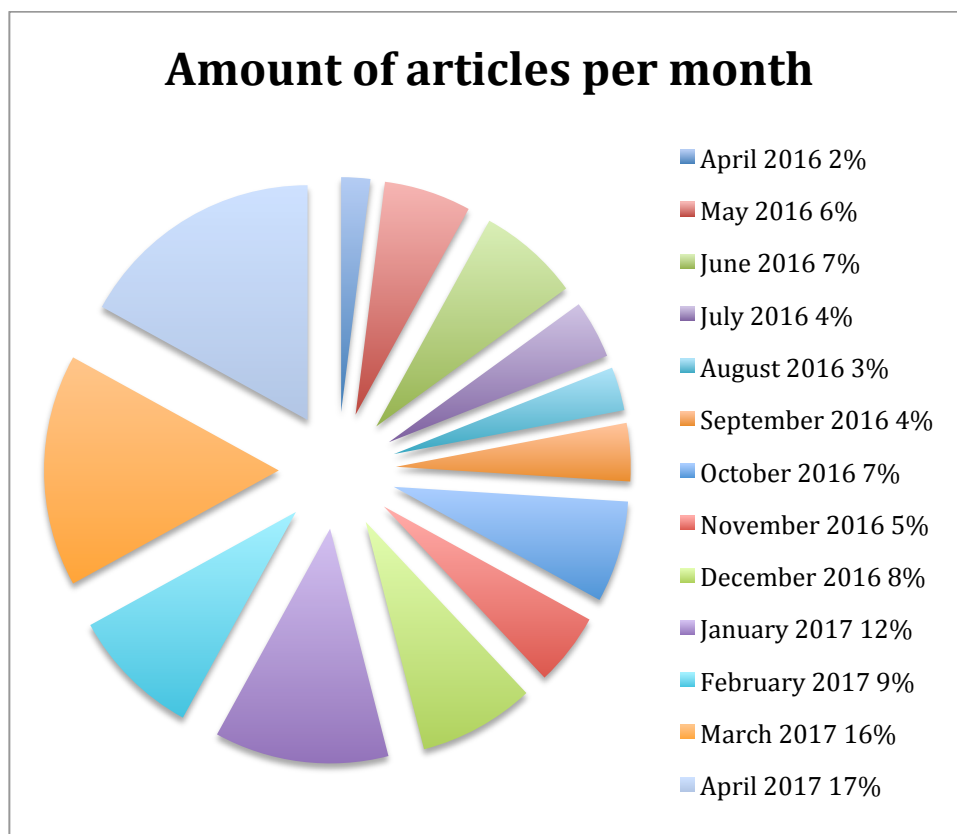


Figure 5. Flow of the events connected to the migration in Europe in the observed period (April 2016 – April 2017).

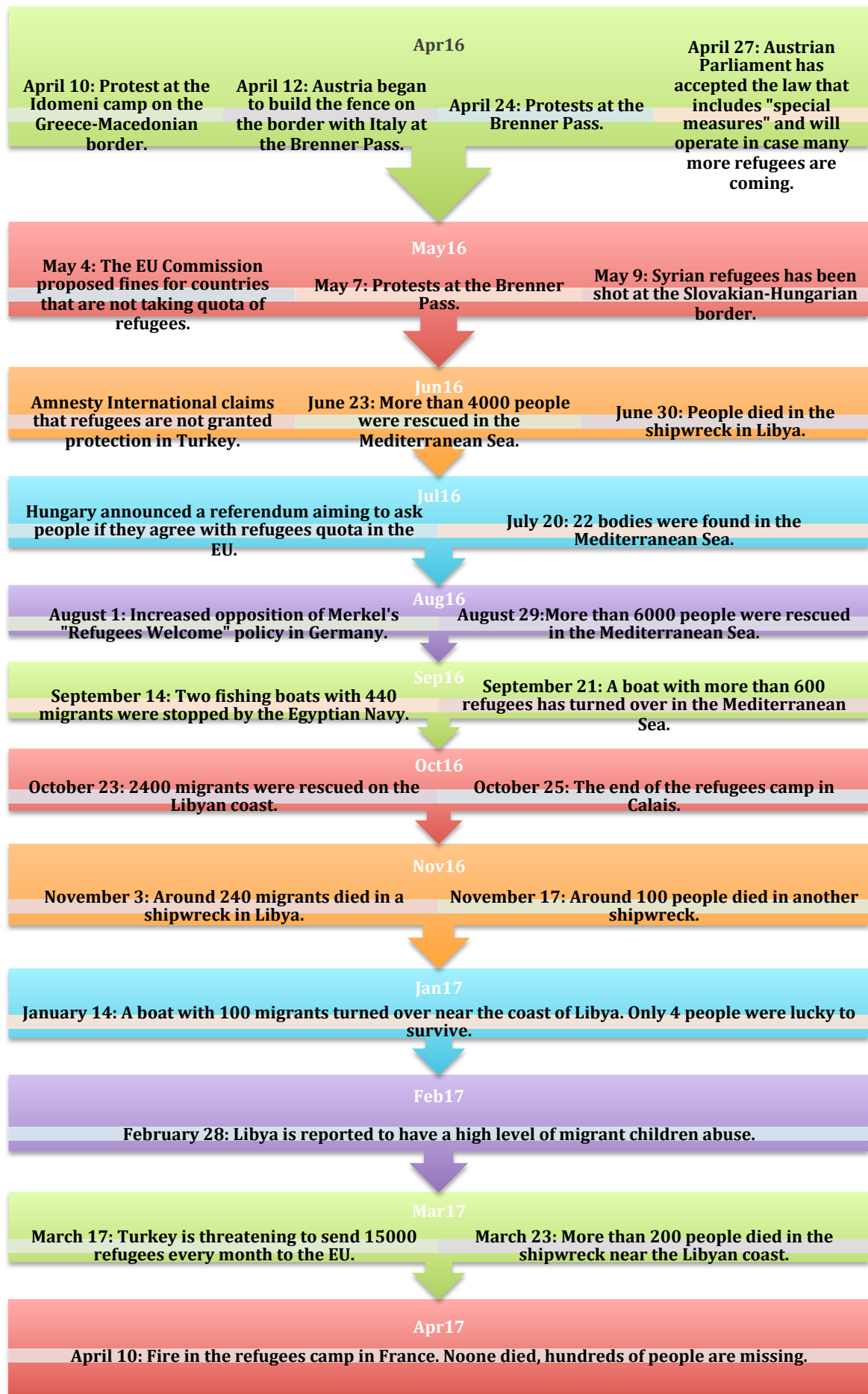


Figure 6. Flow of the events connected to the migration crisis in April 2015 – September 2015 (Filimonova, Lieb & Číhalová, 2016).

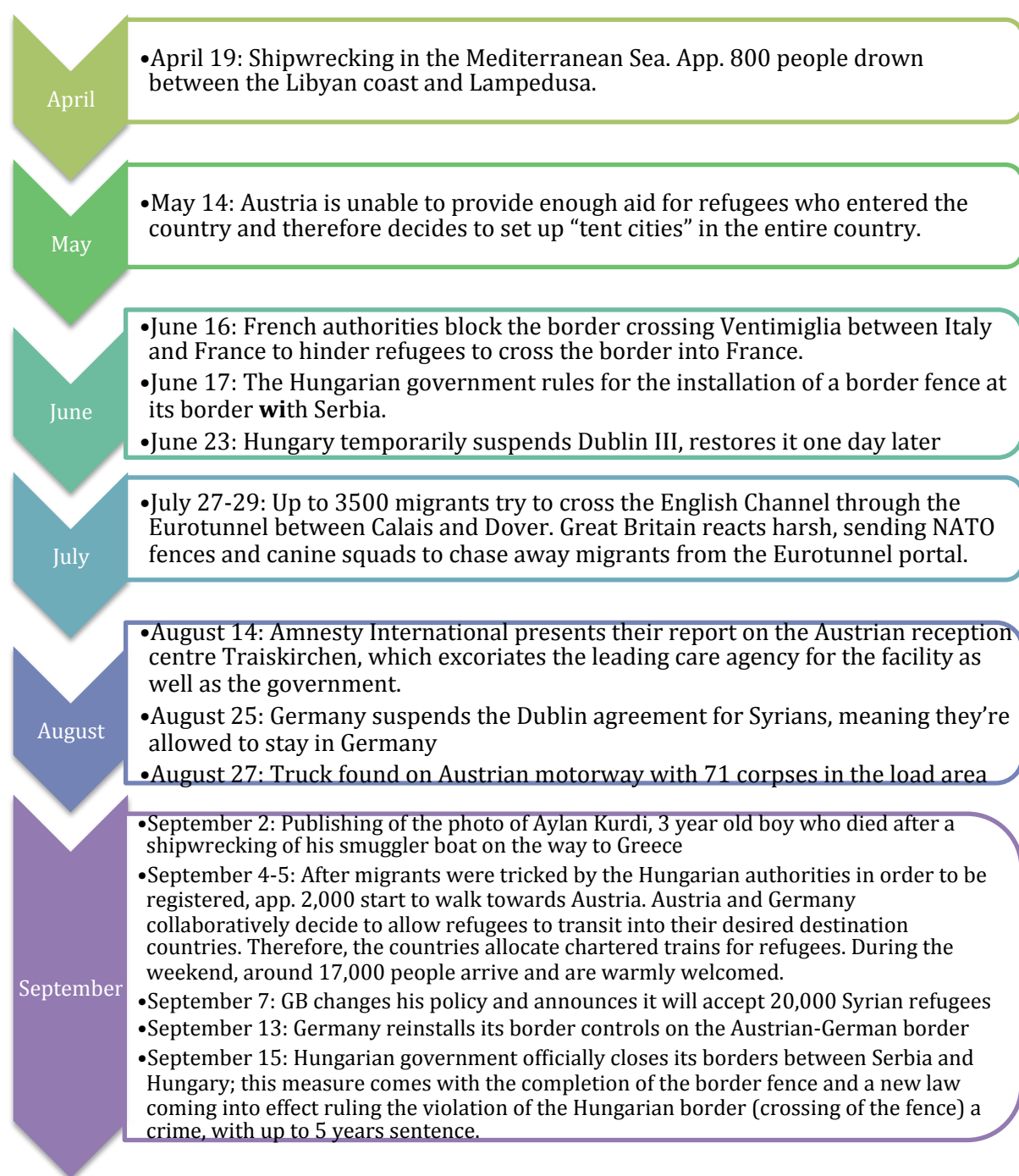


Figure 7. Mentions of certain countries in observed articles (April 2016 – April 2017).

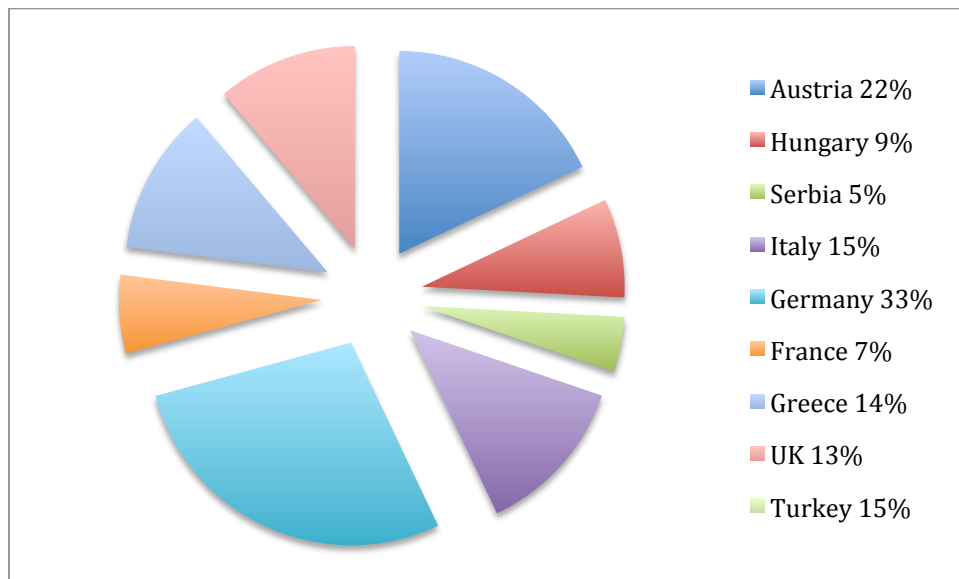


Figure 8. Mentions of certain countries in observed articles (April 2015 – September 2015).

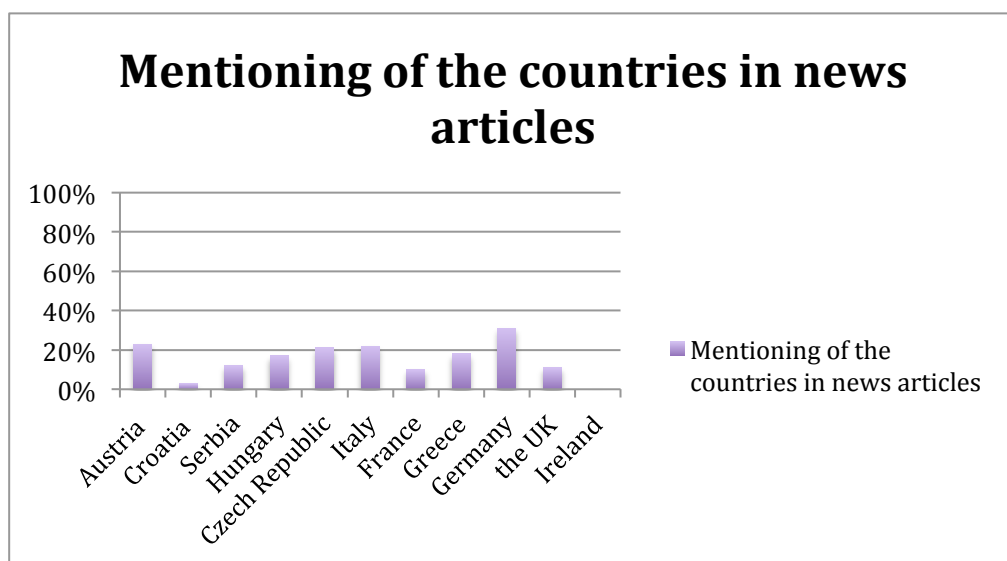


Figure 9. Mentioning of supranational organizations (April 2016 – April 2017).

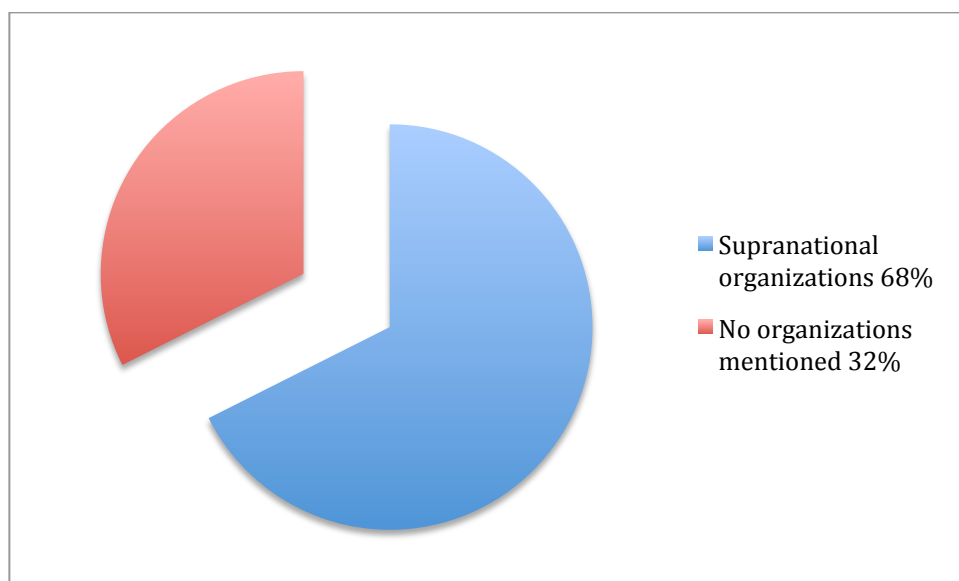


Figure 10. Mentioning of the following supranational organizations out of 68% of the whole amount of articles (April 2016 – April 2017).

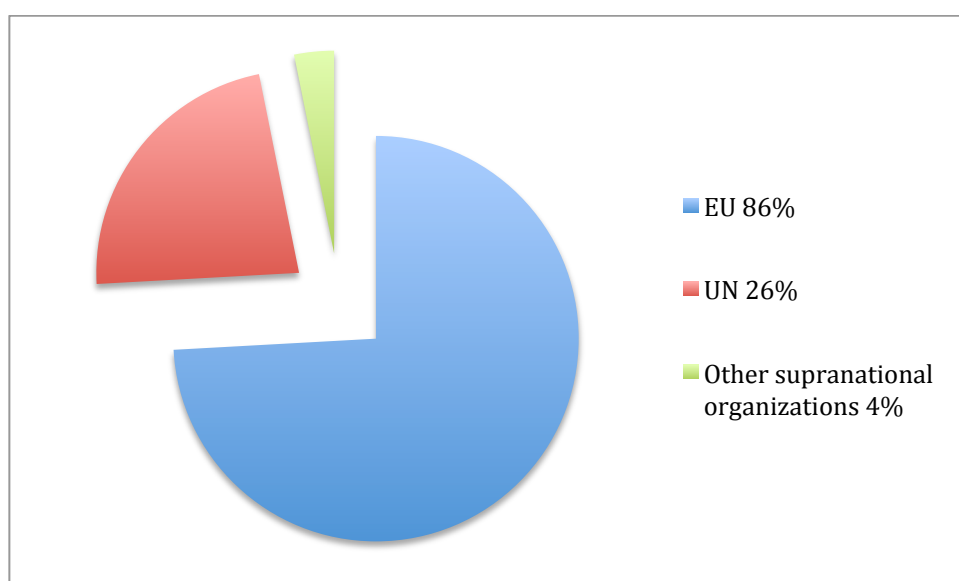


Figure 11. Mentions of supranational organizations in media coverage (April 2015 – September 2015).

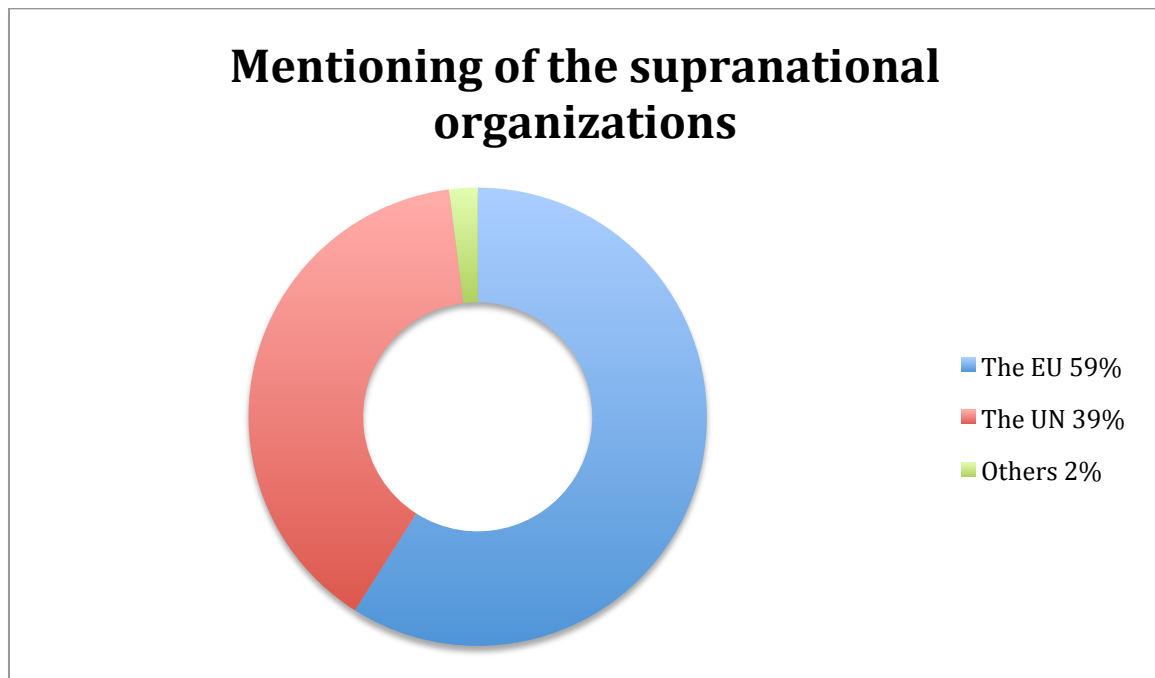


Figure 12. Relation to the UN with a mentioning of specific agencies out of 26% of the total articles (April 2016 – April 2017).

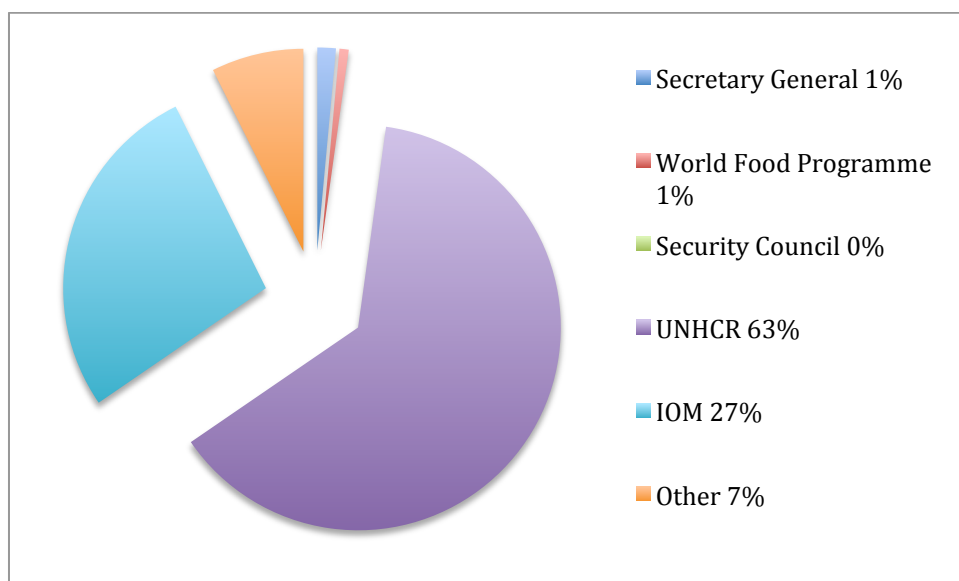


Figure 13. Relation of the article to the UN in 728 articles (April 2015 – September 2015).

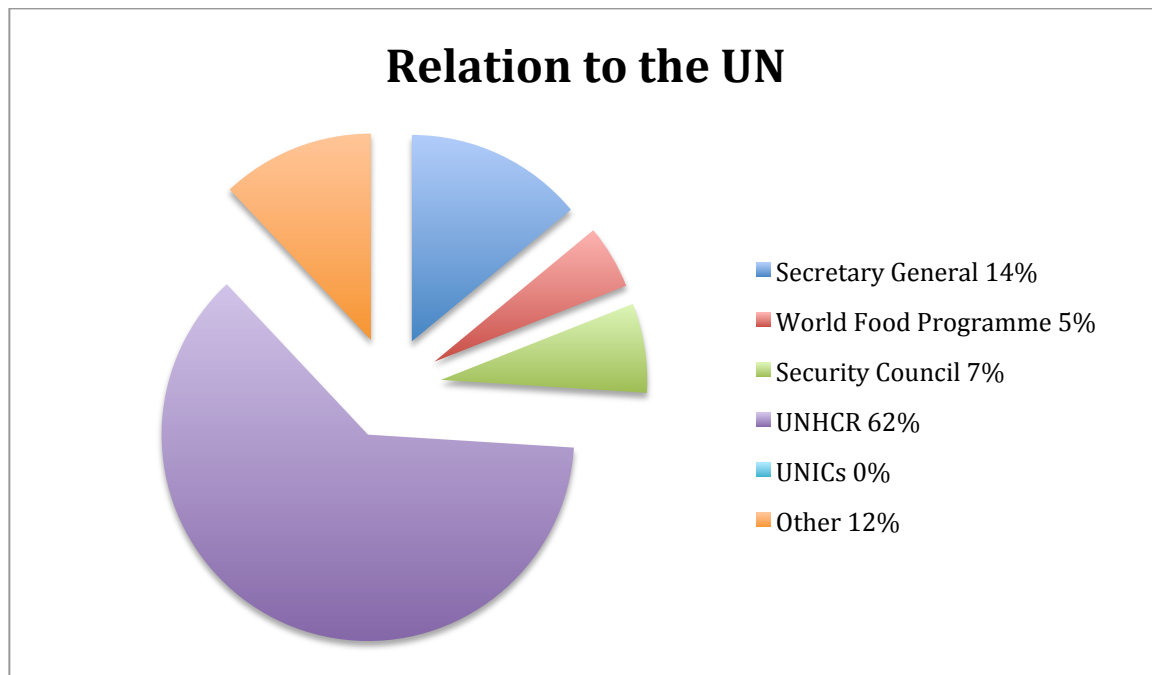


Figure 14. Mentions of countries with a relation to the supranational organizations (April 2016 – April 2017).

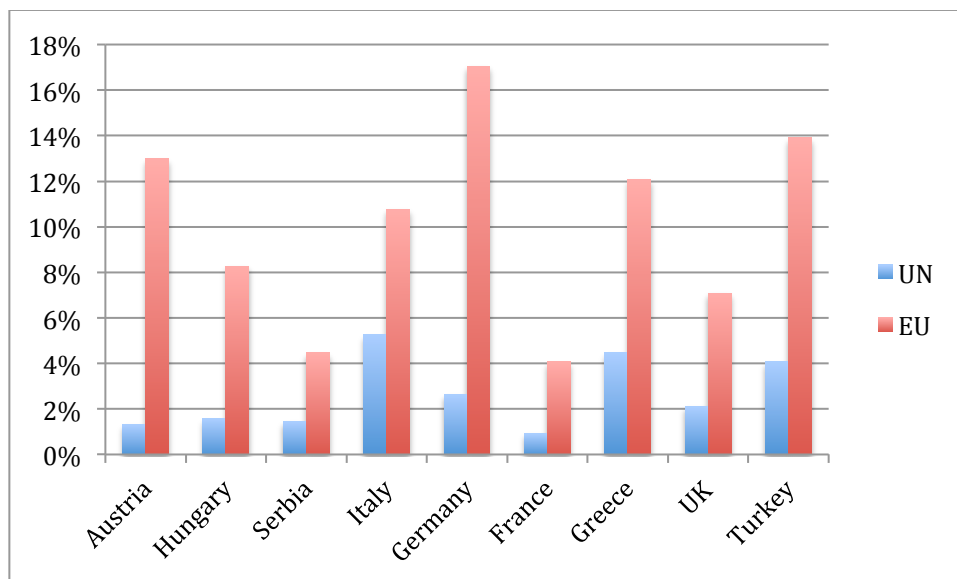


Figure 15. Mentioning of supranational organizations in articles from different countries (April 2016 – April 2017).

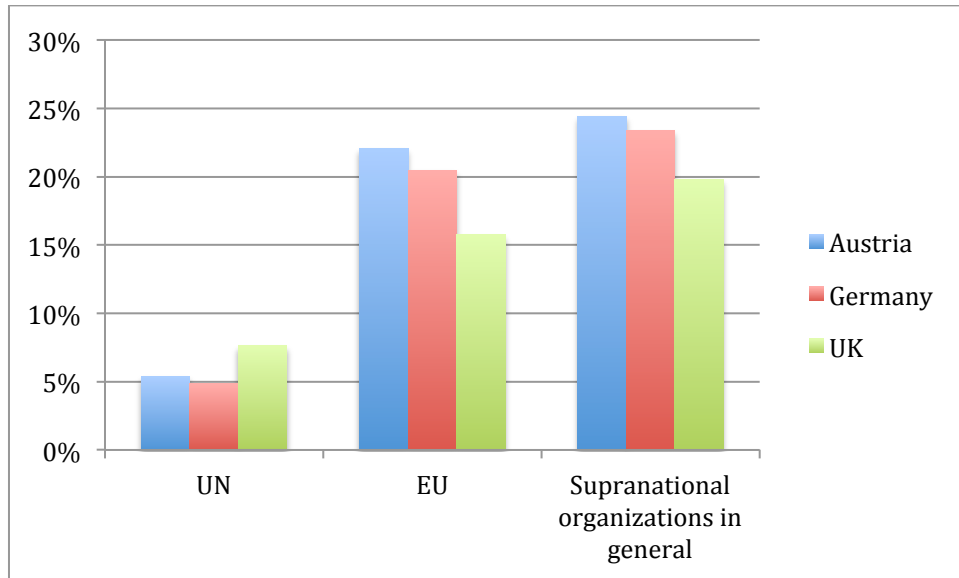


Figure 16. Mentioning of the supranational organization per country (April 2015 – September 2015).

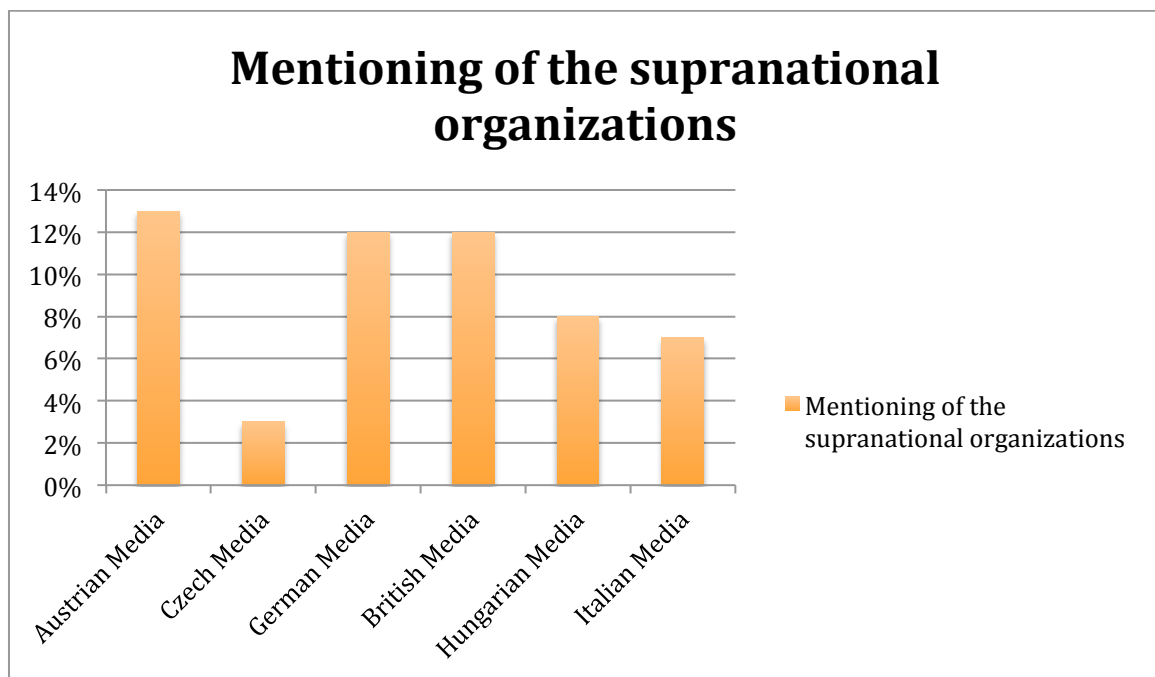


Figure 17. Relation between the EU and countries in media coverage (April 2015 – September 2015).

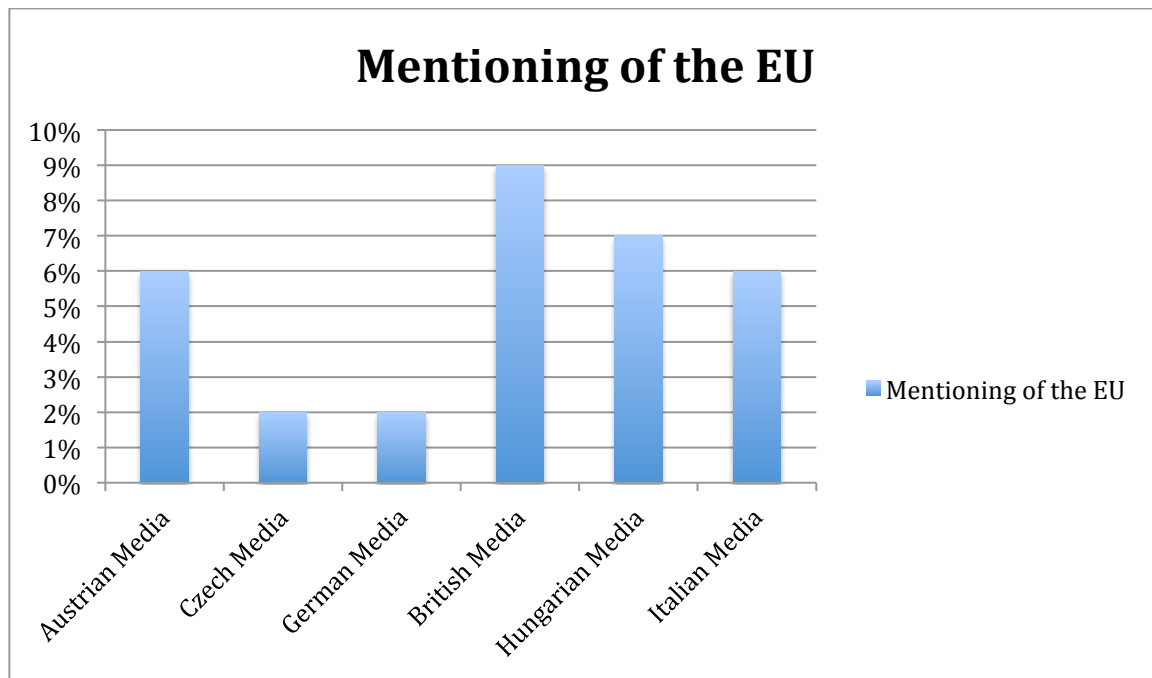


Figure 18. Relation between the UN and countries in media coverage (April 2015 – September 2015).

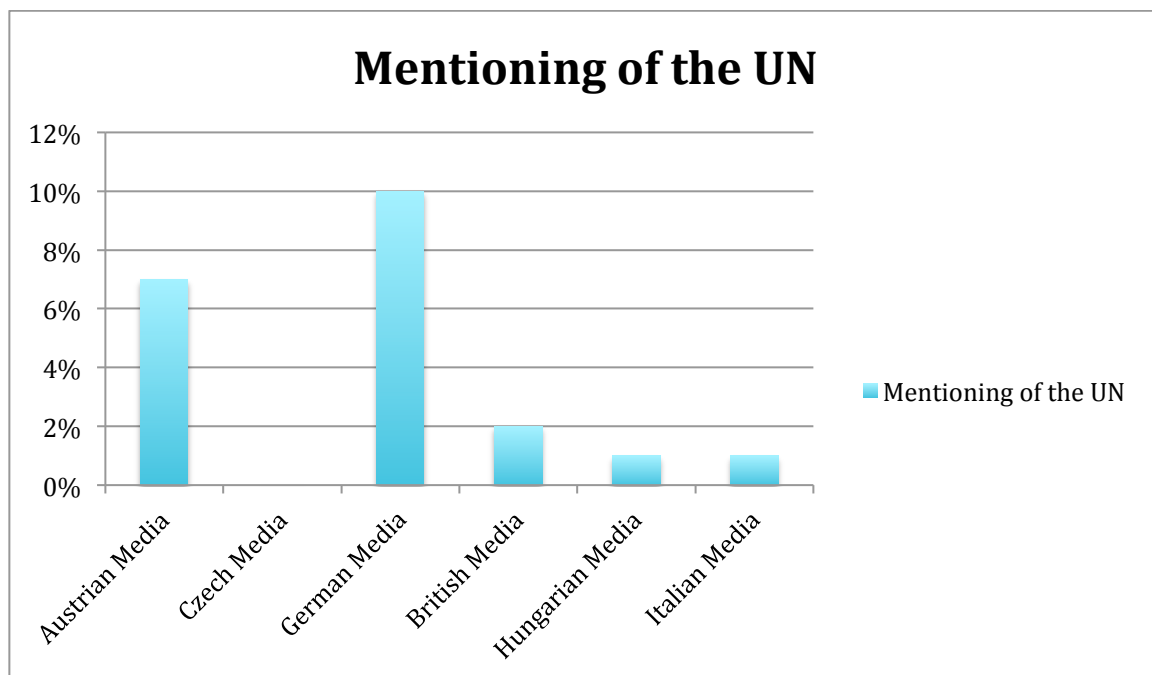


Figure 19. 50% of articles contained mentioning of the international laws, and this is a division of them (April 2016 – April 2017).

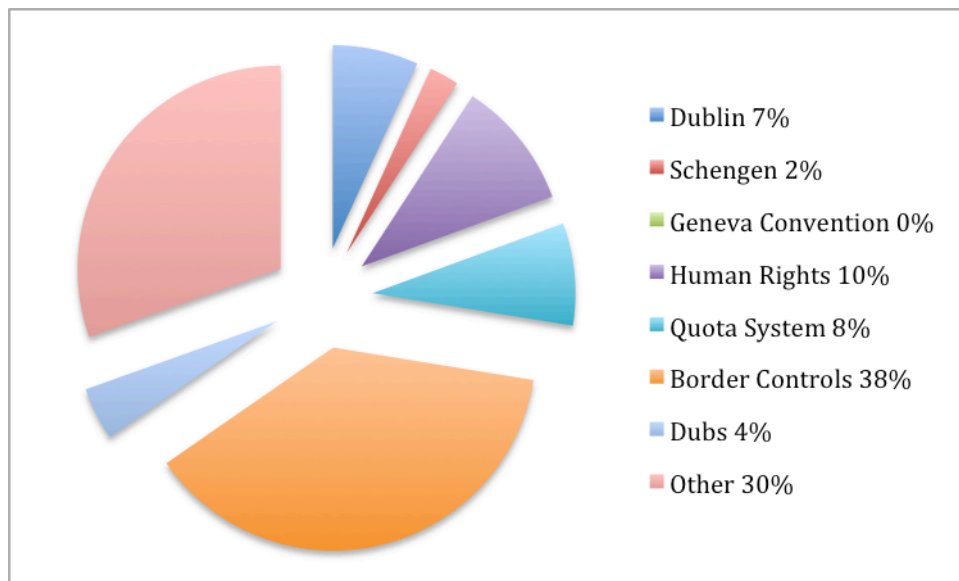


Figure 20. Mentioning of laws and regulation regarding the migration crisis in Europe (April 2015 – September 2015).

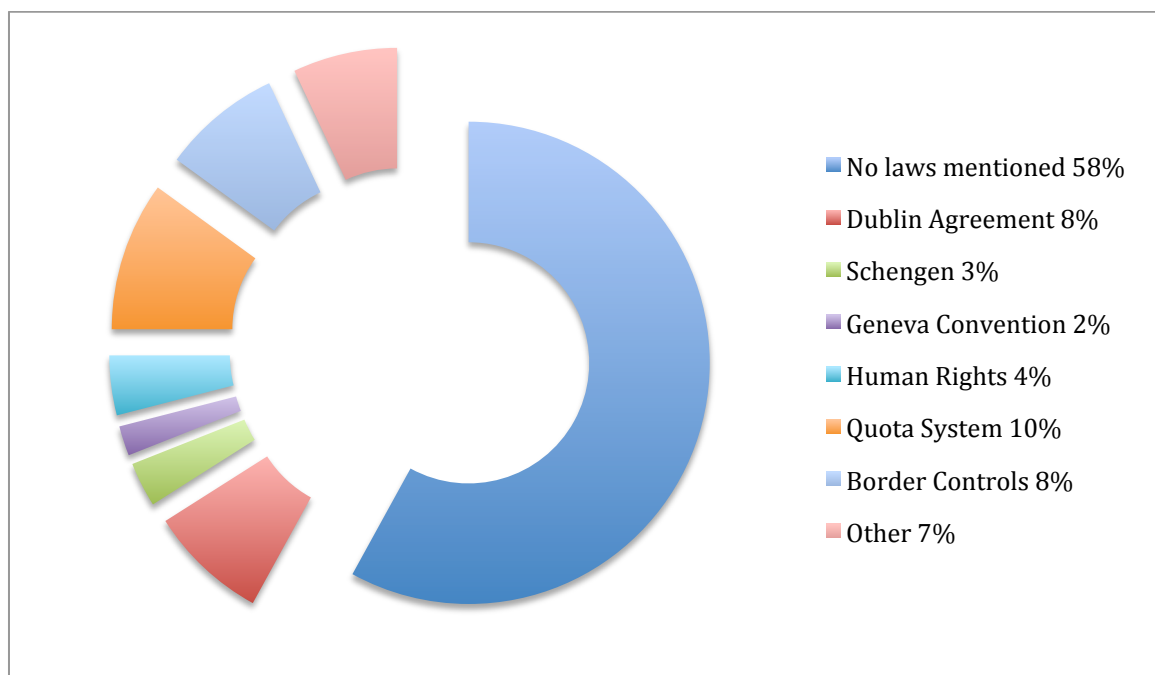


Figure 21. Timeline of mentioning international laws.

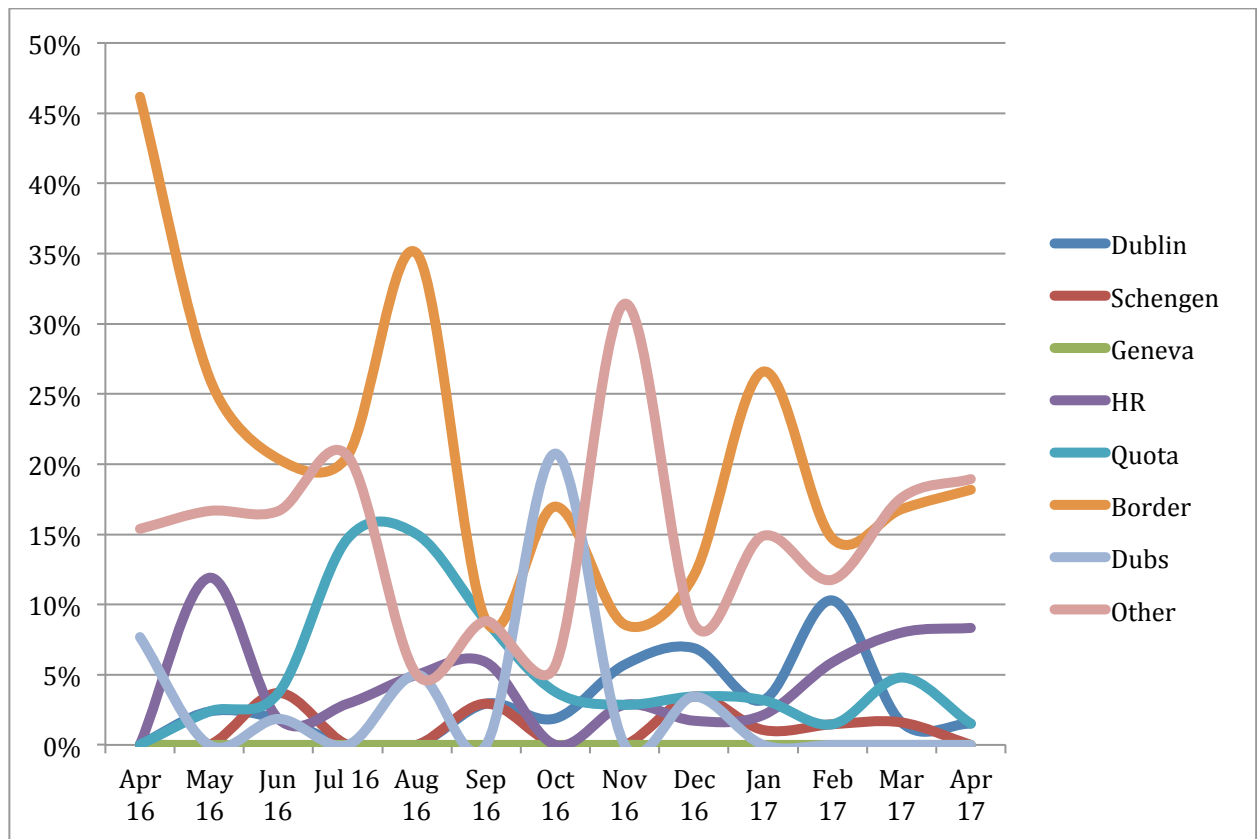


Figure 22. Evolving of the laws mentions in media coverage per month (April 2015 – September 2015).

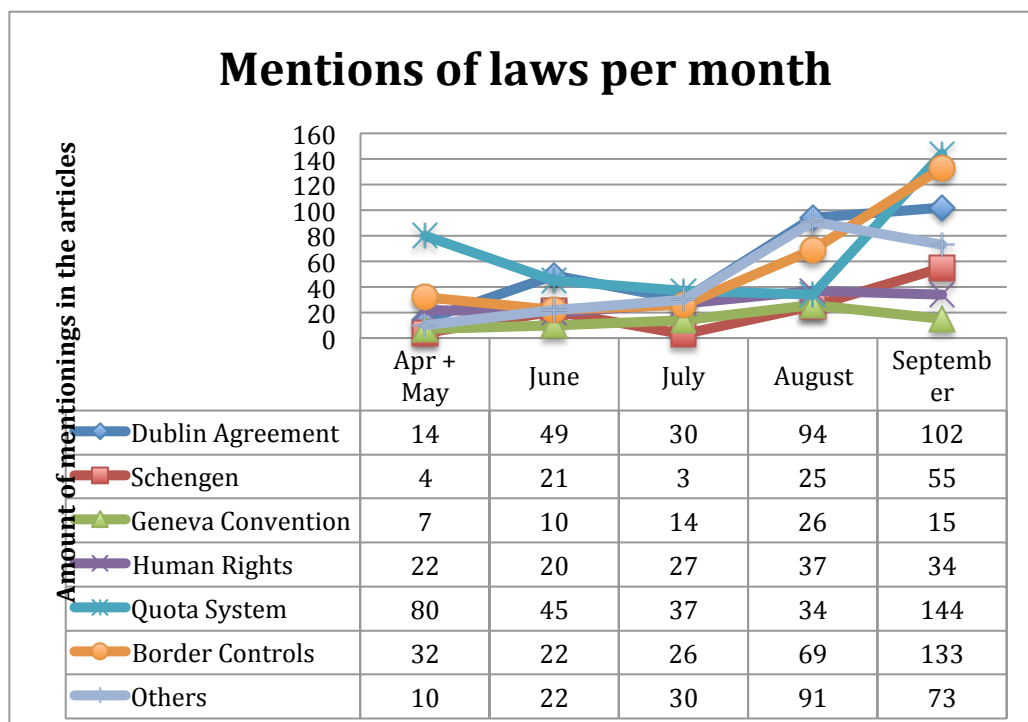


Figure 23. Mentions of international laws with a relation to the UN and the EU (April 2016 – April 2017).

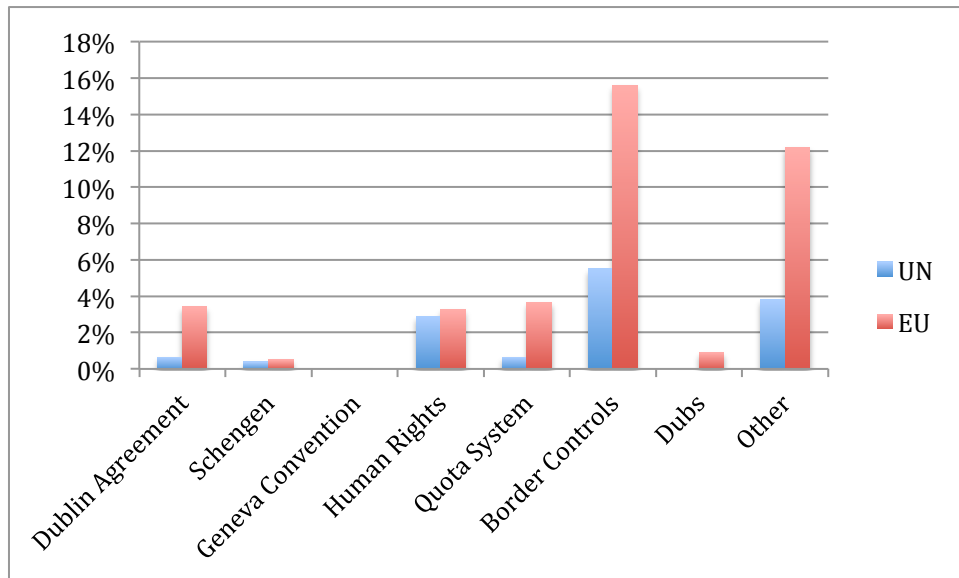


Figure 24. Relation of the UN and international laws with the tone of coverage (April 2016 – April 2017).

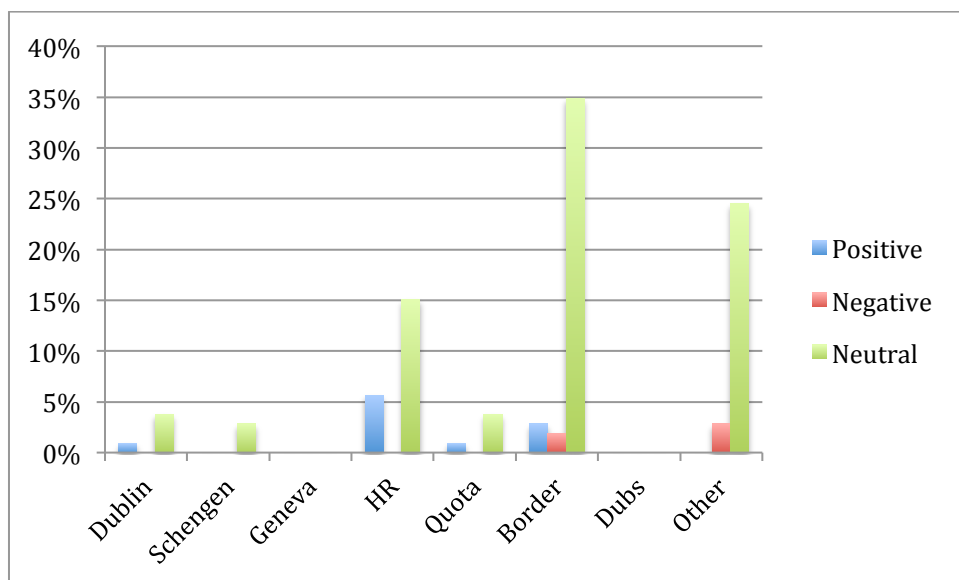


Figure 25. Relation of the EU and international laws with the tone of coverage (April 2016 – April 2017).

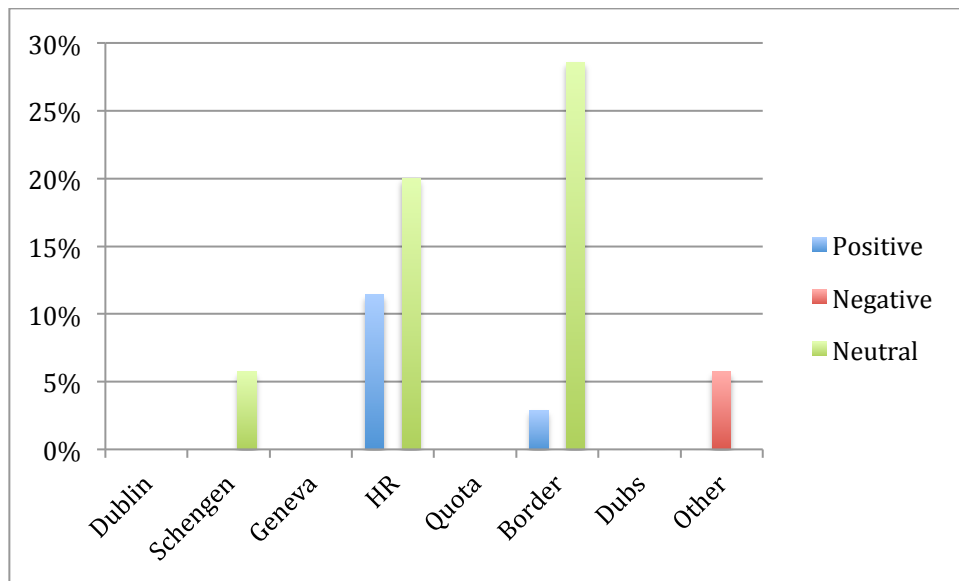


Figure 26. Relation between the EU and international laws (April 2015 – September 2015).

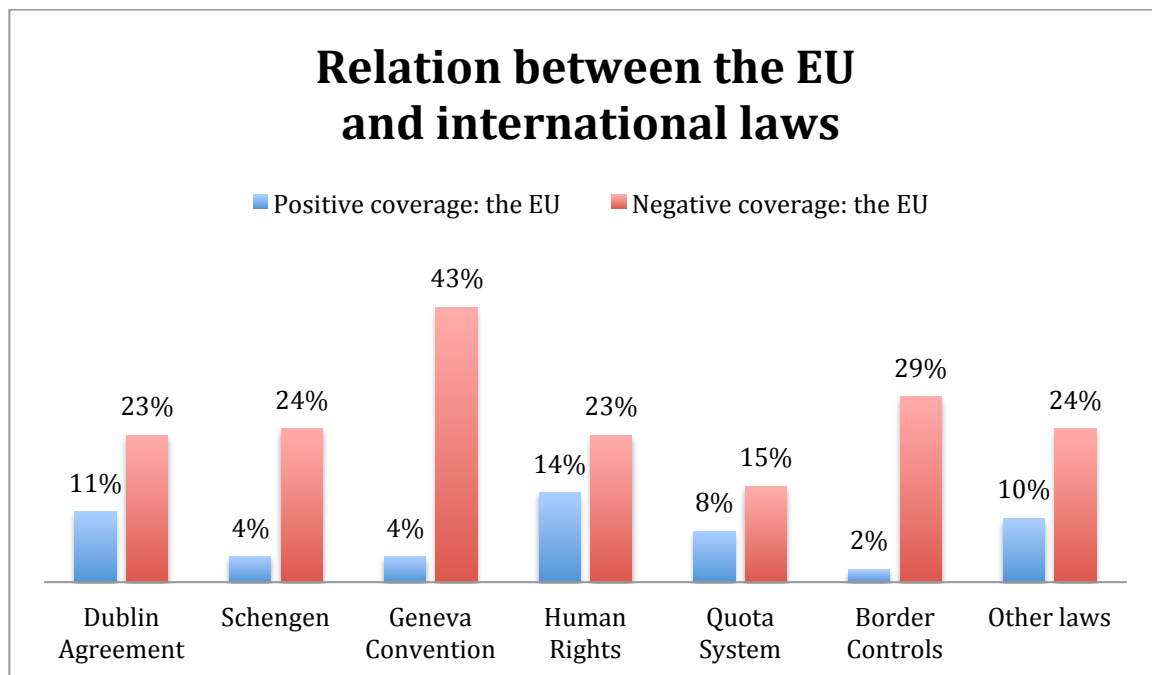


Figure 27. Relation between the UN and international laws (April 2015 – September 2015).

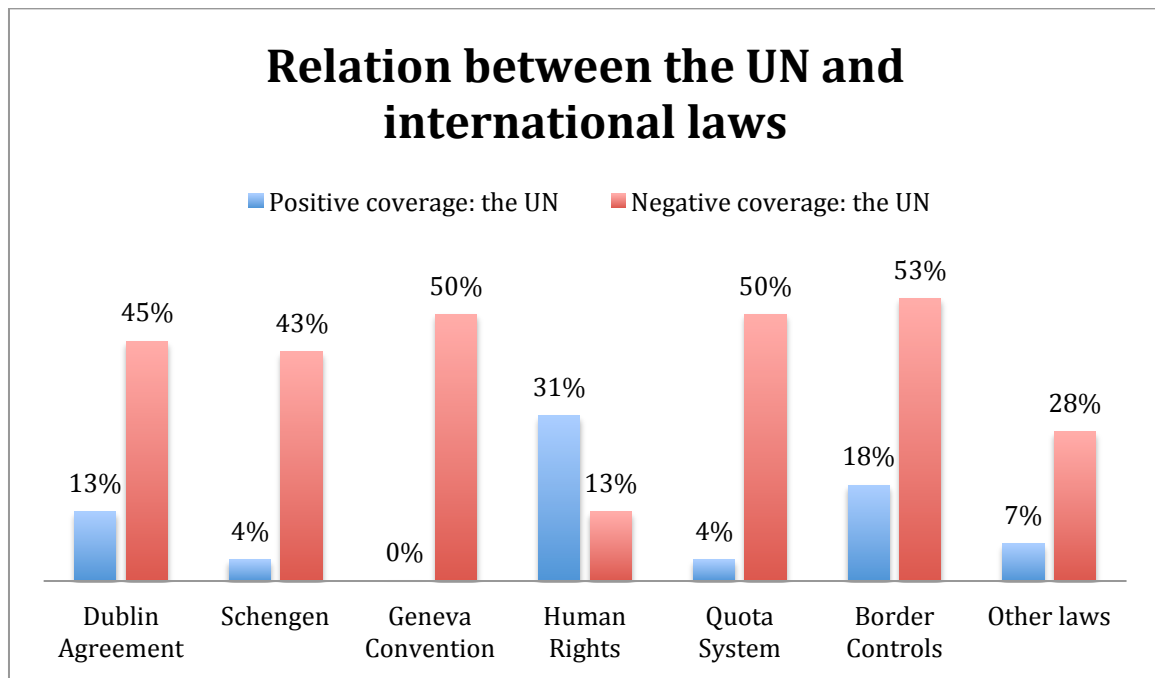


Figure 28. Tone of coverage (April 2016 – April 2017).

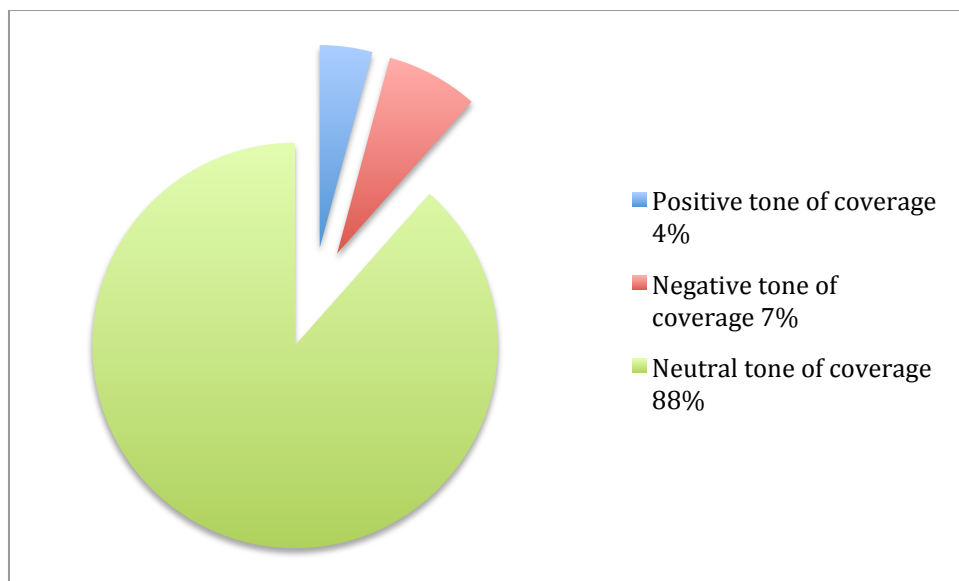


Figure 29. Tone of coverage in all analyzed articles (April 2015 – September 2015).

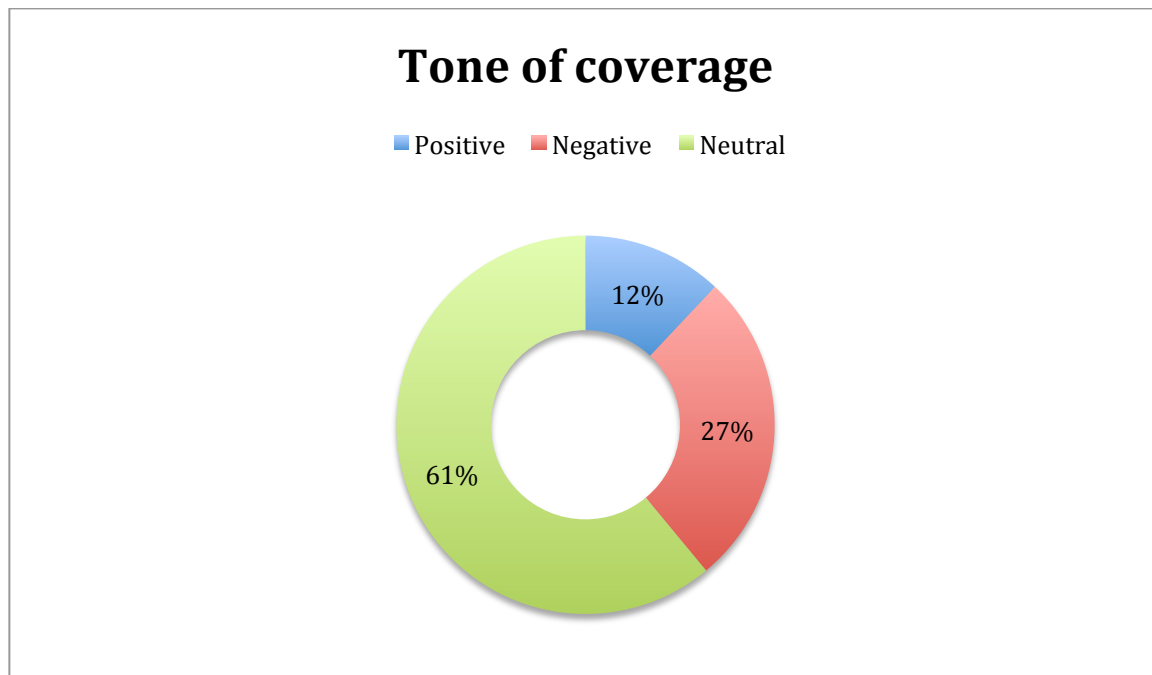


Figure 30. Positive and negative percentage of coverage per month (April 2016 – April 2017).

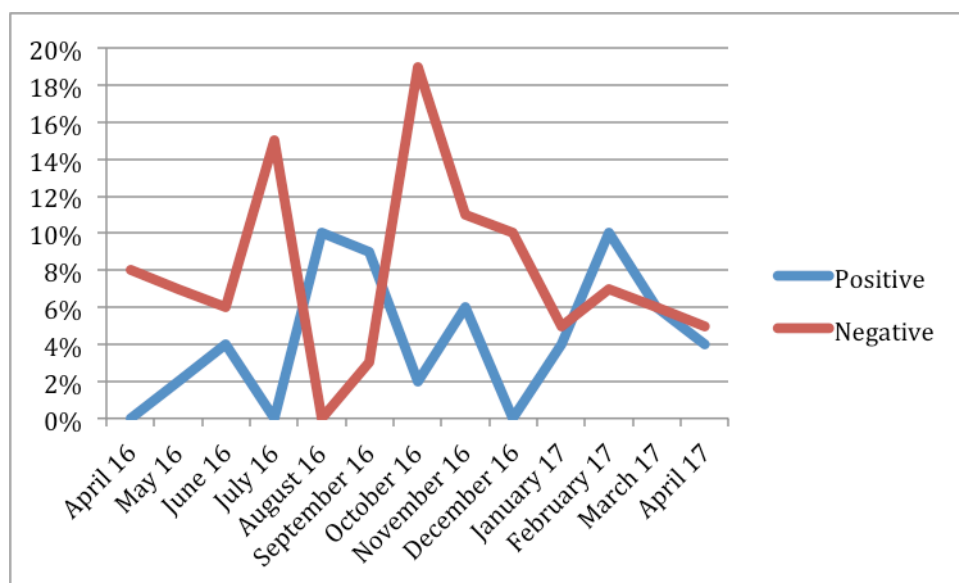


Figure 31. Mentions of countries in the articles and the tone of coverage (April 2016 – April 2017).

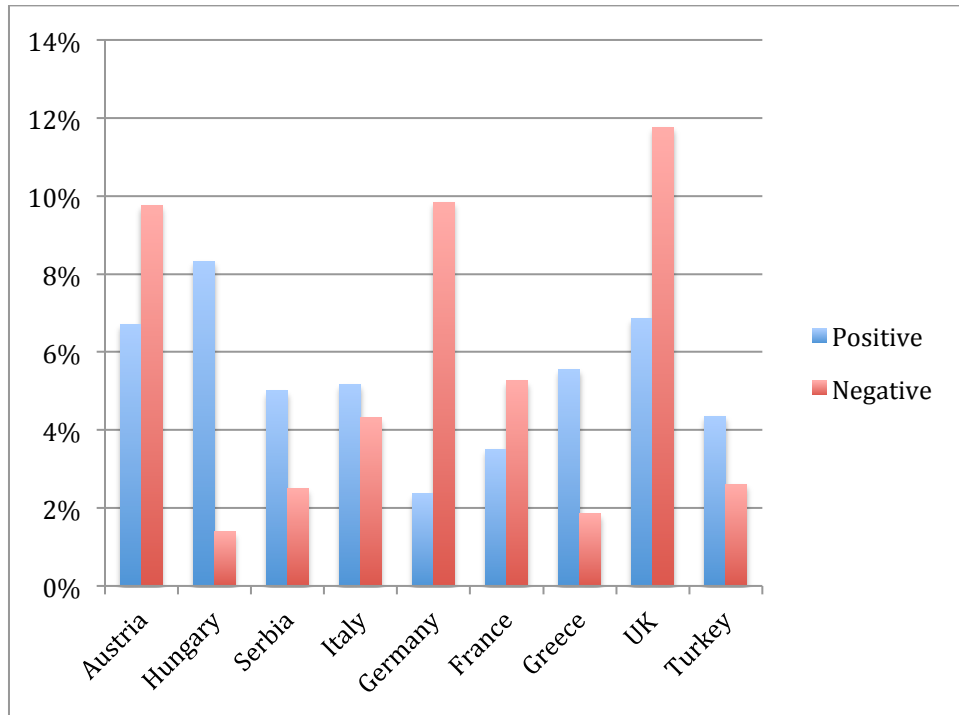


Figure 32. Austrian media: positive and negative tone of coverage per month (April 2016 – April 2017).

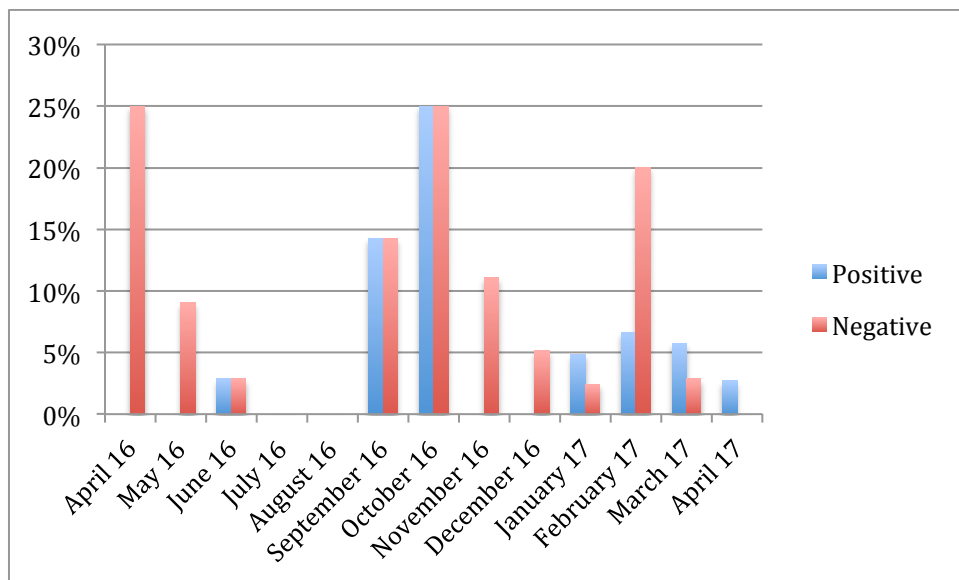


Figure 33. German media: positive and negative tone of coverage per month (April 2016 – April 2017).

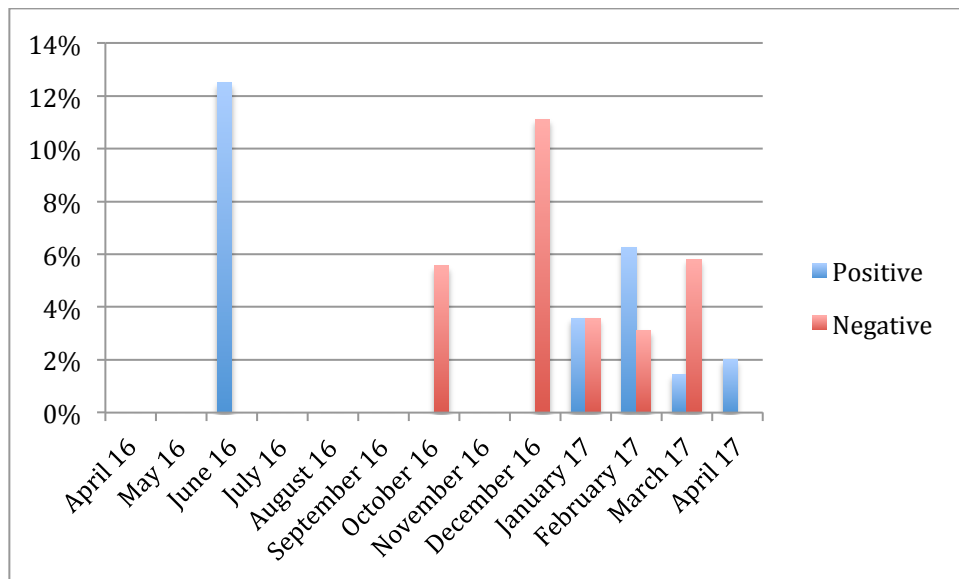


Figure 34. British media: positive and negative tone of coverage per month (April 2016 – April 2017).

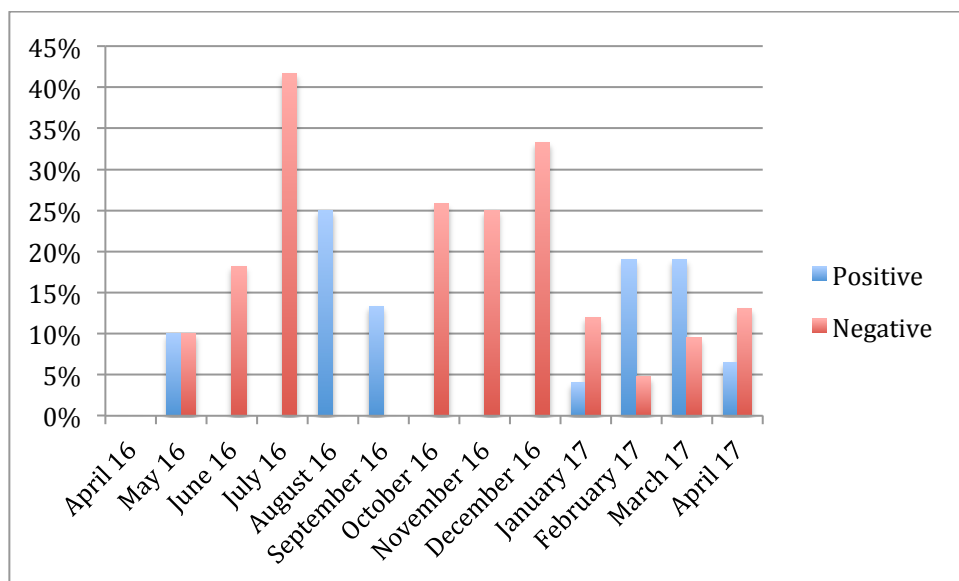


Figure 35. Tone of coverage in media articles per country (April 2015 – September 2015).

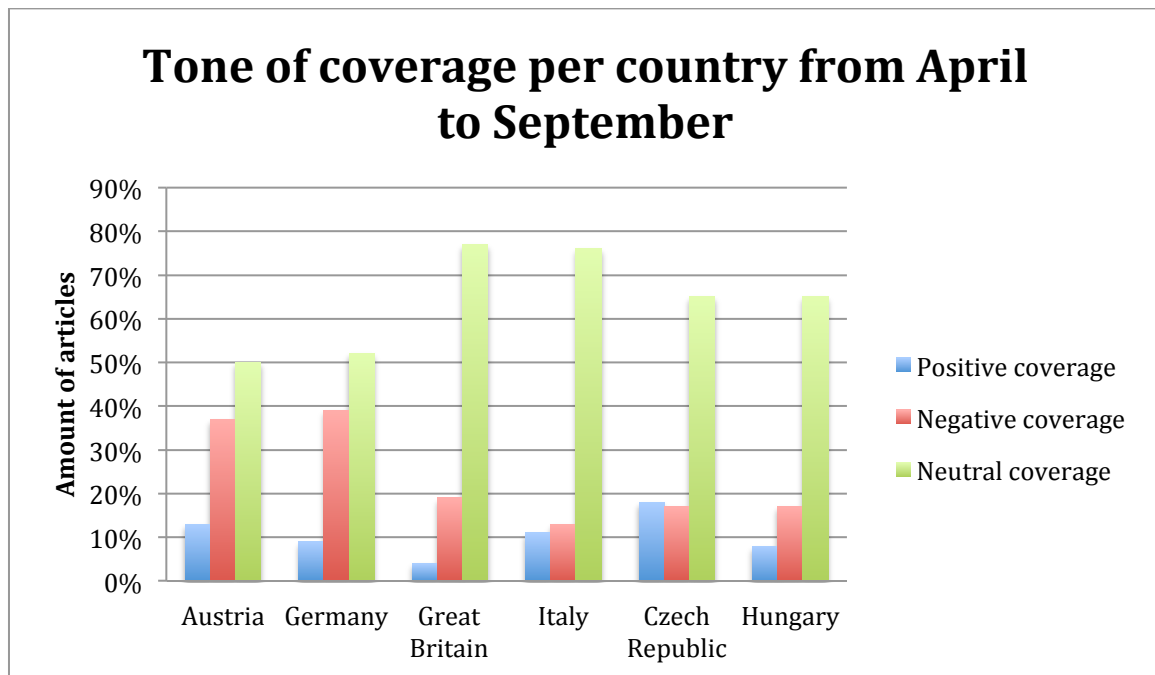


Figure 36. Relation between international laws and tone of coverage (April 2016 – April 2017).

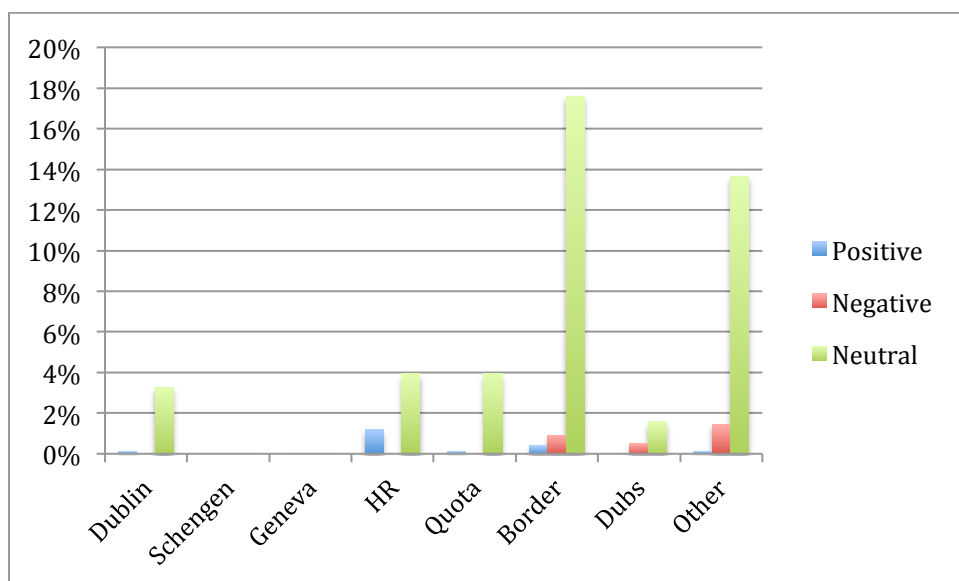
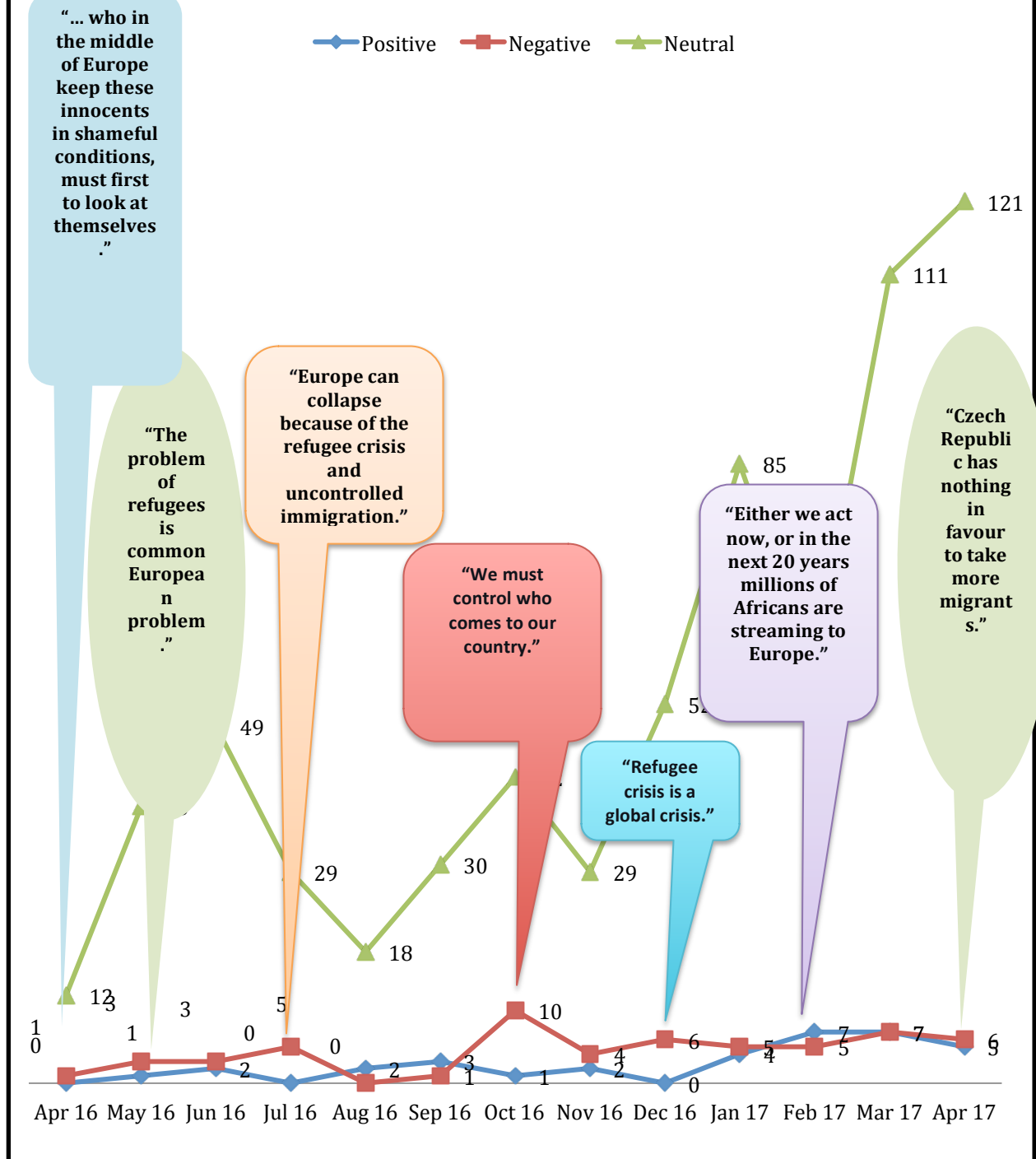


Figure 37. Timeline with a tone of coverage and quotes of politicians (April 2016 – April 2017).

Tone of coverage on refugees



2. Tables

Table 1. Content analysis sample size: media articles from April 2016 to April 2017.

Country of media	Media	Sample size
Austria	ORF	268 articles
	Der Standard	
	Kronen Zeitung	
Germany	Bild	274 articles
	Spiegel	
	Süddeutsche Zeitung	
The UK	The Guardian	222 articles
	The Times	
	The Daily Mail	
		Total sample size: 764 articles

Table 2. Content analysis sample size: media articles from April 25th 2015 to September 15th 2015.

Country of media	Media	Sample size
Austria	ORF	810 articles
	Der Standard	
	Kronen Zeitung	
Germany	Bild	853 articles
	Spiegel	
	Süddeutsche Zeitung	
The UK	The Guardian	591 articles
	The Times	
	The Daily Mail	
		Total sample size: 2254 articles

Table 3. Timeline of the politicians' quotes related to the issue of migration and refugees in Europe (April 2016 – April 2017).

April 2016
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 20.04.2016 Recep Tayyip Erdogan: "At a time when Turkey is hosting 3 million, those who are unable to find space for a handful of refugees, who in the middle of Europe keep these innocents in shameful conditions, must first to look at themselves." • 28.04.2016 Wolfgang Sobotka: "We support all efforts of Rome to resolve the refugees problem through close cooperation with Libya and countries of Maghreb." • 29.04.2016 Tim Farron: "The longer our government pretends this is not their problem the more these orphans lose hope of finding a home, securing an education and living a stable and peaceful life."
May 2016
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 04.05.2016 Dimitris Avramopoulos: "If the current refugee crisis has shown something, then it is that the status quo of the general European asylum system is not an option." • 05.05.2016 Angela Merkel: "The problem of refugees is common European problem. We cannot leave Italy alone." • 06.05.2016 Viktor Orban: "Fines are contempt of poorer countries." • 30.05.2016 Recep Tayyip Erdogan: "We can open the doors to Greece and Bulgaria anytime and we can put the refugees on buses [heading to Europe] ... So

how will you deal with refugees if you don't get a deal? Kill the refugees?"

- 30.05.2016 Recep Tayyip Erdogan: "By rewarding refugees who play by the rules and making it clear that illegal immigrants will be sent back to Turkey, we can persuade refugees to avoid risking their lives at sea."
- 31.05.2016 Hans Peter Doskozil: "The situation must be judged step by step."

June 2016

- 01.06.2016 Sebastian Kurz: "The people need to be rescued, but that cannot be packaged with a ticket to Central Europe. That only promotes the influx. We need to become active as fast as possible in Libyan waters, so that the people cannot even embark for Italy."
- 01.06.2016 Sebastian Kurz: "There was a phase of uncontrolled influx into Europe. Many politicians tried to tell the people that this is not a problem in terms of security or integration. Both led to a strengthening of right-wing populist parties, which is not purely an Austrian phenomenon."
- 07.06.2016 Sebastian Kurz: "Rescue from the Mediterranean Sea shall not mean a ticket to Central Europe."
- 07.06.2016 Hans Peter Doskozil: "For all those who are considered to be in need of protection the EU should support a safe way to Europe. And those who does not have a right for asylum must be returned to the country of origin."
- 13.06.2016 Muna Duzdar: "We cannot wait until people receive positive answers on their asylum application, but we shall discuss new perspective and prepare the labour market."

- 20.06.2016 Sandra Frauenberger: "We have a system in which people contribute and receive something. Our goal should be so that these people could possibly fast contribute to the system. They need German courses and jobs."
- 30.06.2016 Sebastian Kurz: "Europe can collapse because of the refugee crisis and uncontrolled immigration."

July 2016

- 05.07.2016 Recep Tayyip Erdogan: "We have a possibility to value and use these people in our country."
- 11.07.2016 Theresa May: "There are millions of people in poorer countries who would love to live in Britain, and there is a limit to the amount of immigration any country can and should take. We must have an immigration system that allows us to control who comes into our country."
- 11.07.2016 Theresa May: "Britain does not need net immigration in the hundreds of thousands every year... not every person coming to Britain right now is a skilled electrician, engineer or doctor... there is no case, in the national interest, for immigration on the scale we have experienced over the last decade."

August 2016

- 25.08.2016 Theresa May: "The best way of helping the most people is not by bringing relatively small numbers of refugees to this country, but by working with the vast numbers who remain in the region."
- 30.08.2016 Angela Merkel "We didn't embrace the problem in an appropriate way. That goes as well for protecting the external border of the Schengen area."

September 2016
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 12.09.2016 Gernot Blümel: "It is a serious example of a lacking accuracy of subsidies in Vienna. Every thing is on the shoulders of tax payers." • 19.09.2016 Angela Merkel: "For some time, we didn't have enough control." • 19.09.2016 Theresa May: "The responsibility [of all countries] to manage borders to reduce onward flows of illegal and uncontrolled migration." • 20.09.2016 Angela Merkel: "No one wants a repeat of last year's situation, including me." • 24.09.2016 Tom Brake: "The plight of hundreds of children, a significant number of whom have a legal right to live in the UK, is being ignored. Some have died waiting for our government to act. This is disgraceful."
October 2016
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 03.10.2016 Sebastian Kurz: "The European Union should no longer cling desperately to it [the refugee quota plan], Europe should say goodbye to it." • 09.10.2016 Theresa May: "We must control who comes to our country."
November 2016
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 03.11.2016 Sebastian Kurz: "As a human, I understand that 100 per cent but it overburdens our system and cannot function. It is not an Austrian phenomenon. Luckily Europe, step by step, recognised that these mass refugee movements to Europe cannot work." • 13.11.2016 Heinz-Christian Strache: "It cannot be so that extremely dangerous persons are financed and cared because of their asylum status: this persons must

be isolated immediately.”

- 25.11.2016 Angela Merkel: “It cannot be so that all young people from Afghanistan come to Germany.”

December 2016

- 02.12.2016 Filippo Grandi: “Refugee crisis is a global crisis.”
- 16.12.2016 Flavio Di Giacomo (IOM): “One route is being closed, and automatically another is opening, and that is the most dangerous.”

January 2017

- 11.01.2017 Thomas de Maizière: “It is important to organize migration flow, control and limit the number of people coming to us.”
- 12.01.2017 Angela Merkel: “If we do not succeed, that every country would introduce border controls.”

February 2017

- 08.02.2017 Robert Goodwill: “The UK can be proud of its record helping refugee children and I can today announce, in accordance with section 67 of the Immigration Act, that the government will transfer the specified number of 350 children pursuant to that section, who reasonably meet the intention and spirit behind the provision.”
- 10.02.2017 Theresa May: “We have been seeing quite a number of children and families being resettled here in the United Kingdom. I think what we are doing in terms of refugees is absolutely right, on top of course of the significant financial support and humanitarian aid we are giving to refugees in the region of Syria –

£2.3bn, the second biggest bilateral donor.”

- 13.02.2017 Recep Tayyip Erdogan: “Our goal is to set up a safety zone of 4000-5000 sq km, that would be free of terrorists.”
- 19.02.2017 Wolfgang Sobotka: “It is therefore necessary to limit pushing in of migrants.”
- 20.02.2017 Martin Schulz: “Either we act now, or in the next 20 years millions of Africans are streaming to Europe.”

March 2017

- 08.03.2017 Viktor Orban: “Migration is a Trojan horse for terrorism.”
- 08.03.2017 Viktor Orban: “We shall let in true refugees. Germans, Dutch, French and Italians, terrified politicians and journalists who here in Hungary want to find the Europe they have lost in their homelands.”
- 09.03.2017 Theresa May: “We’ll introduce strengthened ‘safe return reviews’ – so when a refugee’s temporary stay of protection in the UK comes to an end, or if there is a clear improvement in the conditions of their own country, we will review their need for protection. If their reason for asylum no longer stands and it is now safe for them to return, we will seek to return them to their home country rather than offer settlement here in Britain.”
- 10.03.2017 Filippo Grandi: “... has only gotten worse since the new law introducing mandatory detention for asylum-seekers came into effect.”
- 12.03.2017 Ralf Michelfelder: “In the last year refugees have been related to

criminal actions.”

- 17.03.2017 Dimitris Christopoulos: “Europe is clearly trying to externalise refugee and migrant management by creating buffer zones around the EU or at its periphery, as is the case with Greece. This is a political choice that not only undermines international refugee law and protection but ultimately the democratic values of Europe.”
- 23.03.2017 Nikos Kotzias: “Most of the European countries taking too little amount of refugees from us, and the rework of the asylum procedure is only a little part of what was promised.”
- 25.03.2017 Standard Peter Altmaier: “We express solidarity with Italy. `We have decided this week that every month 500 refugees from Italy would be resettled to Germany.”
- 29.03.2017 Hans Niessl: “Nobody understands that we now in frames of relocation programme should take more refugees.
- 30.03.2017 DM Angela Merkel: “Apart from all the criticism we currently have for Turkey, they did a lot for the 3 million refugees and it's right that Europe would assist Turkey in this matter.”
- 30.03.2017 Guard Angela Merkel said: “We had done too little in the past, that is why we took in refugees – because it was the right thing to do.”

April 2017

- 12.04.2017 Jean- Claude Juncker: “On the other hand we have felt that refugees tragedy should not only be a problem of Greece and Italy, but a European

problem.”

- 16.04.2017 Milan Chovanec: “Czech Republic has nothing in favour to take more migrants.”

3. Articles used in frames of Critical Discourse Analysis

Article 1. *Illegale strömen über Österreich nach Deutschland*. (2017). *Krone.at*.

Retrieved 23 March 2017, from <http://www.krone.at/welt/illegale-stroemen-ueber-oesterreich-nach-deutschland-tausende-seit-jaenner-story-560572>

1 Tausende seit Jänner

2 Illegale strömen über Österreich nach Deutschland

3 Trotz verschärfter Grenzkontrollen in Europa überqueren noch immer täglich Dutzende
4 Migranten illegal die deutsche Grenze. Die Bundespolizei habe allein in den ersten zwei
5 Monaten dieses Jahres 8758 unerlaubte Einreisen registriert und zur Anzeige gebracht,
6 berichtete das RedaktionsNetzwerk Deutschland am Mittwoch unter Berufung auf die
7 Bundespolizei. Die meisten illegalen Übertritte seit Jahresbeginn wurden mit 3080 an der
8 Grenze zu Österreich registriert.

9 Mit 1356 registrierten illegalen Grenzübertritten sei auch die Zahl an der schweizerischen
10 Grenze auffallend hoch, hieß es. An den übrigen Grenzen würden ebenfalls regelmäßig
11 illegale Migranten aufgegriffen: Seit Jahresbeginn waren es demnach an der
12 französischen Grenze 643 Menschen, an der tschechischen 533, an der polnischen 357, an
13 der dänischen 315 und an der niederländischen 314. Über Flughäfen sind im Jänner und
14 Februar 1658 Menschen ohne Erlaubnis nach Deutschland gekommen.

15 **Polizei: Balkanroute nicht vollends geschlossen.** Die größte Gruppe der illegal
16 Eingereisten stellen laut Bundespolizei Afghanen (742), gefolgt von Syrern (658) und
17 Nigerianern (529). Die Zahlen legten demnach den Schluss nahe, dass die Balkanroute
18 für Migranten aus dem Nahen und Mittleren Osten nicht vollends geschlossen sei. Zudem

19 lasse sich ihnen entnehmen, dass der Anteil der Migranten aus Afrika, die über die
20 zentrale Mittelmeerroute nach Deutschland kommen, steige.

21 Die Zahl der tatsächlichen illegalen Einreisen dürfte noch höher liegen, denn nicht jeder
22 Betroffene werde aufgegriffen, berichtete das RedaktionsNetzwerk. Trotzdem seien die
23 Zahlen auf das Jahr aufgerechnet seit einem Jahr rückläufig: 2016 hatte die Bundespolizei
24 demnach noch rund 167.500 illegale Einreisen registriert.

25 **Sobotka pocht auf Reduzierung der Obergrenze**

26 In Österreich pocht unterdessen Innenminister Wolfgang Sobotka (ÖVP) weiterhin auf
27 eine Reduzierung der Obergrenze für Flüchtlinge. "Die unbegrenzte Aufnahme von
28 Flüchtlingen ist ein Relikt aus der Ära der Willkommenskultur", sagte er kürzlich einmal
29 mehr. "Wir müssen uns der Realität stellen und erkennen, dass wir an die Grenzen
30 unserer Möglichkeiten gekommen sind, vor allem der Möglichkeit, die Migranten
31 ordnungsgemäß zu integrieren." Die ÖVP fordere deshalb nach wie vor die Halbierung
32 der derzeitigen Obergrenze, die heuer bei 35.000 Flüchtlingen liegt. Dem kann der
33 Koalitionspartner SPÖ allerdings nichts abgewinnen.

34 "Wir sind weiterhin eines der am stärksten belasteten Länder in Europa. Wir geben mehr
35 als zwei Millionen Euro pro Tag für Asylwerber in der Grundversorgung aus", so der
36 Innenminister. Die von der EU propagierte Umverteilung von Flüchtlingen innerhalb der
37 Union wäre laut Sobotka ein weiteres Signal, nach Europa zu kommen, vor allem für
38 Wirtschaftsmigranten. "Diesen Umstand halte ich für untragbar." Es sei illusorisch,
39 Millionen von Migranten aus Afrika und Asien aufzunehmen und in Europa zu verteilen.
40 "Dieses Konzept muss ein für alle Mal beendet werden."

Article 2. *Idomeni-Flüchtlinge drängen jetzt nach Westeuropa*. (2016). *Krone.at*. Retrieved 29 May 2016, from <http://www.krone.at/welt/idomeni-fluechtlinge-draengen-jetzt-nach-westeuropa-nach-camp-raeumung-story-512365>

41 **Idomeni-Flüchtlinge drängen jetzt nach Westeuropa**

42 Die in dieser Woche stattgefundene Räumung des "Chaos-Camps" in Idomeni an der
43 griechisch-mazedonischen Grenze könnte nun massive Folgen für den Grenzschutz in
44 West- und Mitteleuropa haben. Denn wie Bulgarien am Sonntag bekannt gab, wurden am
45 Wochenende bereits viele illegale Flüchtlinge an der Grenze zu Griechenland
46 aufgegriffen. Schon bei der Räumung des Camps wurde von den Behörden in Idomeni
47 festgestellt, dass Hunderte Flüchtlinge untertauchten, offenbar um in Eigenregie weiter
48 nach Europa zu reisen.

49 Wie die Athener Tageszeitung "Kathimerini" berichtete, wurden bei der Räumung des
50 Lagers in Idomeni lediglich 3700 der rund 8500 Migranten umgesiedelt, die sich zuletzt
51 dort aufhielten.

52 Weil die Grenze zwischen Mazedonien und Griechenland aber geschlossen ist, steigt in
53 Bulgarien jetzt die Furcht, dass Flüchtlinge über Bulgarien ihren Weg nach Westeuropa
54 suchen könnten. Das Innenministerium entsandte daher Soldaten zur Unterstützung des
55 Grenzschutzes. Dieses Wochenende musste man erstmals eingreifen.

56 **96 Migranten verhaftet, 56 zurückgeschickt**
57 56 Flüchtlinge seien laut der bulgarischen Nachrichtenagentur Focus versteckt in einem
58 Güterzug in das Land eingereist und sofort wieder nach Griechenland zurückgeschickt
59 worden. 96 weitere Migranten sollen zudem festgenommen worden sein. "In Europa gibt
60 es keinen anderen Staat, der so schnell reagiert und Flüchtlinge zurückgeführt hat", lobte

61 Regierungschef Boiko Borissow den Grenzschutz in der Region. Schlepper hätten den
62 Migranten vorgelogen, dass die Fahrt nach Mazedonien gehe.

63 **Regierungschef: "Wollen ein Zeichen setzen"**

64 Anders als an der kürzeren EU-Außengrenze Bulgariens zur Türkei gibt es an der
65 bulgarischen Grenze zum EU-Nachbarn Griechenland noch keine Schutzzäune. Die
66 Regierung in Sofia ist aber bereit, bei Bedarf auch dort schnell Drahtzäune zu errichten.
67 "Wir wollen ein Zeichen an die Flüchtlinge setzen, dass eine Reise über Bulgarien sinnlos
68 ist", so Borissow.

69 **Weiter Zehntausende in Griechenland gestrandet**

70 Immer mehr Staaten entlang der Balkanroute haben seit Jahresanfang ihre Grenzen
71 geschlossen. Griechenland war bisher für viele Flüchtlinge der Haupteintrittspunkt nach
72 Europa. Mit dem EU-Türkei-Abkommen haben die Ankünfte zwar abgenommen,
73 Zehntausende Flüchtlinge befinden sich aber weiter auf griechischem Boden.

74 **Migranten verweigern staatliche Aufnahmelager**

75 Am Wochenende ließen sich einige Flüchtlinge nur wenige Kilometer von Idomeni
76 entfernt in einem improvisierten Lager nieder. Sie zogen eine Art Plateau im Freien den
77 staatlichen Unterkünften in ausrangierten Industriegebäuden und Kasernen vor, berichtete
78 die Athener Tageszeitung "Kathimerini". Viele der Lagerbewohner hatten sich bereits vor
79 einer Woche bei der Ankündigung der Räumung aus Idomeni davongemacht, um nicht in
80 staatliche Aufnahmelager gebracht zu werden.

Article 3. *80 Prozent weniger Migranten im Vorjahr in Griechenland angekommen.*

(2017). *derStandard.at*. Retrieved 6 January 2017, from

<http://derstandard.at/2000050317329/80-Prozent-weniger-Migranten-im-Vorjahr-in-Griechenland-angekommen>

80 Prozent weniger Migranten im Vorjahr in Griechenland angekommen

Massiver Rückgang bei Ankommenden in Griechenland – Anstieg in Italien. Warschau – Die Zahl der Migranten und Flüchtlinge, die via Mittelmeer nach Europa kommen, ist im vergangenen Jahr drastisch gesunken. 2016 seien etwa 364.000 Menschen über die beiden zentralen Routen über das Meer nach Europa gelangt – fast zwei Drittel weniger als im Jahr davor, teilte die EU-Grenzschutzbehörde Frontex am Freitag mit. Während jedoch die Zahl der in Griechenland gelandeten Migranten extrem gesunken ist, kamen in Italien so viele Menschen an wie nie zuvor. Gründe für den Rückgang in Griechenland sind die geschlossene Fluchtroute über den Balkan und das EU-Abkommen mit der Türkei, nach dem Flüchtlinge in die Türkei zurückgeführt wurden und Grenzkontrollen verschärft wurden. Nach vorläufigen Schätzungen kamen vergangenes Jahr in Griechenland 182.500 Menschen an, fast 80 Prozent weniger als 2015. Dagegen stieg die Zahl der Flüchtlinge auf der zentralen Mittelmeerroute nach Italien um ein Fünftel auf 181.000, eine Rekordzahl, wie Frontex mitteilte. In Griechenland kamen hauptsächlich Menschen aus Syrien, Afghanistan und dem Irak an, in Italien dagegen aus afrikanischen Ländern wie Nigeria, Eritrea, Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire (Elfenbeinküste) und Gambia. (APA/dpa, 6.1.2017).

Article 4. Dathan, M. (2016). *Revealed: A migrant tries to sneak into Britain every six minutes.* *Mail Online.* Retrieved 22 October 2017, from

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3634930/Migrants-try-sneak-Britain-rate-one-six-minutes-official-figures-show.html>

Migrants are trying to sneak into Britain at a rate of one every six minutes, it was revealed today.

Official figures showed border officials stopped 84,088 at the British border last year – the equivalent of 230 a day or nearly 10 every hour.

The alarming rate of detections has more than doubled compared to the previous year and were described as 'truly shocking' by former Cabinet minister Iain Duncan Smith.

There were 9,946 illegal attempts at entering the UK in the first three months of this year. The figures – released under a freedom of information request to the Daily Express – do not include the estimated tens of thousands of migrants who have entered Britain illegally.

With less than two weeks before the June 23 EU referendum, today's figures were used by the Brexit campaign to back-up their argument that leaving the EU will give authorities greater control over Britain's borders.

Steven Woolfe, Ukip MEP and the party's immigration spokesman, said: 'The failure of the EU to control its external borders has seen tens of thousands of illegal migrants attempt to gain access to Britain.'

Alarmingly, Home Secretary Theresa May warned the sheer number of migrants trying to come into Britain 'shows no sign of easing'.

She said: 'The situation in northern France is a symptom of a wider international crisis, a crisis that shows no sign of easing in the short term.'

118 'So it is important we redouble our joint efforts to protect our border, move migrants in
119 the region into more suitable facilities in France, and return those not in need of
120 protection to their home countries.

121 'The Government has already invested tens of millions of pounds to bolster security at the
122 ports in northern France, and the UK and French governments have been working at pace
123 to implement actions agreed in the joint declaration last August.

124 'Security at the Calais port and around the Eurotunnel site has improved significantly as a
125 result.'

126 Responding to today's figures, which were released after weeks of delay, Mr Duncan
127 Smith told the Daily Express: 'These shocking figures show our ability to secure our own
128 borders is collapsing. This is a direct consequence of the EU's obsession with freedom of
129 movement and insistence on an open border policy.

130 'Migration is soaring and the EU has comprehensively failed to deal with the crisis. This
131 now threatens the UK's security.'

132 The figures show the number of clandestine entries into the UK is rising at an ever-
133 greater scale.

134 Earlier this year the impact of the migration crisis on Britain last summer was revealed,
135 with figures showing 13,000 migrants tried to enter Britain illegally in July alone.

136 This was a staggering 1,300 per cent rise from 2012, when the number of people who
137 were caught by UK authorities trying to enter Britain illegally by hiding in lorries,
138 walking through the Channel Tunnel or arriving without visas at ports and airports stood
139 at around 1,000 a month.

140 In 2013 this monthly figure doubled to 2,000 and in 2014 it doubled again to 4,000,
141 according to figures released by the Home Office.

142 The sharp rise, uncovered in a Freedom of Information of request by the Economist, has
143 been caused by the worsening conflict in Syria, which has seen more than 4 million
144 refugees flee the country since the civil war erupted five years ago.
145 But the increase in the number of people detected trying to enter the UK is also down to
146 the fact that the attempts at entering Britain are becoming increasingly tenacious.
147 Franck Duvell, an immigration expert from Oxford University, said most migrants
148 camped in northern France are now prepared to try 11 or 12 times to get to the UK - up
149 from five or six times in 2014.
150 The rise in the number of illegal entry attempts detected is also caused by a significant
151 tightening in checks of vehicles arriving from across the Channel.
152 Lorries are X-rayed to check for stowaways, carbon-dioxide sensors are used to detect
153 human activity while sniffer dogs are deployed to patrol ports.
154 The most common nationality of those caught trying to enter Britain are Syrians,
155 Eritreans, Sudanese and Iraqis, many of whom have family in Britain.

Article 5. Tait, R. (2017). *'We don't have a life here': refugees find scant solace in hardline Hungary.* the Guardian. Retrieved 8 March 2017, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/mar/08/refugees-asylum-seekers-hungary-hardline-eu-viktor-orban>

156 **'We don't have a life here': refugees find scant solace in hardline Hungary**
157 Rightwing government of Viktor Orbán is charging asylum seekers €1,200 to move them
158 to 'open' camps that prove to be anything but
159 Pias, a young Iraqi refugee who made it to Hungary, was initially keen to show off his

160 English. But after four months in a detention camp, fear and uncertainty had rendered him
161 mute. Despite paying the Hungarian authorities €1,200 (£1,018) to send him to a more
162 open facility, the 19-year-old feared being hauled back into custody under a draconian
163 new law.
164 Drafted by the rightwing government of Viktor Orbán, Hungary's strongman prime
165 minister, and passed overwhelmingly by the Hungarian parliament on Tuesday, the
166 measure transfers all asylum applicants to a network of new camps made out of shipping
167 containers. It is due to come into force in a week.
168 The major intensification of the Orbán government's anti-migrant offensive, has been
169 condemned as a flagrant breach of EU law by lawyers and human rights groups, who are
170 urging fellow member states to act.
171 The consequences for refugees like Pias would be particularly onerous. He arrived in
172 Hungary as a refugee last year and was dispatched to one of the country's detention
173 centres – characterised as prisons by critics – before accepting the offer of release to an
174 open reception centre in exchange for a payment, officially described as "bail".
175 Because his asylum application is still being processed, should the new proposal become
176 law Pias could be taken from his current home, a dorm on a shabby backstreet in
177 Budapest, and hauled back to a detention facility.
178 For Pias this would be a doubly cruel blow: the open facility he was originally sent to
179 after paying his "bail" was little more than a network of tents in Kormend, near
180 Hungary's western border with Austria. Human rights groups have called the conditions
181 there inhumane.
182 Set back from public view within the grounds of a police training academy on the
183 outskirts of Kormend, the "open" camp consists of seven round tarpaulin tents; there is a
184 pervading smell of burning peat from the makeshift heating. Public and media access is

185 denied. When the Guardian approached the camp gate, a police officer emerged from a
186 nearby cabin and shouted aggressively: “Go, go, go.”
187 Campaigners have denounced Hungary’s practice of charging detainees to transfer them
188 to facilities that are even more primitive. The cash is officially designated as bail and
189 theoretically returnable if asylum seekers meet a pledge not to abscond across the border
190 to another EU member state.
191 “The Hungarian government has profited from taking bail money off people wanting to
192 be moved from closed detention centres and then they transfer them to places like
193 Kormend, where there is nothing to do and not even proper heating,” said Marta Pardavi,
194 co-chair of the Hungary Helsinki Committee. “It’s cynical and disgusting.”
195 Under pressure, the authorities last month agreed to transfer from Kormend eight refugees
196 who had paid to be released from closed detention centres. They were transferred to a
197 dormitory in Budapest run by Oltalom, an evangelical charity.
198 The Kormend camp is still open, however, although only five migrants remain.
199 At the Oltalom hostel, there is anxiety that an even worse fate may lie in store: that
200 refugees and migrants will be rounded up on the streets and put in camps.
201 “It’s true we are afraid of the Hungarian government because they could take back our
202 documents,” said Afridi Sohail Khan, 42, a Pakistani refugee from a Taliban-infiltrated
203 region whose five-year subsidiary protection status expires in a few weeks. He too could
204 face detention if it is not renewed, an outcome human rights experts say is possible.
205 “I think it’s very sad news for refugees and those who are seeking human rights,” he
206 added. “We are not terrorists and we are not criminals. I didn’t come to Hungary for the
207 good life but because I had a problem in Pakistan. We don’t have a life here.”
208 Farhad Osmani, 19, who left his birthplace of Iran because he was not entitled to Iranian
209 citizenship because his parents were Afghan refugees, was more blunt. “If they try to

210 send me to prison, I will be forced to escape to another country like Austria or Germany,”
211 he said.
212 Andras Rakos, a social worker at Oltalom, said the situation had become a moral question
213 for the EU. “We are very worried about these people. They are already in enough trouble
214 and it’s a great shame what the government is doing to them,” he said.
215 “But the big question is why does the EU let it happen? When they see that what’s
216 happening in Hungary is against the values of the EU, they should not send money to this
217 government. Once they stop sending them money, the government will have big trouble
218 and people will stop voting for them.”
219 Orbán – who has trumpeted his plans for an “illiberal state” and called for “ethnic
220 homogeneity”, claiming his anti-refugee policy protects European Christianity – appears
221 unfazed by that prospect.
222 In a recent speech, he taunted more liberal western European countries by offering to
223 accept refugee applications from their disaffected citizens angry about the wave of
224 migration. “We shall let in true refugees,” he said. “Germans, Dutch, French and Italians,
225 terrified politicians and journalists who here in Hungary want to find the Europe they
226 have lost in their homelands.”
227 Campaigners believe Orbán is deliberately flouting European law, which demands that
228 every asylum case be treated on its individual merits, as a tactic calculated to keep the
229 migration issue on Hungary’s domestic political agenda in the runup to next year’s
230 general election. At the same time, they say, he is sending a signal to the estimated 7,000
231 refugees currently hoping to reach the EU from neighbouring Serbia not to enter
232 Hungary.
233 “It will also stop asylum seekers being sent back to Hungary under the Dublin
234 regulations, which is extremely important,” said Pardavi of the Hungarian Helsinki

235 Committee. “At least 29,000 transited Hungary in 2016 and if other EU countries wanted
236 to return them, Hungary would be obliged to take them. But with this all-encompassing
237 detention policy, all those EU countries would probably say it would be a grave human
238 rights abuse to send them back.
239 “This negates the fundamentals of European asylum policy. It’s is a grave headache for
240 European institutions and politicians.”
241 It is also a headache for asylum seekers – and a haunting return to the fearful conditions
242 that drove them from their homelands in the first place.
243 “I was scared of the government in Iran,” said John, a 33-year-old Iranian Christian
244 convert and pro-democracy activist who left the country in 2014 after learning that the
245 authorities were trying to arrest him. “They could take my life, my family, my job. But I
246 can say on behalf of all refugees and asylum seekers here that we are afraid of the
247 Hungarian government.
248 “We are afraid for our futures and the documents the government gave us. We feel
249 Hungary doesn’t have a good future in Europe and I was shocked when I saw Vladimir
250 Putin [the Russian president] here recently. I just saw him as a murderer. It’s a dangerous
251 time for us and a dangerous path Hungary is travelling on. 100%, people are scared.”

Article 6. *EU-Kommission: Schengenstaaten sollen weiter an Grenzen kontrollieren - SPIEGEL ONLINE - Politik.* (2017). *SPIEGEL ONLINE*. Retrieved 25 January 2017, from <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/reisefreiheit-ingeschraenkt-schengenstaaten-sollen-weiter-an-grenzen-kontrollieren-a-1131722.html>

252 **Obwohl weniger Menschen nach Europa flüchten, soll die Reisefreiheit im**
253 **Schengenraum weiter eingeschränkt bleiben. Die EU-Kommission empfiehlt eine**
254 **Verlängerung** **der** **Grenzkontrollen.**

255 Die EU-Kommission hat sich für eine Verlängerung der Grenzkontrollen im
256 Schengenraum um weitere drei Monate ausgesprochen. Die Behörde schlug vor, dass
257 Deutschland und vier andere Länder die Kontrollen an den inneren Grenzen bis Mai
258 fortsetzen. "Trotz einer allmählichen Stabilisierung der Lage" sei der Zeitpunkt für eine
259 Rückkehr zur Reisefreiheit im Schengenraum noch nicht gekommen, teilte die EU-
260 Kommission mit.
261 Deutschland, Österreich, Dänemark, Schweden und Norwegen hatten die Grenzkontrollen
262 als Reaktion auf die Flucht Hunderttausender Menschen nach Europa im Herbst 2015
263 eingeführt. Eigentlich hatte die EU-Kommission die Kontrollen im Februar beenden
264 wollen. Die Bundesregierung und andere Länder haben sich aber für eine Verlängerung
265 ausgesprochen. Nun müssen die EU-Staaten noch grünes Licht geben.
266 Man wolle so schnell wie möglich zur Reisefreiheit im Schengenraum zurückkehren
267 wolle, die eine große Errungenschaft sei, sagte EU-Kommissar Dimitris Avramopoulos
268 nun. Die Lage habe sich noch nicht vollkommen stabilisiert.

269 **Pläne** **gegen** **Migration** **aus** **Libyen**

270 Die EU-Kommission stellte zudem einen Plan vor, wie sie die Migration
271 aus Libyeneindämmen will. Die vorgesehen Hilfs- und Trainingsprogramme sollen rund
272 200 Millionen Euro kosten. Die Brüsseler Behörde will dazu den europäischen Nothilfe-
273 Fonds für Afrika aufstocken. "Das ist im Interesse nicht nur der Europäischen Union von
274 Migranten und Flüchtlingen, die in Libyen gestrandet sind, sondern auch im Sinne des
275 Wiederaufbaus von Libyen als Land", sagte Avramopoulos. Die Vorschläge sollen als
276 Grundlage für Beratungen beim Gipfeltreffen in der kommenden Woche auf Malta

277 dienen.

278 Zudem will die EU-Kommission die Ausbildung der libyschen Küstenschützer und die
279 Arbeit der Grenzbehörden verbessern. Dafür sollen einem Netzwerk aus europäischen
280 Mittelmeerstaaten und Libyen 2,2 Millionen Euro zur Verfügung gestellt werden.

281 Im vergangenen Jahr kamen mehr als 180.000 Menschen von Nordafrika über das
282 Mittelmeer nach Italien. Beinahe 90 Prozent starteten die lebensgefährliche Überfahrt in
283 Libyen. "Es ist in libyscher Verantwortung, die Netzwerke der Schleuser zu zerschlagen
284 an den libyschen Küsten und in libyschen Gewässern", sagte die EU-Außenbeauftragte
285 Federica Mogherini.

286 Gute Fortschritte vermeldete die EU-Kommission derweil bei der im vergangenen Jahr
287 ausgebauten europäischen Grenz- und Küstenwache Frontex. Seit Anfang Dezember steht
288 ein Soforteinsatzpool von 1500 Grenzschutzbeamten zur Unterstützung nationaler
289 Grenzschrützer in Europa zur Verfügung. Seit Anfang Januar gibt es auch Personal, das
290 die Staaten bei Rückführungen von Migranten unterstützen kann.

Abstract

So-called refugee ‘crisis’ is a topic that is a part of a daily media attention, political agenda, and civilized society. Once people started to come to Europe intensively since 2015, media never omitted this issue from coverage.

This research encompasses online media resources from three different countries, and offers an international perspective of how media report on migrants and refugees. Analyzing news articles in frames of a quantitative Content Analysis this paper is studying various categories of media coverage from a relation of supranational organizations to the migration process to a tone of coverage that is used by newspapers. In addition the comparison of results with the results of an already existing research allows this study to estimate the patterns of media attitude towards the topic in a timeframe of year 2015 to year 2017.

At the same time a Critical Discourse Analysis supports the pure numerical outcomes of the Content Analysis, and provides this research with additional precise look at how media treat refugees and migrants in news articles, and what type of nomination they use towards these people.

It has been revealed that media intensity of reporting has a strong connection with a timeline of events taking place at the same time when articles have been published, as well as the increase of both negative or positive articles towards migrants and refugees, presence in coverage of various international laws and regulations, and supranational organization like the EU and the UN. Furthermore, this paper also describes what kind of effect speeches and statements of politicians have on the tone of coverage.

Key words: migration, refugee ‘crisis’, European media, supranational organizations, Public Diplomacy, online media

Zusammenfassung

Die so genannte Flüchtlingskrise ist ein Thema, das Teil einer täglichen Medienaufmerksamkeit, einer politischen Agenda und einer zivilisierten Gesellschaft ist. Nachdem die Menschen seit 2015 intensiv nach Europa gekommen sind, haben die Medien dieses Thema nie aus der Berichterstattung ausgelassen.

Diese Forschung umfasst Online-Medienressourcen aus drei verschiedenen Ländern und bietet eine internationale Perspektive, wie Medien über Migranten und Flüchtlinge berichten. Bei der Analyse von Zeitungsartikeln in Rahmen einer quantitativen Inhaltsanalyse untersucht diese Studie verschiedene Kategorien von Medienberichten von einer Beziehung zwischen supranationalen Organisationen und Migrationsprozessen bis hin zu einem Berichterstattungston, der von Zeitungen verwendet wird. Darüber hinaus erlaubt der Vergleich der Ergebnisse mit den Ergebnissen einer bereits existierenden Forschung die Einschätzung der medialen Einstellungen zum Thema in einem Zeitraum von Jahr 2015 bis Jahr 2017.

Gleichzeitig unterstützt eine Critical Discourse Analysis die reinen numerischen Ergebnisse der Inhaltsanalyse und bietet zusätzliche Informationen darüber, wie Medien Flüchtlinge und Migranten in Nachrichtenartikeln behandeln und welche Art von Nominierung sie gegenüber diesen Menschen einsetzen.

Es hat sich gezeigt, dass die Medienintensität der Berichterstattung in engem Zusammenhang mit einem zeitlichen Verlauf der Ereignisse steht, die zur gleichen Zeit stattfanden, als Artikel veröffentlicht wurden, sowie die Zunahme negativer oder positiver Artikel gegenüber Migranten und Flüchtlingen, Präsenz bei der Berichterstattung über verschiedene internationale Gesetze und Verordnungen sowie supranationale Organisationen wie die EU und die UNO. Darüber hinaus beschreibt

dieses Papier auch, welche Art von Wirkung Reden und Aussagen von Politikern über den Ton der Berichterstattung haben.

Suchbegriffe: Migration, ‘Flüchtlingskrise’, Europäische Medien, supranationale Organisationen, Öffentliche Diplomatie, Onlinemedien