

# How children and adolescents understand the topic of refugees

## STUDIES ON KNOWLEDGE, MEDIA USAGE, EMOTIONAL ATTITUDES, AND EMOTIONS

Maya Götz, Andrea Holler<sup>1</sup>

**In the framework of the IZI/LfM study series “How children and adolescents understand the topic of refugees”, German children and adolescents were interviewed about their knowledge, attitudes, fears, and media usage on the topic of refugees.**

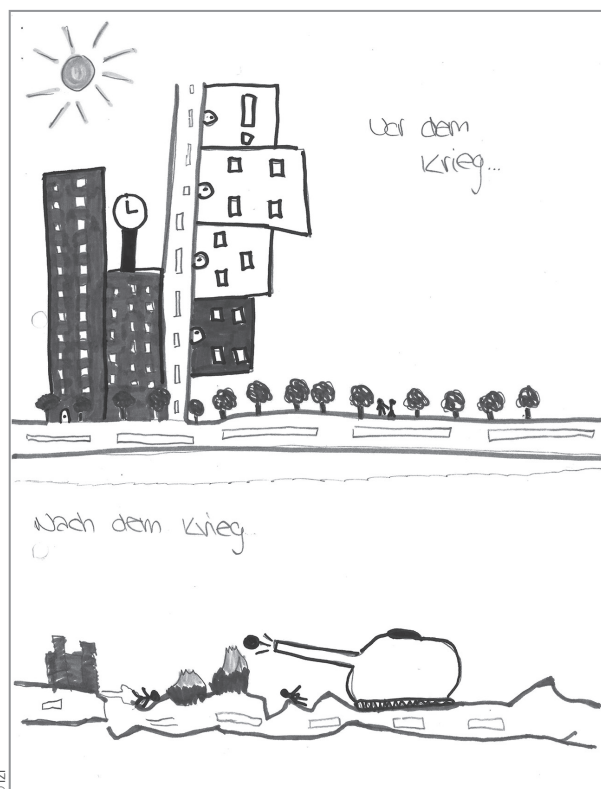
It was the topic that dominated television news in almost every month from April 2015 until the autumn of 2016: Refugees. Around 900,000 asylum-seekers came to Germany in 2015 – the largest number from the war-torn Syria, but also from Afghanistan, Iraq, and other countries; one-third of them were younger than 18 years old.<sup>2</sup> Although the media first showed sober reports of refugees and casualties in the Mediterranean Sea, it then turned into phases of increasing empathy in which journalists almost became “lawyers of the refugees” (see also Hemmelmann & Wegner in this issue). Then the public discourse suddenly changed. Riots and attacks on German refugee homes and the “refugee criminality” dominated the reports. The tendency to link refugees to almost all of society’s problems arose (Hafez, 2016) until media coverage finally took a more cautious and complex approach to the topic (Hemmelmann & Wegner, 2016) Although at first the refugees and their fates were the focus, the reports increasingly shifted toward the domestic political debate.<sup>3</sup> The long-term narrative was created: “Refugees appear as a threat to law and order, the German

society is overwhelmed” (Herrmann, 2015, p. 12). Tendencies in media coverage such as the focus on domestic debates and the personalisation of the issue using German chancellor Angela Merkel and Bavaria’s Prime Minister Horst Seehofer conveyed the impression that a highly complex global political topic could be solved in Germany, and populist demands such as border closings, transit zones, and turning back refugees at the border appeared to be long-term solutions (Herrmann, 2015).

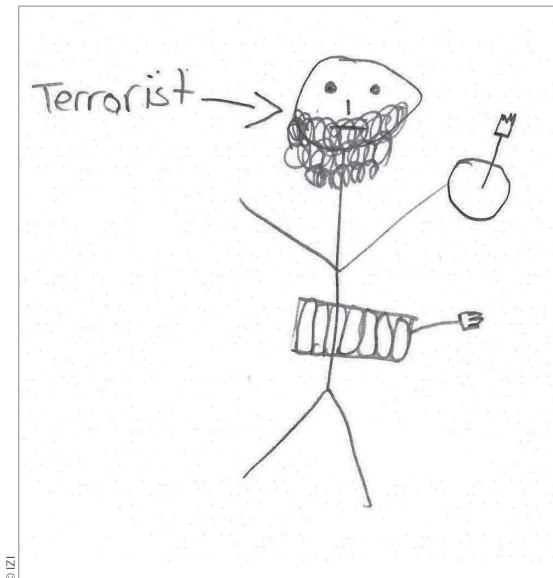
Even for adults experienced with the media, the complexity of the discourse, its importance for our image of refugees, and appropriate ways of dealing with the situation are difficult to understand. The question must then be asked: how do children and adolescents handle the topic?

This is where the series of studies “How children and adolescents

understand the topic of refugees”, a co-operative project between the International Central Institute for Youth and Educational Television (IZI) and the Media Authority of North Rhine-Westphalia (LfM), picks up. In the study series, qualitative and quantitative methods are used to examine and question the knowledge and ideas of children and adolescents on the topic of refugees. It also looks at the relationship these have to emotional



III. 1: Aygül (13 years old) draws how she imagines Syria before and after the war



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Ill. 2: Fabien (16 years old) imagines a terrorist with a beard

attitudes, fears, and media use in this context as well as how personal encounters with refugees affect attitudes.

## THE STUDY SERIES

In the qualitative part, questionnaires with open and standardised questions as well as creative parts were conducted with  $n = 147$  6- to 11-year-olds in Germany, and  $n = 166$  12- to 18-year-olds were given age-appropriate questionnaires to fill out themselves.<sup>4</sup>

In the quantitative part of the study series, a representative sample of children and adolescents between 6 and 19 years of age were asked face-to-face standardised questions in 2 waves in March ( $n = 741$ ) and September 2016 ( $n = 1,448$ ), whereby several questions were intentionally asked as open questions.<sup>5</sup> Each wave on its own revealed interesting background information on the knowledge, media usage, emotional attitudes, and fears of the children and adolescents, and in the course of 2016 additional thought-provoking effects can be seen, examples of which are summarised in the following.

## KNOWLEDGE ABOUT REFUGEES

### Ideas

In the qualitative interviews when children told what they knew about the topic of refugees, war and destruction were mentioned most frequently. For example, Manuel (6 years old) said: "Well, on TV we saw [...] that people destroyed a lot of houses and they just kill people."

In the pictures that showed how children

imagined the country from which the refugees came, drawings of houses destroyed by war dominated. Some of them, like Aygül (13 years old), drew before and after pictures in which a large, sunny city is left in ruins (Ill. 1) – ideas influenced by media reporting. War scenes often resembled historical duels in which 2 people with weapons face each other and shoot – pictures that are already known from studies on the Iraq war (Götz, 2003). In the current situation, in addition to this there were scenes in which a person – often drawn with a beard – threatens or pursues others, as in Fabien's drawing (16 years old, Ill. 2) or Claire's (9 years old) descriptions of her ideas:

"This is just an ISIS, one of [them] who are doing the terror, and this here is a gun that is shooting, and this is a person who just wanted to go back to his house and get his things, but he wants to shoot him."

Children and adolescents knew that there is a war in Syria, whereby they rarely knew the background of the conflict. In the case of ISIS, they had a clearly negative picture and saw it as a terrorist group whose followers kill and drive away others.

Besides destruction, children were also aware of the topics of flight and

displacement in this context, often in combination with being separated from family. Alina (7 years old) knew, for example:

"That sometimes only the boys can go because they don't have enough money, and that's why then it's only one person from the family, the boys, who [flee] so that they can get money in Germany and then send for the others."

Alina's information is certainly correct in terms of its content. From the media, she remembered specific information and developed an "island of knowledge" that was not, however, based on well-founded knowledge, e.g. how often this occurs or whether money is really the primary reason for coming to Germany.

Besides war, destruction, displacement, and family separation, children and adolescents often had "islands of knowledge" about how the flight from the country of origin works and drew, for example, overcrowded boats (Ill. 3) – impressive pictures that they got from the media. They had heard "that there isn't a lot of room everywhere" (Julian, 11 years old) and that the refugees were given tents for shelter. They took note of controversial discussions in Germany, in particular in the Eastern regions of Germany they mentioned demonstrations, and when asked about refugees Bence (10 years old) from Bavaria immediately said:

"And now the politicians, or at least Seehofer, want to make a border. I don't think that's very good."

With age, the soundness and of course also the eloquence of the statements increased. The tendencies remained similar with the adolescents, however: They picked out individual elements from public discourse and interpreted these with the background of their global knowledge. These tended to be individual "islands of knowledge", however, that more often showed media traces than sound, broad knowledge. Several of those interviewed reported specific encounters with refugees, e.g. because an initial reception facility

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was set up in a neighbouring town or they (supposedly) saw refugees at the marketplace. 38 % of the adolescents had had specific contact in the sense of a conversation or playing with refugees – for primary school children in September it was much fewer (27 %) than in the case of the 10- to 19-year-olds, of whom 4 in 10 had had direct contact.

### Factual knowledge

In the qualitative interviews, children and adolescents gave numbers and recited memorised facts on the topic of refugees that rarely corresponded to the real numbers. To be able to make concrete and generalisable statements here, in the standardised interviews we asked several questions about refugees, for example from which country most of the refugees came in 2015. Almost all of them named countries in the Middle East, and 85 % spontaneously said Syria. On this point there was certainly secured knowledge.

In response to the question of how many refugees came to Germany in 2015, in March 2016 around half (46 %) of the primary school children knew the right answer,<sup>6</sup> of the 10- to 16-year-olds it was 64 %, and 69 % of the 17- to 19-year-olds. In the second wave in September 2016, in comparison more of the primary school children knew the answer (51 %), but the false estimates of the preteens and adolescents increased, and the youth now much more frequently overestimated the number of asylum-seekers. In the case of the 17- to 19-year-olds, now just over one-third guessed a number that was too high. In March it was only 1 in 5. In the Eastern part of Germany, especially in the state of Saxony, the overestimation of the number was particularly high, and only 16 % knew the correct answer. This means that the factual knowledge of the youth clearly worsened in the course of 2016.

Similar tendencies can be seen with the question of which of the refugees are

allowed to stay in Germany for 3 years or longer. Nearly all of them stated the correct answer: People who were persecuted or who lived in a country where there is war.<sup>7</sup> However, in March 2016 almost one-third also assumed that people who were fleeing from natural catastrophes were allowed to stay longer, and another 14 % assumed that hunger in the country of origin would give them a right to asylum. In the autumn of 2016 the number of incorrect answers increased – in some cases drastically. Part of the children and adolescents then assumed that hunger (24 %), natural catastrophes (33 %), and a lack of jobs (10 %) in the country of origin were reasons for asylum. This might be seen as a sign that children and adolescents wanted to give people with diverse reasons for fleeing the right to stay. In fact, however, it is not in line with currently valid law.

In the second wave in the autumn of 2016, the youth were also asked: “In 2015, which country took in the most refugees and asylum-seekers?” and several countries were listed including the correct answer: Turkey. The majority of children and adolescents (59 %) assumed that it was Germany. Hardly any primary school children knew the correct response, although among the 17- to 19-year-olds it was at least 1 in every 5. It therefore becomes clear: Some basic facts are well-known knowledge for many children and adolescents, such as that most of the refugees in 2015 came from Syria or countries in the Middle East. In other areas, false facts had been committed to memory. This false knowledge increased during the course of 2016. Instead of

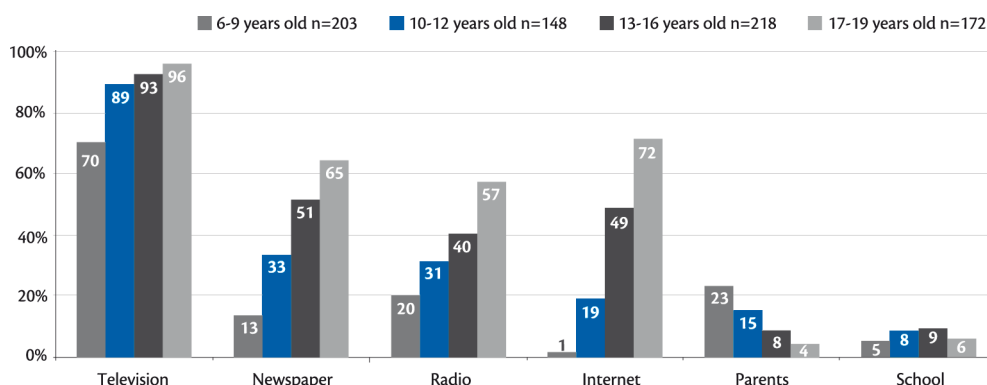
children and adolescents being better informed with the increasing presence of the topic in their daily lives, they memorised numbers and ideas that were incorrect when compared with statistical facts.

### Media as a source of information

The knowledge and ideas of children and adolescents on the topic of refugees were almost never supported by their own experiences. At least in our qualitative study, we did not meet a single adolescent who had experienced war, flight, and asylum personally. When asked about direct contact with refugees in the representative sample, more than 2 out of 5 – or in the case of the primary school children 3 out of 10 – children said they had talked to or played with refugees at least once before. This number barely increased in the course of 2016. There were clear regional differences: In Berlin, a direct encounter with refugees was much more common (58 %) than in the East German states of Thuringia (16 %) or Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania (22 %). That means for a majority of children and adolescents the knowledge and ideas about refugees were primarily based on discourses transmitted by media.



Ill. 3: Angelika (14 years old) draws an overcrowded refugee boat, a picture that she has seen on the news



Ill. 4: How do you know all of these things, from which media did you get your knowledge about refugees? – Top 6, 1st wave

probably shown were remembered from the medium. The children also then individually interpret the information and place it in their own worldview. If the programmes that are considered reliable sources of information are examined qualitatively, the programme titles named most by children were the children's news show *logo!* (ZDF) followed

### Leading medium is television

When asked where they knew all of these things about refugees, they named diverse sources, primarily television (87 %). This confirms a tendency known in media research: When it comes to world knowledge, natural catastrophes, or much-discussed current events, children and adolescents primarily get their knowledge from media, whereby television is by far the leading medium.<sup>8</sup> Much less frequently used are newspapers, radio, and the internet. Some of the children and adolescents also named their parents and school as sources of information even if these are not media in the general sense. With age, the variety of media used as sources of information increased greatly, but even with 17- to 19-year-olds television remained the most frequently named source (Ill. 4). In the new (Eastern) states of Germany,<sup>9</sup> television and radio played a slightly smaller role than in the old (Western) states, and in the Eastern parts of Germany the parents were a source of information for double the number of those interviewed.

6 months later (second wave of interviews in September 2016) the importance of media as consciously perceived sources of information decreased across all types of media; for television by almost 10 %, for other media such as newspapers by over 20 %. Fewer children and adolescents felt that their

information on the topic came from the media. This probably corresponds to the number of informative reports that were broadcast on the topic. While during 2015 and until May 2016 it was still the key topic, during the summer other topics were the focus and not until September 2016 did it return to television news as the headline topic, but then with a clear focus on the controversies of refugee policies.<sup>10</sup>

### Programmes viewed

When asked what children and adolescents had seen on the topic on television, the most frequent answer was: "news" and a relatively vague description, for example from Nasrem (15 years old):

"I think it was on [the public channels] ARD or ZDF. It was about how much the refugee crisis has grown, how many there were in the last years and how many there are this year."

In part the children could precisely name the source, like Lola (8 years old), who knew that she had seen something about it in the daily German children's news show *logo!* (ZDF):

"Whenever refugees come to us, they said that they usually die or something. Because they want to come here because everything is so nice here. Because we have good streets or not as much war or because there are almost no bad people here."

As is clear from these 2 statements, only small fragments of what was

by the public adult news shows *Tagesschau* (ARD) and *ZDF heute* (ZDF). For adolescents, *Tagesschau* was by far the most frequent (47 %), followed by the commercial news show *RTL Aktuell* and the public news show *ZDF heute*. In the second study wave in September 2016, the programmes that were named as sources of information did not change. But the programme *logo!* followed the *Tagesschau* at a much lower level; especially children but also preteens gather information from *logo!*. For adolescents, *RTL Aktuell* was the primary source of information. Within the leading medium of television and the many programmes available, children and adolescents have only a few programmes that they link with information on the topic of refugees.

### WHICH SOURCES OF INFORMATION PROMOTE CORRECT FACTUAL KNOWLEDGE?

If the factually correct answers are compared with the sources from which children and adolescents had their information, clear differences become apparent in each age group.

For the primary school children (6 to 9 years old), the knowledge was most correct when they obtained it from the newspaper, radio, or television. The fewest correct answers were given by children who got information from



their parents. They usually overestimated the number of arrivals and assumed there were various reasons for the right to stay in Germany. Either the parents' basic knowledge was incorrect or at least for this age, media can better convey information on refugees. In the television programmes, the primary school children who used *logo!* or *Tagesschau* as a source of information were particularly good with their factual knowledge.

For the preteens, the 10- to 12-year-olds, those who had informed themselves on the internet gave the highest number of correct answers, followed by newspapers and radio. This suggests that if a person in that age group knows how to get information on the internet, they can then remember it well. Those who got their information from the public service news programme *Tagesschau* gave far more correct answers than average, followed by those who used *logo!* as a source of knowledge. *RTL Aktuell*, the news show of the commercial broadcaster RTL, as an information source, on the other hand, was correlated with knowledge far below average.

For the adolescents, newspapers were the medium that led to the highest proportion of correct answers, followed by television and school. Those who had watched *ZDF heute* knew the most, followed by those who had watched *logo!* and *Tagesschau*. Once again, those who performed below average on the knowledge questions asked were those who stated *RTL Aktuell* or the commercial magazine programme *Stern TV* as a source of information. The highest number of false estimates, however, was given by the adolescents (13 to 19 years old) who stated that their source of information was their parents.

Across all age groups, there was a difference in the correctness of the information memorised depending on which programmes were used as a source of information. There was a clear line differentiating public service and

commercial programmes. Those who had used public service programmes for information knew more than those who had gotten their information from commercial programmes. This does not necessarily mean that the information on the commercial programmes is not correct. Instead, the type of reporting and contextualisation of facts tend to lead to false estimations, at least for children and adolescents (see also Holler in this issue).

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### WORRIES AND FEARS

Emotions are important resources for the psyche to guide our actions in certain directions. A particularly strong emotion is fear, which arises from the feeling of being threatened (Glaserapp, 2014). In the narratives of the children and adolescents, certain worries were repeated. Alisa (10 years old) considered, for example:

"That maybe something could happen to you because of refugees or something, or what could happen to you or whether something could happen to you."

She did not exactly know how she should interpret the situation, but she felt moments of being threatened. If she got to choose a television programme, she would want precise information so that she would better know how to deal with the vague feeling of fear. 9-year-old Claire heard something about ISIS terror (see above), and from these reports asked herself:

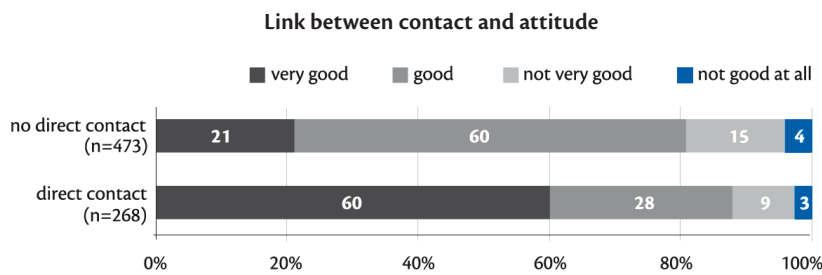
"Whether they could also become terrorists because they had such a bad past. I also want to know how many terrorists are coming with the refugees."

There was a very typical question for the children's worldview. From her island of knowledge on "ISIS" and "they had bad things happen to them in their lives", Claire concluded that this will have consequences: They will become "bad" themselves, which for Claire means "terrorists". Now she wants to know how many of these terrorists are in Germany and could threaten her

here together with the (good) refugees. It is not a concrete fear but a feeling of being threatened for which Claire would need a better understanding of the term "terrorist" and a clear differentiation from the term "refugee", not like it has been handled in the media so far where the terms are often linked. In order to be able to estimate the frequency of children and adolescents' typical or possible fears related to refugees in Germany, in the representative surveys we asked about 5 areas of fears that were in part explicitly named in the qualitative interviews. Everyday ways of stating the fears were found, and the children and adolescents could agree or disagree with them on a 4-point scale. With the 2 survey waves in March and September 2016, the consistency or change in fears could be explored.

Several areas showed no appreciable changes. In March 2016, 21 % agreed with the statement, "I am afraid that if more refugees come to Germany we'll have less and less for ourselves" without any noteworthy differences among age groups. The boys agreed somewhat more frequently than the girls; children and adolescents who live in the East of Germany agreed more frequently than those in the West. In September 2016, the extent of this fear remained unchanged in principle, similar to the fear that more refugees could endanger their parents' jobs. Other items showed changes, however, such as the statement "I am afraid that if refugee children/adolescents go to my school (place of work/studying), there could be more fights." In March 2016, 19 % agreed with this fear, slightly more boys than girls and more in the Eastern states of Germany than in the Western. In September 2016, this fear rose to 27 %. The increase was especially noticeable for those who had never met a refugee.<sup>11</sup> The fear of more thefts also rose, although not to the extent of the previous statement.

The most considerable change can be seen with the fear of terrorist at-



Ill. 5: What do you think about us accepting refugees here in Germany? – with or without contact with refugees

tacks due to the increasing number of refugees. In March 2016, 30 % of all children and adolescents said they had this fear without any significant differences among ages or genders, but in the Eastern federal states it was much more common than in the West. In September 2016, this fear rose to 43 % of the adolescents. The increase was not from the primary school children but the preteens and especially the adolescents – and only in the West of the Federal Republic. In all likelihood, this is connected to current attacks in Ansbach and Würzburg in July 2016<sup>12</sup> and the respective media coverage, but also to adults' growing fear of terrorism.<sup>13</sup>

What is also clear here is the dependency on the question of whether the children and adolescents had already had direct contact with refugees. Without contact, 48 % fear that there could be more terrorist attacks. If they had already had contact with a refugee, however, then it was only 32 %.

### Fears and programmes viewed

How many children and adolescents feel fear of the aspects mentioned in the survey is also linked to the television programmes from which they got their information. Children (6 to 12 years old) who got their information from public service programmes such as *logo!* or *ZDF heute* had much fewer fears than those who had watched commercial programmes on the topic. 1 in every 2 children who got

their knowledge from the commercial news show *RTL Aktuell* expressed fear of terrorist attacks and theft, while only a few children who had watched the public service news show *logo!* or *ZDF heute* were afraid of this.

### EMOTIONAL ATTITUDES ON ACCEPTING REFUGEES

While there are regular surveys of adults' attitudes on refugee policies (e.g. Eisnecker & Schupp, 2016), until now there have been very few surveys of adolescents regarding their experiences, attitudes, and media usage in this context. Those that exist show: 12- to 25-year-olds think about this topic. Over the course of the years, they have become much more open to immigration, although there are pronounced differences between Germany's West and East (Shell, 2015). Most adolescents are emotionally positive-empathetic and are understanding of the refugees' situation. However, there is also a small minority that express rigorous and open resentments (Calmbach et al., 2016). What about children and how did these attitudes develop in the course of 2016?

In response to the question "What do you think about us accepting refugees in Germany?", in March 84 % of the children and adolescents said they thought it was "good" or even "very good". The proportion of boys who thought it was "very good" was somewhat higher than the girls. There were

hardly any age differences, but the place of residence made a significant difference. Children and adolescents who were growing up in the Western states were more positive (86 %) than those who lived in the East, where only 74 % thought it was "good" or "very good". 78 % of children said that their parents thought it was "good" or "very good", meaning that they perceive their parents' attitudes to be less positive than their own on the topic. Children and adolescents from houses where the parents were more critical are statistically also more frequently critical.

In September 2016, the children and adolescents' critical attitudes rose slightly. At that point, 77 % were positive, whereby especially the response "very good" decreased and the number of those who thought it was "not very good" increased slightly. For primary school children, there was hardly any change, but the 17- to 19-year-olds with critical attitudes rose from 15 % to 29 %. Correspondingly, the positive assessment of their parents on the topic decreased to 71 %.

The link between direct contact and emotional attitudes was very clear. For children and adolescents who had already had contact with refugees, the statement "I think it is very good that Germany accepts refugees" was chosen almost three times as often as was the case with those who had never personally got to know a refugee and could only imagine them from the media or hearing about them from others (Ill. 5). With direct contact, the positive attitudes increase – an effect that can also be seen clearly in the second wave.

The third clear statistical link is the parallel between fears and attitudes toward Germany as a destination country for refugees. Almost all of the respondents who view Germany's acceptance of refugees "critically" or "very critically" also have worries and fears regarding the topic – a logical but still important insight.

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Another clear effect is the parallel between fears about refugees and the question of whether they had got their information from public service or commercial programmes. Those who watched commercial programmes were more afraid.

## SUMMARY

Children and adolescents construct an idea of refugees that is usually not based on personal relationships or broad knowledge but on “islands of knowledge” that come from media, often from television. The memorised ideas are not only limited, as is typical for the age groups, but are in part factually incorrect. For example, the number of asylum-seekers in 2015 was overestimated – a tendency that increased in the course of 2016. Several adolescents, for example those who only got information about the topic from their parents, were much more poorly informed than those who read the newspaper. Children and adolescents who informed themselves using public service television (*Tagesschau*, *ZDF heute*, *logo!*) are much better informed than those who watched commercial programmes.

A linkage among certain characteristics can be suggested that can be formulated in a simplified manner as follows: The children and adolescents who already had critical attitudes, often from home where their parents were also critical, watched programmes that reported on the topic in a certain way (more directed toward the spectacular and emotionalising elements), and not least through this, they developed false ideas, for example about the number of refugees and asylum law in Germany. The already existing prejudices were reinforced without having ever personally met a refugee, and the prejudices also strengthened the feeling of being threatened and thus also the rejection of accepting the “others” – the refugees. ■

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> With the assistance of Caroline Mendel, Alexandra Hermann, Astrid Dolle, Maria Berg, Melanie Baxter, Marie-Therese Hohe, Tanja Petrich, Konstantin Engelbrecht and Jana Rembold.
- <sup>2</sup> Cf. Press release Federal Ministry of the Interior from 30 Sept 2016: <http://www.bmi.bund.de/Shared-Docs/Pressemitteilungen/DE/2016/09/asyl-suchende-2015.html> [08.11.2016], Press release Federal Ministry of the Interior from 6 Jan 2016: <http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Pressemitteilungen/DE/2016/01/asylantraege-dezember-2015.html> and Das Bundesamt in Zahlen 2015, p. 21, available at: [http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Publikationen/Broschueren/bundesamt-inzahlen-2015.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Publikationen/Broschueren/bundesamt-inzahlen-2015.pdf?__blob=publicationFile) [03.11.2016].
- <sup>3</sup> Cf. InfoMonitor from the Institut für empirische Medienforschung (IFEM) starting August 2015.
- <sup>4</sup> Carried out from January to September 2016 throughout Germany with concentrations in the areas around Berlin, Düsseldorf, Wuppertal, Dresden, Leipzig, Halle, Dillingen/Saar, Augsburg, and Munich.
- <sup>5</sup> The representative sample is separated into quotas according to age, gender, and immigration background of the children and adolescents interviewed, schooling of the head of the household (for 6- to 12-year-olds) or their own schooling (for 13- to 19-year-olds). The data were collected in the framework of the multi-topic survey iconKIDS bus and iconYOUTH bus from 1 March to 31 March 2016 and in the second wave from 6 September to 1 October 2016.
- <sup>6</sup> From January to December 2015, the Federal Office of Migration and Refugees registered 1,091,894 new asylum requests (in the EASY System), cf. Asylum statistics, Federal Office of Migration and Refugees for 2015: <http://www.bamf.de/Shared-Docs/Meldungen/DE/2016/201610106-asylgeschaeftsstatistik-dezember.html?nn=1367522> [03.11.2016]. On 30 September 2016 the number was revised to 890,000, but in the interview phase this was not yet known. 1 million is therefore considered the correct answer, and the answers 500,000, 1.5 million, or 2 million were considered incorrect.
- <sup>7</sup> Cf. Information from the BAMF on asylum and protecting refugees: <http://www.bamf.de/DE/Migration/Asyl-Fluechtlinge/asylfuechtlinge-node.html> [03.11.2016].
- <sup>8</sup> Cf. Hasebrink & Schmidt (2013), p. 5; for children: Feierabend & Klingler (2011).
- <sup>9</sup> Germany consists of 16 federal states, so-called Bundesländer. They are often divided into the “old” or Western federal states and the “new” or Eastern federal states of Germany. The 10 old states of Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Bremen, Hamburg, Hesse, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate, Saarland, and Schleswig-Holstein constituted the former Federal Republic of Germany (BRD/West Germany). The new states of Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, and Thuringia made the German Democratic Republic (DDR/East Germany). West and East Berlin merged into Berlin.
- <sup>10</sup> Cf. InfoMonitor from the Institut für empirische Medienforschung (IFEM).
- <sup>11</sup> 20 % of those who had already had contact with refugees in comparison to 32 % of those who had never had contact.
- <sup>12</sup> On July 18th, 2016, an underage unaccompanied asylum-seeker attacked 5 people with an axe and a knife in a regional train close to Würzburg. He was

shot by special police forces. On July 24th, 2016, a Syrian refugee ignited a bomb at a music festival in Ansbach. 12 people were injured, the attacker was killed. The attacks are assumed to be Islamic-motivated.

<sup>13</sup> The Huffington Post cited a study from the R&V insurance company according to which 73 % of Germans were afraid of terrorism in July 2016 – an increase of 21 percentage points in comparison to the previous year. <https://www.ruv.de/presse/aengste-der-deutschen/presseinformation-aengste-der-deutschen-2016> [30.11.2016].

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## THE AUTHORS



Maya Götz, Dr. phil., is the Head of the IZI and the PRIX JEUNESSE INTERNATIONAL, Munich, Germany.  
Andrea Holler, M.A. in Media Pedagogy, Psychology and Sociology, is a Scientific Editor at the IZI, Munich, Germany.