



Enhancing Research
Understanding through Media

REPORT: CONTROVERSIAL TOPICS
REPRESENTED IN MEDIA



Refugee Representation in Lithuanian Online Media

SUB-REPORT

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1. Introduction

From 2011, more than 6.7 million people were forced to leave Syria because of civil war (UNHCR, 2019). Hostile living conditions and unclear legal status of refugees in neighbouring countries encouraged thousands of Syrians to look for refuge in Europe. The question of refugees in Europe has become a complicated issue with misinformation about them and their integration to European countries.

There are a few challenging questions for researchers as to where and how to draw the line between economic, security and integration issues in the context of the refugee crisis in Europe as well as Lithuania; the positioning of this line, the factors and experiences that come to be associated with different categories that shape our understanding about arriving refugees in the countries.

1.1 Economic context

The distinction between asylum seekers/refugees and economic migrants is being seized upon as countries are now pushing to prevent asylum-seekers from reaching their borders. The system tries to put them into categories: refugee or economic migrant, legal or illegal, deserving or undeserving – descriptions that do not always take into account the reality of their lives. This situation is a major analytical and policy challenge but also suggests that economic difficulties often occur harmlessly giving people multiple motivations for the decision to leave a country (Crawley & Skleparis, 2018). Therefore, there is an ongoing discussion that economic migrants could reduce the protection provided under international law for those fleeing conflict, war, persecution, or human rights abuse. The media and information technologies contribute to the negative attitudes towards refugees within Lithuanian society but not many studies relate to images of refugees formed by media, as well as opportunities of public discourse and problems of refugee integration (Sutkutė, 2019).

1.2 Security context

According to the survey of the *Institute of Ethnic studies* of LSRC (lit. LSTC *Etninių tyrimų institutas*), completed in 2019, Roma people are the most unfavourable ethnic group in Lithuania. It is claimed that 63 % of Lithuanians would not like to have Romanians as their neighbours. Refugees are in second place – 27 % of Lithuanians would not like to have them as neighbours because they are perceived as a threat. Survey results prove that the opinion of Lithuanians about foreigners is based on information from various media and not from personal experience. However, more than half of respondents have never had any contact with immigrants who came to Lithuania seeking asylum. 55,1 % of the respondents are against accepting Muslim refugees to Lithuania, 73,6 % think that refugees might increase crime rates in Lithuania (LSTC, 2019).

1.3 Integration context

In 2018, there had been 423 requests for asylum in Lithuania. However, the refugee status was only granted to 136 people, 18 of them have received subsidiary protection (The Migration Department, 2019). According to the European Union's requirements, Lithuania

has committed itself to accept 1.105 refugees. Despite this requirement, the process of welcoming refugees is slow. It is believed that a few dozens of refugees will reach Lithuania within the upcoming years.

In recent years relatively little attention has been paid to the process of local integration and its consequences for refugees. Refugees' integration is a complex construct, referring to integration in terms of economic, health, education or socio-related issues. In general, there is a lack of understanding of the range of experiences refugees bring with them (FRA, 2019). Many never intended to continue onwards to Lithuania but decided to leave due to a combination of political and economic factors, as well as sometimes connected to discrimination or a lack of access to rights (Sutkutė, 2019). Refugees are subject to discrimination within the Lithuanian job market because employers are not in favour of hiring an employee who has a refugee status (Vaitkevičiūtė & Snieškienė, 2016). Lithuanian media contribute to diffuse opinions about refugees, but there is not much research done regarding how the media presents refugees and provides information about them based on the newest data.

2. Discursive News Values Analysis

There is no doubt that the biggest influence in the formation of opinions is the media. Ultimately, media outlets depend on commercial revenues and journalists therefore are forced to write articles which would be attractive to mass audiences (Popp, 2006). Therefore, it is important to examine how values are constructed not only through semiotic resources such as language and images. News values are visible as values that have been recognised in the literature as defining the newsworthiness of reported events and actors. This includes news values such as *Timeliness*, *Negativity*, *Impact*, *Superlativeness*, *Eliteness*, *Consonance*, and others.

News is never partial or objective but constructed with the help of journalists and editors. News is created by applying specific formulas which would allow journalists to effectively perform their job. However, those formulas are news' perspectives which are influenced by many factors and restrictions. Factors are slightly similar to restrictions, as they play a role in choosing topics, but were created by journalists not least to accomplish the goals of employers (media businesses). Journalists are looking out for news stories that attract a significant audience. They must discover which information is newsworthy and filter out the one which is of little interest. That is why the news agenda reflects the style, ideology or even the ability to manipulate each media channel.

2.1 Research questions

The main question of the research. (1) **How the public discourse on refugees is formed on the website *Delfi.lt*** in the context of misrepresentation, misinformation or disinformation.

When analysing the public discourse on refugees on the website *Delfi.lt*, it is aimed to answer the main **questions** related to the new value criterion. When analysing texts for the construction of newsworthiness, it is important to focus on the first and foremost potential

meaning of the analysed texts; to know how the use of verbal and visual resources establishes particular news values and constructs the reported event as newsworthy.

The important criteria for newsworthiness are **falsification and bias**. The news is based on chosen references, this is why the question arises: (2) **how do journalists recognise experts and corroborate data/information**. It should be noted that journalists sometimes lack experience or qualification to evaluate which reference is valid (Grizzle et al., 2013). Journalists often choose information according to the presentation of a headline or an interesting comment, but not according to the knowledge of a person. Taking this into account, news source, authorship and bias are analysed applying the following questions: Do the articles refer to research, researchers, academics to prove their arguments? Who is the author of the text?

These questions lead to the idea of **bias**, so it is important to see (3) **if the author is taking sides or is being neutral** (with arguments for and against, not one-dimensional, the author is supporting both sides). The main criteria for analysing a style of language (emotional, polemic, neutral) and visualisation (static, interactive data, photos) are **completeness of news** (only a part of information is provided), **context** (the decision regarding how much extra information the author should provide to the readers, so they would understand presented news), **balance** (the event should be presented from different points of view, the journalist must present them). The goal of a qualitative content analysis is to find out (4) **how controversial ideas are presented**; if they highlight the topic from different points of view or just one. Also, qualitative content analysis presents links to other related (scientific) articles/material such as statistics, surveys, research. Finally, a review of scientific literature should help to better understand what is left out compared to evidence/research.

To sum up, news is created by journalists. Journalists choose news at their own discretion that is why there is a need to analyse the perspective, seek for additional information, use alternative sources, and constantly question how the news is produced or made worthy.

2.2 Structure of the report

The questions below guided the process of data selection, analysis and structure of the report but **the main research question is how has the public discourse on refugees been constructed in the media in the context of misrepresentation, misinformation or disinformation**.

- General introduction
- General information about the sample
- Results of the quantitative analysis of *Delfi.lt* content
 - This part includes general information about the quantitative analysis: number of articles checked, number of articles identified as misrepresenting the chosen topic, number of papers from national and international fields, length of articles, type of articles.
- Results of the qualitative analysis of articles' content retrieved from the website *Delfi.lt*

- Use of evidence-based research/science and missing facts
 - Reference to scientific research: Do the articles refer to scientific research, researchers, academics to prove their arguments? How are scientific sources being used? Are there different sources or just one? Which kinds of experts are being quoted?
 - Authorship: Who is the author of the text? Is it a journalist, a researcher, a politician?
 - Is the author taking a neutral? Is s/he transparent? Which point of view is stated in the article?

- Language and visualisation of the selected articles
 - Style of language: How is language being applied within the articles? Is it emotional, polemic, neutral?
 - Does the article only focus on a national perspective or a broader context?
 - Visualisation (static, interactive data; caricature; photos): is it in line with the content? What is the message conveyed? How can the relationship between text and visualisation be described?

- Controversy within the selected articles
 - How are controversial ideas presented? Do they highlight the topic from different points of view or do they highlight only one?
 - Links to other related (scientific) articles/material like statistics, surveys, research centres.
 - With regard to the desk research: What is left out compared to evidence/research? What important omitted information remains unmentioned? What scientific findings would lead to results different from those that are dealt with in the articles?
 - Category other: Are there other noteworthy particularities in the text associated with misrepresentation?

- Conclusion: Summary of the findings and learning and teaching strategies

3. Research methods and data selection

The analysis of online news page content is influenced by: 1) comments, not only from journalists on the issue of refugees, but also from public figures that form certain opinions about refugees; 2) the sequence of events within the archive of articles – it reveals different perspectives, including the effect of presented information; 3) presented information's analysis regarding content and context; 4) popularity and availability of online journalism in Lithuania.

The research data is selected according to:

1. The usage of the keyword “refugees” (lit. *Pabėgėliai*).
2. The audience of the day on internet websites.
3. The availability of article archives:

- 3.1 The advanced search feature: The search allows to indicate a particular time interval (showing the newest/most relevant results), keywords.
- 3.2 Financial aspects: Some websites charge their audiences. However, this aspect does not increase the quality of data. All paid websites (archives) are not included in this research (they are thought to be unsuitable) (Grizzle et al., 2013).

Following the listed criteria, the website *15min.lt* is excluded (the second place in Time Share-Internet, 14,37 %). The website *Lrytas.lt* is excluded, because of a small number of articles containing the keyword “refugees” (lit. *Pabėgėliai*) (the third place in Time Share-Internet, 13,69 %) (Gemius Baltic, 2019).

The website *Delfi.lt* matches the listed criteria. *Delfi.lt* is a leading internet portal in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania providing daily news, covering a variety of topics. It ranks as one of the most popular websites among Baltic users. *Delfi.lt* was acquired in 2007 by the Estonian media group *Ekspress Grupp* (EADDP, December 16th, 2003).

This outlet takes the first place in the list of “TOP25” in Time Share-Internet (27,77 %). The total number of users reaches 1.370.549, the average users per day amount to 544.000. This data proves that *Delfi.lt* is suitable for an analysis of refugee discourse.

3.1 Data selection for research

The period chosen for analysis lasts from June 2015 to December 2019.

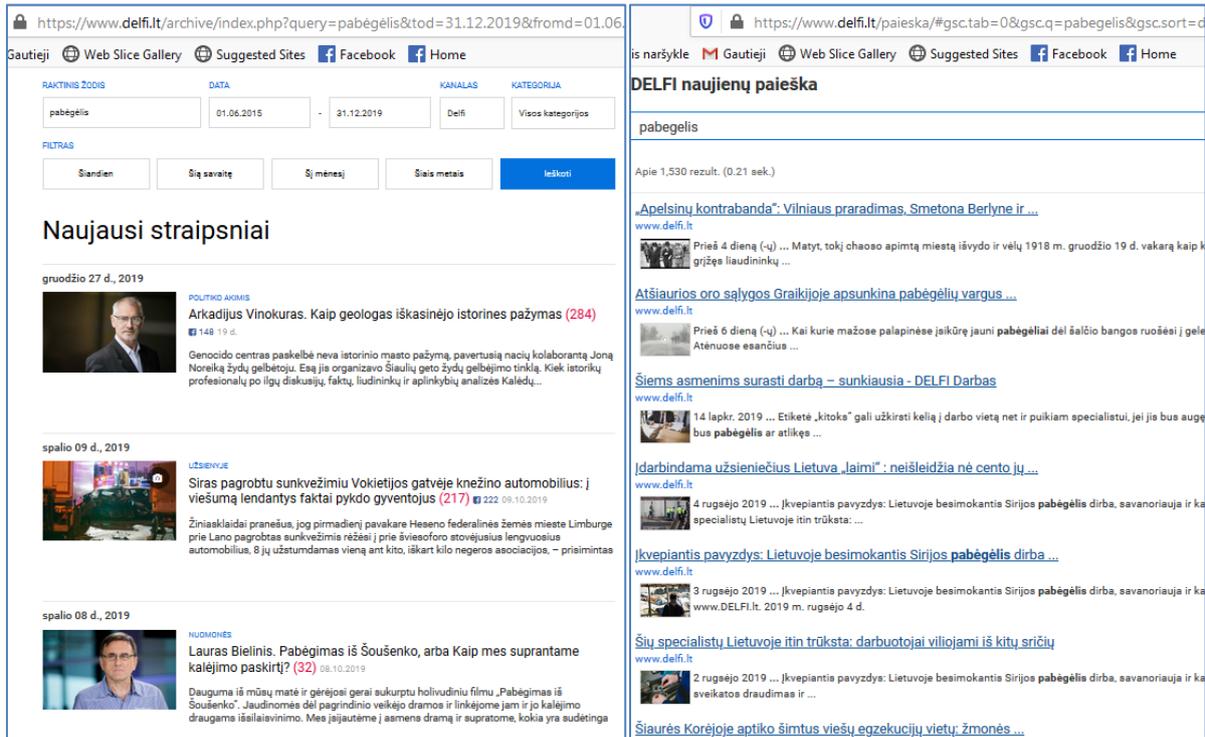
Reasons for choosing this period:

- In December 2015, the first Iraqi family was relocated to Lithuania (BNS, March 21st, 2017). Reports of a refugee family arrival had already been presented in the media half a year before it actually happened. Those reports included opinions of EU politicians, discussions about quota, transferring refugees and further integration.
- According to the EU agreement¹, Lithuania was obliged to accept 1.105 refugees until September 2017 (BNN, 2015). Based on the data gathered by the Ministry of Social Security and Labour (lit. *Socialinės apsaugos ir darbo ministerija*) in 2018 (SADM, 2018), 468 people were relocated from 2015 until the beginning 2018. However, 338 people (70 %) left the territory of Lithuania. The main reason why refugees leave are family reunions, failed expectations, and a negative view of society.
- A new survey indicates that a growing number of Lithuanians believes that many refugees actually migrate for economic reasons and that they would increase crime rates (Lietuvos socialinių tyrimų centro Etninių tyrimų institutas, 2019). In 2020, only a small number of refugees were relocated to Lithuania, so it is assumed that the results of the survey might be influenced by opinions presented in the media.

When conducting research using the keyword “refugees” (lit. *Pabėgėliai*), 1.530 articles were found (see illustration 1). The articles were rechecked, so the topic would match refugees’ problems arriving to Eastern European countries. 300 articles were analysed in the framework of the research.

¹ see [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2016/589859/EPRS_BRI\(2016\)589859_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2016/589859/EPRS_BRI(2016)589859_EN.pdf)

Illustration 1. Search request of articles for quantitative and qualitative content analysis [Screenshots, website *Delfi.lt*]



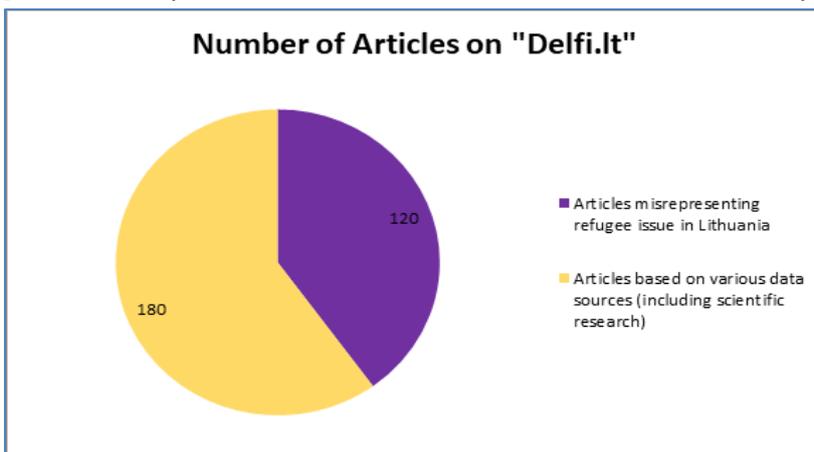
8

3.2 Results of the quantitative analysis of *Delfi.lt* content

As outlined above, this part includes general information about the quantitative analysis: number of articles checked, number of articles identified as misrepresenting the chosen topic, number of papers from national and international fields, length of articles, type of articles.

The analysis has shown that 120 articles misrepresent the issue of refugees in Lithuania. 180 articles provide information based on different data, for example: data from the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania, statistical data, comments from politicians, public opinion surveys, views from journalists.

Illustration 2. analysed articles on *Delfi.lt* [concluded by the author based on results of the content analysis]



The topic of refugees is presented more often in a worldwide context (162 articles) than in a national one (138 articles).

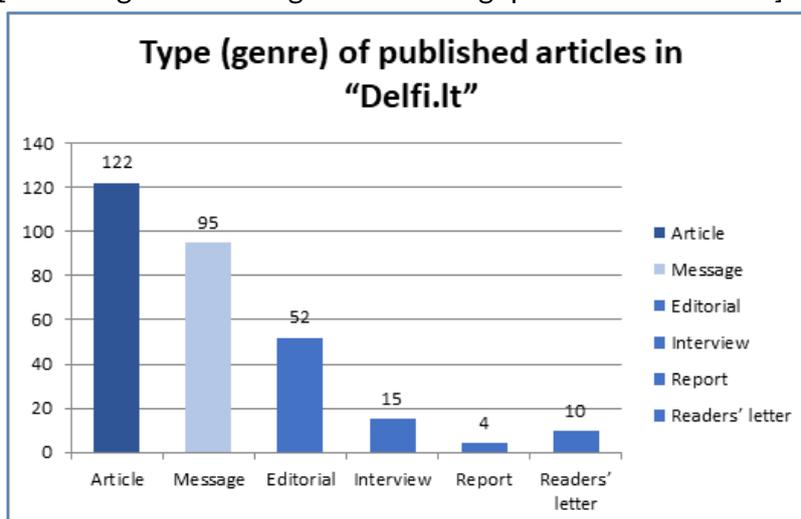
Illustration 3. Number of Articles according to national and international context on *Delfi.lt* [concluded by the author based on results of the content analysis]



Length of analysed articles: Short reports (95 pieces) are most common on online news pages: their length amounts to 150 words on average. Medium length articles consist of 845 words on average.

- **Type of analysed articles:** The website *Delfi.lt* mainly consists of articles (122 pieces) and short reports (95 pieces). The articles include items created by public figures, politicians, political scientists. There are a lot of editorials (52 pieces), however, not many interviews, comments, readers' letters, reports.

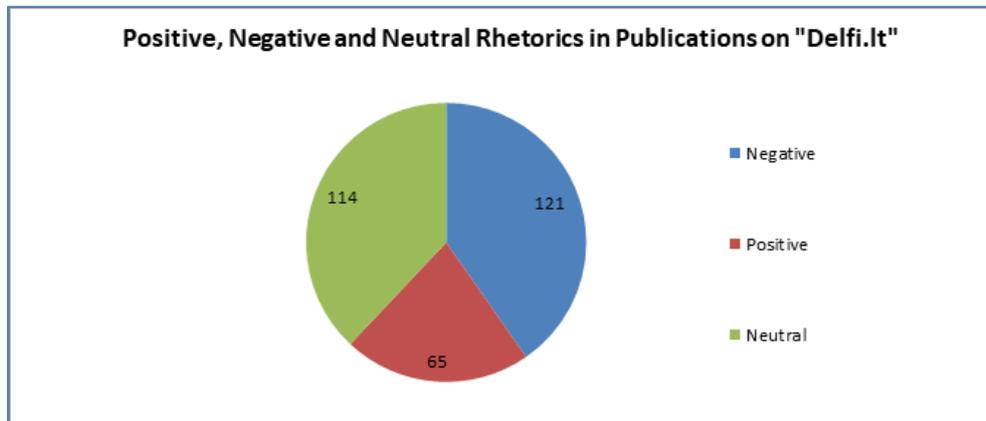
Illustration 4. Type (genre) of published articles in *Delfi.lt* [according to the data gathered during quantitative research]



- **Number of publications which include scientific research:** Articles include opinions of public figures, politicians, political scientists. 49 articles provide results of some research, as well as opinions of public figures. However, this number is not sufficient to provide objective information regarding refugees and accurately inform society about the largest humanitarian crisis since World War II.

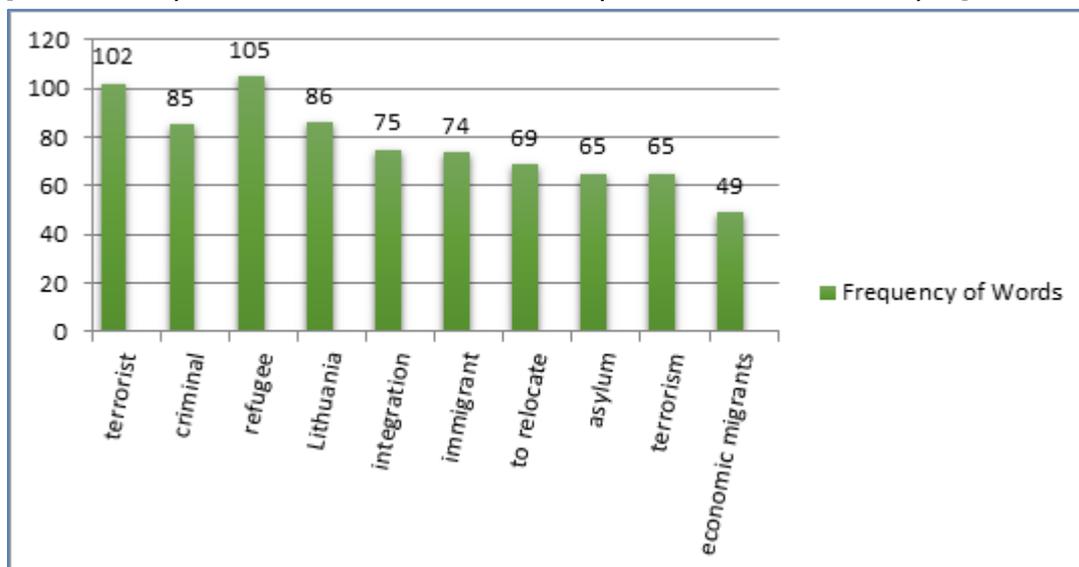
Among the articles analysed 121 publications adopt a negative, 65 publications a positive and 114 publications a neutral tone.

Illustration 5. Positive, Negative and Neutral Rhetoric in Publications on *Delfi.lt* [concluded by the author based on results of the content analysis]



To sum up the results, it can be said that a negative tone of information might have a specific meaning when forming the discourse on refugees in Lithuania and creating the image of refugees as a threat. Results show that the most frequently used words on *Delfi.lt* articles are: “refugee” (lit. *Pabėgėlis*) (105), “Lithuania” (lit. *Lietuva*) (86), “integration” (lit. *Integracija*) (75), “immigrant” (lit. *Imigrantas*) (74), “to relocate” (lit. *Perkelti*) (69), “asylum” (lit. *Prieglobstis*) (65), “terrorism” (lit. *Terorizmas*) (65). What is more, words such as “economic migrants” (lit. *ekonominiai migrantai*) (49), “humanitarian aid” (lit. *Pagalba*) (39), “Syria” (lit. *Sirija*) (29) are not used as often as the above mentioned words but they are related to the main topic and could represent different points of view.

Illustration 6. Frequency of Words in Short Messages on *Delfi.lt* [concluded by the author based on results of quantitative content analysis]



Taking into account the results of the quantitative research based on the website *Delfi.lt*, 35 articles were chosen for qualitative research (30 articles in Lithuanian, 5 articles in English). The main criterion for analysis was false information regarding the representation of refugees

within the discourse – this was for example the case when articles were not based on proven data such as scientific research, opinions of experts, researchers, political scientists.

The number of comments was also included as a criterion for data selection. It is considered that publications which have the largest number of comments drew the attention of the public the most and generated a lot of discussions. The articles were chosen according to different dates of publication in the period between June 2015 and December 2019. In reference to quantitative research, articles were divided into the following three categories according to the topic of the article:

1. Economic discourse
2. Security discourse
3. Integration discourse

4. Results of the qualitative analysis of articles' content retrieved from the website *Delfi.It*

Qualitative analysis was applied to the chosen articles (see 2.2 Structure of the Report) and each dimension was analysed in connection to economic, security and integration discourses. The main criteria for the analysis were: the use of evidence based research/science and missing facts (in order to answer the question: how do journalists know who is an expert and how to recognise falsified information); language and visualisation of the selected articles (in order to answer the question if the author is taking sides or is taking a neutral stance) and controversy within the selected articles (in order to answer the question: how controversial ideas are presented, if they highlight the topic from different perspectives).

4.1 Use of evidence-based research/science and missing facts

The goal of this analysis was to find out if articles were based on research, perspectives of academics and researchers respectively to prove the validity of the arguments provided. In addition to this, the following points were considered: is scientific research being incorporated? Is there only one reference or are there different ones? Which experts are being quoted? This chapter also provides information about authorship and explores, if the author is in favour of one opinion, or if the author is neutral, biased, and what view is presented in the article (if any).

4.1.1 Economic discourse

The results of discourse analysis reveal that the “economic migrant” versus “political refugee” distinction enforced by institutions remains largely unaltered. The assumption of an “economic refugee” unfolding in Europe is accepted and entangled in the same politics of labelling or representation of media. The emphasis on the economic aspect of migrants' lives is problematic and inevitably legitimises the reality media is attempting to intervene.

It has to be noted that editorials include larger amounts of information sources, however, data from research is rarely presented. For example, the article “Refugees are running away

from Lithuania alongside with emigrants” (lit. “Pabėgėliai sprunka iš Lietuvos kartu su emigrantais”) describes the reasons why refugees like emigrants choose other countries:

“Because of certain conditions, Europe has been filled with not only war refugees, but also with seekers of allowances, mostly from poor countries of Africa (...) What is more, the biggest European countries agreed to accept refugees. However, this situation was in favour of those who were economic refugees from Afghanistan, Pakistan, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Lebanon. Surprisingly, the percent of these people are even larger than real war refugees.” (Smalskienė, October 4th, 2016)²

However, this information is not based on any statistics about refugees leaving their country of origin because of political or economic reasons. The position of the largest European countries is also questioned, because not all countries are following the EU commitments regarding refugees (quotas for states, the right to asylum, integration of refugees, etcetera). The article presents the opinion of the scientist Dr. J. Šiaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė. An academic brings up the subject of ethnic minorities in Lithuania from different times, the opinion of Lithuanians, immigrants from the Middle East:

“I think that the problems which Germany, England or France have encountered are far from Lithuania. The reasons – our weak economy, poor living conditions. This is the same reason why we cannot stop Lithuanian emigration. Good that our economic problems protect us from immigrants”. (Smalskienė, October 4th, 2016)

Furthermore, the article presents alleged differences in values between Lithuanians and Muslims, but these arguments are not based on comparable examples. It is because the scientist almost never mentions economic migrants and claims that no one has an answer on how to adapt other cultures to local culture without the willingness to change their cultural traits. In research, scholars seem to suggest that belonging to a nation is a moral duty which means that a perceived and alleged lack of integration is due to the individual responsibility rather than to other factors (Schmid & Bös, 2012).

Nevertheless, in some publications the economic motives of refugees are presented as having a positive impact for the accepting country. The article “*People thought Jewish refugees fleeing Hitler weren't real refugees either*” presents the opinion about nowadays migrant crisis by the academician Dr. Eglė Verseckaitė. The lecturer of ISM University of Management and Economics explains problems related to migration in state-of-the-art societies and compares how refugees are treated within the European Union and the United States. A refugee in the EU faces restrictions regarding employment until s/he is granted a refugee status, while in the US, the waiting period is shorter: “It will be better for everyone if economic migrants had more freedom to come as economic migrants” (Staišaitytė, May 25th, 2016). This article includes references such as the World Bank, Eurobarometer, or historical aspects of colonialism. Moreover, the author notes that the opinion of civil society is always negative

² As the analysis within this report is focused on the website *Delfi.lt* and does not incorporate other media outlets, citation includes the authors' names rather than just the newspaper as is the case within the other sub-reports.

because citizens confuse legal and illegal immigrants and there is a fear of economic competition.

On the other hand, there is no scientific validity in informational reports. Comments of politicians are included, for example in the article “D. Grybauskaitė: We cannot pay more to refugees than to our retired citizens”, the opinion of the president is presented: “The examples of Belgium and France proved that too high social allowances to immigrants encourages not only the formation of their communities but also radicalisation” (ELTA, December 10th, 2015). However, this opinion is not based on any actual research made in Belgium or France, this statement is only directed to readers’ feelings and memories about events related to terrorism. What is more, the president points out the specific social data, for example that money which refugees receive cannot be higher than pensions, at the same time not explaining how lower social allowances will help to integrate refugees in society and provide employment.

Brief reports usually include statistics about arrived (planning to come) or departed refugees. An example of such a report has the title “Not Even a Third of Refugees Accepted in Lithuania Remain” (Media Briefing, February 23rd, 2018). Similar headlines can be found on the website *Delfi.lt*. Readers are becoming more interested in information about departed refugees. For example, the article “The second family has already left Lithuania” (677 comments) includes a comment by the Deputy Minister of Social Security and Labour, Vice-Minister Algirdas Šešelgis: “They were working successfully, had job, haven’t complained till this moment” (BNS, September 26th, 2016). There are other short reports that include similar data commented by the Ministry of Social Security and Labour and Migration Department. Publications do not provide any specific reasons why relocated people leave Lithuania. The representatives of institutions usually refer to the economy as a reason, but no research has been done to provide valid information.

In the context of economic discourse, several references are used in editorials (Stašaitytė, May 25th, 2016), but short reports include only one or two references which are the quotes from the representatives of the government or the statistics of the Migration department (ELTA, December 10th, 2015; BNS, September 26th, 2016). The position of refugees is not represented in publications, no quotes are provided about the departure of refugees. It must be noted that articles are quoting scientists whose specialist field is not asylum. In the first described case, the author is a scientist whose main research field is related to the question of ethnic minorities, Jews in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, antisemitism, anti-Judaism; the second scientist is a migration expert who is interested in migration research. The second example is more suitable to understand the issues at stake because it presents legal, illegal or forced migration.

4.1.2 Security discourse

The analysis of the security discourse on *Delfi.lt* revealed that refugees are often associated with negative characteristics which are related to crimes. This position is based on implied arguments and statistical data about possible threats to EU countries, including Lithuania.

In the context of security, the issue of refugees is presented through politicians’ and political scientists’ authorship articles. We noticed that their personal views are more dominant than

argumentative statements in all articles. The first example is the article titled “Whose interests are represented by the Minister of the Interior and the party Order and Justice? Citizens or Refugees?” (Mazuronis, April 28th, 2016). The former member of the EU parliament claims that refugees cause a threat to national security. Also, he adds that not even founding member states of the EU can ensure that each refugee has passed a security check up. As a reference, this article quotes the newest survey of citizens. The article was written in April 2016, the survey was conducted on November 19th and November 20th, 2015. The politician claims that almost 77 % of Lithuanians are against relocation of refugees to Lithuania (Mazuronis, April 28th, 2016). The survey of the *Institute for Ethnic Studies of LSRCV* conducted in 2015 (LSTC, 2015) proved that 72 % Lithuanians were against refugees, but the fact the survey took place after terrorist attacks in Paris on November 13th, 2015 was omitted, so the data was interpreted without taking into account the context. Furthermore, the article asks rhetorical questions:

“Why is their opinion not taken into consideration? Forceful relocation is not working in all EU countries: at the beginning of the year, only 272 refugees out of 160 000 were relocated (...) Why must these actions be carried out with all the money of Lithuanian people, while our salaries and pensions are the smallest in all of the EU? And here it is claimed that we will pay more to refugees because for me, as a minister, it will be uncomfortable to go to EU meetings.”

Therefore, it is assumed that politicians' authorship articles might influence a discourse of threat by encouraging negative feelings about refugees in the society with an escalation of economic motives.

In an article written by the politician Raimundas Markauskas, data from Eurostat or warnings from scientists (Valerie Hudson, professor of Texas A&M University) are used in order to present refugees as a threat. The member of the Social liberal and populism party writes:

“It means a threat to the EU. It is hard to imagine how to control this number of people, also the threat is visible in warnings of scientists with mentions of demographic data. For every three male refugees, there is only one female refugee despite the numbers of their children. Even if we take data from Eurostat where age is not indicated, statistics are cruel: in 2015, 300000 women and 800000 men came to Europe. If we add the number of refugees who arrived this year, we will have a million of refugees. One million of young, energetic, jobless men who can easily be manipulated towards destruction.” (Markauskas, March 7th, 2016)

Markauskas encourages to follow the example of Germany. In Cologne, the city mayor Henriette Reker set up self-defence courses for women after the attacks during New Year's Eve 2016. The politician raises the rhetorical question whether society is ready to have courses of self-defence for women in Lithuania.

When constructing the main arguments, the base of the sentence is created not only from personal opinions with no valid arguments but also by using examples from other countries. There is a constant highlighting of terrorist attacks in countries which have implemented

policies that favour multiculturalism. This is the reason why it is offered to follow the example of Hungary, Czech Republic and Slovakia:

“What if the prime minister of Hungary, Victor Orban, is right and EU leaders have already prepared the plan to move 500000 refugees from Syria? How many of them should Lithuania accept, of course according to compulsory quotas? A few thousand more? Maybe a few dozen thousand?” (Gedvilas, December 7th, 2015)

Also, it is mentioned that the EU and Lithuania would have a lot of problems regarding terrorism and crime. The main argument is related to the request to the European Court of Justice of Slovakia and Hungary: Refugees should be distributed according to the quota system. However, the request was rejected due to the international and European country rights: each country is obliged to provide refuge for people who are hiding from war or persecution, but countries are not obliged to give refuge to economic migrants (InfoCuria, September 6th, 2017) (author’s notes).

The political scientists who are commenting on the website *Delfi.lt* give more informative statements about the relations between terrorism and refugees. One political scientist tries to reduce the rising chaos: “(...) there is no reason to compare migrants and terrorists. However, there is no statistical data on the fact that the number of migrants increase terrorism, because the latest terrorist attacks in Europe were executed by EU citizens” (Dambraitė, March 31st, 2017). What is more, statistical data is also present in the article: there are around 16.5 million refugees in the world, Europe accepts only two million refugees, three million refugees are living in Turkey. Approximately two years ago, when the relocation of refugees spiked, around two million refugees had moved to Europe. At that time, European countries that had a lawful agreement to accept refugees closed all the borders. When providing statistical data about refugees in Turkey, the author mentions the example of Sweden and the proposal from the Minister of Culture and Democracy Alice Bah regarding terrorist group members returning to Sweden and the help offered to them to reintegrate into society. Political scientists warn to not forget that each country has commitments to citizens, including those who turned to the path of radicalisation. The article includes comments of refugees, opinions of NGO members (founder of *Livstycket* Brigitta Notlof), chief officers that counter the myth that refugees increase the crime rate in the country.

When analysing authorship, it can be said that personal opinions of policy makers dominate in the articles analysed, that is why we assume that the narrative around refugees and security can result in a bias. In the context of security there are on the one hand political actors of other countries who are in favour of cancelling EU refugee policies (position of Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland) and on the other hand Lithuanian politicians (other public figures) who criticise the government because of refugee policies and the burden of refugee quota. The main argument for this point is that Lithuanians should be a priority to the government. Public figures emphasise the dichotomy between “we” (lit. *mes*) and “they” (lit. *jie*). According to public figures, it is easier for society to understand the difference between groups if demonstrative pronouns are used. These articles do not only bear the opinions or criticism of powerful figures. Another point about authorship is that the voices of refugees are rarely heard since they are considered as passive members of society who do not have a right to voice an opinion.

4.1.3 Integration discourse

The focus of the articles on the website *Delfi.lt* is not only on terrorist attacks allegedly organised by refugees but also their alleged refusal to integrate in the receiving society. Government representatives express concerns regarding the integration of refugees. An example we aim to provide is the article named “The mayor of Rukla about refugees: they must keep their traditions to themselves”. This article has 615 comments. The mayor of Rukla reacts to crime situations as locals attacked women living in a refugee centre: “This is my position, they are visitors here. They have to respect our traditions, our laws, and I think that if they respect us, we will respect them” (Davidonytė, October 28th, 2016). The mayor of Rukla takes a strict stance against refugees, as according to him, Lithuanians would be punished more than refugees themselves. However, this article does not provide any statistics regarding Rukla’s situation in order to compare how many crimes are committed by Lithuanians and how many are committed by refugees. On the contrary, the article includes the opinion of the police officer who presents the crimes committed by locals against refugees. Refugees are also called “infidels” (lit. *kitatikiai*) who must follow local order and keep their traditions in their closed circle. But unlike the given facts, closeness and integration might be incompatible aspects. The main problem is outlined to be the number of refugees in the centre (180 refugees) in contrast to the ideal number of refugees that is announced as 100. However, there is no valid argument on why this number is the ideal one. No scientists, researchers or academics conducted surveys regarding these numbers.

The representatives of non-governmental institutions express their concern regarding refugees in Lithuania, but do not provide any solutions on how to integrate them. In an interview titled “Lithuanians refuse to provide accommodation to refugees” with the head of foreigners’ integration representative of *Caritas*, the NGO representative names the main problems when integrating refugees:

“This is the effectiveness of Lithuanian labour exchange, the teaching of Lithuanian because without knowing the language, integration in the job market is impossible. System of preschool education: are there enough job positions, are the schools ready for intense teaching courses for children?” (Pumprickaitė, December 14th, 2015)

However, only a personal perspective is provided, especially considering society’s negative sentiments. This perspective is related to values such as compassion and empathy. As the author describes it, empathy can be changed with education which should be started in primary school. Children should be introduced to other countries, their beliefs, and their religions. In the article “The second family has already left Lithuania” (lit. “Iš Lietuvos išvyko jau antra pabėgėlių šeima”), a NGO representative states that before their arrival, refugees are not acquainted with the situation of Lithuania’s economic system, job opportunities, or culture. Because of this, refugees would experience a shock and then leave Lithuania (BNS, September 26th, 2016). The person quoted in the article is presented as an expert who refers to her own experience but no options about how refugees should be informed about the upcoming situation in Lithuania are suggested. The reader is presented that “it seems that it is the fault of the economy”, but there is no valid data.

The representatives of non-governmental institutions rarely participate in discourse. In the article “In the happy picnic of refugees in Vilnius, fear for the future” (lit. “Nuotaikingame pabėgėlių piknike Vilniuje - nerimas dėl ateities”) it is stated that “NGO members notice that it is difficult to get along in Lithuania because of small allowances and the difficulty to find jobs because of negative views of Lithuanians” (Jakučionis, June 21st, 2017). The article includes an interview with refugees from Afghanistan and Chechnya which shows that their stories are not related to successful integration. On the other hand, there is no clear definition on the nature of those NGOs, but it can be assumed that they are connected to the Lithuanian Red Cross (lit. *Lietuvos Raudonasis kryžius*) and *Caritas*. The article furthermore provides the results of *Spinter Research* (lit. *Spinter tyrimai*) which show that 46 % of Lithuanians are against the acceptance of refugees while 49 % agree to accept refugees under certain conditions and 5 % agree to accept refugees unconditionally (*Spinter Research*, 2016). In another article, the former president Dalia Grybauskaitė is cited. She points out that accepting several hundreds of refugees is not only a challenge but also an opportunity to solve the problem of labour shortage. The “pre-determination” or prejudice of refugees to choose Sweden, the UK or other “economically stronger” countries is also emphasized (BNS, July 9th, 2015). However above-mentioned facts are not confirmed by any study or research. Furthermore, the article does not present the options of what should be done in order to reduce the negative view of society. Moreover, it is not specified why negative views towards refugees prevail in society. The results might be affected by the terror attacks in Europe between 2016 and 2018.

One editorial presents the report of UNHCR – the UN Refugee Agency. The author keeps his neutrality and presents information of the UN report with original bias, the author’s view is not given. The main attention is on refugee children and the problems they have experienced in schools. More than 3.5 million refugee children, aged 5 to 17, did not have the opportunity to attend school during the school year of 2016/2017. The high chief of the UN Agency Filippo Grandi points out that “according to the UNHCR mandate, half of 17.2 million refugees are children” (*Delfi.lt*, September 15th, 2017). The report “Left Behind: Refugee Education in Crisis” compares its data on refugee education with the UNESCO data about school attendance throughout the world. The report insists on integrating refugees in national education systems. This is thought to be the most effective, the most unbiased and the best approach. Also, the articles emphasise the exceptional effort that was already made in order to achieve this policy, especially in countries with limited resources. Integration to education system fails because one in three refugees live in low income countries. Documents such as the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants are referenced as well as the first report of the UN.

Politicians’ authorship articles selected for qualitative analysis are biased. In one authorship article, politicians state that terrorist attacks in Europe are the result of failed integration policy, but the statements are not based on proof. An example of an article that goes in this direction is the one referring to recent terrorist attacks as a result of failed integration policies towards EU refugees, immigrants, Muslims. “The idea of a multicultural EU disappeared a long time ago, although many people still refuse to believe it, but eventually they will have to” (Mazuronis, July 20th, 2016). Refugees are compared to ethnic minorities such as Roma people:

“(...) integration fails, newcomers do not look for a place in our societies, they are creating closed societies where even the police is afraid to intervene. Those societies do not even have our laws. They look like some Roma tabor. Do we really need to pretend that everything is good there?”

The politician does not provide any proof, but he is convinced that refugees and other immigrants are linked to Islamic extremism whose main goal is to “exterminate infidels”. As the author claims, it would be already proven that many war refugees (they are referred to as “economic migrants”) would be seeking for higher allowances or better salaries. This information is incorporated into the general discourse, so readers might not critically evaluate it. This might be identified as a way through which false information is distributed throughout society.

4.2 Language and visualisation of the selected articles

On the following pages the outcomes of the analysis of the style of language in the context of news values are presented: How can the language applied within the articles be described (argumentative, for example with arguments for and against; not one-dimensional or neutral, for example the author is supporting both sides, results of research are presented instead of personal opinion)? Does the article focus only on a national perspective or on a broader context? In terms of visualisation (static, interactive data; caricature; photos): Is it in line with the content? What does the report convey? How can the relationship between text and visualisation be described?

4.2.1 Economic discourse

Language

Editorials which are related to an economic discourse apply emotional language as they often quote government representatives who take on a negative stance towards refugees. By including delivered statements, they are trying to prove that refugees are a burden by bringing up economic motives such as too high allowances and benefits given to them, when local people would not receive enough financial support (ELTA, December 10th, 2015). Refugees are thought to be a burden for the government because they are represented as “guests” which do not want to work in Lithuania. What is more, some articles describe the international events that reflect the broader context. News about refugees are used to divide and illustrate the challenges of a humanitarian crisis to Lithuania and its society. There are no exact references that would confirm the validity of arguments but the emphasis is on the allowances in Lithuania: “We cannot pay refugees more than we pay to our people who worked 30-40 years and earned their pension” (ELTA, December 10th, 2015). Phrases such as “wealthier society”, “the size of allowances in Lithuania and other countries” (lit. “*turtingesnė valstybė*”; “*pašalpų dydis Lietuvoje ir kitose valstybėse*”) are used to show two opposed pictures. The article “Refugees from Lithuania want to go to wealthier countries: we were tricked” (lit. “*Atvežti į Lietuvą pabėgėliai nori į turtingesnę šalį: mus apgavo*”) provides information about one family who does not want to stay in Lithuania and is ready to write an appeal to the UN asking to be relocated from Lithuania:

“When I was told that Lithuania also accepts refugees, I had only one question: does Lithuania also provide the same rights as Germany, Sweden and other EU countries? I was told that yes, Lithuania is also considered as an A class country. When we arrived, we were introduced to the process of integration and allowances, and I realised that we were in the wrong country.” (*Delfi.lt*, September 26th, 2016)

On the other hand, it is important to note that rights and allowances are not the sole motives for migration.

The media does not depict positive stories about successful integration of refugees in Lithuania but there are a lot of stories on how refugees “run”, “escape”, “depart” (lit. “*bėga*”, “*sprunka*”, “*išvyksta*”) alongside with Lithuanian emigrants. “There is no need for an extensive search, the first family relocated to Lithuania has already left. Their justification – small allowances and very little salary” (Smalskienė, October 4th, 2016). Lithuania is compared to war zones from where the refugees are running away, the tendencies are similar to neighbouring countries. The topics of allowances in headlines are misleading readers: “Migrants are boasting about the paradise on Earth – 600 euro for doing nothing”. The article states that the internet provides false information about social benefits in Germany or Sweden for refugees: “Most of them think that they will receive 6000 euro as *greetings* money, soon will find an apartment, and there will be big sports hall with swimming pools. Also, they think that here it is easy to find a girlfriend and a job with a high salary” (*Delfi.lt*, May 25th, 2016). The article presents journalistic research where it is revealed that channels such as *Al Jazeera* and *Al Arabia* claim about allowances of 670 euro in Germany. Similarly, the representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees confirms about the unrealistic expectations of refugees and agrees that it is a problem.

Argumentative (with arguments for and against, not one-dimensional) or neutral (the author is supporting both sides, results of research are presented instead of personal opinion) language is found in articles supported by results of research or scientific opinion. One article presents the contribution of refugees to the economy of the receiving society (Samoškaitė, January 25th, 2016) and statistical information about pessimistic, neutral, or optimistic outcomes is provided. The situation is commented by the professor of Vilnius University R. Lazutka. He states that the success of immigrant integration can be evaluated by applying different criteria, and the information of above-mentioned could be incorporated in both Lithuanian and international context.

Visualisation

Informative messages and brief reports use statistics (it usually includes the number of arrived, departed, and relocated refugees), clichéd language (standard or formal phrases related to economic terms when discussing about incoming refugees and economic issues) and one or two comments of government representatives:

“With a few years passed after the first refugees were transferred to Lithuania, more than 70 % of all those transferred have already left the country and from July, no new individuals with the status of refugee have arrived in the country.” (Media Briefing, February 23rd, 2018)

According to the data from the Ministry of Social Security and Labour (SADM, 2018), 468 individuals have arrived in the country, 341 have already left. The informative report comes along with a picture, that depicts refugees with their luggage (Media Briefing, February 23rd, 2018). In other articles, pictures of a refugee camp in Turkey are incorporated as refugees were relocated from Turkey (BNS, September 26th, 2016) as well as pictures of the author of the comment (usually political actors) such as former president Dalia Grybauskaitė (ELTA, December 10th, 2015). It is believed that political leaders have an authority in society that leads to their opinions hardly being questioned (Fairclough, 1989), although also their opinions should be reconsidered. The informative articles have more visual elements which are related to the national context such as refugees who are planning to leave or have already left Lithuania or the representatives of the Lithuanian government.

Articles in the context of economic discourse provide results of research, comments of scientists or graphical data. When presenting the contribution of refugees to the accepting country (research done by scientists Marcel Fratzscher and Simon Junker from the *Ifo Institute for Economic Research*), charts are incorporated to illustrate the results of research (Samoškaitė, January 25th, 2016). What is more, this article also contains pictures of a professor of Vilnius University and the head of the International Organisation for Migration Vilnius Office (Samoškaitė, January 25th, 2016). The main picture and its headline intrigue the reader because the picture shows the concerned German chancellor Angela Merkel (Samoškaitė, January 25th, 2016). Although the *Ifo Institute for Economic Research* hints towards a positive stance towards refugees, the picture of the German chancellor causes concern because it does not correspond to the content. The article states that in 2015, Germany accepted more than one million refugees, however, the expenses would have amounted to 21 billion euros. Even though the article presents the research of German scientists, it also contains the comments of Lithuanian scientists which show a broader context. The picture hints towards an international problem which is the "uncontrollable wave of incoming refugees" in Europe. Articles which only include opinions of local academics (especially in short reports) include photos of refugees who supposedly have left Lithuania or remain in a waiting position (Smalskienė, October 4th, 2016; Stašaitytė, May 25th, 2016).

Another quite common scene depicted in the images used is the boat full of refugees sailing on the Mediterranean Sea towards the coasts of Europe, more precisely to countries such as Greece or Italy. This is for example shown in the article "Lithuania gets ready for refugee challenge" (BNS, July 9th, 2015). It is important to note that pictures do not always reflect the article. The mentioned article creates a concern about new "waves" of migrants coming from the Middle East, but it must be noted that the refugees in the boat come from other countries (African countries) (BNS, July 9th, 2015). Other editorials present refugees who claimed they were tricked to come to Lithuania – they expected to receive allowances similar to Scandinavian countries (Delfi.lt, September 26th, 2016). Qualitative content analysis reveals that many arguments are implied because articles present only personal experiences. 11 (out of 35) articles present biased opinions that can confuse readers when evaluating refugees as a burden for the Lithuanian economy.

To sum up, even though the authors are trying to illustrate refugees' negative impact on the Lithuanian economy, the text and visualisation do not always match. International messages

and reports are coming along with illustrations, where refugees are shown with suitcases and ready to leave Lithuania. Also, there are pictures of commentators (usually political actors) such as former president Dalia Grybauskaitė. Visualisation is closely related to the national context, because articles with research results are using graphs and the further analysed information reflects the international context. What is more, pictures do not always reflect the topics of editorials – pictures show refugees not coming from the Middle East.

4.2.2 Security discourse

Language

During the analysis of the news on the website *Delfi.lt*, it has been noted that editorials have a motive of threat: shocking comments about supposedly committed crimes by immigrants or refugees. The language of authors is emotional because the authors' main goal is to prevent a so called "Islamic invasion" to Europe. The article "Refugees – a Trojan horse in Europe" (lit. "Pabėgėliai – Trojos arklys Europoje") puts emphasis on the fact that the EU must take necessary actions to fight against the uncontrollable wave of refugees:

"I unwillingly remember the analogy of a Trojan horse; how the Trojan people could not take the horse as a gift. This can be applied to the EU that was not brave enough to say that the European Union is not responsible or obliged to save the world and it cannot accept each individual who wants to get in." (Mazuronis, January 20th, 2016)

According to the legend, the Greeks had the idea of making a huge wooden horse, hide their best soldiers and take over the city of Troy to win the war. Another article uses rhetorical questions which strengthen the arguments and influence opinions of readers (Bell & Garrett, 1998). In this article it is mentioned that refugees would be posing a threat to locals: "What if those refugees pose a threat to our national security? Especially now, when the geopolitical situation has worsened. Will Lithuania manage to check all refugees although countries that joined the EU a long time ago could not even do it?" (Mazuronis, April 28th, 2016). Publications can be attached not only to a national perspective but also to an international one. Articles provide information about terrorist attacks in Europe, the problem of asylum policies in Europe or quota assignments to the EU member states.

Comparisons and opinions about the incompatibility of refugees with Western societies feed ethnocentric beliefs stating that Europe would only be for Europeans and refugees should be brought back to countries such as Turkey because it was acknowledged as a safe third country. The emphasis in other articles is put on terrorist attacks in countries such as Germany, Denmark and Sweden – countries whose societies have been considered more accepting towards refugees (OECD, 2017). The author of an article states that crimes of refugees would be hidden: "Now it seems that crimes in Cologne, other German cities and in Scandinavia have opened the Pandora's box: long hidden facts and dissatisfaction of society started to come to light" (Garbačiauskaitė-Budrienė, February 4th, 2016). Actually, in *Charlie Hebdo's* editorials, crimes are not related to refugees, although the criminals were second generation immigrants. In order to avoid future attacks, the authors of editorials are offering to follow the example of Hungary, Slovakia, Czech Republic and resist EU refugee policies. To strengthen the threat of refugees, rhetorical questions are included: "Why isn't Lithuania

following the example of Hungary or Slovakia? Why didn't Lithuania stand in line with countries which said that they are against forceful quotas of refugees? We think that it is not fair, irrational and illegal." (Gedvilas, December 7th, 2015)

The imperative mode is also present in the articles: "(...) if Lithuanian politicians want, they can support refugees with their own funds, they can take care of their integration, they can take responsibility for that" (Mazuronis, April 28th, 2016). Negativity is strengthened, when repeating and putting emphasis on problems that Germany and Poland are facing. One article refers to the policy of Angela Merkel:

"I think that no one has forgotten the famous speech of A. Merkel for refugees to come to the EU. The chancellor of Germany filled her speech with Christian compassion, but she was trying to solve the demographic problems of the country. How many times was everybody repeating the same phrase – it is rude not to help others who need help. Yes, it is rude, but worse is not to pay attention to the security, interests and opinion of your residents." (Mazuronis, January 20th, 2016)

Emphasis in the article is put on the need for stronger and stricter decisions. The example of Germany is visible not only in publications but also in comments. The German chancellor is repetitively mentioned in connection to mistakes but it is not elaborated on how to avoid these mistakes in Lithuania. To sum up, 11 (out of 35) publications include biased opinions which can mislead readers and present refugees as a possible threat for Lithuania and Europe.

Even informative articles have plenty of elements which cause fear. For example, a murder in Freiburg – a teenage refugee from Afghanistan drowned a medicine student who had volunteered to help refugees. The article also mentions the attacks in Cologne and other German cities, so there is the underlying question whether the decision to open borders to hundreds of thousands of refugees would be a danger to German citizens (*Delfi.lt*, December 9th, 2016). A quote of the leader of German party *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD) is also included: "Our warnings about an uncontrollable immigration of hundreds of thousands of young men coming from patriarchal Islamic cultures are neglected and called populist". Similar presentation is given to the train attacks in Germany. In another article, the principal of the *German Institute on Radicalisation and De-radicalisation Studies* (germ. *Deutsches Institut für Radikalisierungs- und Deradikalisierungsforschung*, GIRDS), Daniel Köhler, is cited stating that "Prejudice against immigration and Islam will only get stronger in Germany" and that while refugees haven't been on the forefront of terrorist attacks, young refugees could be potential targets for the Islamic State but Germany would be lacking a consistent strategy to combat terrorism where one important measure would be the possibility of psychological help that should be fostered (*Delfi.lt*, July 21st, 2016). Refugees are linked to terrorism and are being portrayed as a risk for the country, because they would pose a threat in connection to terrorist attacks similar to the ones which happened in France and Germany.

Visualisation

A visual aspect adds more to the text and should encourage readers to think about their safety. However, articles written by political scientists (5 out of 35) are presented with a neutral view. When analysing visualisation in a security context, it is noted that there are only

a few charts which show statistical or interactive data. The article named “Lithuanian commentators on attacks in Paris: There is no time to abandon human rights” contains the quotes of a professor, a political scientist, an expert for security, an ambassador and a journalist. The political scientist reacts to the attacks in Paris stating “that attacks in Paris will make many countries to re-evaluate their security systems. It is important (...) not to exaggerate the threats and not to sacrifice citizens’ rights for security” (*Delfi.lt*, November 16th, 2015). Another professor is cited warning that “around 60-70 percent of prisoners in France are Muslims and prisons are a good place to brew terrorist organisations”. The discourse emphasises that such tragedies are unavoidable, and they will continue. The journalist consulted does not relate terrorist attacks to refugees. In his opinion, refugee relocation would in no way be related to the terrorist attacks in Paris, although antagonising Europeans and Muslim refugees would be exactly what the Islamic State is seeking. A direct quote is added: “Paradoxical though it may sound, intolerance and nationalism are more dangerous for Europe than Islamic fundamentalism.” Besides including portraits of two interviewees, a photo depicts the French police patrolling on the *Place de la République* square (*Delfi.lt*, November 16th, 2015). This picture causes thoughts of threat and forces readers to pay attention to their security without putting an emphasis on the relation between refugees and attacks.

Similar tendencies are also visible in other authorship articles. For example, when illustrating the article “Europe will be either borderless or safe” (lit. “Europa bus arba atvira, arba saugi”), a picture of two armed warriors is included, which reflects the content as the article deals with the threat of terrorism in Europe. The article states that “European leaders do not name the explosive threat, as it runs counter to the tale of an open world and a united humanity” (Sinica, March 24th, 2016). With the rhetoric, there is an attempt to ask whether the ticking bomb of terror would not be a reason “to finally blindly close the EU’s external border to illegal people, given that there are still clearly no guaranteed means of verifying the links and possible intentions of each of them” (Sinica, March 24th, 2016). Another political scientist discusses the 2016 terror attacks in Belgium by sending a clear message that “a new era of fear is beginning in Europe. It is marked by constant anxiety and feelings of insecurity (...)” (Kojala, March 23rd, 2016). The author states “It will be easier to dive into internal struggles, emotions, empty disputes over how many refugees are to blame for terrorism, even though for the second year in a row Europe itself has not been able to choose who is really running away from war and who is just seeking economic gain. Fundamental decisions require political will, strategy and vision, and the deficit in these matters is particularly acute. So it may be easier to get used to the Age of Fear than to fight it” (Kojala, March 23rd, 2016). This piece of information is accompanied by a picture that could be interpreted as an illustration of the situation in Belgium and hopelessness all over Europe – a firefighter is depicted with palms hunched over his face.

Authorship articles which include negative views highlight terrorist attacks and the threat to Lithuania. They are accompanied by pictures of the authors (political actors) (Mazuronis, January 20th, 2016; Gedvilas, December 7th, 2015). The intentional message of the texts does not correlate with the pictures, but it is thought that politicians were trying to increase their popularity since, on October 9th, 2016, parliamentary election had been held. What is more, members of parliament are well known to the Lithuanian society: They have been working in

the parliament for several years, representing the ideology of social liberalism and populism (Ramonaitė, 2006). So, the anti-immigration and anti-refugee discourse attracts a certain group of voters. The way media represent, focus on and give voice to different actors and incidents in society could have the (un)intentional result of strengthening negative discourse instead of fighting against it. Media representation is particularly sensitive when it is connected to ethnic, religious, or cultural groups in society. Media manipulation might be used not only in Lithuania but also in other countries in order to create the image of an enemy (refugees) and to prove to society that a certain political party would be the only one who could fight against this enemy.

Informational reports match the image, and tendencies are similar to the above-mentioned category: information about terrorist attacks in France, Belgium and Germany are accompanied by an image with police officers and a crowd of migrants (see f.e. Editorial, July 21st, 2016). The same article that deals with a terrorist attack on a German train includes one picture of a German train and a photo of train tracks that seem to be blocked, however it is not clear how the latter relates to the content (Editorial, July 21st, 2016). The article also mentions the events that took place on New Year's Eve 2015 in Cologne and it is claimed that most of the suspects were refugees. However, the article does not include the information that this has not been proven but only states that this event has increased prejudices vis-à-vis migrants from Arabic and African countries in Germany. Another publication presents the possible murder in Freiburg: a teenage refugee drowned a student who volunteered to help refugees. The picture next to the text depicts a person grieving next to a temporary memorial site (Editorial, December 9th, 2016). The article goes on to state "This news was followed by a debate over whether Chancellor Angela Merkel's decision to open its doors to hundreds of thousands of refugees did not endanger the Germans themselves" (Editorial, December 9th, 2016). This is followed by referring to alleged accusations of the government and the press as information about the incident had not been published instantly. A second picture included in the article depicts protests after the attacks in Cologne (Editorial, December 9th, 2016). The same article also includes a timeline about the number of refugees and the correlation to murders/cases of sexual assault. A paragraph about the policies of German chancellor Merkel and her decreased popularity is illustrated with a picture that depicts her and a refugee while taking a selfie (Editorial, December 9th, 2016). This picture is repetitively used in other informational messages as our qualitative content analysis has shown. In this case, visualisation matches the content, as arguments put forward are supported by the pictures included.

To conclude, the articles of politicians contain a narrative of threat illustrated through shocking statements referring to crimes allegedly committed by refugees or immigrants. The language of these articles is emotional because emphasis is put on the actions that the EU should take in order to fight the alleged uncontrollable incoming "wave" of refugees. Also, this language uses rhetorical questions, the imperative mode and metaphors (such as the *Trojan Horse*). An interesting finding is that the visual information does not match the text, because the images depict the politicians themselves which, according to us, is an attempt to increase popularity. Informational messages also contain elements of fear in connection to the murder in Freiburg, the train attacks, sexual abuse on New Year's Eve in Cologne or the terrorist attacks in Belgium and France. Furthermore, the decision of Angela Merkel to open

borders to hundreds of thousands of refugees is constantly being questioned. The visualisation of the reports mostly is in line with the content. Political scientists' authorship articles are neutral in a way that they provide multiple perspectives and research findings, but the pictures are often related to "threat" and force readers to pay attention to their safety.

4.2.3 Integration discourse

Language

When analysing the style of language in the context of integration, contrast is used to highlight differences between the "inner group" (Lithuanians) and the "outside" group (refugees). Refugees are presented as people who belong to other cultures and have different religions, so their integration is widely questioned. Rhetorical questions involve readers in the text:

"Firstly, cultural differences: are they visiting us or are we visiting them? They are visiting us. It is a general rule that if you are at someone's place, you are not trying to apply your rules, you are trying to adapt to the owner's ones. Didn't they know that Lithuania's culture is very different from theirs? Let them *integrate*. Besides, why do cultural differences not matter in the countries where they receive higher allowances?" (Markovičienė, February 25th, 2017)

Quotation marks are used to point out irony for readers and to question the effectiveness of integration policies. Also, politicians are encouraged to take care of Lithuanian people but not refugees. The author also refers to the visit of the former Minister of Social Security and Labour and the Minister of the Interior in a refugee reception centre: "For some reason, politicians like refugees more than their own people" (Markovičienė, February 25th, 2017). There is a partition between "we" and "they" which is underlined when refugees are compared with older people who worked for a long time in Lithuania. It is stated that older people would receive just a slightly higher pension than refugee allowances, though refugees had not done anything for Lithuania. The emphasis is on the differences between "our citizens" and "those who come here to live, not work". Stylistic and rhetorical devices draw attention to the demarcation between the own and the alien and a picture is created where refugees refuse to integrate into the receiving society. On the other hand, the voice of refugees is not present in the articles.

In another article a liberal politician and member of the European Parliament expresses concerns regarding refugee integration in Lithuania and specifically in Rukla (Davidonytė, October 28th, 2016). The political actor criticises the integration system there and compares the problems of refugees nowadays with ethnic minorities in the past: "We basically repeat the mistakes we had with national minorities – we left them to themselves, we thought they would learn on their own and find their way to schools. We have not learned and, dare I say it, this Government has done zero in this area" (Jackevičius, July 3rd, 2016). The politician claims that Lithuania still would not have an effective system in place to integrate refugees and blames the government for refusing to take responsibility and instead putting it on NGOs such as *Caritas*. The politician refers to Rukla's refugee centre as a "semi-strict regime" which would not be compatible with integration because children would be learning Russian, living conditions would not be suitable and underground housing would be thriving. The politician

also refers to Germany as an example where education of refugees has received a lot of attention and this would allow refugees to look for a job later. On the other hand, representatives of Rukla disagreement with this opinion and an alternative discourse is also included in the article (Jackevičius, July 3rd, 2016).

When analysing style and rhetoric of NGO representatives' comments in the articles, a humanitarian discourse can be identified. The article "Why refugees run away from Lithuania" (lit. "Kodėl sprunka į Lietuvą atvykstantys pabėgėliai") points out that Lithuania would not be ready for refugees' integration and continues to state:

"At least such an impression can be formed by looking at the news of recent days – one of the newcomers no longer works in the prestigious place offered to him, another promises to complain about Lithuania to the United Nations, a third went to Sweden with his family, and a fourth – it is not clear where." (Pukėnė, October 2nd, 2016)

The head of a *Caritas* integration programme is also cited, putting forward another opinion about refugees' motivation to stay in or leave Lithuania. She states that refugees are expecting to get involved in the job market, to receive a proper salary, to find a place to live, to avoid any trouble regarding children education:

"The human desire to live with dignity is justifiable, but how they understand this information in embassy – that is an absolutely different topic, plus how much do they understand English, how many of them read what is written in papers. It is not the case that refugees expect (or do not expect) to get more allowances." (Pukėnė, October 2nd, 2016)

Within the article, the experiences of other countries are also mentioned. The Minister of Interior is mentioned who has referred to Ireland as an example for successful integration as integration procedures would start immediately and would include social, educational, cultural and health programs (Pukėnė, October 2nd, 2016).

Visualisation

Another article deals with a report about refugees published by *Amnesty International* (ELTA, November 3rd, 2016). The report itself informs about the need of humanitarian help. In the article no social categorisation is visible, the binary opposition between "insiders" and "outsiders" is not created. In general, humanitarian help is emphasised in publications where refugees are viewed as the people who need this assistance. It is important to note that editorials also include reports which provide information about asylum policies in general. The article referring to the *Amnesty International* report where it is claimed that refugees would have terrible living conditions in Greece, also includes a quote by *Amnesty International's* Athens refugee and migrant rights expert: "Our new report showed that two years after the beginning of the refugee crisis in Greece, refugees have been living in miserable conditions, in fear and without any knowledge of their future" (ELTA, November 3rd, 2016). The article is accompanied by a picture showing two young men, possibly refugees, sitting in dry grass and resting their face on their forearms.

Another article deals with pepper sprays and the fact that in a part of Denmark they have been handed out to citizens labelled “asylum-sprays” by right-wing politicians as a means of protection against refugees. The stance taken within the article hints towards opposing measures like these and the article also refers to a UNHCR statement issued in connection to the incident in which strong opposition had been raised to the distribution of products like pepper sprays (*Delfi.lt*, October 3rd, 2016). Visual information does not seem to reflect the stance taken in the article since the photo shows a girl who is holding a pepper spray with the label “asyl-spray” (*Delfi.lt*, October 3rd, 2016) while the main message to the reader is to condemn this humiliation of refugees. However, within the analysed articles there are not many similar discourses that would criticise negative actions towards refugees. Most articles present refugees as a threat to security, as a danger, as criminals who should be avoided. It is believed that these visual effects are only made to attract readers’ attention and to increase the audience (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2016).

One of the most vulnerable groups of people in the world are children. Within our analysis refugee children are rarely being mentioned. If they are mentioned, they are described as weak, unable to defend and take care of themselves. But it is important to emphasise that children have endured heavy psychological traumas. One analysed article refers to a report issued by the UNHCR that sheds a light on refugee children’s lack of proper education and summarises its main findings referring to the essential role education plays (*Delfi.lt*, September 15th, 2017). Further information is provided regarding necessary measures and problems that might arise in connection to the education of refugee children. The article includes a photo possibly depicting refugee children reading books while it is stated that more than 3.5 million refugee children between five and 17 would not have had access to schools in recent years, therefore conditions mostly do not allow reading books.

Articles written by political scientists include pictures, but their purpose is not to intrigue or shock the reader as discriminatory reports and comments are limited. They express an opinion and critique stereotypes in society as well as in the press which becomes the field of different interests (different representation of refugees). There is a trend to deny negative images of refugees and assigned traits. In the economic and security discourse, there are few discussions about human rights and freedom but there are some hints about refugees’ rights. When commenting on a survey conducted by *Delfi.lt* and *Spinter Research* in October 2015, a researcher of the *Institute for Ethnic Studies* of LSRC reacts to the stereotypes of refugees stating that terrorists were not refugees, immigrants or Muslims, while a photo of the researcher is included (Pukėnė, November 18th, 2015). In general, the article presents the survey’s outcomes and charts that represents the results are also added to the text (Pukėnė, November 18th, 2015). However, the picture on top of the page refers to a humanitarian crisis: A group of men is depicted sitting on the floor shoulder to shoulder, possibly on a rescue ship. Images of refugees on vessels crossing the Mediterranean Sea are present in other articles as well that deal with refugee quota, NGO activity, integration measures or problems of Rukla’s refugee centre in Lithuania (see f.e. BNS, July 9th, 2015; BNS, October 12th, 2017). Another article that deals with Lithuanian survey results, an image which is not related to the Lithuanian context, is used for illustration. The photo included depicts an anti-immigration PEGIDA demonstration in Cologne, Germany (Zverko, January 29th, 2016). Statistical data is provided in the text; however, charts of results are not provided. As

outlined in the article, for the past five years, refugee status had only been granted to 10 to 25 applicants in Lithuania, but 74 % of Lithuanian respondents claimed that there were too many refugees and that the government should not allow more refugees to enter (Zverko, January 29th, 2016).

Editorials that contain quotes of representatives of government institutions are often accompanied by pictures. Visualisation matches the content, but when refugee integration is mentioned, the topic of cultural and religious differences arises. So, these differences are emphasised with the help of an image. The article “The head of Rukla about refugees: they should keep their traditions to themselves, not force them on us” (lit. “Ruklos seniūnas apie pabėgėlius: tegul savo tradicijų laikosi uždarai ir nebruka jų mums”) includes a picture of a woman that covers her hair with a headscarf (Davidonytė, October 28th, 2016). Refugees are often presented as an opposite to Western values of democracy. Also, in connection to this article, it can be claimed that specific values are projected since the article uses quotes such as “this is our home, we are the owners here” (Davidonytė, October 28th, 2016). The topic of religion is widely spread among the articles, although the main problem is not religion but rather integration, language barriers and job positions. Illustrations help to form a negative view of refugees because of their different religious beliefs. It is suggested that refugees could not integrate and live in Western societies as they would adhere to different beliefs. This is how the partition between “us” and “them” is created. They are thought to be members of an out-group who is hostile to the dominant part of society.

The visual message of editorials which include quotes of NGO representatives, does not always correspond to the text. Texts comment on the humanitarian help, the need for a refuge, the problems of refugees’ integration but the images present women with headscarves to prove that they belong to another culture (see f.e. Pumprickaitė, December 14th, 2015; Jakučionis, June 21st, 2017). Most editorials also do not contain any quotes from refugees themselves: Their position is expressed through NGO representatives and activists who fight for human rights. In an interview titled “Syrian activist: how can you understand how we feel” (lit. “Sirijos aktyvistė: kaip tik jūs ir galite suprasti, kaip mes jaučiamės”) the refugee journalist Kholoud Helmi talks about the situation in Syria, refugees’ integration, failure and human rights (Beniušis & BNS, November 24th, 2016). However, it has to be taken into account that negative information in the media often worsens the position of refugees. The interview is illustrated with a photo showing destroyed buildings (Beniušis & BNS, November 24th, 2016).

When analysing the language style in the context of refugees’ integration, contrasts, comparisons, rhetorical questions, exclamations are mostly used to show differences between the inner group (Lithuanians) and the outside group (refugees). Refugees are presented as people who belong to another culture, and religion is the reason why their integration is widely questioned. Pictures in the articles which quote representatives of government institutions, match the content, but the emphasis is rather put on the cultural and religious differences: Illustrations thus help to strengthen the “clash of cultures”. At the same time, a humanitarian discourse can be identified where voices and reports of NGOs and NGO representatives are included. The provided illustrations such as destroyed buildings, refugee children or arriving refugees match the topics of the texts. A lot of top images depict the humanitarian crisis in Europe with full boats of refugees moving towards the coasts of

Europe. Finally, articles which present survey outcomes often provide graphs of survey results.

4.3 Controversy within the selected articles

Within this part of the report we try to answer the following questions: How are controversial ideas presented? Do they highlight the topic from different points of view? Which links to other related (scientific) articles/material (like statistics, surveys, research centres) are used to present refugees? Finally, what is missing compared to evidence/research? Which important information remains unmentioned? Which scientific findings would lead to results different from those represented in the articles? Are there other noteworthy details in the text associated to misrepresentation?

4.3.1 Economic discourse

Editorials which include scientific research and quotes from academics, incorporate at least two different perspectives opposed to authorship articles, where only one perspective is presented. For example, a survey was conducted between October 16 to 26th, 2015 for *Delfi.lt* through *Spinter Research* to assess Lithuanians' opinions regarding refugees. The survey showed that 72,7 % of Lithuanians think that accepting refugees is useless for Lithuania. 61,3 % of Lithuanians do not principally approve the decision to accept refugees. According to 25,2 % of respondents, Lithuania does not have the necessary resources to integrate refugees. A chart in the text shows the results of different surveys (MRU and *Spinter Research*) which cannot be compared. However, the survey is commented by Karolis Žibas, a researcher of the *Institute for Ethnic studies*:

“(…) the results of the survey are greatly influenced by public discourse and a misunderstanding of the situation. In principle, the Lithuanian society does not adequately and objectively understand the issue of refugees, that is why the society cannot evaluate it. Lithuania does not have more refugees than what is indicated in the common asylum system. In other words, a very small number, so the society has no contact with refugees which is what creates a certain fear or prejudice”. (Pukenė, November 18th, 2015)

The article also quotes the head of *Spinter Research* stating:

“We are not surprised that the attitude is mostly negative, because we expected such results. The findings of the study consist of several things. For example, the fear of a stranger – Lithuanians are not open to other nations, representatives of other faiths. This is shown by many value studies, so I don't think this study on refugees might have been surprising. The other is economic matters. Undoubtedly, before the election, the populists will begin to glorify the alleged emigrants coming, occupying jobs, or the like. It can be remembered here that almost a third of Lithuania's budget is EU support. So it's a little surprising for people who think we can't accept immigrants because we don't have the money.” (Pukenė, November 18th, 2015)

Controversial ideas in articles which include research results or arguments provided by scientists (for and against a matter), are presented in a neutral manner – neither sides are supported, nor personal opinions. One article provides statistics about the contribution of refugees to the welcoming countries' economy:

“According to a study by Marcel Fratzscher and Simon Junker on economic benefits of refugee integration published on the website of the *Institute for Economic Research* in Berlin, refugee integration will have specific economic benefits for Germany on the long run. But the investment will only start to pay off in five or six years. Even in the short term, the money given to refugees flows into the economy, as refugees live and spend money in Germany, which benefits local markets and the service sector.” (Samoškaitė, January 25th, 2016)

Statistical data provides pessimistic, neutral, and optimistic outcomes:

“72,7 % of refugees are in their working age, most of them are not older than 34 years. Researchers assume that the amount of working age refugees will reach 70 to 75 %, but also taking into account the fact that one family member may refrain from participating in the labour market because of childcare.” (Samoškaitė, January 25th, 2016)

This situation is also observed by a professor of Vilnius University. He states that the benefits and advantages of immigration can be evaluated according to different criteria such as cost, benefit and moral. So, controversial ideas related to refugees' economic motives and their impact on economies are presented from different perspectives.

Reports, informative messages, and authorship articles often present one dimension, the topic is only viewed from one side. The main actors are journalists and representatives of government institutions. The former Lithuanian president Dalia Grybauskaitė for example refers to the examples of Belgium and France to argue that too high social allowances would encourage refugees to not only live in closed circles but also drive radicalisation (ELTA, December 10th, 2015). However, this information is not based on specific statistical data. The hint behind these examples is that refugees are related to terrorist attacks and crimes. The society gets a wrong impression as the organisers of the attacks were second generation immigrants who were not related to refugees (Crone, Falkentoft, Tammikko, 2017). What is more, it is emphasised that in such “ghettos”, refugees would radicalise themselves and would thus not be safe for the society. Other reports indicate the number of departed refugees and the economic reasons of departure, but this information cannot be confirmed by refugees themselves. According to the Deputy Minister of Social Security and Labour Algirdas Šešelgis, refugees who were successfully working were not complaining about job positions (BNS, September 26th, 2016). Even though refugees are considered as receivers of social allowances, they are often described as immigrants (the status of immigrants is different from the one of refugees) who only came here to live but not to work.

When analysing the references to other scientific articles or data such as statistics, questionnaires and survey centres, it can be noted that in the context of an economic discourse, scientists present statistical data based on international sources (World Bank, Eurobarometer). However, there are no mentions of Lithuanian surveys. The discourse also

presents international scientific research such as the research led by the German *Institute for Economic Research* about the economic benefits of refugees, as well as survey results of *Ifo Institute*, the results of opinion polls, or comparison of different results of MRU and *Spinter Research*.

4.3.2 Security discourse

During our qualitative analysis of *Delfi.lt* content, it has been noted that articles written by politicians contain only one-sided opinions. The main topic of articles is related to the narrative of refugees being a threat. In some articles, emphasis is put on the alleged crimes committed by refugees and immigrants. It is claimed that the EU must take necessary measures against the uncontrollable “wave” of arriving refugees (Mazuronis, January 20th, 2016). The author of the article tries to prove that refugees are posing a threat to local people: “What if those refugees pose a threat to our national security? Especially now, when the geopolitical situation is uncertain? If the EU founders cannot assure that each refugee passes security checks, can Lithuania do that?” (Mazuronis, April 28th, 2016)

Political scientists present valid arguments regarding refugees and terrorist relations. In one article, statistical data shows that there are approximately 16.5 million refugees in the world and only two million in Europe (three million refugees live in Turkey). Besides comments from a political scientist, the article includes opinions of NGO representatives, the police, and refugees themselves (Dambravaitė, March 31st, 2017). The goal of the articles is to present different points of view (including several sources of information) when questioning the relation between refugees and terrorism. When describing the terrorist attacks of 2016, another political scientist refers to Barack Obama and Donald Trump and criticises Europe because of the fact that it would not recognise who is actually running away from war, and who would want economic benefit (Kojala, March 23rd, 2016). Some political scientists do provide negative and controversial opinions and are trying to illustrate a connection between the increased number of immigrants from Muslim-majority countries and terrorism, as well as with Islam:

“This is the origin of Islam, if it is implemented in accordance with Salafi teachings and the political methods of the Prophet. Its goal is a worldwide caliphate and to cause fear to countries that could not be conquered yet. Europe has a hard time to admit this as the objective fact of reality and tries to form the guidelines of survival.” (Sinica, March 24th, 2016)

Examples in Belgium and France are given and a representative of the US House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence is quoted. The representative cited in the article claims:

“When we have to contact the European security services or even send our men to talk to them, we talk to people, I will be straightforward, who are children. They’re not proactive, they just don’t know what’s going on. This is a very frightening thing to acknowledge, their country (Belgium) is being taken over (by jihadists). The bottom line is that Belgium has become a major base for brutal extremists”. (Sinica, March 24th, 2016)

Moreover, the actions of the Belgian Minister of Interior and the mayor of Marseille are criticised and it is questioned whether this situation would not require military assistance because the “welcome refugees” policy would be against the safety of citizens. However, there is no evidence that terrorist attacks are related to refugees. Religious terms are present in the text but not always in a moderate way, because it is stated that in the case of Europe’s disaster, “Allah will take its place along with the blood sucking prophet”.

When analysing references (other related scientific articles or material), it is seen that they include statistical data such as the *Eurostat* information and warnings of scientists in order to depict refugees as a threat. Statistics show the number of incoming and departed refugees (Dambraitė, March 31st, 2017). The data is based on the research conducted by the professor of Texas A&M University Valerie Hudson. She was analysing the situation in Sweden as Sweden has accepted the second largest number of refugees per citizens. According to the research, 71 % of incoming refugees are men, and 90 % are 16 to 17-year-old teenagers, and the author of the article claims that it completely misbalances the demography of Sweden (Markauskas, March 7th, 2016). On the other hand, it is still not clear how this research is related to terrorism in Europe. Statistical data also tries to emphasise that the supposed burden of refugees is not as extreme as it is presented in the public discourse, since Europe accepted only 2 million refugees.

4.3.3 Integration discourse

During our analysis of controversial ideas in the integration context, we noticed that the voice of refugees is not heard. We are in fact unaware of the reasons and opinions of the refugees who departed since they are not given the possibility to voice their opinion or provide reasons for their departure. On the contrary, the reasons why refugees leave are stated by other people who do not have or use specific information – no research, interviews, surveys. There is no positive integration example in the articles. Editorials quote NGO representatives who, it seems, should represent refugees. However, as social workers state, refugees leave Lithuania because they are not informed about the economic system, job possibilities, culture (BNS, September 26th, 2016). Although representatives of non-governmental organisations express concerns regarding the integration of refugees, they do not suggest any solution to the problems that the refugees face. Representatives only name the main problems such as Lithuanian language, the job market, the educational institutions (Pumprickaitė, December 14th, 2015). On the other hand, mostly NGO representatives point out why negative opinions towards refugees prevail. According to the results of a *Spinter Research* survey 46 % of Lithuanians are against accepting refugees (Jakučionis, June 21st, 2017). The article referring to this survey however only presents the data from the survey but does not suggest any measures in order to reduce prejudices about refugees within society.

Similar tendencies of biased and one-sided opinions are visible in articles containing quotes of government representatives. The head of Rukla draws a one-sided picture of the situation claiming that refugees in Lithuania should keep their traditions in private, and that Lithuanians feel punished more than refugees themselves, even though the described incident (refugees were attacked near Rukla’s refugee accepting centre) was committed by locals against refugees. The former (2016) Minister for Social Security and labour states in an

interview that the head of Rukla's refugee accepting centre would be passive when solving problems regarding refugees. There is a constant repetition that the motivation to integrate should come from refugees themselves, because locals could not work or learn their language for the refugees. The then minister also states that it would be hard to say if the integration program is a success or not (BNS, October 29th, 2016). But there is no statistical data which would prove the point, no hint about the role of Rukla's mayor, no suggested changes regarding integration, and the article only provides abstract definitions about the integration plan and the carried out actions and results. These reports confuse the reader because there is no specific information provided, although the minister is trying not to make any assumptions. However, her opinion might fuel prejudices against refugees. Public figures follow a discourse which is useful for them and take on the position which reflects the authority of the receiving country.

When analysing references to other scientific material such as statistics or interviews, it is noticed that references include results of research centres. The scientists provide results and comments about problems connected to the integration of refugees. The newest and broadest research (performed by the *Institute for Ethnic Studies* in 2017) which was presented in the conference *Refugees in Northern Europe and the Baltics: municipal integration* is cited in an article. In connection to the survey Karolis Žibas is quoted:

“On the other hand, we have to view the refugee integration process within the country's broader socioeconomic context. When emigration rates are among the largest and the Lithuanian labour market is abandoned by a large portion of locals who speak Lithuanian, have jobs, relatives and connections, it is naive to expect that refugees who are vulnerable, have psychological difficulties, do not know Lithuanian, do not have friends, family or work will stay in Lithuania.” (BNS, October 12th, 2017)

The scientist provides the conclusions of the research but admits that there is a lack of overall understanding. “Will we look at refugees as temporary guests and labour force or will we think of them as future citizens who can enter our job market and at least partially resolve the country's demographic situation in the long term?” (BNS, October 12th, 2017). Within this article, the Lithuanian integration strategy is compared with approaches in Germany or the Scandinavian countries. There, everything is coordinated by the regions, also, they are centres of socioeconomic resources while integration of refugees in Lithuania is mostly coordinated by NGOs. According to the results of the survey, it is noted that there would be a lack of employer involvement in refugee integration. Refugees would often be vulnerable in the labour market, because in case of labour shortage, the private sector would seek individuals that can be paid lower wages or would make use of positive discrimination – state subsidised jobs. Finally, according to the survey, more than 80 % of Lithuanian citizens believe that refugees might increase crime rates in the country. While most of the arriving refugees are moderate Muslims, the public's opinion on refugees' religious rights and practice in public or at work were also analysed in the research.

The article “Lithuania is getting ready for the refugee challenge” again refers to Karolis Žibas stating that “Lithuania would not face the problem of immigrant ghettos because very few of

them would actually stay in Lithuania” (BNS, July 9th, 2015). Karolis Žibas is also directly quoted:

“We have to realise that if those 250 or more refugees were brought to Lithuania, the majority of them would probably leave the next week and would go where they would like to live, maybe Sweden or the UK. Migrant quotas do not solve the problem. They only create a certain illusion that Europe shares the asylum system.” (BNS, July 9th, 2015)

Other editorials such as the one of November 18th, 2015 (Pukėnė) and June 21st, 2017 (Jakučionis) include survey results that reflect the public opinion on ethnic, social and religious minorities in Lithuania. The English articles (BNS, July 9th, 2015; BNS, October 12th, 2017) present clear arguments regarding refugees’ integration. Those arguments are based on the results of a survey.

Other Scientific Research

It is important to answer key questions regarding past research: What is left out compared to evidence/research? Which important omitted information remains unmentioned? Which scientific findings would lead to results different from those that are dealt with in the articles? Can the results of the research change public opinion?

One of the most important research in the field of security and migration was conducted by the Danish Institute for International Studies (Crone, Falkentoft, Tammikko, 2017). The study found that most of the terrorist attacks in Europe cannot be linked to refugees. Also, UN documents such as *Global Trends: Forced displacement in 2018* (UNHCR Office, June 20th, 2019) provide useful information. This document shows statistical data and outlines the main problems that refugees are facing. The narrative of the website *Delfi.lt* does not put emphasis on the most vulnerable group of refugees – namely children: this is the reason why journalists should take into account the data presented in the UN report *States Must Ensure Protection of World’s Most Vulnerable Children, Mandate Holders Tell Third Committee, as Failure ‘Could Not Be Condoned’* (2017). The discourse revolves around false information in connection to refugees’ integration into the receiving society. This is because integration is usually related with job positions, language learning, but in addition to this, it is a larger concept which includes many other components (including views of the civil society). The survey by OECD *Who Bears the Cost of Integrating Refugees?* (2017) might help to indicate the size of the integration problem.

One of the most important aspects in the media discourse is the need for professional journalism. Some publications in the website *Delfi.lt* lack information based on scientific research in reporting on refugee related issues in Lithuania. The content of the articles is not informing a neutral, evidence-based opinion of society towards refugees in Lithuania. The research of the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) - *Public narratives and attitudes towards refugees and other migrants* (Mosel et al., 2019) could help deepen the understanding of recent trends in migration patterns, public perceptions and political narratives towards refugees and other migrants. Another research of UNHCR – *Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European countries* (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2016) – reveals the negative representation of refugees in different European

countries. This confirms the results of the CCME and WACC Europe survey *Changing the Narrative: Media Representation of Refugees and Migrants in Europe* (Pierigh, 2017).

Not much research has been conducted regarding refugees in Lithuania but the dissertation of D. Bartušienė *The Ethnography of Asylum: Refugees' Experiences with Health Care in Lithuania* (2011) analyses the problems faced by refugees in their accepting country and provides authentic surveys regarding their health experience. Some research such as *Refugee integration. Policies and practices: legislative developments and NGO initiatives as the response to relocation and resettlement in Lithuania* (Blažytė & Žibas, 2018) and *Evaluating the policy and processes of the integration of migrants and refugees* (Žibas & Platačiūtė, 2017) is related to the integration of refugees and migrants in Lithuania.

5. Conclusions

To sum up, news is not necessarily the reflection of real situations, news is constructed with the contribution of journalists. When analysing the refugee discourse on the website *Delfi.lt*, we aimed at answering main questions related to news value criteria. When analysing texts for the construction of newsworthiness, it is important to focus first and foremost on the potential meaning of the analysed texts, to know how the use of verbal and visual resources informs particular news values and constructs the reported event as newsworthy. The important criteria are falsification and bias, completeness of news (only a part of the information is provided), context (how much additional information the author should provide to the readers, so they would be aware of deeper contexts) as well as balance (different points of view). News values are visible as those values that have been recognised in the literature as defining the newsworthiness of reported events and actors. This includes news values such as Timeliness, Negativity, Impact, Superlativeness, Eliteness, Consonance, and others.

To conclude, according to the context of the economic, security and integration discourse, it can be claimed that there are only few publications which refer to scientific research (comments and opinions of political scientists, scientists, research institute analysts). 49 publications out of 300 refer to research. When presenting scientific research or giving refugees' comments about economic motives, the discussion takes place only among lecturers of universities, historians, migration experts (Vilnius University, ISM University). The security discourse includes many quotes and authorship articles of political scientists who are famous among academic groups (f.e. Linas Kojala, Vytis Jurkonis, Margarita Šešelgytė). When thinking about which experts are being quoted, it has been noticed that representatives of government institutions mostly comment in informational messages and reports. Comments reflect economic and integration aspects (Representatives of the Ministry of Social Security and Labour, the Migration Department, the head of Rukla's refugee centre, the head of Rukla), however the information is only about the number of incoming and departing refugees. Politicians authoring articles quote other politicians and the former president Dalia Grybauskaitė. Their opinions are contributing to a discourse of threat, trying to create fear, emphasising narratives connected to economy and terrorism. Statistical data such as *Eurostat* information is used to prove the image of refugees as a threat and to formulate arguments. The representatives of non-governmental organisations express their concern regarding

refugee integration in Lithuania (interview with heads of *Caritas* foreigner's integration program, the UN reports, comments of the head of UNHCR Filippo Grandi).

During the analysis of authorship, it has been noticed that articles containing an economic discourse contain neutral opinions of scientists (it is f.e. questioned why refugees depart Lithuania). Editorials (informational messages and reports) with comments of government representatives often contain bias (f.e. it is emphasised that social allowances for refugees cannot be higher than social allowances to certain groups of Lithuanians – the principles of equality and the right of asylum are questioned). Personal views (not argumentative facts) dominate in authorship articles, so this discourse can be called biased. Political scientists who comment the situation in *Delfi.lt* provide more valid arguments about the relation between refugees and terrorism. The rhetoric of comments is neutral because the information is not selectively chosen (regarding motives of terrorism). NGO representatives (interview) express their concern regarding refugee integration and do not represent any interests, however, their view is not pointed out. Editorials containing surveys of research centres or institutes often also include statements issued by scientists (Institute for Ethnic Research, Ifo Institute, Radicalisation Research Institute), indicating for example that the Lithuanian society could not objectively and adequately understand the issue of refugees and the absence of contact with refugees would increase prejudices and fear. However, *Delfi.lt* hardly voices the opinion of refugees themselves, they are viewed as passive voiceless participants.

All in all, the style of language and visualisation within the security discourse fuel a narrative of threat, especially in articles of politicians. Some articles present shocking opinions about alleged crimes of refugees and immigrants. The language used by the authors is emotional and the EU is encouraged to take measures, to fight against uncontrollable incoming “waves” of refugees. Language style includes rhetorical questions, imperative mode, comparisons (*Trojan Horse*) but the visual information does not always match the topic of the article because it includes pictures of politicians (an attempt to increase popularity). Informational messages contain high amounts of threatening elements such as murders, train attacks, sexual attacks in Cologne on New Year's Eve, terrorist attacks in Belgium and France. What is more, the decision of Angela Merkel to open borders to hundreds of thousands of refugees is constantly being questioned within the articles. The visualisation of informative reports matches the content, because the visualisation is related to the events described. The articles which have comments of political scientists or were written by political scientists are mostly neutral, but the selected images too cause a sense of threat.

When analysing the language style in integration discourses, it is noted that contrast, comparisons, rhetorical questions or exclamations are used in order to emphasise the differences between an inner group (Lithuanians) and an outside group. Refugees are viewed as people who belong to different cultures and religions, so their integration is widely questioned. Visualisation goes along with the articles' content with quotes of government institutions, but if the articles include the topic of refugee integration the emphasis is often put on religious and cultural differences, that is illustrations mostly strengthen the “clash” of cultures (women are depicted wearing a headscarf). Representatives of NGOs express concerns regarding refugee integration in Lithuania. Also, representatives of the UN and *Amnesty International* express the need for humanitarian help. Illustrations match the main topic of the articles but at the same time foster stereotypes (destroyed buildings, refugee

children, arriving refugees). Articles with comments of scientists and surveys of public opinion provide interactive visual information (charts) depicting the results of the research. After all however, pictures included often illustrate the dominant topic of a European humanitarian crisis by using images of vessels filled with refugees trying to reach the coasts of Europe.

During the analysis of how controversial ideas are presented, it became clear that editorials containing descriptions of scientific research and comments of academics rather provide an overall perspective of the refugee problem (positive, negative, and neutral). Especially within the economic context, scientists are trying to provide valid information without taking somebody's side. On the other hand, politicians' authorship articles provide only one opinion. Articles claiming that refugees would pose a threat do not include different perspectives. Comments are related to supposedly committed crimes of refugees or immigrants. Political scientists who comment on this situation are divided into two groups: One group provides valid arguments as far as the relation between refugees and terrorism is concerned; the second group tries to link terrorist attacks in Europe to an increased number of immigrants from Muslim-majority countries. Refugees are voiceless when discussing controversial ideas. Departed refugees are silent, they do not name the reasons for departure, on the contrary, other people are talking for them, although they do not have any accurate information – there are no surveys, research or interviews. No successful story of integrated refugees is presented. Editorials with quotes of representatives of different government institutions follow a one-dimensional storytelling (bias).

When analysing references to other scientific articles and other related (scientific) material such as statistics, surveys, research, it has been found that scientists, in the context of economic and threat discourses, present statistical data based on international research (*Eurostat*), Lithuanian research is not mentioned. Scientific research conducted by the German Institute for Economic Research (in connection to the economic benefit of refugee integration) or Texas A&M University are mentioned in the articles. In one case, different survey results are also compared, in another the results of public opinion surveys from different years (regarding ethnic, social, religious minorities) are presented in the integration context. What is more, findings of the UN or *Amnesty International* are provided to the readers. Taking into consideration misinformation or disinformation in the context of the refugee issue in the media, it can be said that one of the most important aspects is to reinforce society's interest in verifiable information. Professional journalism needs to proactively (not reactively) detect and reveal new cases and different forms of disinformation. "Fake news" should become an important task for independent fact checking groups to larger audiences. In the same vein, media and information literacy should empower audiences to distinguish what is news, disinformation or misinformation.

When finding out other noteworthy details in the text associated with misrepresentation, it can be claimed that comments and headlines have peculiarities. The rhetoric of the comments should help to reveal the wider view on this social group and even measure the effect of presented information. Comments allow the targeted audience to be included in discussions where it can express opinions, views or provide other important information. The comment analysis might help to find out how the attitude of the readers towards the refugees is formed. What is more, qualitative content analysis includes the number of comments under the article, so it can be assumed that the articles which have more

comments are more popular among readers. Also, these articles might include controversial ideas or influential headlines. The headline is indeed an important part of the article, because it affects the popularity of the article. Headlines with false information are also thought to be the trick of commercial media which might have no relation with the news' content. Furthermore, most of the readers form their first opinion about the article after reading the headline: that is why the headline is an important part of this analysis.

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ANNEX – Summaries of the articles in English

Refugees Runaway from Lithuania with Emigrants

[Pabėgėliai sprunka iš Lietuvos kartu su emigrantais]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/pabegeliai-sprunka-is-lietuvos-kartu-su-emigrantais.d?id=72467556>

The article informs about the refugee crisis and refugees that have reached Lithuania. According to the figures, just over a hundred refugees have already been resettled to Lithuania from camps in Greece and Turkey. The historians' commentary on believers and non-believers in different historical periods of Lithuania is presented. Most of the data presented by scientists relates to the Jewish minority which was the largest minority in Lithuania before World War II. Questions about multiculturalism, asylum policy, economic refugees are also addressed.

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Syrian Activist: Just You Can Understand How We Feel

[Sirijos aktyvistė: kaip tik jūs ir galite suprasti, kaip mes jaučiamės]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/sirijos-aktyviste-kaip-tik-jus-ir-galite-suprasti-kaip-mes-jauciames.d?id=72965998>

In this article, Kholoud Helmi, a Syrian journalist and human rights activist who came to Vilnius, is interviewed. The interviewee talks about the situation in Syria, the reasons for leaving Syria, refugees' situation in Europe and their different motives behind leaving the country.

Second refugee family has left Lithuania

[Iš Lietuvos išvyko jau antra pabėgėlių šeima]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/is-lietuvos-isvyko-jau-antra-pabegeliu-seima.d?id=72401164>

It is reported that another refugee family has left Lithuania. According to the news agency, they were Syrians: two adults and three children. Comments of representatives of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor are provided. Caritas (a non-governmental organisation) representatives, who take care of the integration of migrants, are also voiced in the discourse. According to them, refugees who come to Lithuania know little about the country, although they think that benefits and salaries in Lithuania are the same as in Germany. Finally, statistics on arrivals and departures of refugees in Lithuania are presented.

A. Pabedinskienė is preparing for Rukla: More Activity is Required

[A. Pabedinskienė ruošiasi į Ruklą: aktyvumo daugiau norėtūsi]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/a-pabedinskiene-ruosiasi-i-rukla-aktyvumo-daugiau-noretusi.d?id=72716530>

The publication presents an interview of the Minister of Social Security and Labour. The minister highlights that she is missing efforts of the director of Rukla Refugee Reception Centre for solving problems. Therefore, Algimanta Pabedinskienė is about to travel to Rukla to find out how to prevent similar events against refugees in Rukla. A spokeswoman for the ministry talks about the attacks on refugees in Rukla, proper preparation to receive large numbers of refugees, the integration program, the need for changes in order to integrate refugees into society.

Lithuania gets ready for refugee challenge

<https://en.delfi.lt/politics/lithuania-gets-ready-for-refugee-challenge.d?id=68445510>

The publication emphasises the negotiations within the European Union concerning the distribution of refugees. Lithuanian President Dalia Grybauskaitė says that accepting several hundred refugees would not only be a challenge but also an opportunity to solve the problem of workforce shortage. It is highlighted that Lithuania will probably have to accept more than 250 refugees (a number the Lithuanian government endorsed earlier). Scientists are also quoted, for example, the opinion of Karolis Zibas is presented. According to him, Lithuania would not face the problem of immigrant “ghettos” because very few of them would actually stay in Lithuania. Most refugees are choosing richer West European countries.

The Refugees Most Feared are the Best at Adapting in Lithuania

<https://en.delfi.lt/archive/the-refugees-most-feared-are-the-best-at-adapting-in-lithuania.d?id=76029487>

The article emphasises Lithuania’s strategy to accept vulnerable refugee families with children. According to the representative from the Lithuanian Social Research Centre (LSTC) Institute of Ethnic Research, detailed analysis of the various integration areas of refugees is performed. The newest and broadest research was presented in the conference Refugees in Northern Europe and the Baltics: municipal integration. The researcher stresses that municipalities have minimal or no involvement in the refugee integration process. This process is organised by NGOs.

Political scientist about refugees: you will not put unacceptable people on an uninhabited island

[Politologė apie pabėgėlius: nepriimtinių žmonių į negyvenamą salą neišmes]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/politologe-apie-pabegelius-nepriimtinu-zmoniu-i-negyvenama-sala-neismesi.d?id=74230964>

In this article the relation between radicalisation and refugees’ integration is analysed. A political scientist from the Institute for International Relations and Political Science talks about a radicalisation process that does not happen in one day. The publication presents statistics of refugees in the world, discusses whether there is reason to distinguish radical refugees among the refugees coming to Europe and identify migrants who are running away from war. Renata Kules, spokesperson of the United Nations for Lithuania, comments on the situation in Sweden in the context of refugee reception. The story of *Livstycket* is presented and tells how to help migrant women integrate into society.

Rukla Elder on Refugees: Let them Keep Their Traditions Closed and Don't Bother Us

[Ruklos seniūnas apie pabėgėlius: tegul savo tradicijų laikosi uždarai ir nebruka jų mums]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/ruklos-seniunas-apie-pabegelius-tegul-savo-tradiciju-laikosi-uzdarai-ir-nebruka-ju-mums.d?id=72698318>

The article addresses actions of residents against refugees in Rukla. The opinion of the head of municipality of Rukla is presented about refugees living there. The representative provides radical arguments about refugees, emphasising that they can keep their traditions in private and mentioning that in order to prevent such conflicts in the future new reforms are needed. The representative mentions the high number of refugees, the unequal rights and responsibilities of locals and refugees.

Migrants boast about entering European paradise: € 600 for inaction

[Migrantai giriasi patekę į Europos rojų: po 600 eurų – už nieko neveikimą]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/world/migrantai-giriasi-pateke-i-europos-roju-po-600-euru-uz-nieko-neveikima.d?id=71348906>

A study of a German journalist is presented in the article. The goal of this study was to find out why refugees upload false videos to social networks. The answer: a wish to show new happiness for people who are still living in Syria. The discourse includes a commentary by a Lebanese translator who works at one refugee centre. It is discussed why many migrants arrive in Germany with unrealistic expectations, which role *Al Jazeera* and *Al Arabia* play and a statement of a spokesperson for the UNHCR Regional Office for Germany is included.

Refugees brought to Lithuania would like to travel to a richer country: deceived us

[Atvežti į Lietuvą pabėgėliai nori į turtingesnę šalį: mus apgavo]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/atvezti-i-lietuva-pabegeliai-nori-i-turtingesne-sali-mus-apgavo.d?id=72392564>

The information report addresses recently displaced refugees in Lithuania. Refugees, who are demanding to be resettled in countries with stronger economies, better conditions, higher benefits for refugees are introduced. The Vice-Minister of Social Security and Labour comments on the situation. Statistics on arrivals and departures of refugees in neighbouring countries are also provided.

Refugees in Germany: Murder in Freiburg increases tensions

[Pabėgėliai Vokietijoje: žmogžudystė Freiburge atnaujino įtampas]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/world/pabegeliai-vokietijoje-zmogzudyste-freiburge-atnaujino-itampas.d?id=73127092>

The article describes a crime in Germany that was committed by an asylum seeker. The murdered woman volunteered to help refugees. Also, crimes committed by refugees in other cities in Germany are mentioned. Emphasis is put on Angela Merkel's "welcome policy". Police unions ask for no hasty conclusions and emphasise that an individual case cannot provide evidence that all migrants increase risk. The presented statistics are related to crime and immigration in Germany. The leader of the populist right-wing party *Alternative for Germany* (AfD) comments on the situation and expresses opposition towards migrants.

After attack on train, new crisis arises in Germany

[Po išpuolio traukinyje Vokietijoje bręsta nauja krizė]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/world/po-ispuolio-traukinyje-vokietijoje-bresta-nauja-krize.d?id=71857794>

The article reports that attacks committed by a 17-year-old refugee have heightened fears of attacks by radicals, especially when following news that the young murderer was linked to the Islamic State terrorist organisation. The situation is commented by experts – representatives of the *German Institute for Radicalisation and Prevention against Radicalisation* (GIRDS). It is revealed that most teenager suspects are not refugees. However, authorities are concerned that young refugees may be the main target for recruiters. It is mentioned that Germany does not have a consistent strategy to combat terrorism, but one aspect which should be included in this strategy is psychological assistance.

Action against migrants in Denmark

[Danijoje plinta audrą sukėlusį prieš migrantus nukreipta akcija]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/world/danijoje-plinta-audra-sukelusi-pries-migrantus-nukreipta-akcija.d?id=72453332>

The article describes the latest right-wing propaganda against the influx of refugees in Denmark: A pepper spray was handed out to citizens to defend against asylum seekers. The leader of the party behind this action explains that pepper sprays are prohibited in Denmark, so this would be a legal alternative to use against refugees. Other actions of refugee policy in Denmark are mentioned. On the other hand, a Report by the United Nations Agency for Refugees strongly opposes the distribution of such products. Other tools used in Norway, Hungary and Sweden against refugees are also mentioned.

The UN Report: UNHCR for refugee children

[JT ataskaita: pabėgėlių vaikams neužtikrinamas tinkamas švietimas]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/world/jt-ataskaita-pabegeliu-vaikams-neuztikrinamas-tinkamas-svietimas.d?id=75771685>

The article presents a report by the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR) which analyses the education of refugee children. It is emphasised that in recent academic years, over 3.5 million refugee children had no access to education. In the report “Left Behind: Refugee Education in Crisis” the UNHCR data about refugee education is compared with UNESCO data about worldwide school attendance.

Lithuanian commentators on attacks in Paris: This is no time to abandon human rights

<https://en.delfi.lt/politics/lithuanian-commentators-on-attacks-in-paris-this-is-no-time-to-abandon-human-rights.d?id=69581370>

The article presents comments of Lithuanian political scientists, journalists and politicians on the organised terrorist attacks in Paris that took place in November 2015. The main topics addressed are terrorism in Europe, successful integration of refugees, security policy, Islamic State, intolerance and nationalism. Academics from different universities are talking about the reasons why there is a rise of terrorism in Syria and European countries. Also, politicians warn that such tragedies will continue, and it is unavoidable in the future.

Amnesty International: Refugees in Greece living in terrible conditions

[Amnesty International: pabėgėliai Graikijoje gyvena siaubingomis sąlygomis]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/world/amnesty-international-pabegeliai-graikijoje-gyvena-siaubingomis-salygomis.d?id=72367816>

This informational message presents a report issued by the NGO *Amnesty International* in which it is stated that approximately 60.000 refugees and migrants would be trapped in Greece and currently be living under terrible conditions. *Amnesty International* criticises Europe’s response to the refugee crisis. Comments from refugee and migrant rights experts at *Amnesty International* are included.

D. Grybauskaitė: We can't pay refugees more than their retirees

[D. Grybauskaitė: negalime pabėgėliams mokėti daugiau nei savo pensininkams]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/d-grybauskaite-negalime-pabegeliams-moketi-daugiau-nei-savo-pensininkams.d?id=69815038>

In this article, the opinion of the president of Lithuania about the sum of allowances paid to refugees in Lithuania is presented. The president Dalia Grybauskaitė claims that lower refugee allowances would encourage them to integrate more actively into the country's labour market and society. According to the president, certain groups are also seeking to obtain higher allowances for refugees. The examples from Belgium and France are presented in the message. According to the president, it would show that high social allowances for immigrants would not only lead to closed communities but also to radicalisation.

V. Gedvilas. The EU is not a “sacred cow” – the same applies to refugees

[V. Gedvilas. ES – ne „šventa karvė“. Kaip ir pabėgėliai]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/v-gedvilas-es-ne-sventa-karve-kaip-ir-pabegeliai.d?id=69773790>

In the publication the author calls for disobedience towards EU asylum policy, in particular the number of quotas to European countries. It is also encouraged to follow the example of Hungary and Slovakia. Both sides have issued a complaint to the EU Court of Justice concerning the plan to distribute refugees under a compulsory quota system. Statistics related to the number of refugees and the quota system are also presented. According to the author there would be a need for stronger and more strict control of the EU's external borders, as well as a completely different plan for managing the refugee crisis.

First Refugees in Lithuania: Life today looks different

[Pirmieji pabėgėliai Lietuvoje: šiandien gyvenimas jau atrodo kitaip]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/pirmieji-pabegeliai-lietuvoje-siandien-gyvenimas-jau-atrodo-kitaip.d?id=71692444>

An information message presents the history and integration of the first Iraqi refugees in Lithuania. Caritas presents the difficulties that refugees are facing after arriving in Lithuania: searching for a job, language learning, social relations, etcetera. The decision of a Lithuanian member of the European Parliament is described to help refugees by providing shelter. The refugee reception system in Lithuania is criticised, arguments of the director of the Rukla refugee reception centre are given. However, he disagrees with criticism.

Refugee Picnic in Vilnius – concerns for the future

[Nuotaikgame pabėgėlių piknike Vilniuje – nerimas dėl ateities]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/nuotaikgame-pabegeliu-piknike-vilniuje-nerimas-del-ateities.d?id=74999998>

The article describes a refugee picnic in the centre of Vilnius. Several NGO representatives which are working with refugees attended the event. The goal was to connect newcomers and locals, unfortunately just a small number of locals participated. The article presents immigrants' memories of the difficult first days in Lithuania. Other refugees are still waiting for a chance to stand on their feet. There are commentaries of refugees from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Chechnya. The results of a Spinter research about Lithuanian attitude towards refugees is presented. Local people's attitude and low benefits are identified as the biggest problems.

L. Kojala. When terrorism becomes the norm

[L. Kojala. Kai terorizmas tanpa norma]

<https://www.delfi.lt/archive/l-kojala-kai-terorizmas-tampa-norma.d?id=70780802>

The article presents the view of political scientist and lecturer at Vilnius University L. Kojala regarding terrorism and recent events in Europe. The author talks about the terrorist attacks in Belgium and France, the links between refugees and terrorist groups and a new “era of fear” in Europe. European security issues, passivity towards self-defence and NATO’s position are also discussed. Fundamental decisions would require political will, strategy, and vision.

R. Markauskas. Refugees – green people for Europe?

[R. Markauskas. Pabėgėliai – žalieji žmogeliukai Europai?]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/r-markauskas-pabegeliai-zalieji-zmogeliukai-europai.d?id=70604362>

The author of this piece, a politician, assumes that an unmanageable number of refugees would come to Europe. Statistics on the number of refugees in Europe are presented. The author provides the example of Cologne, where Germans would already learn how to defend themselves against refugees. A study by a professor at Texas A&M University on the situation in Sweden is provided. The politician calls for the identification of “economic refugees”, return to their countries and balances to be maintained, both gender and age in the societies.

G. Markovičienė. Refugees equated to representatives of Seimas

[G. Markovičienė. Pabėgėliai prilyginti seimūnams]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/g-markovicienne-pabegeliai-prilyginti-seimunams.d?id=73855236>

The commentary compares the situation of residents and refugees in Lithuania. Refugees are presented as eligible for allowances. According to the author, complaints of refugees for small allowances would only indicate that they have no intention of finding a job. The publication compares the amount of an average pension with refugee allowances. It is emphasised that refugees should adapt to the Lithuanian culture, as the refugees’ complaint to Lithuania was quoted. In addition, the visits of politicians and members of the government to the refugee reception centre in Rukla are criticised, as the first priority should be to care for the Lithuanian population, not the new arrivals to the society.

V. Mazuronis. Whose interests are represented by the Minister of the Interior and the party Order and Justice? Citizens’ or refugees’? [V. Mazuronis. Kieno interesams atstovauja VR ministras ir „Tvarka ir teisingumas“? Piliečių ar pabėgėlių?]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/v-mazuronis-kieno-interesams-atstovauja-vr-ministras-ir-tvarka-ir-teisingumas-pilieciu-ar-pabegeliu.d?id=71116128>

This article emphasises that Lithuania has already committed to receive 1.105 refugees from Syria, Iraq and Eritrea. Lithuania’s solidarity with the EU over the allocation of refugee quotas is criticised because emigrants are not goods that can be brought as pleased. The question stated is whether the newcomers would threaten the national security of Lithuania. Events in Poland, Hungary, Germany (refugee camps burned) are mentioned. The latest results of a public opinion poll are presented. It reveals that the majority of Lithuanians is against the resettlement of refugees to Lithuania.

V. Mazuronis. Terrorist attacks in Europe as a result of failed integration policy

[V. Mazuronis. Teroristiniai išpuoliai Europoje – žlugusios integracijos politikos rezultatas]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/v-mazuronis-teroristiniai-ispuoliai-europoje-zlugusios-integracijos-politikos-rezultatas.d?id=71841206>

In this article a politician presents his approach to the refugee crisis in Europe. According to the author, the recent terrorist attacks in France and Belgium would be the result of a failed EU integration policy for refugees, immigrants, and Muslims. The idea of a multicultural EU has long disappeared, though many still would not want to admit it. The author also discusses how to ensure people's security and the EU's future. According to the politician, EU policy on refugees and immigrants would have to change.

V. Mazuronis. Refugees – Trojan Horse in Europe

[V. Mazuronis. Pabėgėliai – Trojos arklys Europoje]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/politics/v-mazuronis-pabegeliai-trojos-arklys-europoje.d?id=70166192>

This comment by a politician discusses the refugee crisis in European countries. The politician highlights recent events in Cologne and other cities when women were attacked by refugees on New Year's Eve. It is claimed that Lithuania and the whole EU would not be ready to receive refugees because the quota system imposed by the community would be flawed and would destroy society and the unity of the members of the EU community. Refugees are identified as a Trojan horse that would fuel terrorism and pose a threat to national security. The author criticises the Lithuanian authorities for their inability to resist the EU-imposed asylum policy.

Not even a third of refugees accepted in Lithuania remain

<https://en.delfi.lt/archive/not-even-a-third-of-refugees-accepted-in-lithuania-remain.d?id=77253523>

The article informs about an Iraqi refugee family, who became the first resettled family in Lithuania under the EU agreement in December 2015. However, they have lost their residence permit because they did not return to Lithuania on time. With a few years passed after the first refugees were transferred to Lithuania, more than 70 % have already departed from the country. According to the migration department, the family of four left Lithuania more than half a year ago and is currently in Sweden. The family has not yet been deprived of additional legal protection, enabling them to live in Lithuania on a temporary basis, so that Iraqis returning to Lithuania could still seek a new residence permit. Representatives of the migration department are quoted, information on the legal aspects of the residence permit in Lithuania is presented, statistics on the arrival and departure of refugees in Lithuania are provided.

Why refugees who arrived to Lithuania are running away

[Kodėl sprunka į Lietuvą atvykstantys pabėgėliai]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/kodel-sprunka-i-lietuva-atvykstantys-pabegeliai.d?id=72423996>

The editorial article presents the situation regarding the arrival of refugees to Lithuania. The whereabouts of different refugees are discussed. It is emphasised that Lithuania would have about a year to implement its commitments to accept more than thousand refugees from

other EU countries, but it does not seem to be dealing with the first arrivals yet. Comments by the *Caritas* foreigners integration program manager, the Minister of the Interior and the director of Rukla refugee reception centre are included. According to them, making assumptions based on three to four cases would be premature since this would only be the beginning of the refugee integration process in Lithuania.

Survey: Lithuanian opinion on refugees – radical

[Tyrimas: lietuvių nuomonė apie pabėgėlius – radikali]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/tyrimas-lietuviu-nuomone-apie-pabegelius-radikali.d?id=69587710>

The editorial presents the results of the latest public opinion poll. It is shown that 61,3 % respondents are against accepting refugees to Lithuania. Moreover, 72,7 % respondents believe that Lithuania would not benefit from the reception of refugees. 67,6 % of respondents also disapprove of the whole EU policy on refugees. A comment of a researcher at the Institute for Ethnic Studies, Karolis Žibas, is provided. It is emphasised that the gap between pro and contra stances concerning refugee immigration to Lithuania could be even greater if the survey would have been conducted after a series of terrorist attacks in France. The article also points out that EU policy is viewed negatively and advises how to change prevailing views.

Lithuanians don't want to rent housing for refugees

[Lietuviai nenori nuomoti būsto pabėgėliams]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/lietuviai-nenori-nuomoti-busto-pabegeliams.d?id=69837600>

The editorial presents an interview with a representative from *Caritas* responsible for foreigners' integration in Lithuania. The interviewee describes the main difficulties which refugees face after arriving in Lithuania. It is discussed that it is difficult to find accommodation due to the negative attitude of Lithuanians towards refugees. Financial difficulties which refugees face during integration are mentioned. Lithuanian language courses, integration into the labour market and the pre-school education system are also discussed.

Whistle-blowing migrants: Germany had its own plan

[Migrantus sukvietaš švilpukas: Vokietija turėjo savo planą]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/migrantus-sukvietes-svilpukas-vokietija-turejo-savo-plana.d?id=70187170>

The editorial addresses the contribution refugees make to the economy of their host society. Results of a study on the economic benefits of refugee integration, published on the website of the Institute for Economic Research in Berlin are provided. It is argued that the long-term integration of refugees will bring economic benefits for Germany. In addition, statistical information is provided describing pessimistic, neutral, and optimistic scenarios. A professor from Vilnius University mentions that the successful integration of immigrants can be measured by different criteria.

V. Sinica. Europe will be either open or secure

[V. Sinica. Europa bus arba atvira, arba saugi]

<https://www.delfi.lt/archive/v-sinica-europa-bus-arba-atvira-arba-saugi.d?id=70785810>

The political scientist links terrorist attacks in Europe to the growing number of immigrants from Muslim countries and to the Islamic religion. Examples include attacks in Belgium and France. A representative of the US House of Representatives Intelligence Committee is quoted that the people working in the European security services would not be qualified. The author also claims that Belgium had been taken over by jihadists, because it has become a major base for brutal extremists. Actions of the Belgian Minister of Interior and the mayor of Marseille are mentioned. The EU's asylum policy is criticised as well as the presumption of innocence which is above national security.

People thought Jewish refugees fleeing Hitler weren't real refugees either

<https://en.delfi.lt/politics/people-thought-jewish-refugees-fleeing-hitler-werent-real-refugees-either.d?id=71361534>

The editorial provides insights from academics about the current migrant crisis. A university lecturer explains migration issues in modern societies and compares how refugees are treated in the EU and US. World Bank data, Eurobarometer information and historical aspects of colonialism are addressed in the article. It is mentioned that the public attitude would always be negative, as people would confuse legal and illegal migrants which would also be related with fear in terms of competition, especially economic. The role of the media would also be important – many people would have never seen a migrant but have already formed opinions from stories they read in the press.

Migration Migrants Rapidly Worsen: Fear of Clutter and Crime Grows [Nuotaikos dėl migrantų sparčiai prastėja: auga baimė dėl netvarkos ir nusikaltimų]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/nuotaikos-del-migrantu-sparciai-prasteja-auga-baime-del-netvarkos-ir-nusikaltimu.d?id=70259344>

An information message presents the results of a 2016 public opinion poll. Mass protests in Germany against asylum policies are discussed. Statistics are provided. According to the information provided, within the last five years, only 10 to 25 applicants have been granted refugee status in Lithuania, while 74 % of requests were declined. According to the survey, there would be too many refugees in the country, and citizens believe that it should not be allowed to increase the number. In addition, Lithuanians demand that Lithuania should no longer participate in the refugee asylum program.

M. Garbačiauskaitė-Budrienė. Goodwill Road to Hell

[M. Garbačiauskaitė-Budrienė. Geraiš norais grįstas kelias į pragarą]

<https://www.delfi.lt/news/ringas/lit/m-garbaciauskaite-budriene-gerais-norais-gristas-kelias-i-pragara.d?id=70307758>

An opinion-based article that highlights attacks in various European countries: Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and other countries known as “welcoming” societies. The author of the article claims that crimes in Cologne and other cities now seem to have opened Pandora's box because long-hidden facts and indignation of the population would come to light. In addition, the *Charlie Hebdo* terrorist attacks are linked to refugees. The article was published in the context of the project “Development and Application of Propaganda Technique Recognition Methodology” funded by the Research Council of Lithuania.