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**Analyzing the Media's Representation of
Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK:
A Frame Analysis of
The Guardian and *The Times***

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University of San Francisco
April 2021
Master of Arts in International Studies

**Analyzing the Media's Representation of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK:
A Frame Analysis of *The Guardian* and *The Times***

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

in

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

by Blair Braxton

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Under the guidance and approval of the committee, and approval by all the members, this thesis project has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree.

APPROVED:



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Abstract

This research study analyzes the media's representation of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK during the European 'refugee crisis' between 2015 and 2016. The research question guiding the study was: during the European refugee crisis between 2015 and 2016, how were refugees and asylum seekers framed by British news media, both textually and visually? The study is guided by the theory of framing, which assumes that the media chooses which information to report on and how to present it to a mass population. A content analysis was performed on online news articles published in two UK quality newspapers, The Guardian and The Times, during a one year period from August 31, 2015 to August 31, 2016. 20 articles were selected from each publication for the textual analysis ($N=40$), and of the selected articles, 15 headline images were chosen from each publication for the visual analysis ($N=30$). The content analysis identified 8 textual frames and 3 visual frames that were used by the publications in their coverage of the refugee crisis. The results showed that The Guardian made most use of the administration frame, which focuses on policy debates and political efforts to manage the influx of refugees and asylum seekers. The Times, on the other hand, made most use of the criminality frame, which portrayed refugees and asylum seekers as criminals and threats to public safety, as well as the border security frame, which presented the influx of refugees and asylum seekers as an uncontrollable mass 'flooding' into Europe; however, human interest and administration frames were also frequent in their news coverage. The study is valuable because it provides an insight into how public narratives can be constructed and manipulated by the mainstream media, which can ultimately influence public attitudes and behaviors towards newly arrived people.

Key words: refugees, asylum seekers, framing, media coverage, European refugee crisis

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This research study examined media depictions of refugees and asylum seekers in the context of the European ‘refugee crisis’ between 2015 and 2016. In 2015, migration became one of the most widely talked about and politically debated issues in the European Union (Eszter, 2016). Years of political instability and violent conflict across Africa and the Middle East had led to a massive influx of migrants and refugees seeking asylum protection in Europe (Pruitt, 2019). In both 2015 and 2016, the number of applications for first-time asylum seekers in the EU had reached over 1.2 million (Pruitt, 2019; Eurostat, 2016). Public debate surrounding refugees and asylum seekers had become increasingly common between EU countries in recent years and these debates became highly contentious and politicized as well (Pruitt, 2019; Cooper, Blumell, & Bunce, 2020). This politicization of immigration issues “was particularly salient in the United Kingdom, where the European migration context has often been linked with significant policy shifts, including the ‘Brexit’ decision in June 2016” (Pruitt, 2019). The so-called ‘refugee crisis’ came to a head in June 2016 when the United Kingdom voted in a referendum to end their membership in the European Union. The issue of immigration was featured prominently in pro-Brexit campaigns (Cooper, Blumell, & Bunce, 2020) and was driven, in part, by elements of nationalism, right-wing populism, and Euroscepticism (Corbett, 2016). It was later found that a majority of Leave voters in the referendum had a preference for social conservatism, which included a distrust of migrants and ethnic minorities; and in fact approximately 80 percent of Leave voters were more likely to oppose immigration altogether (Corbett, 2016). Increased migration in this context coincided, in recent years, with increasingly hardened attitudes towards refugees and asylum seekers in the EU (UNHCR, 2016). There are many factors that influence public perceptions and attitudes towards refugees and asylum seekers, such as socioeconomic

circumstances, cultural and ethnic homogeneity of a country and the numbers and visibility of refugees and asylum seekers in any given country (Van Hootegeem, Meuleman, & Abts, 2020; UNHCR, 2016; Ratajczak & Jędrzejczyk-Kuliniak, 2016). However, it is seemingly impossible to examine public perceptions of refugees and asylum seekers without considering the role of mass media in shaping these social understandings (UNHCR, 2016). As will be discussed in detail later, the news media is instrumental in influencing public narratives and perceptions towards different social phenomena. News media chooses which issues and stories to report on and then frames debates around the issues by calling attention to certain elements of a perceived reality while obscuring others (Entman, 1993). In the context of the EU refugee crisis, the manner in which British media covered the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers was found to have played an effective role in influencing Brexit voting patterns (Pruitt, 2019). As a result, it is seemingly impossible to ignore the role of the British media in impacting public opinions and discourse and influencing political attitudes towards immigration and asylum. For this reason, I believe there is a significant value in studying the UK media's depictions of refugees and asylum seekers in the year leading up to the Brexit vote in 2016.

Research Question & Hypotheses

My research study was guided by the following question: During the European refugee crisis between 2015 and 2016, how were refugees and asylum seekers framed by British news media, both textually and visually? There are 2 key parts to this research question that are of focus in my study. (1) My study is guided by the concept of media framing, which is part of the larger theory of agenda setting. This theoretical framework allows us to understand how the media shapes narratives of social phenomena, which leads to the construction of socially shared

perceptions and understandings of newly arrived people in mainstream society. (2) My research study analyzes both textual and visual framing of refugees and asylum seekers. I decided to analyze both of these frame types in tandem with one another because I believe that both language and imagery are powerful tools that are used to tell a story and create a narrative in the public consciousness.

Hypotheses

My hypotheses for the study are as follows:

H1: Textually, the media will frame refugees and asylum seekers in three main ways: as criminals, threats to border security, and as vulnerable beings in need of humanitarian protection.

H2: Visually, the media will focus on two types of imagery: (1) images of large groups or masses of people ‘flooding’ into Europe, or (2) images of refugees and asylum seekers looking exhausted and weak from strenuous journeys to reach the EU.

H3: The Guardian will contain more humanitarian depictions of refugees and asylum seekers in their coverage of the refugee crisis, while The Times will contain more negative, fear-mongering depictions of refugees and asylum seekers.

Contribution of Research

My research study is unique because, as noted earlier, it combines both textual and visual framing to analyze how refugees and asylum seekers are portrayed by the media. Most scholarly work up until this point has analyzed one or the other. For example, Bleiker et al. (2013), Burrell

& Hörschelmann (2019), and Hoewe et al. (2019) focused their research exclusively on visual framing techniques by the news media, while Pruitt (2019), Heidenreich et al. (2019), Greussing & Boomgaarden (2017), and Nickels (2007) focused their research exclusively on textual framing. As such, my research aims to bring a new dimension to understanding the news media's depictions of refugees and asylum seekers by analyzing both textual and visual elements of news media coverage in tandem with one another and examining whether the types of visual frames correspond to the subsequent textual frames.

Organization of the Study

My study is organized into a total of five chapters. In chapter 2, I review the literature on media refugee discourse. In this chapter, I examine the importance of analyzing the media as an architect of public and social narratives. I also review the theories of media framing and agenda setting as the guiding backbone of my research study. And lastly, I discuss the importance of analyzing visual imagery in media refugee discourse and look at previous research on the media representation of refugees and asylum seekers. In chapter 3, I provide a methodology of the study, including the methods of research that will be used to conduct my analysis. In this chapter, I introduce content analysis as my method of analyzing media depictions of refugees and asylum seekers by examining news articles published by UK news media during the refugee crisis. I also provide a short literature review on content analysis as a method of research and why content analysis is a suitable research method for the current study. Chapter 4 reveals the results of my study, where I discuss the types of frames that were identified in media refugee discourse in the UK during the refugee crisis. I also reveal the differences in media depictions of refugees and asylum seekers between the left-leaning publication, The Guardian, and the right-leaning

publication, The Times. Finally, chapter 5 provides concluding remarks and discussion on the study. In this chapter, I provide final reflections on the research, acknowledge the limitations of the study and examine future opportunities for research in the field.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Why it's Important to Analyze the News Media

The news media maintains one of the most important and influential roles in modern day society (Pruitt, 2019; Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015). The media not only informs the public about various issues and events happening around them, but it provides “a communicative bridge between political and social actors” (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015). As will be discussed later, the news media can set agendas and frame debates around various issues and events (UNHCR, 2016). Essentially, they “provide the information which citizens use to make sense of the world and their place within it” (UNHCR, 2016). Because many people rely on the media for different types of information and awareness about local and world issues, the news media has been able to help shape public awareness and perceptions through its coverage and framing of various issues (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015). Likewise, it should be noted that much of the news content that gets circulated through various media systems is produced by a small number of organizations. As a result, the news media has effectively become one of the main sources of information in mainstream society- a power that has allowed it decide which issues to report on, how much attention and coverage to give them, and how to present such issues to the public (Ratajczak & Jędrzejczyk-Kuliniak, 2016; Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). This sort of position has made the news media one of the most important influencers of social perceptions and understandings in society (UNHCR, 2016). For this reason, it is important

to analyze and understand the media with regard to the news media's construction of narratives and the shaping of public perceptions and awareness.

Today, many social perceptions and constructs are influenced by the media's coverage of news. Because the media has become one of the only main sources of new information on key issues, people tend to be more inclined to follow what is reported in the media, as it "may foster a civic mindset like political knowledge, interest, participation and social capital" (Jacobs, Meeusen, & d'Haenens, 2016). Today, the news media influences critical social issues such as who to vote for in a local or federal election through coverage of political figures, and subsequently how elected leaders formulate policies. Extensive research on media effects theory has linked news media consumption to political participation in both the United States and Europe, with evidence that "news consumption leads to increased political knowledge and cultivates a sense of political efficacy" (Saldaña, McGregor, & Gil de Zúñiga, 2015). In a comparative analysis of media usage in the US and the UK, Saldaña, McGregor, & Gil de Zúñiga (2015) found that "UK citizens consume more news than their U.S. counterparts, both in terms of traditional news and through social media," and that "UK citizens participate more in both off-line and online political activities." A major influencer of UK media use and perception is the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), which "dominates the British media landscape and has become a point of reference for journalism standards in the United Kingdom" (Saldaña, McGregor, & Gil de Zúñiga, 2015). Even in the formulation of government policies, analysts and advisers heavily rely on the media and its coverage of issues (Heidenreich et al., 2019). Recently, it has become clear that the media "can more directly affect the policy process," such that "changes in salience, tone, and framing of coverage have been associated with policy change" (Langer & Sagarzazu, 2017). In this regard, public actors such as government and opposition

officials respond to the news agenda, as the news media influences which issues will become the “subject of dialogue” in the public and political sphere (Langer & Sagarzazu, 2017). It is also true that the news media relies on the general public to generate information. However, it can be argued that the media is not as dependent on the general public as the general public is dependent on the media (Behr & Iyengar, 1985).

Furthermore, by choosing to cover certain news stories or issues more frequently and with more emphasis than others, the media can create the impression- or illusion- that those particular issues are of greater importance than those that do not receive similar coverage (Dunaway, Branton, & Abrajano, 2010). Essentially, the media chooses what stories will receive coverage and which stories will not. It also decides how much emphasis a story will get relative to others (Pruitt, 2019; Iyengar & Simon, 1993). These and other variations have had the effect of shaping people’s perceptions of the relative importance of different issues (Pruitt, 2019; UNHCR, 2016; Behr & Iyengar, 1985). By deciding which issues to report on and how and when to report on them, the media effectively sets the agenda for what the public perceives as important- agenda that is, in turn, adhered to in line with the media’s guidance (Dunaway, Branton, & Abrajano, 2010). It is partly for this reason that it is important to understand the role played by the media; and it can only be achieved through a critical analysis of media coverage of specific issues or news events.

Having noted that, it is worth adding that not all media are influential or play the role of agenda setting. Instead, the most popular media or those with the largest following tend to have the greatest and most significant impact on news consumers in terms of shaping their opinions and perceptions on issues (Rodríguez Pérez, 2017). The more established and popular a media outlet is the more influence it is likely to have on people and the less popular a media outlet is

the less influence it may have over people (UNHCR, 2016). Yet, the popularity of the media is influenced by a host of factors which makes it hard to understand the extent to which specific media outlets influence or shape public opinions and perceptions. For one, different news organizations attract different types of audiences. A traditional left-leaning publication may attract readers with more liberal views, whereas a typical right-leaning publication may attract readers with more conservative views (Oxford Royale, 2014). In the context of UK news media in this study, *The Guardian*- which traditionally leans toward the left- maintains a sizeable audience of Labour Party supporters, critics of the Conservative Party, and non-governmental organizations (Oxford Royale, 2014). On the other hand, *The Times*- which traditionally leans toward the right- is more likely read by supporters of the Conservative Party, Conservative policymakers, and proponents of Brexit (Oxford Royale, 2014; Corbett, 2016). Sometimes, as is the case in the age of social media, even the least known or least popular media outlets can have significant impact on people's perceptions and opinions (Milioni, Spyridou, & Vadratsikas, 2015). In the past two decades, social and digital media, in particular, have turned out to be quite influential in terms of people's cultural perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors. This social media phenomenon is, of course, unique to the 21st century, unlike previous decades where mainstream media that consisted mainly of print newspaper, radio channels, and/or television were most influential (Dunaway, Branton, & Abrajano, 2010). In today's social landscape, the versatility and high penetration levels of non-conventional media types such as social and digital media may be just as influential – if not more influential – as conventional media types (Dunaway, Branton, & Abrajano, 2010). Citizens can now follow political figures and traditional news organizations on social media, which provides another avenue for awareness and exposure to political news and information (Saldaña, McGregor, & Gil de Zúñiga, 2015). That being said,

several studies in recent years have suggested that “there has been an actual decline in social media use for news,” and that “people trust traditional news more than social media news” (Orgad, Rottenberg, & De Benedictis, 2019). For this reason, there is an inherent value in analyzing modern-day digitized forms of traditional news media as it relates to the shaping of current issues and social phenomena.

Communication from the Media: Framing and Agenda Setting Theory

As was mentioned earlier, this study is guided by the concept of media framing, which is part of the larger theory of agenda setting in media communications research. Agenda setting theory is arguably one of the best-suited theories to help explain the news media’s role in the coverage of different issues- including refugee and asylum issues. Iyengar & Simon (1993) define agenda setting as “the ability of the news media to define the significant issues of the day.” Specifically, agenda setting theory seeks to explain how the news media’s coverage of different issues influences how society perceives, and subsequently forms opinions, on them (Dunaway, Branton, & Abrajano, 2010). Agenda setting is a description of the process through which the news media reveals to members of the public the issues that are important by giving more emphasis to some issues or events relative to others (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). As such, agenda setting theory suggests that society perceives issues that get the most media coverage to be more important than those that get limited coverage (Dunaway, Branton, & Abrajano, 2010). Subsequently, such issues and events that get more news media coverage and attention tend to have longer lasting impressions on people (Iyengar & Simon, 1993). Similarly, media cues about different events and issues play a key role in the general public’s views and perceptions about what is important; if an issue appears to gain significant media attention then

citizens tend to view the issue as being of greater importance (Dunaway, Branton, & Abrajano, 2010). On the contrary, issues that get only limited or no media attention are almost immediately considered to be less important or of no importance at all. A similar reality can be found in the public policy process, where “issues that the media pick up are more likely to create positive feedback into the policy cycle and hence be subject to more policy attention” (Langer & Sagarzazu, 2017). While media attention can help public actors politicize certain issues, media attention can also help actors de-politicize the same issues (Langer & Sagarzazu, 2017). The news media thus serves “as gatekeepers that determine what is ‘public’ and hold agenda-setting power through their selection of which information to report, at times in ways that are not in keeping with objective reality” (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015). In this regard, the news media not only sets the agenda for what is perceived to be of importance or significance, but also decides how the agenda is implemented through methods like framing (Iyengar & Simon, 1993).

Agenda setting theory suits the current research study because it makes up a large part of the news media’s regular and persistent coverage of immigration issues that influences social perceptions in the UK (Morrison, 2019). This is especially true when immigration coverage focuses on refugees and asylum seekers. In recent decades, Western media, and British media in particular, has placed a significant emphasis on its news coverage of immigration and asylum issues. The refugee crisis of 2015-2016, for example, led to heightened concerns about immigration, particularly in the UK (Pruitt, 2019). Because of the extensive coverage of the refugee influx, many in the UK have come to regard immigration as one of the most important and critical issues facing their country as well as immigrants being possible, if not imminent, threats to national security (UNHCR, 2016). While immigration to Europe and the UK has been an ongoing occurrence for many years, it is only more recently that it has become an issue of

particular significance in terms of media coverage. This is the result of the media becoming particularly interested in the issue of asylum and immigration, with regular coverage of such issues featured daily in news articles and broadcasts (Behr & Iyengar, 1985). This, in turn, has had the effect of making people in western countries like the UK to regard immigration as a key issue and one that is of great importance in public debate (Morrison, 2019).

Agenda setting theory is guided, in large part, by the concept of framing. In what is perhaps the most widely used definition of ‘framing’ in the field of media communications, Entman (1993) posits that “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation.” Framing theory contends that the media has a significant role in shaping public narratives for people, and consequently it may shape the perceptions and behavior of those who consume media. According to Greussing and Boomgaarden (2017), media refugee coverage “contributes to the construction of socially shared understandings and dominant representations of newly arriving people, which have further consequences for attitudes, emotions, and behaviour towards them.” The use of media framing has been examined in various countries and contexts and has been used for political purposes and even social objectives (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017; Nickels, 2007; Bleiker et al., 2013; Pruitt, 2019; Hoewe, 2018; Milioni, Spyridou, & Vadratsikas, 2015). As such, framing can differ based on elements such as cultural and social differences.

Framing theory assumes that the media employs “a particular interpretational lens in their reporting by emphasising certain aspects of an issue and omitting others” (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). Media coverage of an issue or event “can be framed from different angles or perspectives leading readers to interpret an issue in a particular way” (Powell, 2011). Thus,

analyzing the media's coverage of major news events provides a valuable opportunity to examine how certain public narratives are constructed. Bleich, Bloemraad, & De Graauw (2015) identified three key strengths that the news media possesses in constructing narratives of refugees and asylum seekers through framing: "(i) the media provide a source of information about groups or issues related to migration and diversity; (ii) the media convey or construct particular representations of minorities and immigrants, including negative depictions; and (iii) the media act as a space for the participation of migrants and minorities in a public sphere where they can advance their interests and identities." In recent decades, migration and refugee stories have become a particularly salient issue covered by mainstream news media (UNHCR, 2016). Through the use of framing techniques, the media can construct narratives of immigration issues through distinctive portrayals of refugees and asylum seekers. As an example, in the aftermath of the September 11th attacks there has been a growing tendency in Western countries to associate immigration with terrorism (Eszter, 2016). This is due, in part, to an 'othering' of individuals from non-Western countries and an "inherent connection between '(Muslim) Immigrant' and 'Terrorists'" (Eszter, 2016). This is because while Western countries are traditionally dominated by European Christian values and heritage, non-Western countries such as those in the Middle East are dominated primarily by Islamic traditions. Because the 9/11 perpetrators were Arabs from the Middle East, as well as being young males with beards, "Muslim brown 'others' became the symbol of Islam to the agenda setters in media, thus becoming representative of Islam" (Powell, 2011). This particular framing of immigration as a catalyst for terrorism has created a culture of fear towards refugees and asylum seekers that has been "produced, shaped and managed by several actors," including the news media (Eszter, 2016). Subsequently, the association between Muslims and terrorism by the news media has led to negative Western

perceptions of immigrants and asylum seekers from Muslim-majority countries (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015; Ratajczak & Jędrzejczyk-Kuliniak, 2016). Framing thus represents how information is packaged by the media in order to convey a specific message about a social phenomenon or define a particular social narrative about a group of people in mainstream society. As a result, social perceptions and understandings of asylum and immigration issues is more so influenced through the mediated narratives and images of these issues rather than individual and independent experiences with immigrants, themselves (Pruitt, 2019).

Importance of Analyzing Visual Frames

Although scholars have focused more research on textual frames, there is an inherent benefit to studying visual framing as well because visual imagery can also be used to frame various media narratives (Hoewe et al., 2019). Like textual framing, visual frames are meant to invoke an emotional response to news information, which can then influence a person's perceptions and attitudes towards the same information (Hoewe et al., 2019). Researchers have found that "images of individual sufferers... are particularly powerful because of their explicit emotional appeal" (Bleiker et al., 2013). As such, visual imagery may, in fact, be even more powerful in evoking a short-term emotional response from viewers than textual narratives. Bleiker et al. (2013) found that the media's focus on different facets of an image can lead to either a humanizing or dehumanization of refugees and asylum seekers. For instance, it was found that close-up images of asylum seekers with "recognisable facial features" can generate a more compassionate response from news readers through the human connectivity of such

images, whereas the lack of such images can lead to a dehumanization of these same people (Bleiker et al., 2013).

Realizing the power of imagery, the media relies heavily on visual frames to support their coverage of various news events (Hoewe et al., 2019). Images of men, women, children, and families making dangerous journeys from the Middle East and North Africa into Europe have been permeated through media refugee coverage in the EU (UNHCR, 2016). While the issue of immigration is not new, the media's emphasis on images that portray immigration as a threat to Europe raises great concerns not just among policymakers but also members of the public as well (Eszter, 2016). It mostly comes down to the attention-grabbing power of imagery relative to text (Entman, 1993). When certain visual frames are used by the media, they can produce different representations of refugees and asylum seekers (Bleiker et al., 2013; Eszter, 2016). For example, imagery showing large groups of mostly young male refugees is more likely to represent refugees in a threatening, hostile way, whereas close-up images of female and child refugees are more likely to generate a sympathetic response from viewers (Bleiker et al., 2013; Eszter, 2016). This capacity has enabled the media to greatly influence society's visual perceptions of refugees and asylum seekers. Subsequently, there has been a general tendency for the media to focus on certain characteristics of refugees and asylum seekers arriving in Western countries. Specifically, young Arab men from Middle Eastern and North African countries have received the most scrutiny in media refugee coverage (Burrell & Hörschelmann, 2019; Pruitt, 2019). This angle is "not only racialised, but explicitly gendered, and aged, too" (Burrell & Hörschelmann, 2019). Shown in the context of recent terrorist attacks in the EU, visual representations of refugees and asylum seekers has subsequently led to a public culture of fear towards refugees as potential

terrorists or other iterations of criminality (Bleiker et al., 2013; Eszter, 2016; Pruitt, 2019; Vestergaard, 2020).

As noted earlier, there is the notion that different visual images or frames convey different meanings for people in various contexts (Entman, 1993). Therefore, any effective understanding of the underlying meanings of images has to be obtained by studying visual frames more intimately and taking into account their individual context. Yet it is also true that the media has been able to convey specific messages using visual frames because the media sets the agenda for what the public sees and interprets (Hoewe et al., 2019). Consider the imagery of boats. On the one hand, the media can depict refugees and asylum seekers as being more threatening than desperate by using images of far away boatloads of people to represent a ‘flooding’ or mass invasion of perceived ‘others’ onto Western shores (Bleiker et al., 2013; Eszter, 2016; Pruitt, 2019). This kind of imagery can elicit fear from viewers due to what they perceive as a threatening foreign entity arriving in their country (Bleiker et al., 2013; Pruitt, 2019). However, the media can also depict boatloads of refugees in a more humanizing way by using close-up images of refugees and asylum seekers appearing visually distressed and in pain as they make dangerous journeys across large bodies of water (Bleiker et al., 2013). Thus, the media can construct different narratives or messages about refugees and asylum seekers through their own depictions of a symbol or image.

The very structure of a boat, itself, also has implications for how refugees and asylum seekers are perceived. Boats represent pre-modern methods of transport dating back to the 15th century when seafaring and navigation were first made possible (Ellebrecht, 2020). This stands in contrast with contemporary modes of transport such as planes, cars and trains which are now the dominant means of travel in the 21st century (Ellebrecht, 2020). As such, images of migrants

traveling by boat can symbolize the exclusion of refugees and asylum seekers from contemporary society as well as reinforce the perception of refugees as representations of undeveloped, antiquated ways of life. Thus, the fact that the media utilizes imagery to convey different messages and representations of refugees and asylum seekers is reason enough to study and analyze visual framing in the media.

Previous Research on Media Representations of Refugees and Asylum Seekers

Immigration has become one of the most salient issues in European public discourse during the past decade (UNHCR, 2016). As such, the media's portrayal of refugees and asylum seekers is a subject matter that has generated a great deal of interest among scholars and policymakers in different areas and fields such as economics, sociology, communications, and politics (Vestergaard, 2020). In fact, the issue can be considered to be multidisciplinary because it has far-reaching implications for many aspects of society and social understanding. Today, public perceptions of immigration and asylum are shaped to a large extent by the media's portrayal of them rather than by personal experiences (Pruitt, 2019; O'Neill, 2010).

Previous studies have demonstrated how the media depicts refugees and asylum seekers as a "threat to European borders, security forces, people, social order, and identity" (Pruitt, 2019). In this context, refugees and asylum seekers become a 'threatening homogeneous collective' that threatens the sanctitude of the European continent (Cooper, Blumell & Bunce, 2020; Innes, 2010). Media have often employed water-based metaphors to represent the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers as a 'flooding' and to portray European borders as being "problematically porous and challenged by a crisis situation that posed a danger that was capable of inciting fear and panic" (Pruitt, 2019). Bleiker et. al's (2013) analysis of visual framing found that Australian

media relied heavily on images of boats, shown mostly from a far away distance, to represent refugees and asylum seekers as a “potential threat that sets in place mechanisms of security and border control.” Their research suggested that imagery of boats reinforced derogatory language around refugees and asylum seekers, including ‘floods,’ ‘tides,’ and ‘illegal immigrants’ (Bleiker et al., 2013). Relatedly, Pugh (2004) posits that the media portrays refugees and asylum seekers as “stateless wanderers with unimpeded reach to coastal waters around the globe.” Language and imagery used by the news media in this way has the ability to “suppress their rationality, dehumanize them and suggest an analogue with natural disasters” (Pugh, 2004). Pugh’s research on ‘boat people’ found that natural disaster metaphors have been used to depict refugees and asylum seekers as ‘ineluctable forces of nature’ (Pugh, 2004). In this context, national homelands become ‘engulfed,’ ‘inundated,’ ‘submerged,’ ‘flooded,’ ‘swamped,’ and ‘washed away’ by refugees and asylum seekers arriving on their shores (Pugh, 2004).

Ultimately, visual representations and framing of refugees and asylum seekers has been recognized as “having influence in moulding, ordering, justifying and reinforcing opinions, and in shaping policy” (Pugh, 2004). In the context of the UK, media refugee coverage also relied heavily on water-based imagery and natural disaster metaphors, which helped provide a justification for Brexit (Negro Alousque, 2020). In the subsequent lead-up to the Brexit vote in 2016, it has been suggested that the news media engaged in a “construction of a crisis of borders” by depicting the refugee crisis as a mass flooding or tide of migrants that threatened to fracture the stability of the border-free Schengen Zone (Pruitt, 2019). Media coverage “thus constructed a sense of danger and proposed a perceived necessity for addressing threats” (Pruitt, 2019). By using water-based imagery and language, the UK news media presented a scenario in which “closing the borders appeared as the dominant solution to deal with such danger” (Pruitt,

2019). As a result, border ideologies came to be a defining feature and representation of Brexit in the UK.

In addition, public and political attitudes toward refugees and asylum seekers varies across different countries and contexts (Pruitt, 2019). It has been found that humanitarian ideals “play a lead role in how media and political actors in Europe conceptualize the refugee and asylum question” (Nickels, 2007). However, these ideals are often measured against legal and administrative concerns (Nickels, 2007). As a result, political approaches to asylum in Europe are often shaped by a “tug-of-war between national interests pulling for tighter asylum policies and moral arguments pulling for looser ones” (Nickels, 2007). In addition, public attitudes towards refugees and asylum seekers also vary by country. In the UK, for example, public opposition to immigration has been prevalent since at least 2004, but anti-immigrant attitudes experienced an escalation during the height of the refugee crisis period around 2015 (Pruitt, 2019). However, in Germany it was found that refugees and asylum seekers were more readily welcomed at the height of the refugee crisis (Burrell & Hörschelmann, 2019). It is also important to add that in some contexts, political ideology can influence how the issue of refugees and asylum seekers is reported and portrayed in the media (Bleich, Bloemraad, & De Graauw, 2015). In this regard, the left-right divide is common especially in Europe, with left-leaning media outlets tending to be less critical of refugees and asylum seekers compared to right-leaning media outlets (Bleich, Bloemraad, & De Graauw, 2015). For instance, left-leaning media outlets may focus more on elements of victimization and humanitarian needs of refugees and asylum seekers, while right-leaning media may focus more on elements of criminality in their coverage of refugee issues (UNHCR, 2016; Pruitt, 2019).

Relatedly, there have also been differences noted in the type of media under consideration, with online media and news coverage tending to focus on different aspects from those focused on by print media (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015). Greussing & Boomgaarden (2017) analyzed tabloid and ‘quality’ media in Austria and found that the two media types tended to exhibit markedly different approaches to their coverage of immigration issues. While tabloid media tended to focus more on sensational or ‘soft’ news, including celebrities, crime, or scandals, ‘quality’ media tended to focus more on hard news, such as politics or the economy, and tends to have a more serious style of reporting (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). Jacobs, Meeusen, & d’Haenens (2016) also studied differences in media communication types by analyzing public versus commercial news coverage of immigration in Belgium. Their research found that commercial news contained more elements of sensationalism and tabloidization than public news, and that public news overall promoted a more balanced view of immigration (Jacobs, Meeusen, & d’Haenens, 2016). The variations of media refugee depictions from previous research highlights that the issue is multi-dimensional and thus can be studied from various angles.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The research for this study was carried out by analyzing online news articles published by UK media during the refugee crisis between 2015 and 2016. Specifically, a content analysis was conducted to identify frames used by the news media during coverage of the refugee crisis. News articles chosen for analysis were published online from two British daily newspapers, The Guardian and The Times, and were published in a one-year time period between August 31, 2015 and August 31, 2016. A total of 40 articles were chosen for analysis ($N=40$), with 20 articles

chosen from The Guardian and 20 articles chosen from The Times. From the selected articles, 15 headline images were chosen from each publication for the visual analysis ($N=30$). Articles were gathered from the LexisNexis database accessed through USF Gleeson Library and were chosen at random. Search terms used to locate articles in the database included “*europe**,” “*refuge**,” “*asyl**,” “*refugee crisis*,” and/or “*migra**.” A content analysis was then performed to analyze the major textual and visual themes of the chosen articles. This section is divided into two parts. First, I discuss the foundations of content analysis as a research method for studying media communications. And second, I acknowledge the limitations of content analysis as a research method.

Content Analysis as a Method of Research in the Context of Media & Mass Communications

Content analysis has been defined as “the systematic assignment of communication content to categories according to rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those categories using statistical methods” (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005). According to Krippendorff (1980), there are six questions that every content analysis should address: 1) Which data are analyzed? 2) How are they defined? 3) What is the population from which they are drawn? 4) What is the context relative to which the data are analyzed? 5) What are the boundaries of the analysis? and 6) What is the target of the inferences? (Stemler, 2000). As a method of research in the field of media studies, content analysis relies on drawing inferences from textual and visual communication that, among other things, identifies the characteristics of the content from the perspective of the authors and predicts the effect of the content on the audience as well (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005). In the context of refugees and asylum seekers, the effects of media content on the audience includes public perception & attitudes, integration into society and even public behavior towards

them (Jacobs, Meeusen, & d’Haenens, 2016; O’Neill, 2010; Bleich, Bloemraad & de Graauw, 2015). As such, content analysis may provide “an empirical basis for monitoring shifts in public opinion” (Stemler, 2000). In the context of my research for this study, content analysis is a suitable method for analyzing the media representation of refugees and asylum seekers because it examines not only what type of content is presented about them, but how it is presented in the public mindset via framing. Ultimately, the manner of presenting news information can influence public actors such as policymakers- who follow media refugee coverage from The Guardian and The Times- because it may help establish an apparent necessity for implementing a particular policy initiative to address a perceived problem or threat- in this case, that of refugees and asylum seekers arriving in Europe.

Limitations of Content Analysis

While content analysis can be a powerful tool for analyzing media representations of refugees and asylum seekers, it doesn’t come without limitations. As an example, a common approach to performing content analysis is to do a word frequency count- with the assumption being that “the words that are mentioned most often are the words that reflect the greatest concerns” (Stemler, 2000). However, this approach may be limited by the fact that “synonyms may be used for stylistic reasons throughout a document and thus may lead the researchers to underestimate the importance of a concept” (Stemler, 2000). Not only that, but certain words may have multiple meanings, such as the word “state,” which “could mean a political body, a situation, or a verb meaning ‘to speak’”(Stemler, 2000). Thus doing a word frequency count would need to take this into consideration or else risk misinterpreting the value of a word or concept. As such, it should be noted that my content analysis for the current study will not

involve a word frequency count, so these limitations do not directly affect the overall value of my study.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

My primary research question for the study aimed to identify the different ways that refugees and asylum seekers, including the refugee crisis itself, was framed by UK news media during the period from August 2015-August 2016. The results of the content analysis revealed 8 textual frames and 3 visual frames that were used by The Guardian and The Times during their coverage of the refugee crisis. The textual frames identified were: (1) Human interest, (2) Administration, (3) Vulnerability/victimization, (4) Criminality, (5) Good Samaritan, (6) Bogus asylum claims, (7) Border security, and (8) Economic/social integration. The visual frames identified were: (1) Human interest, (2) Criminality, and (3) Border security. This section is divided into 3 parts. First, I provide a more in-depth examination of each frame, both textual and visual, as it relates to the media's depictions of refugees and asylum seekers. Then, I discuss the categorization of the frames based on certain characteristics. And lastly, I present a comparative analysis of the textual and visual frames that were employed by The Guardian and The Times.

TEXTUAL FRAMES

Human Interest Frame

News coverage that employs a human interest frame documents the individual experiences of refugees and asylum seekers by featuring human subjects who narrate their own journeys and ordeals. To do so, human interest media coverage will often focus full media articles on stories that detail the individual experiences and life events of actual displaced people.

One of the key indicators that a news story has a human interest frame is that it will include an in-depth interview element with refugees, themselves, who recount the causes and circumstances that forced them to flee their homes in the first place as well as document their journeys in search of asylum protection and subsequent life in a new country. This kind of narrative is distinctive because it gives refugees and asylum seekers a voice and a platform, via the media, to narrate their stories and experiences in their own words. They are identified by a name, an age, where they come from and sometimes a face (via visual imagery), to help humanize the events that have led them to their present circumstances. Human interest framing is therefore unique from other frames in that refugees and asylum seekers get to control their own media narrative by adding their voice to the media refugee discourse, which ultimately allows for their participation in the public sphere.

Administration Frame

The administration frame focuses on political/policy efforts to manage the reception and distribution of refugees and asylum seekers once they have arrived in the EU. One of the main themes within the administrative frame involves political debates between political actors on how to enact efficient asylum policies and procedures among EU countries (Nickels, 2007). Policies such as burden-sharing and reception quotas for how many refugees and asylum seekers each EU country should accept have been brought up in media refugee discourse (Berry et. al, 2015; Nickels, 2007). For example, it could be argued that a country like Portugal should not have to accept as many refugees as Germany because Germany is significantly larger than Portugal and has a much larger population. However, other factors like economic wealth of a country also have to be taken into consideration when deciding how many refugees can be taken

in and provided for; this is where elements of the economic/social integration frame comes into play. These are all factors and debates that occur in mainstream public discourse on refugees and asylum seekers through the administration frame.

As part of the administration frame, political actors debate on the expenses associated with search-and-rescue efforts, costs of housing refugees and asylum seekers, cost of legal fees and cost of deportation etc. (Berry et. al, 2019; Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). Political actors may also push for ‘equitable burden sharing’ between EU countries to ensure the “harmonization of asylum and immigration policies” (Nickels, 2007). Thus, the administration frame “emphasises the political efforts to manage the crisis and to find an adequate solution on both, the national and the European level” and “addresses controversial policy debates on reception quotas and maximum limits” (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017).

Vulnerability/victimization Frame

The vulnerability/victimization frame recognizes the dangers, hardships, and insecurities that refugees and asylum seekers face before and after their journey fleeing to a new country. In this frame, the media portrays refugees and asylum seekers as vulnerable, helpless beings who have little to no control over their circumstances. They are essentially “passive victims of circumstances they are not responsible for” (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). While this frame is similar to the human interest frame, the vulnerability/victimization frame differs in that individual first-person accounts from refugees and asylum seekers are not necessarily the focus of the story. For example, in 2016 *The Guardian* published an article titled “Almost 6,000 refugee children went missing last year, Germany says” (Connolly & Graham-Harrison, 2016). The article discussed “growing concerns that traffickers and criminals are preying on thousands

of vulnerable young people travelling amid the flow of refugees into Europe” (Connolly & Graham-Harrison, 2016). In this way, refugees and asylum seekers are depicted as vulnerable beings who are at an increased risk of falling victim to criminal activity like human trafficking. While the end of the article briefly mentions a missing boy who was later found and rescued, the story of how the boy ended up this way is not the main focus of the article and the boy, himself, is not identified in the piece- only being referred to as “the 10-year-old boy from Afghanistan” (Connolly & Graham-Harrison, 2016). For this reason, the article was not classified as having a specific human interest frame, but rather a vulnerability/victimization frame. Ultimately, refugees and asylum seekers in this frame are portrayed as victims of their own circumstances and unable to protect themselves from outside dangers and threats that are out of their control. Rather than being portrayed as the causes and instigators of crime and disorder, refugees and asylum seekers are portrayed as the victims of it.

Criminality Frame

The criminality frame depicts refugees and asylum seekers as criminals who pose a danger to public safety and subsequently associates the arrival of refugees with the threat of increased crime or terrorism upon the host nation (Ratajczak & Jedrzejczyk, 2016; Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2019; Heidenreich et al., 2019). As such, it is an inherently negative frame which mostly relies on fear-mongering to create negative depictions of refugees and asylum seekers (Ratajczak & Jedrzejczyk, 2016). Under the criminality frame, refugees seemingly become the designated perpetrators of crime and illegal activity, even if such events haven’t occurred yet (Pruitt, 2019; Ratajczak & Jedrzejczyk, 2016). In other words, it is the mere presence of individuals from foreign, less developed countries that is attributed with a forthcoming rise in

crime- for economic or other reasons. The criminality frame thus “promotes a problem-oriented image by associating refugees with illegal modes of transportation, and by creating an atmosphere of suspicion and prejudice” (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). Essentially, the criminality frame creates a culture of fear and prejudice towards refugees and asylum seekers by associating them with illegal and disorderly activity in the EU.

Good Samaritan Frame

The Good Samaritan frame focuses on the volunteer efforts of local residents and organizations to help refugees and asylum seekers who are newly arrived in Europe. This frame is similar to the vulnerability/victimization frame in that refugees are portrayed as vulnerable, helpless beings who are in need of humanitarian aid and support. However, it differs in that the focus of the frame is not on asylum seekers, themselves, who are in need of humanitarian support, but rather the focus is on the actual people who are attempting to provide them with the aid and support that they seemingly need. For example, an article by *The Guardian* called “Teaching refugees languages: ‘No specific skills required, just a desire to help and a friendly smile’” featured interviews with four local citizens across Europe who started volunteering to teach refugees and asylum seekers the local languages of their countries (Obordo, 2015). The ‘Good Samaritans,’ in this sense, included a retired minister from Germany who’s been teaching German to asylum seekers since as early as 2009, a German woman who volunteers for an organization teaching German to refugee children, a British long-time resident of Sweden who volunteered teaching Swedish to local asylum seekers, and a German woman living in Rome who volunteered teaching German to asylum seekers travelling from Italy to Germany (Obordo, 2015). As such, the Good Samaritan frame builds upon the depiction of refugees and asylum

seekers as vulnerable beings by highlighting the local humanitarian efforts of Europeans to help and support their needs- in this case, language integration in a foreign country- which may not have been taken care of without the volunteer effort. Ultimately, the Good Samaritan frame serves as a sort of counter frame to the vulnerability/victimization frame by addressing the humanitarian needs of seemingly helpless and vulnerable people.

Bogus Asylum Claims Frame

News articles that employ a bogus asylum frame will question the legitimacy and validity of asylum applications. In this frame, refugees and asylum seekers are depicted as potentially unauthorized immigrants who do not have a valid basis or claim for asylum protection in Europe. Instead, they are depicted as economic migrants who arrive in the EU looking for work. Words such as ‘illegal migrant,’ ‘false claims,’ and ‘overstayer’ were used to describe people who, it is claimed, are not actually fleeing due to persecution, but rather are coming to Europe for economic reasons. News articles in this frame will also allude to the presence of forged documents that immigrants supposedly use to make false claims of asylum and obtain work visas. In addition, media refugee discourse that contains a bogus asylum frame also involves debates between political actors over the ‘abuse of the system’ from supposed false asylum claims and how to enact stricter asylum measures (Ford, 2016).

Border Security Frame

The border security frame focuses on themes of border crossing of refugees and asylum seekers into Europe and the need for increased border control measures in the EU. In this frame, the media depicts the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers as a threat to border security by

associating it with a ‘flooding’ of an uncontrollable mass of people. Terms like ‘floodgates,’ ‘tide,’ ‘wave,’ ‘unleash,’ ‘crisis,’ and ‘storm the frontiers’ have been used to describe the arrival of large numbers of refugees and asylum seekers onto European shores (The Times, 2015/2016). As a result, this type of language portrays the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers as an invasion of ‘others’ that is seemingly unmanageable for the asylum system. The border security frame contains elements of an administration frame in that media coverage will almost always include political and policy debates over how to manage the influx of refugees and asylum seekers onto European shores and the need for tighter border security measures. However, it differs, in the context of the present study, in that news articles were only classified as having a border security frame when the angle of the article was focused on the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers into Europe- whereas news articles were classified under the administration frame when the angle focused on the management of asylum seekers once they had already arrived in Europe.

Economic/Social Integration Frame

The economic/social integration frame focuses on the long-term economic and social consequences of integrating large amounts of refugees and asylum seekers into society. On one hand, this frame can depict refugees and asylum seekers as a burden on the host country’s economic wealth and welfare systems by drawing attention to the large amount of resources and aid needed to provide for newly arrived people. Concepts like the demand for jobs, access to government programs and the cost of housing are all debated in the media discourse (Kingsley, 2016). Therefore, in this context, the economic/social integration frame can depict refugees and asylum seekers in a primarily negative way. However, this frame can also depict refugees and

asylum seekers in a more positive way by portraying them as a boost to the local economy in the long term by providing skilled, low-wage labor and helping to grow national GDPs (Kingsley, 2016). The media can thus depict refugees and asylum seekers as having a positive effect on the economy. Ultimately, media refugee coverage that employs an economic/social integration frame can portray refugees and asylum seekers in either a positive or negative way.

VISUAL FRAMES

Human Interest Visual Frame

News imagery with a human interest frame will portray refugees and asylum seekers in an emotionally stirring or light-hearted way, with the overall intent of drawing a sympathetic or emotional response from the audience. Visual imagery in this frame includes images of refugees, families or children that are close up, such that human features and expressions are distinctive and recognizable. The subjects in these photos- the refugees- are typically depicted in situations of distress or weariness, such as the moments before and after disembarking from long boat journeys to arrive on European shores. However, the human interest visual frame can also depict refugees and asylum seekers in a more light-hearted way by showcasing images of young children playing with each other in refugee camps or close-up images of families traveling together. Such images are meant to trigger an emotional response from news readers by connecting to the vulnerabilities and fundamental humanness of refugees and asylum seekers. Through human interest visual framing, refugees are thus shown as fundamental human beings who have humanitarian needs and are therefore deserving of the assistance and aid that they are seeking in a new country.

Criminality Visual Frame

Visual imagery with a criminality frame presents refugees and asylum seekers as the perpetrators of criminal activity by painting them as wild and unrestrained beings who pose a threat to public safety. Images with a criminality frame will depict apparent refugees engaging in acts of aggression or violence, and images will typically display young men as the aggressors with expressions of anger or hostility on their face (Ratajczak & Jedrzejczyk, 2016). This type of imagery can be characterized as fear-mongering because it is meant to induce fear and anxiety about the arrival of perceived threatening foreigners onto European soil. It also builds upon the notion of 'us vs them' - where 'us' is the safety and sanctitude of Europe, and 'them' is the presence of perceived criminals and delinquents who threaten to undo that wellbeing.

Border Security Visual Frame

The border security visual frame presents the imagery of large masses of refugees and asylum seekers attempting to enter the EU. There are generally two kinds of visual imagery that can be classified under the border security frame: water-based imagery showing boatloads of refugees and asylum seekers arriving on European shores and land-based imagery showing groups of refugees and asylum seekers traveling through open fields or waiting outside immigration and asylum offices. For my analysis, images with a border security frame included groups of at least 15 people positioned next to each other. Border invasion imagery is also characterized by the far-away nature of photographs. In this context, large masses of people are often shown from a far away distance, such that human expressions and features are not easily visible to the reader. Bleiker et al. (2013) argued that the lack of human features depicted in

media imagery of asylum seekers dehumanizes, and potentially criminalizes, them as newly arrived people.

Categorization of Frames

The frames identified in my content analysis were subsequently organized into three categories: policy-based frames, emotionally stirring frames, and negative frames. The administration and economic/social integration frame were classified as policy-based frames because they focused primarily on debates between political actors on how to implement effective policies to manage the influx of refugees into the EU and the subsequent consequences of these policies for social and economic integration in Europe. The emotionally stirring frames included human interest, Good Samaritan, and vulnerability/victimization. These frames contained emotional, heartwarming elements that drew primarily on the human side of the refugee crisis by documenting the strenuous and dangerous plights taken by asylum seekers to reach the EU, the often dire challenges that they face after arriving in the EU due to lack of access to resources and aid, and the humanitarian efforts by local charities and volunteers to provide aid for newly arrived people. Lastly, frames classified as negative included criminality, border security and bogus asylum claims. These frames were considered inherently negative frames because they often relied on fear-mongering language, descriptions, and even imagery to portray refugees and asylum seekers as threatening and/or dangerous people who threatened to disrupt the sanctity and security of the European continent. This kind of framing helps create a culture of fear and mistrust of newly arrived people, which ultimately reinforced the ‘us vs them’ narrative in the media refugee discourse.

Comparative Analysis of Textual Frames Between The Guardian and The Times

The Guardian primarily employed policy-based frames as a dominant theme in their coverage of the refugee crisis. A total of 11 out of 20 articles (55%) contained a policy-based frame, including 10 administration frames (50%) and 1 economic/social integration frame (5%). Narratives and themes among the policy-based coverage from The Guardian included the need for comprehensive asylum reforms across the EU, policy proposals to disperse unaccompanied child refugees across the UK, demands for cities to have greater policy input regarding the acceptance and integration of asylum seekers, and the need to adopt gender-based asylum policies for female refugees. Comparatively, news coverage from The Times included only 6 out of 20 articles with a policy-based frame. This included 5 administration frames (25%) and 1 economic/social integration frame (5%). Narratives and themes among the policy-based coverage from The Times included the need for EU countries to take greater, more effective control measures over the refugee crisis, demands from local authorities for more money to support unaccompanied child refugees, and the consequences of the refugee crisis on the global economy as well as Europe's political stability.

The second most dominant frame types used by The Guardian were emotionally-stirring frames. 9 out of 20 articles (45%) contained an emotionally stirring frame, including 4 Good Samaritan frames (20%), 3 human interest frames (15%) and 2 vulnerability/victimization frames (10%). Themes among the emotionally stirring coverage from The Guardian included the role of social workers volunteering in refugee camps, the mental health challenges that many refugees and asylum seekers face, the risk of refugee children falling victim to criminals and traffickers, and the volunteer efforts of British citizens to help resettle newly arrived asylum seekers. On the other hand, only 2 out of 20 articles (10%) from The Times contained an emotionally stirring

frame, with 1 human interest frame (5%) and 1 vulnerability/victimization frame (5%). The dominant narrative of emotionally stirring coverage from The Times focused on the deplorable conditions of refugee camps, where overcrowding, food and water shortages, and lack of sanitation were a common reality for many refugees and asylum seekers.

Negative frame types remained the most dominant refugee discourse among the media coverage from The Times. 12 out of 20 articles (60%) contained a negative frame, including 6 criminality frames (30%), 3 border security frames (15%), and 3 bogus asylum frames (15%). Narratives among these frames included public fears of heightened criminal activity and terrorism in Europe as a result of the refugee influx, border management that was seemingly unstable and out of control, claims that asylum seekers were using forged documents to enter the EU and obtain work permits, and claims that thousands of asylum seekers were ‘illegal’ immigrants who had overstayed their visas. In perhaps the most dramatic contrast, 0 out of 20 articles from The Guardian contained a primarily negative frame in their coverage of the refugee crisis. However, 3 out of 20 articles (15%) did contain minor elements of a border invasion frame. All three of these articles were ultimately classified under the administration frame as they focused primarily on debates between political figures on how to manage the arrival of thousands of refugees and asylum seekers. However, they did mention risks of borders being overwhelmed and the need for tighter border control measures, which can be considered elements of the border security frame.

Comparative Analysis of Visual Frames Between The Guardian and The Times

The visual analysis revealed stark differences in the ways that refugees and asylum seekers were portrayed in the news publications. Among the visuals from The Guardian, 11 out

of 15 images (73.3%) contained a human interest frame. Human interest imagery from The Guardian was dominated by images of young children- seemingly between the ages of 5 and 10- that were close-up in nature. 9 out of the 11 human interest images (81.8%) featured young children as subjects. The most common visual depictions in these photos showed young children living in refugee camps, and images showed refugee children playing with each other or merely standing around the camp. However, other depictions of human interest imagery included a Syrian refugee girl being rescued from a boat in Greece, a child's lifeless body found on a beach in Turkey, a refugee family with children arriving at a shelter in Germany, and artwork created by a refugee child in Italy. As such, visual imagery from The Guardian was focused primarily on showing the human side of the refugee crisis by presenting the visual innocence and youth of children as vulnerable beings in need of humanitarian aid and support. That being said, 4 out of 15 images (26.6%) from The Guardian contained a border security frame. The dominant visual depiction in this frame was the portrayal of large groups of at least 15 people attempting to enter or claim asylum in Europe. Three of the images were land-based, with two images showing asylum seekers traveling through an open field on their way to Europe and one showing a crowd of refugees waiting outside an asylum office in Berlin. One image was water-based, showing a boat full of asylum seekers attempting to arrive on the Greek island of Lesbos.

Furthermore, visual imagery from The Times was dominated by negative frames of criminality and border security, but also included a sizeable amount of human interest visual frames. 9 out of 15 images (60%) contained a negative frame, including 6 border security frames and 3 criminality frames. Like the border security frames presented by The Guardian, border security imagery from The Times was dominated by visuals of large masses of at least 15 people attempting to enter Europe. 4 out of 6 border security images from The Times were land-based,

while 2 were water-based. Border security imagery from The Times was also characterized by the far-away nature of images. 5 out of 6 border security images depicted refugees and asylum seekers from a far-away angle- where human expressions were not easily observable- while only 1 image was presented from a closer angle. Likewise, the 3 images with a criminality frame depicted apparent refugees and asylum seekers either engaging in apparent acts of criminal activity or having been arrested on suspicion of criminal activity. For instance, one image depicted two apparent male refugees attempting to attack another man against a fence. Another image depicted a handwritten note carried by an asylum seeker who had been arrested in connection with the sexual assault attacks in Cologne, Germany on New Year's Eve 2015; the note contained apparent lewd phrases of violence and sexual innuendos. Negative visual imagery of criminality and border security thus represented the dominant type of imagery presented by The Times. However, The Times also presented a sizeable amount of human interest visual imagery in their coverage of the refugee crisis, with 6 out of 15 images (40%) containing a human interest frame. Like the human interest images presented in The Guardian, human interest imagery presented in The Times was dominated by images of young children that were close-up in nature. In fact, all 6 images featured at least one young child between roughly 2 to 10 years of age. Depictions of refugees included a group of children living in a refugee camp in Greece, a refugee family crossing the Macedonian border into Serbia, and a group of Iraqi children living in a refugee camp in Amiriyah Fallujah, Iraq. The images were also all land-based, whereas The Guardian featured 2 human interest images that were water-based. The sizeable amount of human interest visuals (6) compared to criminality and border security visuals (9) suggests a more balanced approach to visually portraying the refugee crisis from The Times.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

This research study aimed to examine the ways in which refugees and asylum seekers were portrayed by British news media during the refugee crisis period from 2015 to 2016. It was inspired, in part, by the Brexit decision in June 2016, in which immigration was cited as a main factor in the UK's decision to leave the European Union. As such, my content analysis revealed 8 textual frames and 3 visual frames that were used by the news media to cover the refugee crisis. My first hypothesis (*H1*) stated that “textually, the media will frame refugees and asylum seekers in three main ways: as criminals, threats to border security, and as vulnerable beings in need of humanitarian protection.” This hypothesis was confirmed in that three of the textual frames I identified were the *criminality frame*, where refugees and asylum seekers were portrayed as perpetrators of potential criminal activity, the *border security frame*, which focused on the need to implement border control measures to prevent a mass ‘flooding’ into Europe, and the *vulnerability/victimization frame*, which portrayed refugees and asylum seekers as vulnerable beings who faced immense challenges and hardships that they had no control over. However, *H1* was also expanded in the sense that additional frames were identified beyond the three frames initially hypothesized. Furthermore, my second hypothesis (*H2*) stated that “visually, the media will focus on two types of imagery: (1) images of large groups or masses of people ‘flooding’ into Europe, or (2) images of refugees and asylum seekers looking exhausted and weak from strenuous journeys to reach the EU.” Once again, this hypothesis was confirmed in that two of the visual frames identified were the *border security visual frame*, which focused on images of large masses of people from a far away distance attempting to enter Europe, and the *human interest visual frame*, which depicted refugees and asylum seekers in an emotionally stirring way, including close-up images of asylum seekers looking distressed as they attempt to reach the EU.

And similar to the first hypothesis, *H2* expanded upon its original hypothesis in that an additional criminality visual frame was also identified in the content analysis. Finally, the third hypothesis (*H3*) stated that “The Guardian will contain more humanitarian depictions of refugees and asylum seekers in their coverage of the refugee crisis, while The Times will contain more negative, fear-mongering depictions of refugees and asylum seekers.” This hypothesis was partly confirmed in that nearly three quarters of the articles from The Guardian contained a *human interest visual frame*, while nearly half of the articles contained an *emotionally-stirring textual frame*. However, the emotionally stirring textual frames did not constitute an overall majority of the textual frames used by The Guardian. Likewise, over half of the articles from The Times contained a *negative textual frame*, while nearly two thirds of the articles contained a *negative visual frame*, which confirms the second part of *H3*. Ultimately, all three of the hypotheses for the study were confirmed to some degree.

Limitations of the Study & Opportunities for Future Research

Given the research that has been presented in this paper, this study does not come without limitations. First, my study was limited by the small sample size of my analysis- as I only analyzed a total of 40 news articles. Previous studies have analyzed over 1,000 articles (Nickels, 2007) up to over 10,000 articles (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017), and even over 130,000 articles (Heidenreich et al., 2019). In addition, I only analyzed articles from two publications, which only represents a small portion of UK news media as a whole. Because of the small sample size and the limited number of news publications that were analyzed, my data cannot be generalized on a wider scale. But rather, it is intended to provide a small insight into the UK media’s coverage of the refugee crisis through both textual and visual framing. My research was

also limited by the fact that I only studied one type of media- specifically, ‘quality’ newspapers. As was mentioned earlier, tabloid media tends to feature more elements of sensationalism in their coverage of news events (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). Therefore, more research could be done to study sensationalism and tabloidization in the British tabloid press during the refugee crisis. Research could also examine how specific policies were formed during the refugee crisis, as influenced by the news media coverage. There are also other opportunities to study media refugee coverage by analyzing the effects it has on the integration of actual refugees and asylum seekers into European society. Specifically, it would be insightful to study how the media’s coverage of refugee issues has influenced the social interactions and experiences of refugees and asylum seekers as they attempt to integrate into a new country; this could potentially be done through ethnographic field research. Overall, further research into the topic of media framing could provide greater insight into the formation of public opinions and public policy (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017).

Closing Remarks

The media plays one of the most influential roles in constructing social narratives and perceptions of different people or events in society (Pruitt, 2019). The media “inform the public, provide a communicative bridge between political and social actors, influence perceptions of pressing issues, depict topics and people in particular ways and may shape individuals’ political views and participation” (Bleich, Bloemraad, & De Graauw, 2015). As such, media coverage of refugee and immigration issues provides a rich context for understanding how refugees and asylum seekers are represented and debated in the public sphere since most people often have little to no direct experience with them (Pruitt, 2019). Ultimately, this construction of social

narratives can impact their chances of successful integration into a new country. This research study has hopefully helped to provide some insight into the various ways that refugees and asylum seekers are depicted by the media not just through textual narratives, but also through visual imagery as well. While my own research is not exhaustive, it may potentially open up opportunities for further research into how specific policies were formed during the refugee crisis, as influenced by news media coverage, or the long-term public stigma that refugees and asylum seekers face, which may ultimately affect their chances of successful integration and resettlement in a new country. Ultimately, there is still more research that can be done on media refugee discourse with regard to immigration and asylum issues.

Appendix A: News Articles Published in *The Guardian*

- 1) Ian Traynor. “**Detain refugees arriving in Europe for 18 months, says Tusk.**” *The Guardian*. 3 December 2015. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/051538fe-2bad-40eb-b407-5d84f37aaede/?context=1516831>
- 2) Jane Dudman. “**More support needed for female refugees, says European vice-president.**” *The Guardian*. 6 May 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/4c10d3f4-eebe-47f4-8edd-d535f7efc135/?context=1516831>
- 3) Jennifer Rankin. “**Refugee crisis: EU allocates €700m in extra aid to cope with influx.**” *The Guardian*. 2 March 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/694be325-7916-47cd-834c-59dce4ed56de/?context=1516831>
- 4) Kate Connolly & Emma Graham-Harrison. “**Almost 6,000 refugee children went missing last year, says Germany.**” *The Guardian*. 12 April 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/e8e905b2-f982-434b-be69-c484e1dff773/?context=1516831>
- 5) Alan Travis & Amelia Gentleman. “**Unaccompanied child refugees to be dispersed across UK.**” *The Guardian*. 20 April 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/d8ce2b45-95c7-43ed-a17b-e9f29bebb3f5/?context=1516831>
- 6) Patrick Kingsley. “**Increasing aid for Syrian refugees is not the only option. Here are four more.**” *The Guardian*. 27 May 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/455c8447-32e9-44f2-b622-73b2cd43f25e/?context=1516831>
- 7) Patrick Kingsley. “**Refugees will repay EU spending almost twice over in five years-report.**” *The Guardian*. 18 May 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/8dc1d7a5-9bd1-404d-8b34-3b2c48e739ca/?context=1516831>

- 8) Patrick Kingsley. “**‘I’ve tried to find a way to enjoy this life’: Syrian refugees one year on.**” *The Guardian*. 27 May 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/8567214f-047b-40d6-94d1-d3d29b99b933/?context=1516831>
- 9) Ruth Hardy. “**The role of social work in the refugee crisis.**” *The Guardian*. 17 March 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/c0ab3287-4bf8-416a-89e7-b987cb42f286/?context=1516831>
- 10) Jennifer Rankin. “**EU executive to propose asylum reforms and approve Turkey visa deal.**” *The Guardian*. 4 May 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/b20e18d7-d4b5-488d-b885-bf4f212c4c56/?context=1516831>
- 11) Ellie Violet Bramley. “**Cities need more power to deal with refugee crisis: report.**” *The Guardian*. 4 April 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/a31bb418-479c-41bb-b292-54cc7d9f604a/?context=1516831>
- 12) Patrick Kingsley. “**‘Help, we’re sinking’: aboard a refugee rescue boat in the perilous Greek seas.**” *The Guardian*. 27 May 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/45329186-735f-4e9f-a134-c246c8be2d64/?context=1516831>
- 13) Helena Smith. “**Shocking images of drowned Syrian boy show tragic plight of refugees.**” *The Guardian*. 4 September 2015. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/7f71c721-d3a3-426a-b29b-e4a001fdcba4/?context=1516831>
- 14) Karen McVeigh. “**Thousands in UK pledge to help resettle refugees.**” *The Guardian*. 4 September 2015. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/26d4cc39-976c-4218-808a-e673bdd16c41/?context=1516831>

- 15) Rachel Obordo. “**Teaching refugees languages: ‘No specific skills required, just a desire to help and a friendly smile.’**” *The Guardian*. 15 September 2015. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/2ca884ec-1dae-484d-8e29-402f415d9446/?context=1516831>
- 16) Holly Young. “**Refugees and mental health: ‘These people are stronger than us.’**” *The Guardian*. 14 September 2015. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/e9e4f02b-6f1e-41e6-aae3-e223238b5f49/?context=1516831>
- 17) John Henley, Harriet Grant, Jessica Elgot, Karen McVeigh, & Lisa O’Carroll. “**Britons rally to help people fleeing war and terror in Middle East.**” *The Guardian*. 4 September 2015. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/5235fffe-e81c-4534-9d24-2ae1e1464d7b/?context=1516831>
- 18) Ian Traynor. “**Pressure to resolve migration crisis could tear EU apart.**” *The Guardian*. 31 May 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/d257a375-d198-41e9-a07b-f9042e040e3f/?context=1516831>
- 19) Rowena Mason. “**Labour says ‘fight will go on’ after Tories vote down child refugee plan.**” *The Guardian*. 26 April 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/b31f7e7d-26ed-440e-a23a-f7134fb4cafe/?context=1516831>
- 20) Frances Perraudin. “**Migration crisis: EU ministers to meet in two weeks to find a solution.**” *The Guardian*. 31 August 2015. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/3f38f2bd-59c4-430a-8ae2-ba208cfa87cf/?context=1516831>

Appendix B: Headline Images Published in *The Guardian*

- 1) Jane Dudman. “**More support needed for female refugees, says European vice-president.**” *The Guardian*. 6 May 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/public-leaders-network/2016/may/06/more-support-needed-women-refugees-european-vice-president>
- 2) Kate Connolly & Emma Graham-Harrison. “**Almost 6,000 refugee children went missing last year, says Germany.**” *The Guardian*. 12 April 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/apr/12/almost-6000-refugee-children-missing-last-year-germany>
- 3) Alan Travis & Amelia Gentleman. “**Unaccompanied child refugees to be dispersed across UK.**” *The Guardian*. 20 April 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/apr/20/unaccompanied-child-refugees-to-be-dispersed-through-uk>
- 4) John Henley, Harriet Grant, Jessica Elgot, Karen McVeigh, & Lisa O’Carroll. “**Britons rally to help people fleeing war and terror in Middle East.**” *The Guardian*. 3 September 2015. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/sep/03/britons-rally-to-help-people-fleeing-war-and-terror-in-middle-east>
- 5) Jennifer Rankin. “**Refugee crisis: EU allocates €700m in extra aid to cope with influx.**” *The Guardian*. 2 March 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/02/refugee-crisis-europe-eu-countries-greece-receive-700m-extra-aid-funds>
- 6) Patrick Kingsley. “**Increasing aid for Syrian refugees is not the only option. Here are four more.**” *The Guardian*. 3 February 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/03/increasing-aid-for-syrian-refugees-is-not-the-only-option-here-are-four-more>
- 7) Ellie Violet Bramley. “**Cities need more power to deal with refugee crisis: report.**” *The Guardian*. 4 April 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/apr/04/cities-need-power-refugee-crisis-eurocities-report>

- 8) Rowena Mason. “**Labour says ‘fight will go on’ after Tories vote down child refugee plan.**” *The Guardian*. 25 April 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/apr/25/tories-vote-against-accepting-3000-child-refugees>
- 9) Karen McVeigh. “**Thousands in UK pledge to help resettle refugees.**” *The Guardian*. 3 September 2015. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/03/thousands-in-uk-pledge-to-help-resettle-refugees>
- 10) Ian Traynor. “**Pressure to resolve migration crisis could tear EU apart.**” *The Guardian*. 20 January 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/20/pressure-to-resolve-migration-crisis-could-tear-eu-apart>
- 11) Helena Smith. “**Shocking images of drowned Syrian boy show tragic plight of refugees.**” *The Guardian*. 2 September 2015. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/02/shocking-image-of-drowned-syrian-boy-shows-tragic-plight-of-refugees>
- 12) Rachel Obordo. “**Teaching refugees languages: ‘No specific skills required, just a desire to help and a friendly smile.’**” *The Guardian*. 11 September 2015. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/11/teaching-refugees-languages-no-specific-skills-required-just-a-desire-to-help-and-a-friendly-smile>
- 13) Ian Traynor. “**Detain refugees arriving in Europe for 18 months, says Tusk.**” *The Guardian*. 2 December 2015. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/02/detain-refugees-arriving--europe-18-months-donald-tusk>
- 14) Holly Young. “**Refugees and mental health: ‘These people are stronger than us.’**” *The Guardian*. 14 September 2015. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2015/sep/14/refugees-and-mental-health-psychological-support-msf>
- 15) Patrick Kingsley. “**Refugees will repay EU spending almost twice over in five years-report.**” *The Guardian*. 18 May 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/18/refugees-will-repay-eu-spending-almost-twice-over-in-five-years-report>

Appendix C: News Articles Published in *The Times*

- 1) Will Pavia & Michael Savage. “**Crime and disorder warning after influx of male migrants.**” *The Times*. 7 January 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/14763387-9b16-4b51-a886-f06ba6640f5c/?context=1516831>
- 2) Philip Aldrick. “**Migration crisis ‘poses threat to world economy.’**” *The Times*. 15 January 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/1908157d-2abe-4352-88d1-d90ffa173e0f/?context=1516831>
- 3) Tom Coghlan & Sara Elizabeth Williams. “**Britain offers deal to rescue refugees.**” *The Times*. 3 February 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/8db24e62-575b-4aba-b04b-e5f9835f1fc7/?context=1516831>
- 4) David Charter. “**Most Europeans fear migrants will bring terrorism.**” *The Times*. 13 July 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/55014904-6ff6-4575-bfc6-dd71a56aeccf/?context=1516831>
- 5) Valentine Low, Richard Ford, & Kevin Rawlinson. “**Migration crisis could trigger populist uprising, says spy chief.**” *The Times*. 17 May 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/1526c745-b912-4f17-98c7-084d686142fc/?context=1516831>
- 6) Anthee Carassava & David Charter. “**Europe closes door on Afghan asylum seekers.**” *The Times*. 23 February 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/d25a7ae6-f5c8-4c20-b1e0-1dd041ad0db0/?context=1516831>
- 7) Bruno Waterfield, David Charter, & Francis Elliott. “**EU nations go it alone to guard against migration catastrophe.**” *The Times*. 21 January 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/ab07f09a-f77b-4f18-89bc-d3156dfce785/?context=1516831>

- 8) Richard Ford, Greg Hurst, & Simon de Bruxelles. “**Councils demand more money to deal with young migrants.**” *The Times*. 5 May 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/efbca2fa-13b9-4241-8d35-c6f7c2378863/?context=1516831>
- 9) Sam Coates & Adam Sage. “**British protesters join migrant riot as Calais becomes ‘warzone’.**” *The Times*. 25 January 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/6472f7ec-f101-41fd-be36-7c97688066a0/?context=1516831>
- 10) Tom Coghlan & Hannah Lucinda Smith. “**No food, water, tents or toilets: thousands stuck in Iraq desert.**” *The Times*. 21 June 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/c87e29eb-ad5b-4773-b170-4647d072731a/?context=1516831>
- 11) Anthee Carassava, David Charter, & Bruno Waterfield. “**Greeks locking up child migrants in rat-infested squalor.**” *The Times*. 9 September 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/2031a422-4fb7-4e13-b294-588cc4baa4f9/?context=1516831>
- 12) Richard Ford. “**Workers slip under the radar after visas expire.**” *The Times*. 3 August 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/a8bee976-4945-4dcb-a63e-885edf3a7ddf/?context=1516831>
- 13) Anthee Carassava, Davis Charter, & Tom Kington. “**Desperate migrants storm the frontiers of fortress Europe.**” *The Times*. 1 March 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/f8a76be4-5473-4163-81f4-3595a1cac47f/?context=1516831>
- 14) Bel Trew. “**Libya threatens to open migrant floodgates into Europe.**” *The Times*. 29 March 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/3c5ea645-3484-449c-aaa2-557ed294cfbd/?context=1516831>
- 15) David Charter. “**Migrant rape arrests bring calls to shut European frontiers.**” *The Times*. 9 January 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/defa705c-d8e4-40ab-b846-0a40ac993674/?context=1516831>

- 16) Katerina Kravtsova. “**Illegal migrants slip through Europe’s backdoor to Britain.**” *The Times*. 20 June 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/96f8a340-be02-4cc0-aabc-87b9965dca5b/?context=1516831>
- 17) David Charter & Anthee Carassava. “**Syrian passport found next to bomber.**” *The Times*. 16 November 2015. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/5081be30-adc0-48f7-974b-6029d781dfc0/?context=1516831>
- 18) Richard Ford. “**False claims clog up asylum system.**” *The Times*. 15 August 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/561de88e-df24-42ea-be5d-90db2cc859f6/?context=1516831>
- 19) Louise Callaghan. “**Turkish threat to unleash migrants.**” *The Times*. 15 May 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/dd5ac5f8-a287-4fda-9c8f-78c889650714/?context=1516831>
- 20) Allan Hall. “**Deport 200,000 failed asylum seekers after bombing, Merkel told.**” *The Times*. 26 July 2016. Retrieved from <https://advance-lexis-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/api/permalink/8fe26874-1524-4a5e-84ee-dc4906644eb5/?context=1516831>

Appendix D: Headline Images Published in *The Times*

- 1) Will Pavia & Michael Savage. “**Crime and disorder warning after influx of male migrants.**” *The Times*. 7 January 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/crime-and-disorder-warning-after-influx-of-male-migrants-td6b7c2j7kj>
- 2) Philip Aldrick. “**Migration crisis ‘poses threat to world economy.’**” *The Times*. 15 January 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/migration-crisis-poses-threat-to-world-economy-g5nb39dfk>
- 3) Sam Coates & Adam Sage. “**British protesters join migrant riot as Calais becomes ‘warzone’.**” *The Times*. 25 January 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/british-protesters-join-migrant-riot-as-calais-becomes-warzone-5c8n0hg63>
- 4) Louise Callaghan. “**Turkish threat to unleash migrants.**” *The Times*. 15 May 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/turkish-threat-to-unleash-migrants-n3mkk9z55>
- 5) Anthee Carassava, Davis Charter, & Tom Kington. “**Desperate migrants storm the frontiers of fortress Europe.**” *The Times*. 1 March 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/desperate-migrants-storm-the-frontiers-of-fortress-europe-ft92wp22m>
- 6) Bel Trew. “**Libya threatens to open migrant floodgates into Europe.**” *The Times*. 29 March 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/libya-threatens-to-open-migrant-floodgates-into-europe-96xk6p569>
- 7) Katerina Kravtsova. “**Illegal migrants slip through Europe’s backdoor to Britain.**” *The Times*. 20 June 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/illegal-migrants-slip-through-europes-backdoor-to-britain-2zft3v2h>
- 8) David Charter. “**Migrant rape arrests bring calls to shut European frontiers.**” *The Times*. 9 January 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/migrant-rape-arrests-bring-calls-to-shut-european-frontiers-nzpvzmm3b>

- 9) Anthee Carassava, David Charter, & Bruno Waterfield. “**Greeks locking up child migrants in rat-infested squalor.**” *The Times*. 9 September 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/greeks-locking-up-child-migrants-in-rat-infested-squalor-lvmjnms02>
- 10) Tom Coghlan & Sara Elizabeth Williams. “**Britain offers deal to rescue refugees.**” *The Times*. 3 February 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/britain-offers-deal-to-rescue-refugees-573nmmql0jc>
- 11) Richard Ford. “**Workers slip under the radar after visas expire.**” *The Times*. 3 August 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/workers-slip-under-the-radar-after-visas-expire-zbqkg7q8c>
- 12) Bruno Waterfield, David Charter, & Francis Elliott. “**EU nations go it alone to guard against migration catastrophe.**” *The Times*. 21 January 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/eu-nations-go-it-alone-to-guard-against-migration-catastrophe-880nhr2tg>
- 13) Richard Ford, Greg Hurst, & Simon de Bruxelles. “**Councils demand more money to deal with young migrants.**” *The Times*. 5 May 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/councils-demand-more-money-to-deal-with-young-migrants-3jsb83d0m>
- 14) Anthee Carassava & David Charter. “**Europe closes its doors on Afghan asylum seekers.**” *The Times*. 23 February 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/europe-closes-door-on-afghan-asylum-seekers-r0j08d3n9>
- 15) Tom Coghlan & Hannah Lucinda Smith. “**No food, water, tents or toilets: thousands stuck in Iraq desert.**” *The Times*. 21 June 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/no-food-water-tents-or-toilets-thousands-stuck-in-iraq-desert-mzrt3kmkf>

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