Universidad Comillas Pontificia

COMILLAS
UNIVERSIDAD PONTIFICIA
ICAI   ICADE   CIHS

Master in International Migration

Master's Final Dissertation (2020-2021)

ONE OF THEM OR ONE OF US? THE REPRESENTATION OF REFUGEES AND ASYLUM-SEEKERS IN THE UK'S ONLINE MEDIA DURING THE FIRST WAVE OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC.

¿UNO DE ELLOS O UNO DE NOSOTROS? LA REPRESENTACIÓN DE LOS REFUGIADOS Y LOS SOLICITANTES DE ASILO EN LOS MEDIOS ONLINE DEL REINO UNIDO DURANTE LA PRIMERA OLA DE LA PANDEMIA DE COVID-19.

Author: Rose Michael
Tutor: Fernando Alberto Barbosa Dos Santos Rodrigues
Date: 19 June 2021

Abstract

The news media provides insight into people and happenings beyond our daily lives but it is shaped by its cultural, political, and socioeconomic context. In the UK, there is a long-established history of Othering of refugees and asylum-seekers. This paper examines how refugees and asylum-seekers were represented in the media when this history collided with widespread insecurity caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. Through quantitative and qualitative analysis of articles from 1 March-31 May 2020 and interviews with experts, the present research explores the presence of frames and discursive techniques to establish to what extent and how Othering was present in the UK's online media. It demonstrates that frames presenting refugees and asylum-seekers as undesirable were more common during the peak month of the first COVID-19 wave and finds evidence of techniques that reinforce the distinction between 'us' and 'them.'

Keywords: refugees, asylum-seekers, media, COVID-19, Othering

Resumen

Los medios informativos proveen una visión de la gente y los acontecimientos fuera de nuestra vida diaria, pero están influenciados por el contexto cultural, político y socioeconómico. En Reino Unido, hay una larga historia de la otredad de los refugiados y solicitantes de asilo. Este trabajo examina su representación en los medios en el momento en que esta historia se topó con una inseguridad extendida provocada por la pandemia de COVID-19. Con base al análisis cuantitativo y cualitativo y diversas entrevistas, la presente investigación examina la presencia de marcos y prácticas discursivas para determinar hasta qué punto y cómo se nota la otredad en los medios online del Reino Unido. Destaca que los marcos que representan los refugiados y los solicitantes de asilo como indeseables fueron más frecuentes durante el mes de la cumbre de COVID-19 e identifica pruebas de prácticas que fortalecen la diferencia entre 'nosotros' y 'ellos.'

Palabras clave: refugiados, solicitantes de asilo, medios, COVID-19, Otredad

"I applied for refugee status and (...) for years I wasn't comfortable saying that I did (...) because I felt a sense of shame and guilt. And it was mainly because of what I see in the news…"

academic (intercultural studies/languages)

Table of Contents

1. Introduction: purpose and reasons

The news media provides insight into people, and events beyond our daily lives. Some may consider it a source of objective reporting: a means to experience another reality. However, media content is shaped by its cultural, political, and socioeconomic context. A news story may be presented differently by one source compared to another, some stories may receive more coverage, and certain groups may be consistently presented more positively.

Not only can the media provide insight into the context in which content is produced – on a micro level (e.g., author, media outlet) and a macro level (e.g., institutions, social structures) – but it may also reinforce certain perspectives. Exploring media representation is therefore highly important. The topic of migration has long been a salient issue in the United Kingdom (UK) and has been widely covered by the media (Migration Observatory 2016, Berry et al. 2015). There is also a history of Othering of refugees and asylum-seekers in the media and politics.

The power of the media became increasingly clear during the COVID-19 pandemic. Disinformation thrived (Giovanna Sessa, 2020) and the World Health Organisation called on media outlets to balance reporting after increases in sinophobic attacks (Bauomy, 2020). The COVID-19 outbreak created a unique feeling of insecurity, combining a health crisis with economic fears. What happened when the history of Othering collided with widespread insecurity? More specifically: how were people seeking refuge from crisis presented to a society facing its own crisis? Was the history of Othering perpetuated or eroded?

It is with this history in mind that this study will ask: how were refugees and asylum-seekers [henceforth RAS] represented in the UK's online media during the first wave of COVID-19? To address this principle research question, I will explore:

1) Which frames were the most common when representing RAS?
2) To what extent and how was Othering present?

2. State of the Matter

Communication processes

To understand the media representation of certain groups, we must explore communication processes. Lasswell (1948) presents an important framework of five 'w' elements: "who says what, in which channel, to whom, with what effect." Numerous authors highlight that the 'who' element does not play a passive role: the 'mirror' approach to communication has been critiqued over the past decades (Shoemaker and Reese, 1991, Butcher and Niedhardt, 2020). Consensus states that factors influencing content include editors' expectations, the influence of social institutions, and pressure to reinforce ideological positions, among others (White, 1950, Enli 2007, Meeks 2013): "mainstream news media are far from passive onlookers" (Dijk, 1995). In Goodfellow (2020), a Daily Star journalist described a "constant pressure" to find stories with anti-immigrant narratives. In line with the 'hegemony' approach to communication, information may be selected based on assumptions, reinforcing the status quo (Shoemaker and Reese, 1991).

Recognising the factors influencing content is important as numerous authors explore how media messages may shape public opinion. Lippmann (1922) highlights that the media is a link between reality and social reality: the source of what we believe to be true. Pisoni (2020) states that stigmatisation of migrants in the media influences police brutality, while Lazarsfeld et al. (1948) suggest that media content reinforces political choices. The 'confirmation bias' suggests a "natural tendency (…) to look for evidence that is directly supportive of hypotheses we favour" (Nickerson, 1998); communicators should consider the influence of subconscious values (Butler, 2020). The relationship between media outlets and audience should thus be understood as bidirectional (Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008, Moloney, 2007, Howarth, 2011) and media content as both a product and a reinforcer of mainstream values (Nagarajan, 2013).

Othering

Key to studying migration in the Western media is the concept of Othering. Said (1978) described the Orient as one of Europe's "deepest and most recurring images of the Other" which "helped to define Europe (…) as its contrasting image." It is fundamental to understand this concept of *us* and *them*, in which the perceived identity of the out-group reinforces the identity of the in-group. Goodfellow (2020) explores the foreigner as the Other in British society while Anderson (2013) includes "the non-citizen and the failed citizen" in the "undeserving poor" (see

also Grove and Zwi, 2006). According to Joffe (2007), the focus on the "threatening qualities" of these Others intensifies during potential mass crisis. Studies have shown that economic instability may increase anti-immigrant sentiment (Isaksen, 2019, Goodwin and Harris, 2013). Norris and Inglehart (2017) also provide important insights on how perceptions of cultural threats impact anti-immigrant voting. As Tomlinson (2013) states, "the actual number of migrants (…) is of less importance than the perception."

Othering thus involves the creation of a world of polarities: a person is either one of *us* or *them*, welcome or unwelcome. The tendency to envisage a polarised world has been discussed by psychodynamic theorists such as Klein (1946), who focuses on the system of representation developed as an infant (see also Edwards, 2008). However, "these proclivities in no way diminish the role" of the social world's representations (Joffe, 2007). We should question the social contexts in which polarities are created or reinforced: humans should not be theorised as if they "stand outside the specific cultures in which they are embedded" (Frosh, 2013). We therefore cannot examine Othering in isolation from Britain's colonial legacy.

Fanon's (1952) *Black Skin, White Masks* provides a fundamental basis for understanding the lasting impact of colonisation on the colonised. The Black subject is constructed under the white gaze – "a white man's artefact" – focusing on difference (*ibid.*, see also Frosh, 2013). Colonial power is derived from the removal of power from the colonised, just as the process of Othering involves "knowing about Others – but (…) never fully acknowledge[ing] these Others as thinking and knowledge-producing subjects" (Mbembe, 2016). The Other is the object of the gaze, "without agency and voice" (Joffe, 2007). As Spivak (1994) comments, speaking on behalf of the oppressed risks reinforcing the inferior position of the subaltern, who "has no history and cannot speak."

The lack of agency and the focus on the undesirable have led to the dehumanisation of migrants in Western society. Rajaram (2002) explores how a "vacuous administrative label" is imposed on refugees, whilst Goodfellow (2020) writes that it is "deemed acceptable to treat people not as human beings but as problems." The dehumanisation of migrants in the media receives ongoing criticism (Williams, 2015); Vanyoro et al. (2019) comment on the media's "gaze of sympathy" towards a British graduate who witnessed a migrant falling from a plane, rather than towards the victim. Critiques are common on the "trauma porn" images and narratives (Sanchez, 2019) that dehumanise migrants at borders (see also Vasquez, 2019, Ensor, 2016). De Genova

(2013) reproaches the "Border Spectacle"; the focus on "illegality" sets a scene of "ostensible exclusion".

A key text relating the colonial legacy to the UK's asylum policy is Mayblin's (2017) *Asylum After Empire*. Through a postcolonial lens, the dehumanisation of asylum-seekers is presented as a reflection of the justificatory discourse of colonialism. Other authors draw a link between contemporary racist stereotypes and the colonial legacy (Hall, 1997); for Deaux and Wiley (2007), "race and legality" dominate the representation of immigrant identities. The media may tell stories of happenings beyond our daily existence, but "the stories available are not unrestricted": they are bound by "historical, social and political patterns" (Cieslik and Verkuyten, 2006).

Media frames

Considering the postcolonial perspective, it is unsurprising that studies have identified reoccurring frames in the UK's news media. The majority of studies focus on the representation of migrants, rather than exclusively on RAS (see Migration Observatory 2013, 2016, SubScribe 2016). An important contribution on coverage in other European countries is Butcher and Neidhardt's (2020) identification of three threat frames: health, wealth and identity. Migrant Voice (2020) also explores framing in the representation of migrants during the first COVID-19 wave in the UK: disadvantaged (49.7% of coverage), heroes (20.9%), threats (15.9%) and one of us (13.5%). The representation of migrants as undesirable is examined by Berry et al. (2015) in 5 European countries, concluding that coverage was most negative in the UK. With a focus on RAS only, Philo et al. (2013) give a comprehensive overview of UK media samples from 2006-2011, while Article19 (2003) and Blumell et al. (2019) highlight negative coverage of asylum.

Several authors emphasise the importance of language, including the significance of referring to RAS as migrants (Berry et al., 2015). In 2015, Al Jazeera opted to use the word 'refugee' as an "attempt to give some [voice] back" to suffering people (Malone, 2015). Language used to describe RAS is also powerful: researchers in the linguistics field have used corpus analysis to explore discursive constructions. Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) note "nonsensical terms" such as 'illegal refugee', which may prime the reader "to think of one concept even if the other is not present" (see also Maloney, 2007, Migration Observatory, 2016). As Howarth (2011) states, "very little may be actually said for racializing stereotypes to be felt".

3. Theoretical framework

This study will examine the representation of RAS according to the presence of pre-determined frames, defined based on previous studies [see State of the Matter].

Refugee: The Refugee Convention (UN, 1951) states that a refugee is someone "unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion."

Asylum-seeker: UNHCR (2005) states that an asylum-seeker is "an individual who is seeking international protection (…) whose claim has not yet been finally decided on by the country in which the claim is submitted."

Frame: Aukes et al. (2020) define a frame as an "actor's perspective"; "frames serve as the underlying foundations on which narratives are expressed."

Threat frame: The Threat frame is comprised of four sub-frames.
1. **Threat to Identity frame:** RAS undermine/overwhelm the culture/identity of the UK. Their values are incompatible with those of the UK. They arrive in the UK like invading forces, overpowering the native population.
2. **Threat to Health frame:** RAS pose a health risk by transmitting diseases/illness or by overwhelming the health system.
3. **Threat to Security frame:** RAS are associated with criminality. Too many come to the UK, risking the security and sovereignty of the border.
4. **Threat to Wealth frame:** RAS are a burden on resources/taxpayers. RAS take the jobs of the native population. The asylum system is abused by economic migrants.

Hero frame: RAS, primarily in the public sphere, carry out acts and roles making them heroes in eyes of the nation.

Victim/Survivor frame: RAS face/have faced difficulties in their country of origin, on the journey to the UK and/or in the UK. The individual is not responsible for their disadvantaged situation.

Community frame: There is no sense of *us* and *them*. RAS belong in the UK and are integral parts of the community.

The study explores Othering during a specific time-frame. However, taking a postcolonial perspective, its findings should not be considered in isolation from Britain's colonial legacy.

Othering: Stasziak (2008) defines Othering as "transforming a difference into Otherness so as to create an in-group and an out-group." The identity of the dominant in-group is reinforced through the contrasting image of the dominated out-group as undesirable and outside of social norms (Said, 1978). The Other is constructed under the gaze of the in-group (Frosh, 2013).

Postcolonialism: Elam (2019) defines postcolonial theory as sharing a claim "that the world we inhabit is impossible to understand except in relationship to the history of imperialism and colonial rule."

4. Information goals and hypotheses

The study aims:
- To explore the representation of RAS in the UK's online media during the first wave of COVID-19.
- To examine the frames present during the period of analysis. Within the frames, to identify trends in themes and discursive techniques.
- To use these findings to expand our understanding of Othering in the media.

I hypothesise that:
- There is evidence of Othering in the UK's online media during the period of analysis.
- The most common frames are those presenting RAS as undesirable. Within these frames, the themes reflect the fears of the population, focusing on health and economic concerns.
- Frames presenting RAS as undesirable are most common during the peak of the COVID-19 outbreak, while those presenting a more positive or sympathetic view are less common.
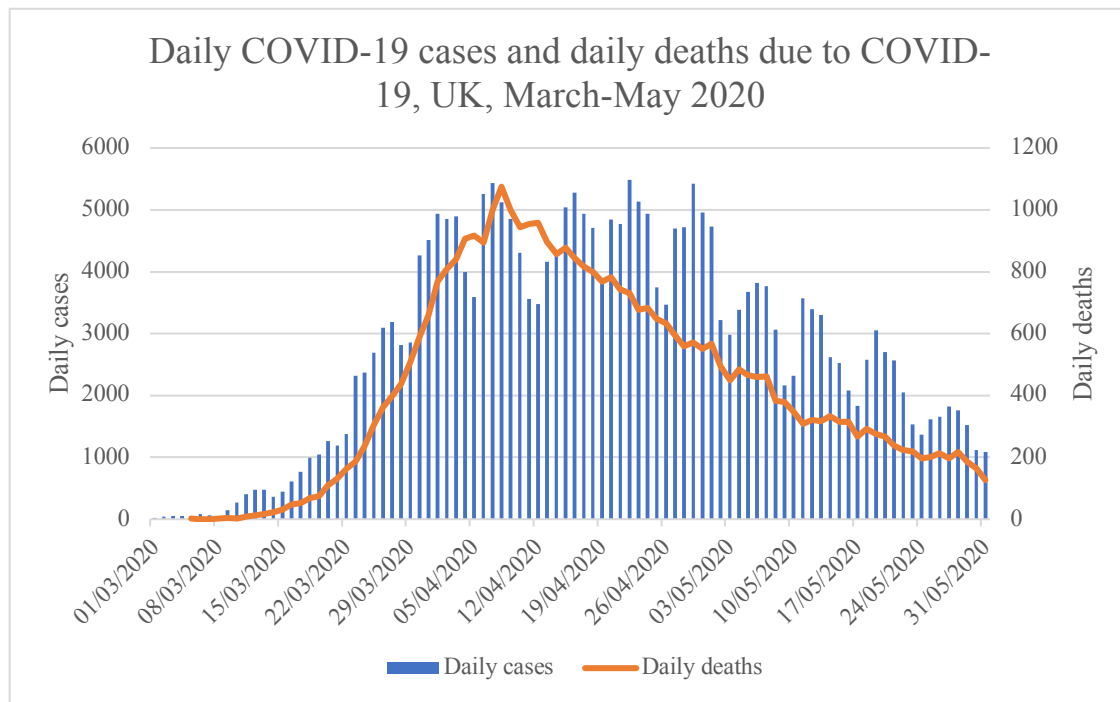- RAS' voices are represented less than those of other people.

5. Methodology

The research involved article analysis and three semi-structured interviews to enable triangulation.

The article analysis included a quantitative keyword analysis and a qualitative analysis of frames and discursive techniques. It examined text of articles in 10 sources from 1 March-31 May 2020, covering before, during and after the peak of the first COVID-19 wave in the UK [Figure 1]. Data shows that the population's fear of COVID-19 increased throughout March and remained high during April-May [Figure 2]. The period of analysis also saw a reduction in asylum applications [Figure 3]: figures in quarter two of 2020 were the lowest since 2010 (HM Government, 2021b). This was primarily due to reduced applications in ports as travel restrictions were introduced, while applications in country increased [Figure 4]. A House of Commons briefing paper estimates an increase in small boat arrivals, representing 35% of applications in quarter two of 2020, compared to 4% in the previous quarter (Sturge, 2021). Asylum decisions also decreased [Figure 5].

The 10 sources were selected using Ofcom's (2020) categorisation of the top news sites and apps for digital reach: BBC News, Daily Mail, The Guardian, The Sun, Express, Sky News, Mirror Online, Metro[1], The Telegraph, and The Independent. Sister publications and news wires were not included. The articles were collected through an online media monitoring tool using a Boolean query based on the keywords 'refugee*' and 'asylum*'. The articles were then sorted manually, leaving only those focusing on RAS arriving to or being present in the UK. The sample included 224 articles.

---

[1] After a new website launched, 3 articles collected from the Metro could not be accessed.

[Figure 1]

Daily COVID-19 cases and daily deaths due to COVID-19, UK, March-May 2020

Source of data: HM Government (2021a)

[Figure 2]

Percentage of Britons stating they are very/somewhat scared of catching COVID-19, March-May 2020
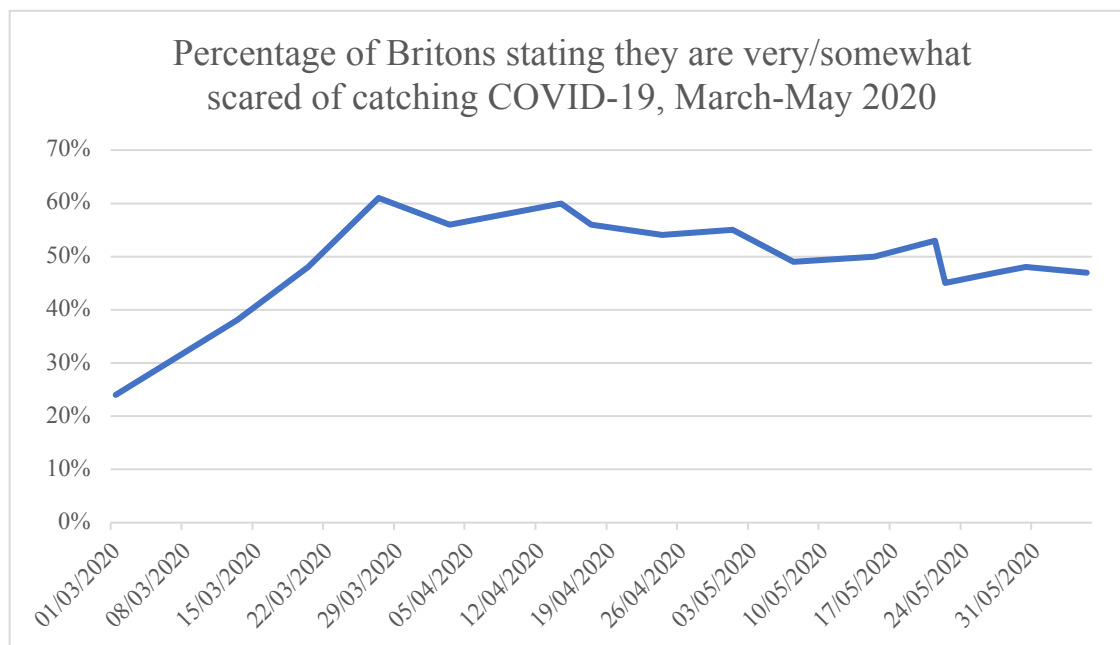
Source of data: YouGov (2021)

[Figure 3]

Asylum applications, UK, 2018-2020

[A bar and line chart titled "Asylum applications, UK, 2018-2020". The y-axis ranges from 0 to 12000. The x-axis shows quarters from 2018 Q1 to 2020 Q4. Blue bars represent Non-Unaccompanied Asylum-seeking Children, orange bars represent Unaccompanied Asylum-seeking Children, and a grey line represents the Total.]

Legend:
- Non-Unaccompanied Asylum-seeking Children
- Unaccompanied Asylum-seeking Children
- Total

Source of data: HM Government (2021b)[2]

[Figure 4]

Percentage of total asylum applications per location of application, UK, 2018-2020

[A bar chart titled "Percentage of total asylum applications per location of application, UK, 2018-2020". The y-axis ranges from 0% to 120%. The x-axis shows quarters from 2018 Q1 to 2020 Q4. Blue bars represent "At port" and orange bars represent "In country".]

Legend:
- At port
- In country
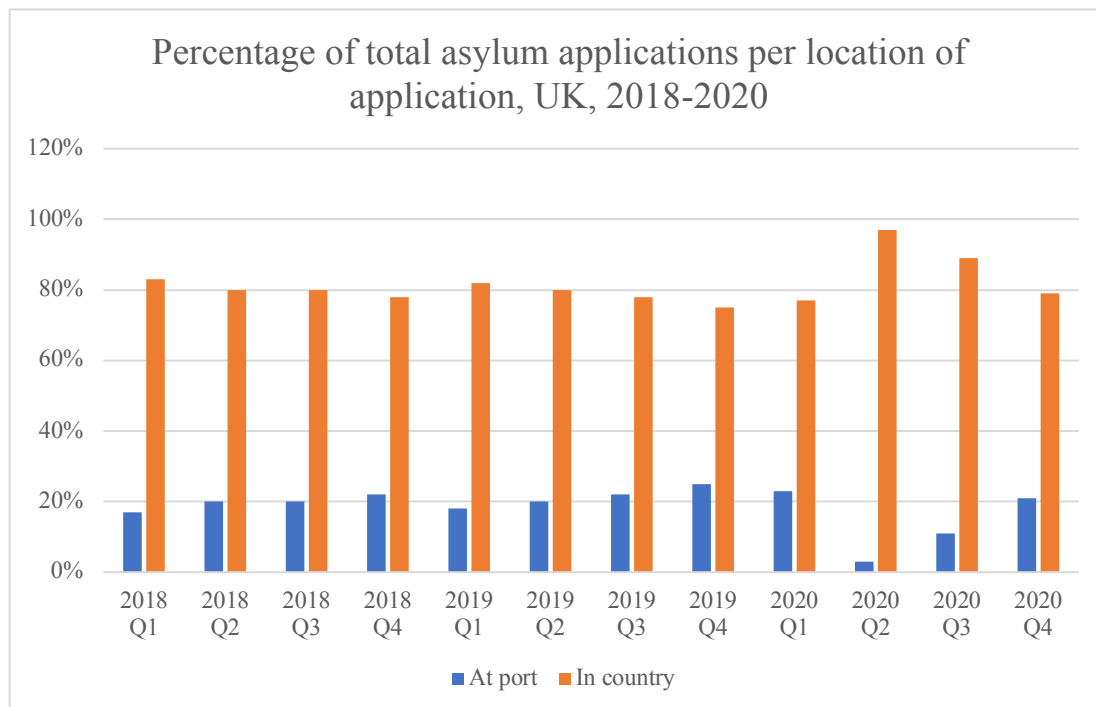
Source of data: HM Government (2021b)

---

[2] Data on asylum applications/decisions concerns main applicants only.

[Figure 5]

Asylum initial decisions and resettlement, UK, 2018-2020
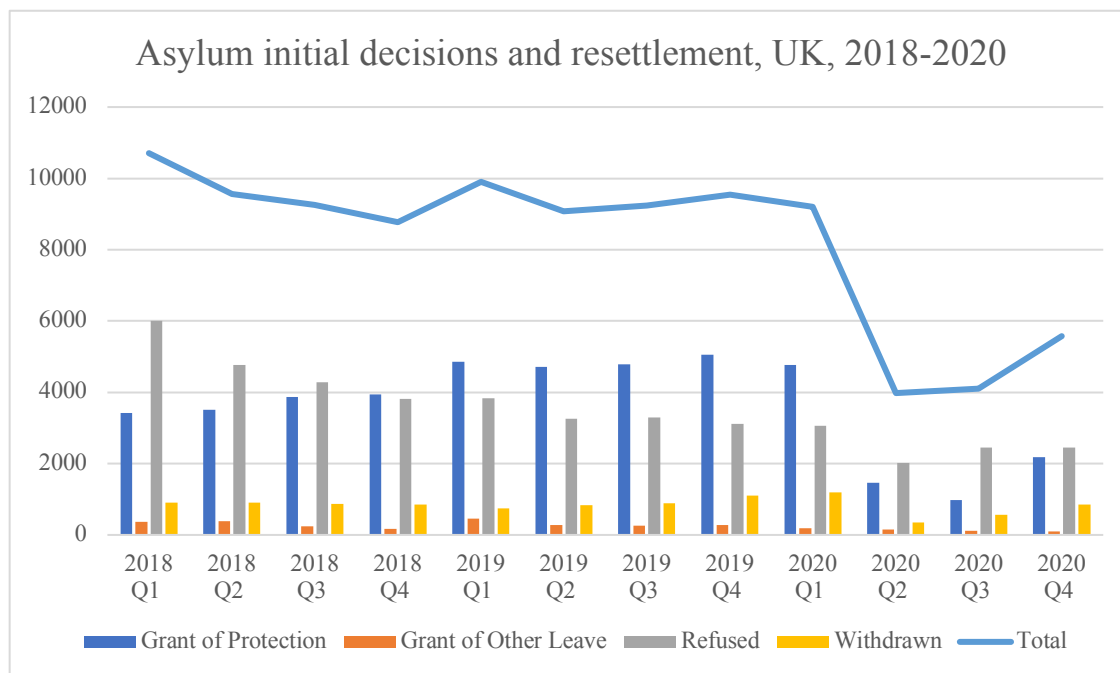
Source of data: HM Government (2021b)

5.1. Quantitative analysis

A manual keyword[3] search was carried out on each article. Keywords were selected based on findings of previous studies [see State of the Matter] and on a sample of articles from March 2020 to ensure the inclusion of COVID-19-specific keywords. Keywords were categorised according to their relevance to the pre-defined frames: Community, Hero, Threat (Identity, Wealth, Health, Security), and Victim/Survivor [Annex 1]. Additional keywords [Annex 2] were included to answer:

1. Who was represented?
2. Which terminology was most common among 'refugee', 'asylum-seeker', 'migrant' and 'immigrant'?

Keyword analysis has limitations. Keywords are predetermined, imposing a rigidity to the study, and can only suggest the presence of certain frames.

---

[3] A keyword includes plurals and related nouns/verbs. E.g., the keyword noun 'crossing' would include the verb 'cross' and its conjugations.

5.2. Qualitative analysis

The main limitations of the keyword analysis were addressed through qualitative analysis. Each article was analysed to identify the presence of the pre-determined frames.[4] Analysis was also carried out to answer:

1. What were the main themes present within each frame?[5]
2. Which adjectives were used to qualify 'refugee(s)' and 'asylum-seeker(s)'?
3. How were statistics used?
4. Who was quoted?
5. Was the message of the article advocating for change?[6]
6. If the Victim/Survivor frame is present, who is responsible?
7. Are other discursive techniques identified?

5.3. Expert interviews

Three semi-structured interviews were carried out remotely with experts to compare the findings of the article analysis with perceptions of media coverage [see Annexes 3-6]. The interviewees included two academics and one lawyer/non-profit founder. One interviewee had a refugee background.

5.4. Limitations

Technical:

- Ofcom's categorisation is based on Comscore's MMX-Platform (Pew Research Center, 2013). Its methodology's reliability has been questioned (Zara, 2014) based on the combination of modelling and direct measurement, panel data not being representative, and media owners controlling tagging (HM Government, 2019). However, Ofcom stated in July 2019 that Comscore was the "most comprehensive and accurate source of data on consumer behaviour online available to us" (*ibid.*)

---

[4] The study examined all frames present, regardless of their weight. It did not examine narratives. One article may therefore include multiple (contrasting) frames or none of the pre-determined frames.

[5] E.g., within the Threat to Health frame, a theme is 'COVID-19 transmission'.

[6] Added during the analysis after I identified a trend.

- The media monitoring tool has technical limitations, including an inability to pull articles from The Sun. These articles were manually collected from searches on The Sun's website.

Human:
- There was an element of subjectivity in determining the focal point of articles and in the qualitative analysis. To minimise inconsistency, criteria were defined in advance.
- Keywords were manually searched, leaving room for human error.

Other:
- The study only examines articles related to RAS arriving to or being present in the UK.
- In the expert interviews, it was not realistic to explore only the time-frame and sources of the article analysis.
- Some sources were represented more in the sample than others [Annex 7]. Some cover asylum topics more frequently, but we must also consider:
  - editorial practices: some sources update articles with new information whereas others publish additional articles;
  - type of content: audio-visual content was not examined;
  - terminology: some sources use 'refugee' and 'asylum-seeker' interchangeably with 'migrant' or 'immigrant'. Sources covering the same incident may not be equally picked up by the Boolean search.

6. Results and discussion

6.1. General observations

The most common frame in the sample (n=224) was the Victim/Survivor frame (n=142), followed by the Threat frame (n=85). The Hero frame was the least common (n=27), falling behind the Community frame (n=55) [Figure 6]. The presence of each frame changed throughout the period of analysis [Figure 7]. In the month of the peak of the COVID-19 outbreak (April 2020), the presence of the Threat and Hero frames increased. The Community and Victim/Survivor frames decreased. Articles with an Advocating for Change message decreased consistently.

The most common keywords draw attention to the COVID-19 situation, the welfare of children and families, and Channel crossings [Image 1] [see Annex 8 for keywords per frame]. Keywords related to adult males were more common (56% of keywords specifying gender) than those related to adult females (44%). 44% of articles including keywords related to males featured a Threat frame, compared to 39% for articles with female-related keywords. In contrast, articles including keywords related to females more commonly featured an Advocating for Change message [Figure 8].

[Figure 6]

[Figure 7]

Percentage of articles featuring each frame, by month
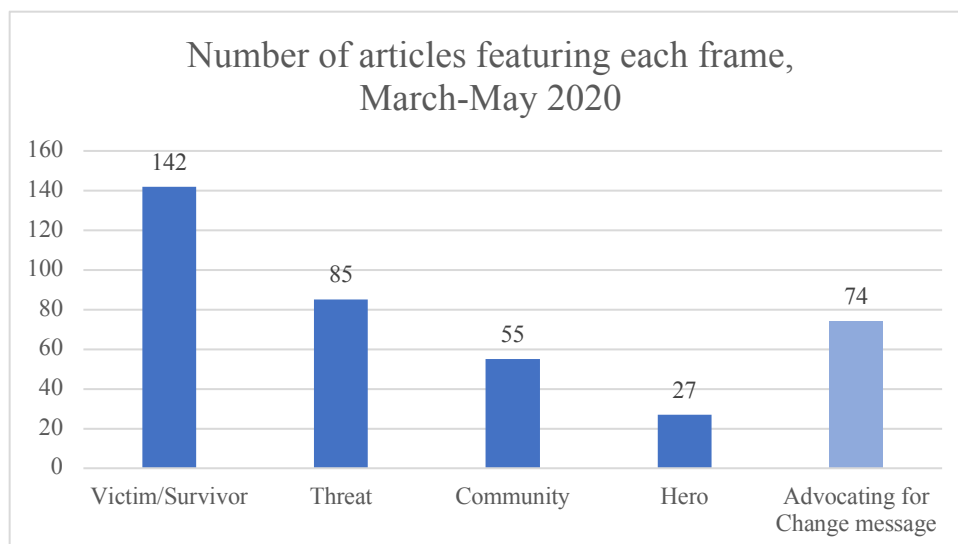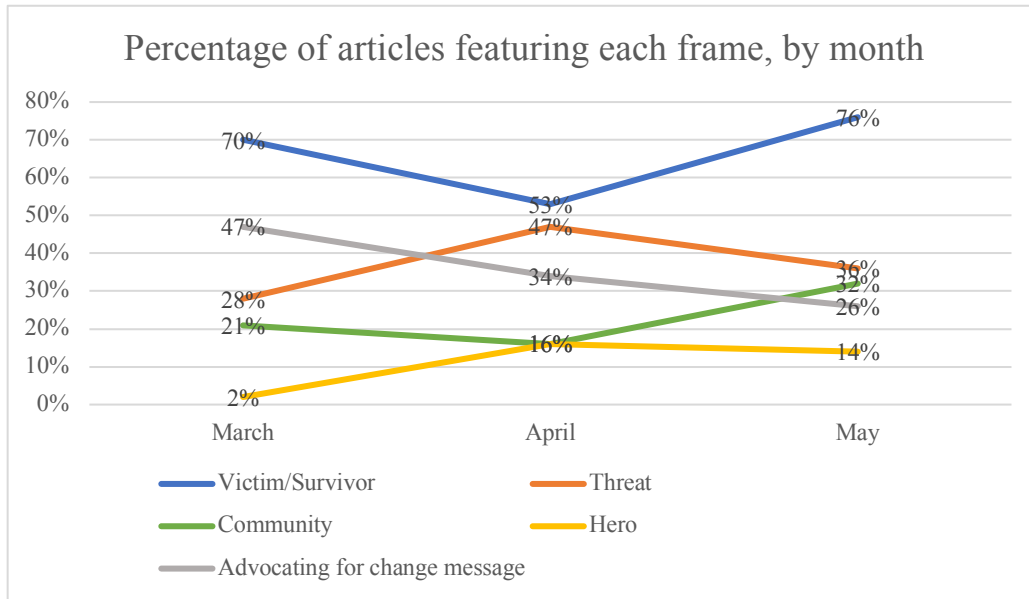
[Image 1]

30 most common keywords, March - May 2020

Excluding migrant, refugee, asylum-seeker, asylum, immigrant

[Figure 8]

Percentage of articles containing keywords related to males/ females (adults) featuring each frame, March-May 2020

Victim/Survivor: Female 58%, Male 56%
Threat: Female 39%, Male 44%
Community: Female 32%, Male 31%
Hero: Female 5%, Male 5%
Advocating for Change message: Female 23%, Male 19%

Legend: Female, Male
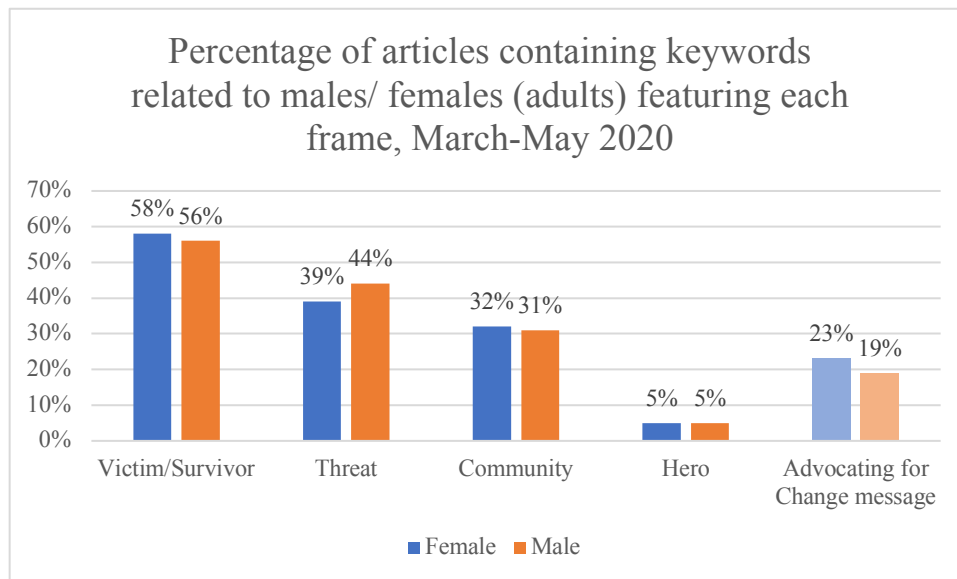
Family-related keywords[7] may be interpreted as more personal, making the subject more relatable than non-family-related keywords[8]. 50% of articles including non-family-related keywords featured the Threat frame, compared to 29% of articles containing family-related keywords. In contrast, 12% of articles containing family-related keywords featured the Hero frame, compared to 3% for non-family-related keywords. [Figure 9]

[Figure 9]

Percentage of articles including family- / non-family-related keywords featuring each frame, March-May 2020

Victim/Survivor: Family-related keywords 70%, Non family-related keywords 62%
Threat: Family-related keywords 29%, Non family-related keywords 50%
Community: Family-related keywords 36%, Non family-related keywords 26%
Hero: Family-related keywords 12%, Non family-related keywords 3%
Advocating for Change message: Family-related keywords 30%, Non family-related keywords 25%

Legend: Family-related keywords, Non family-related keywords

---

[7] 'mother', 'father', 'grandfather', 'grandmother', 'family', 'parent', 'grandparent'
[8] 'female', 'male', 'man', 'woman'

I identified trends for groups of keywords. Most keywords related to the pandemic increased significantly between March-April. Apart from 'testing', all peaked in April [Figure 10], corresponding with the peak in COVID-19 cases [Figure 1]. Keywords related to expense increased throughout the period of analysis, except for 'benefits', which peaked in April [Figure 11]. The findings suggest that articles may have reflected increasing health and economic concerns.

[Figure 10]
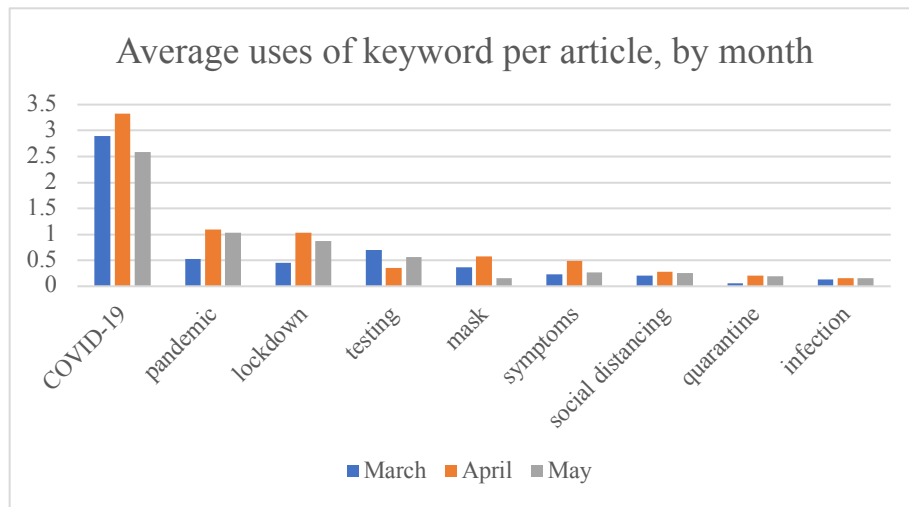
[Figure 11]
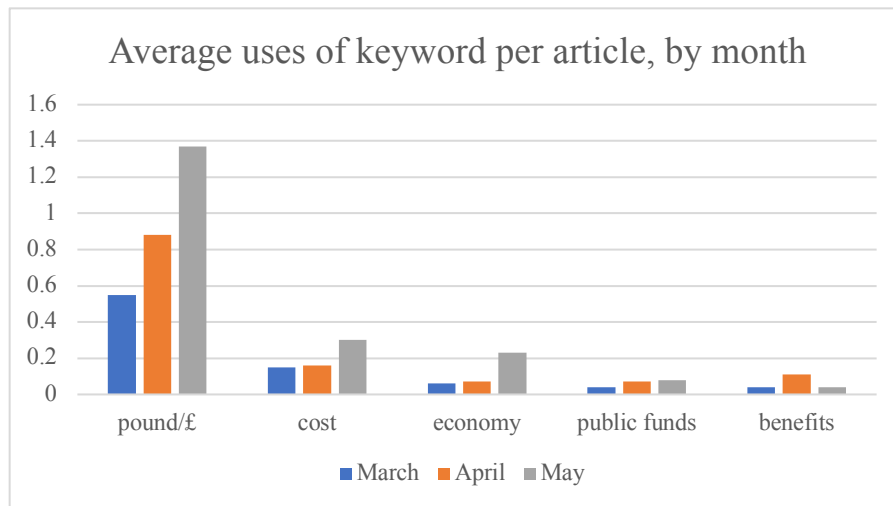
Keywords 'return' and 'go back' saw an 89% increase in the average number of uses per article between March-April, meanwhile 'deport' decreased [Figure 12]. Keywords related to the legitimacy of asylum claims increased: the use of 'fail/reject' and 'fake/false' peaked in April, while 'genuine/legitimate' peaked in May. These findings are interesting considering that asylum applications and decisions reduced in quarter two of 2020 [Figures 3, 5].

[Figure 12]
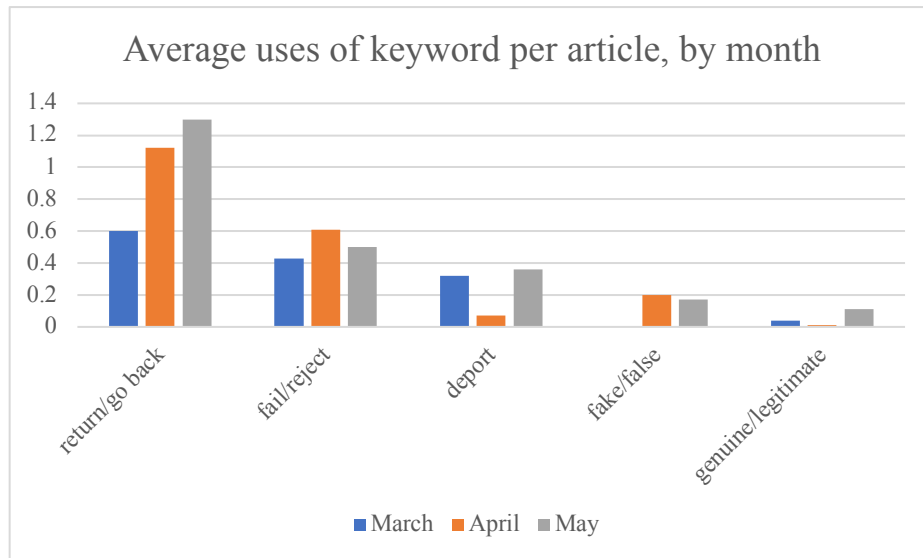
Keywords related to crime tended to peak in April, with 'crime', 'gang' and 'terrorism' seeing a 273%, 422% and 450% increase between March-April respectively. This suggests an increasing representation of RAS as threats. The use of 'police' and 'Border Force' increased throughout [Figure 13].

[Figure 13]
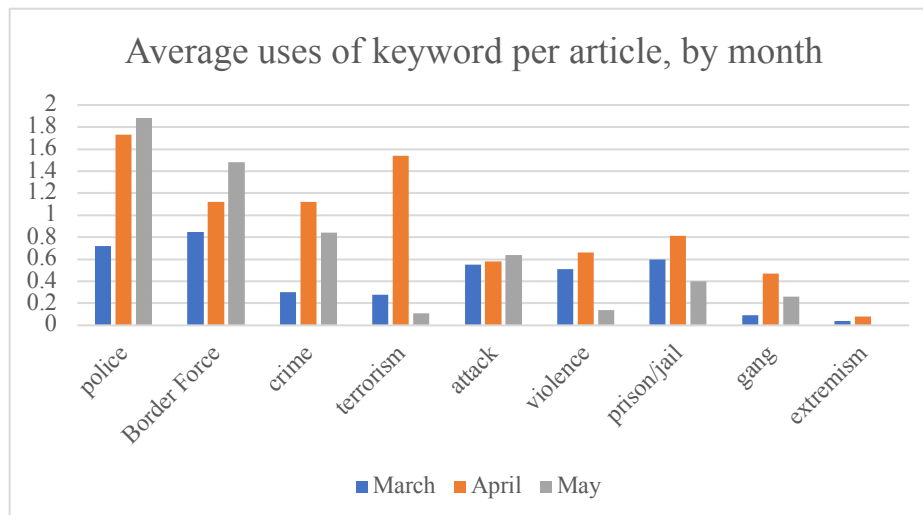
Notable is the increase in the use of 'record-breaking' (or similar), reaching an average of 0.56 uses per article in May. Keywords describing to the numbers of arrivals (e.g. 'thousands') peaked in April at 0.73 average uses per article but remained consistently high [Figure 14]. This is inconsistent with the reduction in asylum applications [Figure 3]. As discussed in [Section 6.2.1.1.], the finding reflects an over-representation of Channel crossings in the media. Most other keywords suggesting high numbers peaked in March but were less common overall.

[Figure 14]
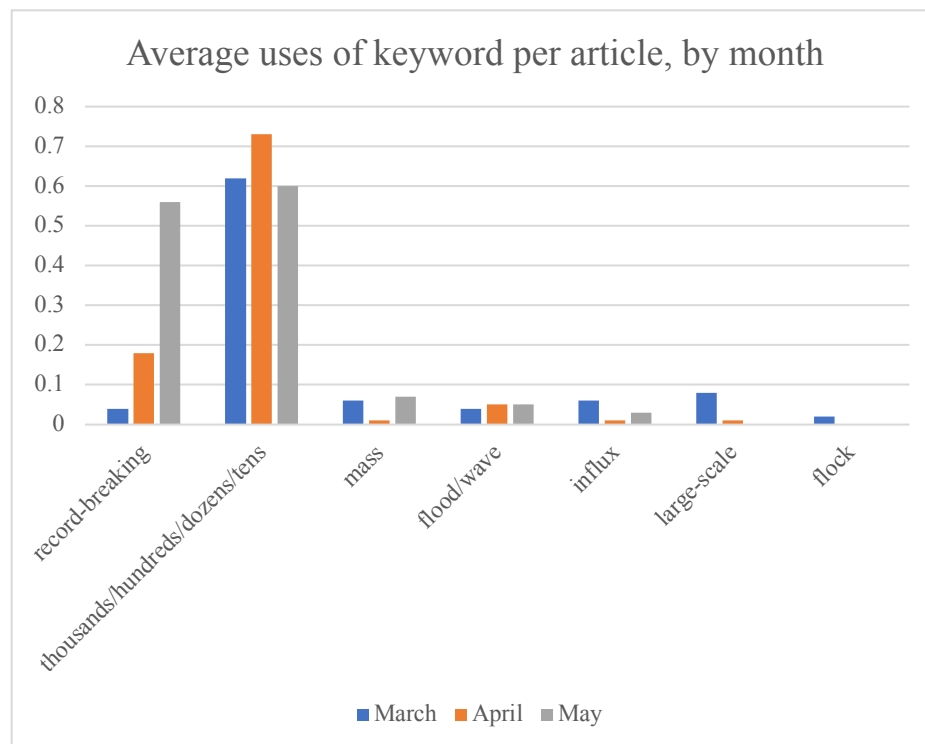
Keywords related to legality featured highly throughout the period of analysis[9]. In particular, the use of "illegal" peaked in April at 0.85 average uses per article [Figure 15]. We may consider this in the context of negative perceptions of arrivals by small boats [see Section 6.2.1.1.].

---

[9] The increase in 'law' usage in May was due to coverage of the death of law student Aya Hachem.

[Figure 15]

Average uses of keyword per article, by month
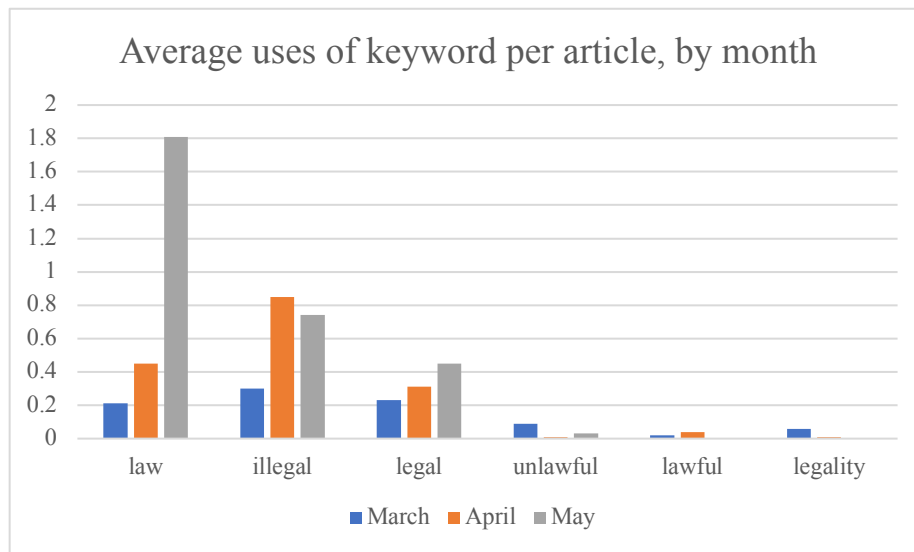
Keywords related to essential workers increased between March-April, accompanied by an increase in the use of 'NHS' [Figure 16], suggesting an increased presence of the Hero frame.

[Figure 16]

Average use of keyword per article, by month
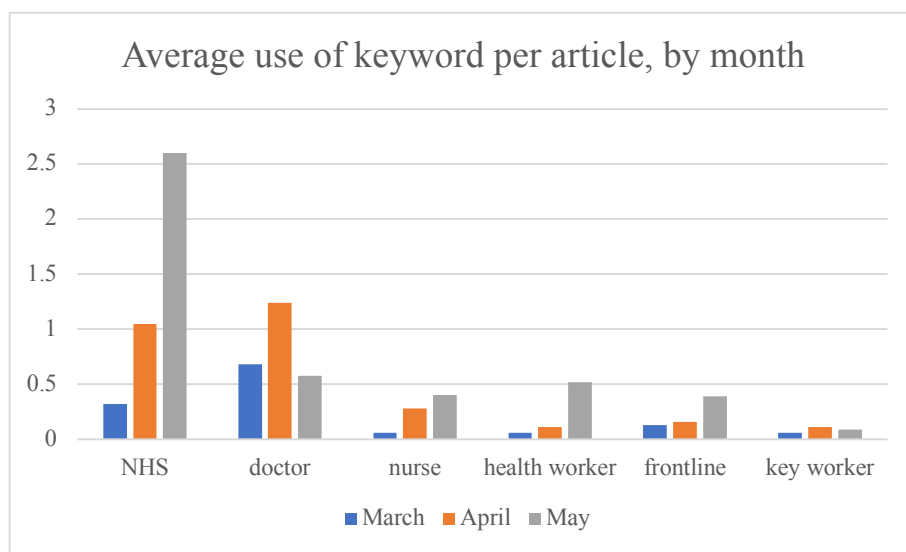
Keywords related to conditions in countries of origin decreased between March-April [Figure 17]. This suggests that at the peak of the wave, discussions were less oriented towards why people seek asylum in the UK. A similar trend was seen in keywords related to suffering, although most saw a revival in May.

[Figure 17]

Average uses of keyword per article, per month
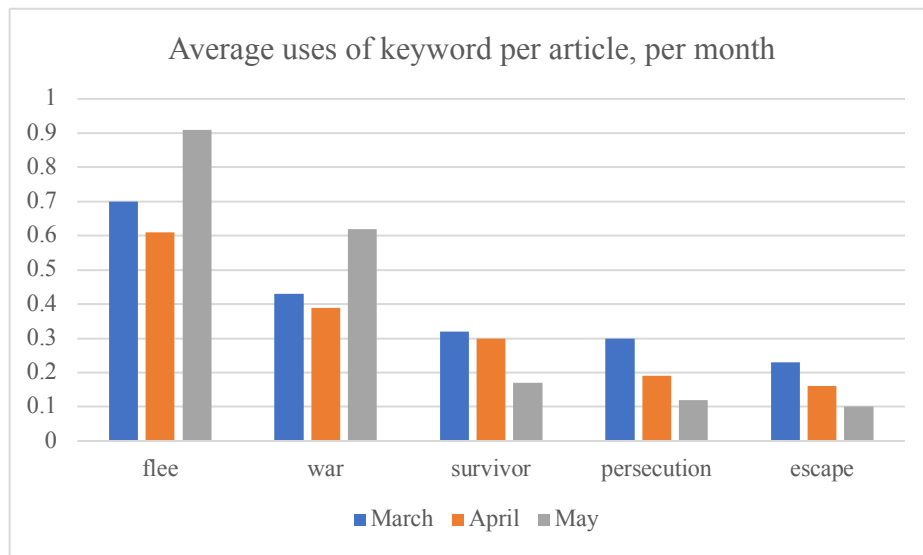
6.2. Results and discussion per frame

6.2.1. Threat Frame (n= 85)

The Threat frame is where Othering is most evident. It was also the frame explored the most widely by the interviewees; all linked the Threat frame to the concept of *us* and *them*.

"...a lot of people look at refugees as "they don't belong to us", and there's always this dichotomy. There are two camps: us and them."

academic (intercultural studies/languages)

The article analysis confirmed the significant presence of this frame. 38% of the articles featured at least one Threat frame (Wealth, Health, Identity, Security). Threat frames increased in April, appearing in 47% of articles [Figure 7].

The Threat to Security frame was the most common, appearing in 73 articles and peaking in April [Figure 18]. By contrast, only 13 articles featured the Threat to Identity frame. The Threat to Wealth frame grew steadily, more than tripling in appearance between March-May, while the Threat to Health frame decreased between April-May [Figure 19].

[Figure 18]

Number of articles featuring each Threat frame, March-May 2020

[Figure 19]

Percentage of articles (full sample) featuring each Threat frame, by month
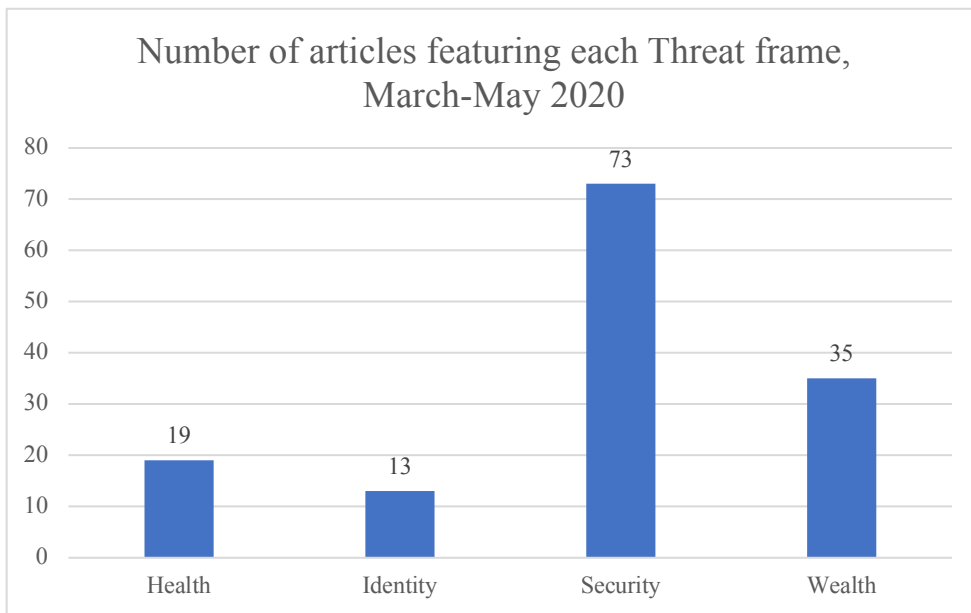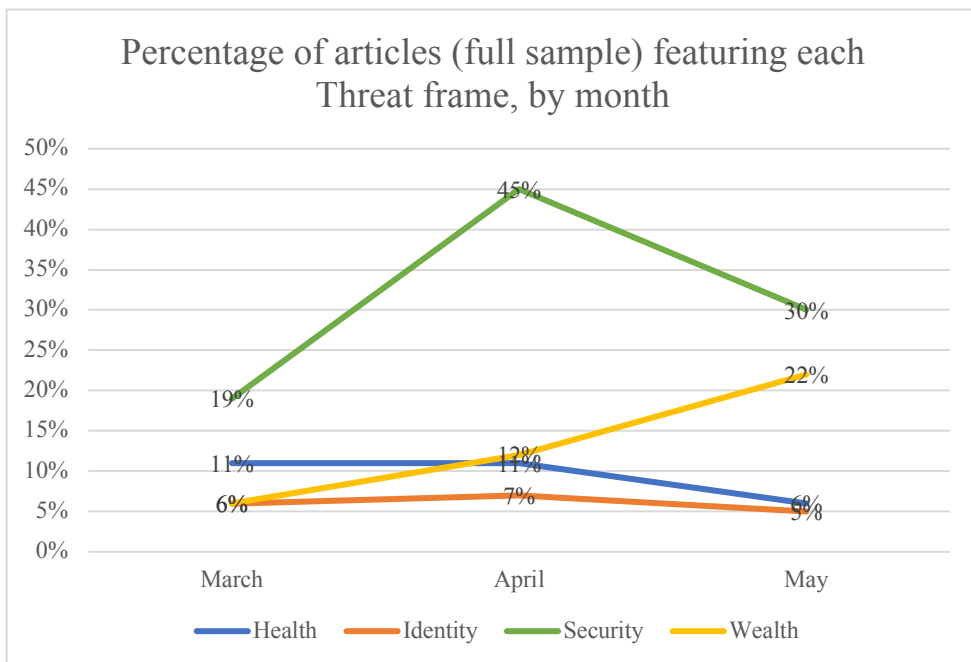
6.2.1.1. Threat to Security (n=73)

Too many

Within the 73 articles that included the Threat to Security frame, 56% included the theme of 'too many' RAS coming to the UK. All interviewees identified this theme:

"I think the drama is the same if it's 100 people or 1000 people. (...) they'll [the media] always find a way to dramatize it as long as it's focused on that immediate event (...), rather than as a complex, long-standing problem."

academic (sociology)

The theme was presented in two main ways. Some articles commented explicitly on it, often using quotes from political figures such as Home Secretary Priti Patel: "too many are getting through" (Duggan, 2020a [The Sun]). Several articles included a quote from former politician Nigel Farage, claiming the government hides the number of Channel crossings (Cole, 2020a [Daily Mail]). The second technique was the use of multiple statistics accompanied by phrases such as "another" or "yet another" (Ridler, 2020 [Daily Mail]), giving the impression of 'too many'. Alongside, I noted keyword trends: 'record-breaking' (or similar) appeared on average 1.37 times per article featuring the 'too many' theme, compared to 0.33 times in the full sample. The keyword 'figures' also featured highly: an average of 1.32 uses per article compared to 0.41 in the full sample.

Of the 41 articles with the 'too many' theme, 95% related to Channel crossings. This was significantly higher than in the full sample: 25% of all articles analysed and 55% of articles with any Threat frame focused on Channel crossings. All interviewees agreed that the media over-represent Channel crossings to portray threats. One interviewee explained the imagery:

"... the image of people (...) coming in numbers on a boat (...) is very powerful. Whereas someone sitting in their kitchen on a visit visa, waiting for their refugee application to go through, it's not very powerful."

lawyer/non-profit founder

Representing people crossing the Channel as threats to the UK's security was enhanced by the use of criminalising vocabulary. Two-thirds of all uses of the keyword 'crackdown' occurred in

articles with the 'too many' theme related to Channel crossings. Other examples of criminalising language include:

- The Telegraph quoted Priti Patel: "we are arresting people and we are returning people" (Johnson and Hymas, 2020).
- The Daily Mail described people "caught (…) trying to get into Britain" (Dennett et al., 2020) and a change in asylum law as a way to stop "illegal migrants sneaking into" the UK (Barrett, 2020a).

All interviewees acknowledged language's potential to reinforce negative stereotypes:

"Language is one of the most dangerous tools, (…) you can cause a lot of damage and that's what the media has done over the past few years. (…) [T]he pandemic came with its own challenges (…), people were even more scared (…). So, even people who were probably a bit more neutral before (…), [the media] could influence the way they think about refugees."

academic (intercultural studies/languages)

Language used to describe the number of RAS is important. In articles with the 'too many' theme and focusing on the Channel crossings:

- 15% included superlatives relating to the number of arrivals. An article in the Daily Mail mentioned three times that the number of crossings was the "highest monthly figure ever recorded" (Robinson (J), 2020).
- 10% mentioned a "spike", 10% mentioned a "surge", and 5% mentioned an "influx."

This type of language links to the use of statistics. 90% of articles including the 'too many' theme used statistics; 88% did so either without stating the source or stating that the figures were not confirmed. This contradicted the ethical journalism practices highlighted by one interviewee:

"There are two points that should be focused on when using statistics. One is (…) making clear the source, evaluating the source and providing information about that source. The other point is balancing statistics (…) with context which shows the human element…"

lawyer/non-profit founder

The article analysis also supports the latter statement: only 27% of articles using statistics with the 'too many' theme featured a Victim/Survivor frame. Only 31% of articles featuring any Threat

frame included the Victim/Survivor frame, suggesting a limited exploration of the human experience and humanitarian circumstances when presenting RAS as threats.

Smuggling/ Trafficking

The theme of 'smuggling/trafficking' – described as "associated criminality" in a quote from the Home Office (Hymas, 2020b [The Telegraph]) – was not mentioned by the interviewees but was identified in 43% of articles with the Threat to Security frame. Despite the differences between smuggling and trafficking, the words were frequently used interchangeably. Often, stronger border control was presented as a way to reduce the power of smuggling gangs. An article in the Daily Mail quoted a Tory MP: "Today's brazen illegal crossings (…) is another reminder why firm action is needed to stop the ruthless smuggling gangs" (Weston, 2020b).

Most exploration of why RAS resort to using smugglers was one-sided. An article by former Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbott (2020 [The Telegraph]) links the "business model for people smugglers" to the UK's "unwillingness" to turn people away. Another Telegraph article presents Priti Patel's plan to return asylum-seekers to France as a means to "end people trafficking" (Hymas, 2020c). There was an overall lack of exploration of the potential role of hostile environment policies in driving smuggling. The link was recognised in a limited number of articles (e.g. Busby, 2020 [The Guardian]), often presented as quotes from charities. I will explore the link between attribution of responsibility and Othering in [Section 6.2.3.].

Illegality

Discussions about entries being "illegal" were common in articles with the Threat to Security frame, which included 84% of the total uses of "illegal". All interviewees agreed that the repetitive use of words related to illegality contributed to negative stereotypes of RAS, linking it to dehumanisation of RAS in the Othering process:

"...the use of the word 'illegal' (...) is very dangerous. (...) I think probably (...) it was one of the reasons I wasn't very comfortable saying that I was a refugee. I felt that it took away from my achievements and my (...) humanity."

academic (intercultural studies/languages)

One interviewee highlighted how this may be a strategy to limit the depth of humanising discussions about RAS:

"I think it's a really clever discursive strategy of starting from the position in which you are talking about people who are automatically suspect. (...) People who are advocating for RAS aren't then able to start talking in complex terms about what's going on because you've already started with this extreme, simplistic representation."

<div align="right">academic (sociology)</div>

86% of articles with the Threat to Security frame and featuring the use of "illegal" were related to Channel crossings, suggesting that discussions regarding illegality centred on people arriving in small boats.

Crime

Coverage of crimes committed by RAS was also a theme within the Threat to Security frame. I identified 14 articles related to terrorist activities, including 10 about Abdel-Majed Abdel Bary, a rapper arrested on suspicion of fighting for the Islamic State. The articles highlight that Bary came to the UK as a child after his father applied for political asylum (Sky News, 2020, Dearden, 2020a [The Independent]), but this was presented as contextual information and not as central to the story. Coverage of the trial of two ISIS supporters showed similar trends (Dearden, 2020b [The Independent], Murphy-Bates, 2020 [Daily Mail]).

In contrast, a Daily Mail article foregrounded the background of Fatah Mohammed Abdullah, who pled guilty to acts of terrorism:

[Image 2]

A Kurdish asylum seeker has pleaded guilty to bomb-making and inciting two Iraqi jihadists to commit a planned terror attack

Source: Wright (2020 [Daily Mail])

I found similar examples of a refugee or asylum-seeker background presented as central to crime coverage in other Daily Mail articles. The foregrounding of this information, particularly by

including it in the headline or first paragraph [Image 3], may be seen to reinforce negative stereotypes.

[Image 3]

Libyan refugee, 26, faces jail after tricking Harrods staff to steal two luxury Royal Oak watches worth a total of £190,000

Source: Gallagher (2020 [Daily Mail])

6.2.1.2. Threat to Wealth (n=35)

Abuse of asylum system

Of the 35 articles featuring the Threat to Wealth frame, 20 mentioned abuse of the asylum system. The Telegraph claimed that Britain had become a "magnet" for asylum-seekers (Hymas, 2020a). Several articles stepped further into the concept of legitimacy by highlighting asylum claims not being 'genuine'. A quote from Priti Patel addressing "vexatious claims" (Duggan, 2020a [The Sun]) was frequently featured. A source quoted in three Daily Mail articles highlights that "the Government wants to get into a position where asylum claimants cannot continually change their story (…)." (Ridler, 2020). All interviewees viewed the focus on legitimacy negatively:

"Attaching these qualifiers like genuine or legitimate asylum-seeker, that's nonsense. (…) Even saying 'genuine' implies that other people have lied…"

lawyer/non-profit founder

In the article analysis, the most common type of adjective qualifying 'refugee' or 'asylum-seeker' was those denoting the country of origin, followed by 'child' (or similar). I did identify seven appearances of 'legitimate', 'genuine' or 'bogus' as the qualifying adjective and 15 appearances of 'failed' or 'refused' [Annex 9].

Channel operations

The second most common theme was the cost of Border Force operations in the Channel, including:

- The Daily Mail explained: "Mrs Patel's plan would also see the British taxpayer funding more patrols on the French coast" (Barrett, 2020b);
- The Telegraph stated that Britain has already provided £50 million to help "beef up security in France" (Hymas, 2020c).

The focus on cost could reflect an absence of sympathy for the humanitarian situation, reinforcing the concept of *us* and *them*:

"the (...) frames (...) are always on a dehumanising footing. (...), they are primed to be working on the assumption of lying and cheating (...), rather than coming from a humanitarian perspective of sympathy."

academic (sociology)

Conflation of terms

Two interviewees highlighted the theme of a threat to British jobs, but I did not find this theme in the sample. However, the Threat to Wealth frame is linked to the conflation of RAS with economic migrants, mentioned by two interviewees. Despite the study focusing on RAS, the most common keyword in the full sample was 'migrant', appearing an average of 4.86 times per article compared to 2.73 times for 'refugee', 1.40 times for 'asylum-seeker', and 0.17 times for 'immigrant' [Annex 10]. 'Migrant' was concentrated in articles with a Threat frame, reaching 21.53 average uses per article with a Threat to Health frame (14.49 for Threat to Wealth). 'Refugee' was more common in articles with frames portraying RAS more positively (Hero and Community frames, as well as the Advocating for Change message).

I identified clear examples of the conflation of terms in the Express. For instance, the tightening of asylum law was presented as addressing the negative "effects of mass migration" (Bet, 2020). One interviewee provided a postcolonial perspective, highlighting links with Othering:

"At their inception, human rights were a legal architecture designed for white Western people essentially and there was never an intention that they would be inclusive. (…) It shouldn't really be a surprise to us that when people started seeking asylum from (…) Eritrea and Iraq and Afghanistan, etcetera, there was a total rejection of the idea that these people could be refugees. They must be economic migrants."

<div align="right">academic (sociology)</div>

6.2.1.3. Threat to Health (n=19)

COVID-19 transmission

All 19 articles featuring the Threat to Health frame related to COVID-19 transmission. The keyword 'COVID/Coronavirus' appeared on average 7.7 times per article featuring this frame. In all but one article, the Channel crossings were the primary focus; 'crossing' and 'Border Force' were the second and fourth most common keywords. Two interviewees discussed this frame in relation to Othering:

"Some of the first migration controls were of coloured seamen, people thinking that (…) they were infectious (…). Only certain people's bodies seem to be risky in those ways. (…) And it's the same for COVID. Many people were arriving into Heathrow at the height of the pandemic, so it's a joke."

<div align="right">academic (sociology)</div>

Many of the discussions revolved around the (lack of) COVID-19 testing of people crossing the Channel. The idea of the threat was evident in alarmist headlines, including:

- Border Force intercepts 130 migrants in a week at sea and NONE are being tested for coronavirus despite Covid scare in French camps (…) (Jewers, 2020 [Daily Mail])
- MIGRANT RISK: Thousands of migrants who may have been exposed to coronavirus will be quarantined in hotels across UK (Hammond and Wells, 2020 [The Sun])

The above article from The Sun is the only article to present a specific case of COVID-19 symptoms, although it is not clear whether the person is a refugee/asylum-seeker. All the other articles focus on a generalised fear of the health threat. One article in the Daily Mail highlights that refugee camps in France are "stricken by coronavirus" but provides no evidence thereof; the claim is later watered down to "fears of a coronavirus outbreak" (Bracchi, 2020).

Significantly, only six articles featuring this frame also explored the impact of COVID-19 on RAS; the majority did not consider that RAS could be victims of COVID-19. We may draw on the idea of one interviewee that the suffering of certain groups is considered more "tolerable" than that of others (academic, sociology). The focus on the risk to the native population thus appears to reflect a prioritisation of the needs of the in-group.

6.2.1.4. Threat to Identity (n=13)

Incompatible culture

Despite being highlighted by two interviewees, the Threat to Identity was the least common Threat frame. I found no articles related to the threat of different languages or cultural garments. Regarding RAS already present in the UK, there was no evidence of a generalised threat to British culture: articles focused on specific incidents.

One interviewee highlighted "scaremongering propaganda" based on religion (academic, intercultural studies/languages). I did not find evidence of religion used as the basis of the Threat to Identity frame but I did identify cultural practices presented as a threat to British values. Two Daily Mail articles covered the murder of Banaz Mahmod, whose killers were previously granted political asylum in the UK. Honour killings were portrayed as a cultural component of the Kurdish community in London: "backward-looking, rigidly patriarchal sectors of society" (Rennell, 2020a [Daily Mail]). We may consider one interviewee's comments that RAS' crimes are presented as culturally representative in order to "spread fear" about a threat to British values (academic, intercultural studies/languages). However, more analysis is needed of the coverage of crimes by people of different backgrounds to determine this.

In contrast to articles concerning RAS in the UK, articles covering arrivals did represent a generalised threat to the 'British way of life'. Over half focused on Channel crossings. An opinion piece in the Telegraph refers to cultural incompatibility: "large influxes of very different newcomers (…) change a country's character" (Abbott, 2020 [The Telegraph]). Other articles presented the idea of RAS 'invading' the UK. The keyword 'invasion' appeared eight times as part of a quote from Nigel Farage. I also noted imagery, sometimes war-like, presenting RAS as an unstoppable force. The Daily Mail stated that border patrols were "powerless" to stop boats coming (Cole, 2020a) and described crossings as "the new Battle of Hastings" (Bracchi, 2020).

Lack of morals

I identified 4 articles with the theme of RAS lacking morals; 3 related to the trial of Rob Lawrie. All described the ex-soldier as a victim and highlighted that he was misled into smuggling a girl into the UK:

[Image 4]

A former soldier who avoided jail after attempting to smuggle a four-year-old Afghan girl out of Calais has been left stunned after discovering major parts of her family story are untrue.

Source: Enoch (2020 [Daily Mail])

6.2.2. Hero frame (n=27)

The Hero frame provides an opportunity to highlight the contributions of RAS. The positive potential was highlighted by two interviewees:

"I do think there is a power in those individuals who are very articulate and (...) able to interrupt the conversation, those who are given opportunities to have a voice."

academic (sociology)

"I think it's important to showcase that refugees are doctors, they are doing things which save lives, (...) to dispel stereotypes."

lawyer/non-profit founder

The Hero frame was centred around COVID-19: 89% of the articles related to NHS frontline workers during the pandemic. Coverage of Hassan Akkad's work as a hospital cleaner was widespread. In all articles covering Akkad, his background as a refugee is foregrounded:

[Image 5]

'SO LUCKY' Proud Syrian refugee wells up as he tells Piers Morgan about cleaning NHS hospital in coronavirus crisis

Source: Duggan (2020b [The Sun])

All articles present Akkad's background positively. This is interesting as several articles explore how Akkad used a fake passport to fly into Heathrow after failed attempts to enter the UK in lorries. While the same source may denounce the irregularity of entry of Channel crossings, here it is presented as proof of Akkad's determination (Robinson (M), 2020).

Whilst the Hero frame may dispel stereotypes, these double standards lead us to ask if it may also reinforce Othering. All interviewees highlighted the problematic side of the frame, in which people become worthy of protection and accepted as 'human' if they provide an outstanding contribution to the host country:

"I think there's a danger of getting locked into the state discourse where RAS have to be all the time more awesome than citizens. Performing this particular kind of liberal capitalist citizenship where they are such outstanding individuals that "we will have you then."

academic (sociology)

"It's not because we deserve something or we want them [RAS] to prove themselves to us, (...) they need to be encouraged to live the best version of their life (...) only because that's how it should be for every human being."

academic (intercultural studies/linguistics)

The idea of "giving back" (Corbishley, 2020b [Metro]) or saying "thanks" (Robinson (M), 2020 [Daily Mail]) to the country granting asylum featured in many articles covering the work of Akkad and refugee doctors. A refugee doctor wrote a first-person account in the Metro (2020) about being "desperate to give something back."

The work of RAS featured in these articles is highly commendable and I by no means suggest that these acts should not be covered by the media. However, it is important to highlight the lack of balance with positive coverage of RAS along the spectrum of abilities and achievements. As all the interviewees highlighted, featuring only the most outstanding RAS in a

positive light may introduce the idea of deserving and undeserving RAS. There is therefore a potential for dehumanisation when this balance is not found:

"There's no narrative in which these people are normal, average people (...). There's a sense of being primed already to think of them (...) not as fully human. (...) They [RAS] might be nice and lovely, hardworking and have medical degrees, or they might be flawed and have mental problems and bouts of jealousy, lying and selfishness, as normal human beings in the spectrum of humanity."

academic (sociology)

A more humanising approach may therefore be the positive representation of a variety of RAS:

"...counteract it by showing other refugees (...): this is a mother of 5 who fled her country (...), rather than (...) thinking about the typical aspects of what we think is a hero (...)"

lawyer/non-profit founder

6.2.3. Victim/Survivor frame (n=142)

The Victim/Survivor frame, identified in 142 articles, has the positive potential to humanise coverage by drawing attention to the context of situations involving RAS. It is encouraging that this was the most common frame.

[Figure 20]

Number of articles featuring a Victim/Survivor frame, per theme, March-May 2020
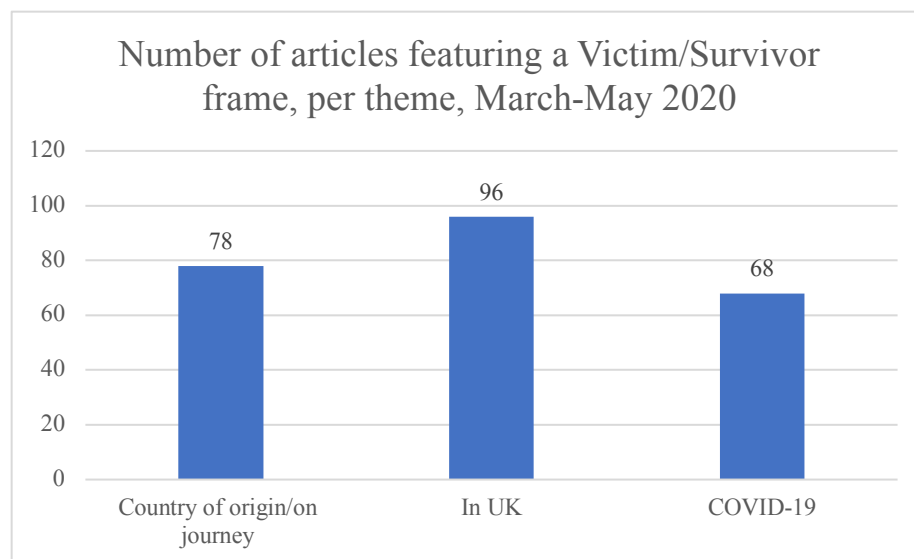
Country of origin/on the journey

78 articles included a Victim/Survivor frame related to the country of origin or journey to the UK, of which 24 related to Channel crossings. Themes included evictions (Bulman and Tidman, 2020) and poor conditions faced in refugee camps in Calais, which the Daily Mail (Wood, 2020) and the Guardian highlighted as driving people to make dangerous crossings:

[Image 6]

Calais refugees aim to reach UK to escape coronavirus lockdown

Source: Taylor and Willsher (2020 [The Guardian])

A less positive sign is that the majority (73%) of the articles about Channel crossings featuring a Victim/Survivor frame also featured a Threat frame. An interesting example is found in the BBC (2020), which describes the "extremely vulnerable" situations of refugees in Calais and details the risk they present to Border Force workers. The combination of frames could reflect the process of dehumanisation highlighted by one interviewee:

"Across all these things (...) is this framework of humanity that means that the suffering of some people is more tolerable than the suffering of others (...). It's not new in the context of 500 years of colonialism, but it's a new deployment of those kinds of dehumanising logics."

academic (sociology)

The interviewee highlights the concept of "a pretend balanced discussion" in the media, which prevents debate about the complex situations of RAS:

"Even where they give the impression that they're getting a sort of balanced perspective, it was all always already along the terms of the threat (...), a false concern about people. (...) the conversation would never be about focusing on them [RAS] and their rights (...)"

academic (sociology)

The article analysis did raise questions about the prioritisation of the Victim/Survivor frame. In some articles, including several in the *Daily Mail* (Wood, 2020, Boyle, 2020, Weston, 2020a), the Victim/Survivor frame was introduced at the end of the article after the Threat frame was

established. Thus, although the Victim/Survivor frame was the most common, the observations bring us to question its relative power. More investigation is needed to determine this.

I did also note that the majority of articles highlighted difficulties on the journey to the UK, rather than in the country of origin. I identified only two articles in which exploring the reasons why refugees already settled in the UK had left their countries of origin was the main theme. Both articles covered one specific refugee (Wharton, 2020 [Metro], Hans, 2020 [Express]). This trend was identified by two interviewees:

"You find [explanations of why people leave their country of origin] every now and again, but (…) mostly when [the media] talk about one person, they select a refugee and they tell their story (…) they lose sight of the other thousands of refugees (…), they (…) forget the before and there's more about the journey and the after."

academic (intercultural studies/linguistics)

An exception to this trend was seen in coverage of the potential arrival of asylum-seekers from Hong Kong. All five articles covering the story explored Hong Kong's security situation. Only 1 article included a Threat frame; most presented the potential arrivals only positively:

- "Britain ready to welcome Hong Kong refugees" (Maddox and Giannangeli, 2020 [Express]).
- "…our people, our issue." (Kilcoyne, 2020 [The Telegraph]).

Although the media presented a moral obligation to protect people from Hong Kong, there was little attribution of responsibility when it came to situations of difficulty occurring before arriving in the UK. In 21% of the articles exploring these difficulties, the UK government was seen as partly or wholly to blame for situations of suffering (e.g., halting family reunification/resettlement); 14% placed responsibility on foreign governments or leaders. Besides one article attributing blame to traffickers, the rest did not include any clear attribution of responsibility. This trend was identified by one interviewee as a reflection of *us* and *them*:

"It's rare to see much coverage (…) that really gets into the complexity of the debates. (…) there's a readiness to see tragedies happening to people of colour who are seeking asylum (…) not as a terrible tragedy but something either that is their appropriate place in the world (…) but also in some way their own fault."

academic (sociology)

I did identify one group that frequently appeared in the Victim/Survivor frame concerning situations before arrival in the UK and that was consistently presented as deserving of protection: unaccompanied children. Topics included family reunification flights (Hope, 2020 [Sky News]) and calls for more resettlement (Churchill, 2020a [Daily Mail]). Only 3 of the 18 articles also presented a Threat frame, but none suggested that the children should not be protected. One interviewee linked this coverage with the idea of rescuing pure victims:

"They're [the media] okay with proper, pure victims. (...) Pure victims in all the ways we would hope, like children are ideal (...). The logic is that some people who are victims should be allowed to have refugee status because we're so kind and it's just that we want to protect against all these (...) bogus people (...). That's how we are (...) moral and rational."

<div align="right">academic (sociology)</div>

Thus, although the Victim/Survivor frame contributes to providing much-needed context, the frame is complex. We must consider that some victims are presented as worthy of protection whereas others, although their suffering is acknowledged, are not.

In the UK

Discussions about disadvantaged situations in the UK featured in 98 articles with the Victim/Survivor frame. The main theme was the living conditions and support of asylum-seekers. The Guardian (Batty, 2020) and the Independent (Bulman, 2020a) ran stories on asylum-seekers unable to social distance in Home Office accommodation. The Independent explored the Home Office's failure to protect asylum-seekers' mental health:

[Image 7]

the man had been suffering from mental health problems that had rapidly deteriorated since they were moved to the facility, and that he had been unable to get the help he needed.

Source: Bulman, (11 May 2020b [The Independent])

Although one interviewee mentioned a lack of exploration of the "systemic problems that underpin poverty and social equality" (lawyer/non-profit founder), I found evidence of the media exploring the impacts of hostile environment policies on RAS in the UK. In contrast to the

portrayal of suffering before reaching the UK, over half of the articles (n=56) exploring difficulties in the UK suggested that the UK government was partly or wholly responsible. Most articles explored the impact of COVID-19 on RAS, including conditions in detention centres (Bulman, 2020c [The Independent]) and low allowances (Hockaday, 2020 [Metro]). Another positive sign is that 58% of the articles related to difficulties in the UK had an Advocating for Change message.

[Image 8]

Coronavirus: Mum struggling to live on £5 a day pleads for help as prices soar

Source: Burke (2020 [Mirror])

However, in line with the comments of one interviewee, discussions were limited to the role of the government and mainly failed to consider a whole-of society-approach. Only three articles explored prejudice (e.g. Knight, 2020 [Mirror]). Discussions about the responsibility of wider society were thus largely absent.

Agency

As two interviewees highlighted, the Victim/Survivor frame has the potential to humanise the debate by providing context but it may become dehumanising by presenting an over-simplistic view of RAS as helpless victims.

"I think there is a[n] (…) inherent view that results in two things: either the hostility we see (…) or the white saviour. (..) [the latter] actually it's just reinforcing the power dynamic (…), there is this patronising element (…)"

<div align="right">lawyer/non-profit founder</div>

"They can be a victim. It doesn't (…) make them any less human, but I think (…) sometimes the words that are used (…) take away from someone's humanity."

<div align="right">academic (intercultural studies/linguistics)</div>

Two interviewees suggested that a means to address the uneven power dynamic would be to increase the representation of RAS' voices in the media, encouraging agency.

"Ethical storytelling: getting that balance of conveying what needs to be conveyed but also respecting the individual (...). Paradoxically, sometimes trying to represent "look at these people, isn't this awful", it's actually more dehumanising (...). One of the things that is key is ensuring that power is placed with the individual."

lawyer/non-profit founder

The article analysis confirmed a lack of representation of RAS' voices in the full sample [see Annex 11]. 50% of articles featuring the Victim/Survivor frame featured a quote from RAS. This was significantly higher than in the full sample, where only 38% featured RAS' voices. There were major disparities across the frames. I found no examples of quotes from RAS in articles featuring a Threat frame, despite these articles representing 38% of the sample. RAS were thus excluded from the debate in articles presenting them most negatively. Charities were heard in 25% of the articles with a Threat frame, while government representatives/politicians were quoted in 55%. In contrast, 96% of articles with the Hero frame included RAS' voices.

The findings raise questions about whose voices are given a platform; it is concerning that RAS' voices are most common when highlighting those contributing exceptionally to society. In the whole sample, 44% of RAS' voices were of people often in the public eye (Lord Dubs, Rita Ora and Hassan Akkad) or from the family of Aya Hachem, who lost her life in the UK. Despite RAS being prominently covered in the UK media, the majority of RAS are not given opportunities to speak.

All quotes from charities were supportive of RAS. They were the least common in articles with a Hero frame, likely due to the voices of RAS being more widely represented. One interviewee highlighted the trend in which RAS are spoken about but are not given opportunities to speak for themselves, suggesting that this practice reinforces the inferior position of the out-group.

6.2.4. Community frame (n=55)

While the Victim/Survivor and Hero frames may be double-edged swords, the Community frame provides the clearest opportunity to eradicate the distinction between *us* and *them*. Its presence in 55 articles was, therefore, a positive contrast to the evidence of Othering.

"I think highlighting good stories, people who are thriving in our community and people who need more help in our community, so people can see the plethora of different experiences."

lawyer/non-profit founder

Part of the community

I identified 35 articles highlighting RAS (or their descendants) as integral to the community. Six articles explored the involvement of RAS in arts and sports. The BBC stated that painter Karel Lek "arrived as a child, and made Wales truly his home" (Thomas, 2020). Two articles explored the experiences of people hosting RAS, focusing on all people being a member of the same community: "Refugees are no different from us – they are simply people who have had their lives turned upside down by circumstances outside of their control" (Townsend, 2020 [Metro]).

Apart from articles featuring both Hero and Community frames, the achievements of RAS and their descendants were celebrated without a primary focus on 'giving back'. An example includes profiles of Foreign Secretary Dominic Raab. The Telegraph highlighted Raab's family background but presented it as a factor making him a better leader (Jones, 2020).

I identified 13 articles related to the death of Aya Hachem. Several sources demonstrated outrage at Aya's death, particularly as she had come to the UK to seek safety.

[Image 9]

Law student, 19, shot dead by passing car as she walked 100 metres from home

Source: Middleton (2020 [Metro])

However, one interviewee highlighted that the Community frame is complex:

"It just makes me think: so, 'they' become one of 'us' after they're dead? What about when they were living? (..) I feel frustrated more than anything. (...) But obviously (...) it's good to start seeing things happening (...). And it gives me hope, but I also hope that (...) individuals will be celebrated during their lives…"

academic (intercultural studies/languages)

Although 35 articles presented RAS as part of the community, only 18 related to living people.

Advancement of rights

A theme present in 13 articles was the celebration of improved rights or situations of RAS, demonstrating a wider sense of community. Examples include positive coverage of the halt on evictions of RAS during the pandemic (Walawalkar, 2020 [The Guardian]) and of family reunification flights arriving in the UK:

- The Guardian stated that "finally, at last", "vulnerable" people would be brought to the UK (Smith, 2020);
- The Daily Mail celebrated that their exposé contributed to the recommencement of family reunion flights (Churchill, 2020a).

All six articles covering the arrival of reunification flights presented RAS as belonging in the UK.

However, the theme of improving the rights and situations of RAS demonstrates how difficult it can be to identify the Community frame, which could be one reason that the frame was the least explored by the interviewees. One interviewee suggested that as long as the distinction between RAS and other people in the UK remains, the Community frame is not fully achieved because labelling people reinforces the concept of difference. It could therefore be suggested that celebrating the improvement of rights of a particular group also implies recognition of a delineation between groups.

"I guess probably it should start by (...) maybe we should stop using 'us'. You know, the minute you say 'we', it means that there are 'them', even if you don't use 'them'. Maybe [we should be] focusing on the human rather than on using labels."

academic (intercultural studies/languages)

We must take into consideration that articles discussing RAS without highlighting their background were not analysed in the study. Moveover, I suggest that, as all interviewees highlighted, the uneven power relations that come with labelling is primarily due to the politically charged nature of the terms 'refugee' and asylum-seeker.'

"A lot else needs to happen before this can happen [stop thinking in terms of us and them], a lot has been ingrained. (...) it's become part of our socio-political life, that needs to change before."

<div align="right">academic (intercultural studies/languages)</div>

Thus, to truly advance a Community frame approach and undermine Othering, we must think about a whole-of-society, structural change to reduce negative perspectives of RAS. If this is achieved, emphasising the background of RAS would not by itself contribute to Othering as the terms would not have negative connotations.

6.2.5. Advocating for change message (n=74)

The study examined pre-determined frames but I also identified a frequent message: Advocating for Change. This should not be seen as a separate frame, but a message that arises from articles presenting the Victim/Survivor frame: a point mid-way to the Community frame. For instance, while the Community frame celebrates achievements in the progression of RAS' rights, the Advocating for Change message suggests that RAS are not yet accepted as part of the community but that they should be. Examples of articles with this message include:

- Calls for higher allowance for asylum-seekers during lockdown (Hockaday, 2020 [Metro]);
- Human rights in focus 'All I think of is my brother': UK refugee family reunions disrupted by Covid-19 (Grant, 2020 [The Guardian]).

67% of uses of the keyword "rights" occurred within articles with this message. One interviewee explored how the rights discourse can be used to undermine the process of Othering:

"Just a basic level of humanity becomes really difficult when that [threat] frame is in place in all conversations. As critical as I am of the human rights discourse (...), I think that's the only ready-to-hand discourse we have to draw on (...), to talk in legal terms about the rights that they should have access to."

<div align="right">academic (sociology)</div>

7. Conclusions

The study demonstrated differences in the presence of frames during the UK's first COVID-19 wave. During the month of the peak, there was an increase in frames presenting RAS as undesirable: Threat frames were present in 47% of articles in April 2020. Two of the frames presenting RAS more sympathetically or positively decreased in the month of the peak (Victim/Survivor, Community), while the Hero frame increased. The high usage of COVID-19-related keywords suggests that coverage was aligned with the health concerns of the population; all articles with the Threat to Health frame related to COVID-19 transmission. Meanwhile, the Threat to Wealth frame was increasingly present throughout the period of analysis, but these articles did not explore economic crisis.

Despite the potential health and economic concerns of the population, the most common Threat frame was the Threat to Security. 56% of articles with this frame featured the theme of 'too many' RAS, focusing on the Channel crossings. Given that there was a decrease in asylum applications during quarter two of 2020, this raises questions about how significant numbers are, compared to the type of entry. The focus on legality of entry suggests a rejection of the humanitarian situation and limits complex discussions about RAS that may humanise coverage.

Moreover, the reduction in the Victim/Survivor frame suggests that discussions were less oriented towards RAS' suffering during the month of the peak. The frame was also absent in the majority of articles using statistics to support the 'too many' theme: a lost opportunity to explore the human experience behind the numbers. A lack of attribution of responsibility for suffering outside of the UK and on the journey to the UK may also serve to reinforce the distinction between *us* and *them*, suggesting that the suffering of some is more tolerable than the suffering of others.

We should not underestimate the power of language. Certain linguistic trends were identified which may contribute to and shape the process of Othering. This includes the less common use of family-related keywords in articles with Threat frames and the foregrounding of RAS backgrounds in some articles covering crime. The conflation of terms is also problematic: the use of 'migrant' was high in articles with the Threat frame, while 'refugee' was more common in the more positive Hero and Community frames.

Language can be used for good and there were positive signs. The focus on rights in articles advocating for change may serve as a means to move the debate away from the Threat frame towards legal entitlements. The presence of the Community frame in 25% of articles was also positive, having the potential to reflect on the wider sense of community, but it was the second least common frame.

It became clear that we must always challenge our perceptions. Some frames which appear to positively represent RAS have complexities that may contribute to the process of Othering. The Hero frame, providing the opportunity to dispel stereotypes, was the only frame providing positive representations of RAS that increased during April 2020. However, if the Hero frame is not balanced by positive portrayals of RAS across the spectrum of humanity, it may reinforce dehumanisation.

It is therefore important that we do not become complacent with the glimmers of positivity provided by frames such as the Community and Hero frames and the presence of the Advocating for Change message. For these frames and messages to have an impact, we must take efforts to reduce the risk that Othering becomes further entrenched in media representations. We must consciously and continuously challenge coverage and its implications on the perceived humanity of RAS. I recommend prioritising the following:

- Articles including a Threat frame should provide a balanced discussion including the voices of RAS and explorations of complex realities going beyond briefly stating the difficulties experienced by RAS. Exploring the Victim/Survivor frame should not primarily be 'the other side' of the argument.
- Coverage of stories falling under the Hero frame should be balanced with positive, humanising coverage of diverse experiences of RAS.
- RAS should be given opportunities to speak in a wide variety of circumstances. Speaking on behalf of RAS should not be the norm.
- Responsible use of statistics should be encouraged, including specifying sources.
- Foregrounding refugee or asylum-seeker backgrounds of subjects in the media should be done with extreme caution, particularly when related to themes like criminality.

An important next step for research would be to explore the effect of the media messages identified in the study on the views of the public. Which frames had long-lasting impacts? Did

people's perceptions towards RAS change during the pandemic or were their subconscious values validated? The labelling of RAS is ultimately problematic due to the stigmatisation of RAS in society: the terms 'refugee' and 'asylum-seeker' have negative connotations. We therefore cannot isolate the process of Othering in the media from the process of Othering in other societal and political institutions. Meaningful change can only be achieved if we consider a whole-of-society, structural approach that addresses systemic discrimination and inequality.

Bibliography

ABBOTT, T., 2020. Channel crossings will continue as long as illegal migrants are allowed to stay in Britain. *The Telegraph* [online]. 31 May 2020. Available from: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2020/05/31/channel-crossings-will-continue-long-illegal-migrants-allowed/ [Accessed 9 June 2020].

ANDERSON, B., 2013. *Us & Them: The dangerous politics of immigration control*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

ARBUTHNOT, L., 2020. 'I will break the law to help people': the ex-soldier who tried to smuggle a child refugee into Britain. *The Telegraph* [online]. 14 April 2020. Available from: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/radio/podcasts/will-break-law-help-people-ex-soldier-tried-smuggle-child-refugee/ [Accessed 9 June 2021].

ARTICLE 19, 2003. *What's the story? Results from research into media coverage of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK* [online]. Available from: http://www.article19.org/data/files/pdfs/publications/refugees-what-s-the-story-.pdf [Accessed 23 January 2021].

AUKES, E.K., L. E. BONTJE & J.H. SLINGER, 2020. Narrative and Frame Analysis: Disentangling and Refining Two Close Relatives by Means of a Large Infrastructural Technology Case. *Forum Qualitative Social Research* [online]. Available from: https://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/3422/4620 [Accessed 20 May 2021].

BARRETT, D., 2020a. Priti Patel wants new powers to curb illegal migrants sneaking into UK and calls for law change so dinghies can be turned around in the Channel and sent back to France. *Daily Mail* [online]. 26 May 2020. Available from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8359253/Priti-Patel-wants-new-powers-curb-illegal-migrants-sneaking-UK-calls-law-change.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

BARRETT, D., 2020b. Yet ANOTHER Priti Patel pledge on crossings: Home Secretary threatens to turn migrants away from the UK and send them back to France. *Daily Mail* [online]. 8 May

2020. Available from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8299007/Yet-Priti-Patel-pledge-migrant-crossings.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

BATTY, D., 2020. Coronavirus fears as UK asylum seekers made to share cramped rooms. *The Guardian* [online]. 15 April 2020. Available from: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/apr/15/coronavirus-fears-uk-asylum-seekers-made-share-cramped-rooms [Accessed 9 June 2021].

BAUOMY, J., 2020. COVID-19 and xenophobia: why outbreaks are often accompanied by racism. *Euronews* [online]. 6 March 2020. Available from: https://www.euronews.com/2020/03/05/covid-19-and-xenophobia-why-outbreaks-are-often-accompanied-by-racism [Accessed 21 January 2021].

BBC, 2020. *Channel migrants: Small boats intercepted off Kent* [online]. 25 March 2020. Available from: https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-kent-52032819 [Accessed 9 June 2021].

BERRY, M., I. GARCIAA-BLANCO & K. MOORE, 2015. Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries. *Report, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees* [online]. Available from: https://www.unhcr.org/56bb369c9.pdf [Accessed 20 January 2021].

BET, M., 2020. Priti Patel's cryptic snub of David Cameron exposed: 'Too rich to care about migration'. *Express* [online]. 28 May 2020. Available from: https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/1288205/priti-patel-news-migrations-channel-asylum-france-david-cameron-spt [Accessed 9 June 2021].

BLUMELL, L., M. BRUNCE, G. COOPER & C.A. MCDOWELL, 2019. *Refugee and Asylum News Coverage in UK Print and Online Media* [online]. Available from: https://openaccess.city.ac.uk/id/eprint/22424/ [Accessed 21 January 2021].

BOYLE, D., 2020. Nigel Farage hires fishing boat to patrol the English Channel and rescues 20 migrants including small children trying to get to Britain in tiny sinking dinghy. *Daily Mail* [online]. 20 May 2020. Available from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-

8339903/Coastguard-picks-25-migrants-attempting-cross-English-Channel.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

BRACCHI, P., 2020. The new Battle of Hastings: With their camps in France stricken by coronavirus, boatloads of desperate migrants have been landing around the genteel Sussex resort... and some have even been chased barefoot by officers. *Daily Mail* [online]. 22 April 2020. Available from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8246891/With-camps-France-stricken-coronavirus-migrants-landing-Sussex-resort.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

BULMAN, M, 2020a. 'Every night I'm praying I'll survive another day': Asylum seekers unable to social distance in accommodation. *The Independent* [online]. 4 May 2020. Available from: https://www.independent.co.uk/independentpremium/uk-news/coronavirus-asylum-seekers-accommodation-home-office-social-distance-a9495161.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

BULMAN, M., 2020b. Coronavirus: Syrian asylum seeker dies in hotel assigned by Home Office as part of Covid-19 response. *The Independent* [online]. 11 May 2020. Available from: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/oronavirus-asylum-seeker-uk-hotel-death-a9507696.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

BULMAN, M., 2020c. Coronavirus: Dozens of asylum seekers forced to eat in communal area in breach of Covid-19 measures. *The Independent* [online]. 28 March 2020. Available from: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/coronavirus-asylum-seekers-urban-house-a9430991.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

BULMAN, M. & Z. TIDMAN, 2020. Calais refugees taking more risks to cross to UK as police continue with 'cruel' evictions during pandemic. *The Independent* [online]. 11 May 2020. Available: https://www.independent.co.uk/independentpremium/uk-news/calais-refugees-risk-crossing-police-evictions-coronavirus-camps-france-a9506021.html?r=69515 [Accessed 9 June 2021].

BURKE, D., 2020. Coronavirus: Mum struggling to live on £5 a day pleads for help as prices soar. *Mirror* [online]. 10 April 2020. Available from: https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/coronavirus-mum-struggling-live-5-21846091 [Accessed 9 June 2021].

BUSBY, M., 2020. Charities call for safe routes for migrants to claim asylum in UK. *The Guardian* [online]. 10 May 2020. Available from: https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/may/10/charities-call-for-safe-routes-for-migrants-to-claim-asylum-in-uk [Accessed 9 June 2020].

BUTCHER, P. & A-H NEIDHARDT, 2020. Fear and Lying in the EU: Fighting disinformation on migration with alternative narratives. *Issue paper. European Policy Centre* [online]. Available from:

https://wms.flexious.be/editor/plugins/imagemanager/content/2140/PDF/2020/Disinformation_on_Migration.pdf [Accessed 20 January 2021].

BUTLER, I., 2020. How to talk about human rights during COVID-19. *Webinar, European Network of National Human Rights Institutions* [online]. Available from: http://ennhri.org/news-and-blog/event/webinar-how-to-talk-about-human-rights-during-covid-19/ [Accessed 21 January 2021].

CHURCHILL, D., 2020a. Lone children who have been languishing in Greek migrant camps are flown to the UK after Mail's exposé. *Daily Mail* [online]. 11 May 2020. Available from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8305927/Lone-children-languishing-Greek-migrant-camps-flown-UK-Mails-expos.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

CIESLIK, A. & VERKUYTEN, M. (2006) National, Ethnic and Religious Identities: Hybridity and the case of the Polish Tatars. *National Identities*, Vol. 8 (2), pp. 77 – 93.

COLE, W., 2020a. Nigel Farage accuses France of escorting migrant dinghies to British waters as border patrols say they are POWERLESS to stop boats coming after record 531 refugees arrive this month. *Daily Mail* [online]. 21 May 2020. Available from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8343333/Nigel-Farage-says-NINE-boats-carrying-migrants-Channel-morning.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

CORBISHLEY, S., 2020a. Refugee wins right for family to stay in UK if he dies on front line. *Metro* [online]. 21 May 2020. Available from: https://metro.co.uk/2020/05/21/refugee-wins-right-family-stay-uk-dies-front-line-12735674/ [Accessed 9 June 2021].

CORBISHLEY, S., 2020b. Syrian porter 'proud' of his role after NHS fees for migrant workers scrapped. *Metro* [online]. 22 May 2020. Available from: https://metro.co.uk/2020/05/22/syrian-porter-proud-role-nhs-fees-migrant-workers-scrapped-12741636/ [Accessed 9 June 2021].

DE GENOVA, N., 2013. Spectacles of migrant 'illegality': the scene of exclusion, the obscene of inclusion. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 36 (7), pp. 1180-1198.

DEARDEN, L., 2020a. British Isis fighter Abdel-Majed Abdel Bary 'arrested in Spain while hiding during coronavirus lockdown'. *The Independent* [online]. 21 April 2020. Available from: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/isis-fighter-abdel-majed-abdel-bary-arrest-spain-lockdown-coronavirus-a9477116.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

DEARDEN, L., 2020b. Isis supporters jailed for sending terrorists £2,700 via man connected to 'central figures'. *The Independent* [online]. 25 April 2020. Available from: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/isis-terrorists-send-money-ayub-nurhussein-said-mohammed-eritrea-a9483731.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

DEAUX, K. & S. WILEY, 2007. Moving people and shifting representations: Making immigrant identities. *In:* MALONEY, G. & I. WALKER, (eds.), *Social Representations and Identity: Content, Process and Power*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 9-30.

DENNETT, K., J. ROBINSON, K. WESTON & G. SIMCOX., 2020. At least 331 migrants have been caught in English Channel trying to get into Britain in the last 10 days. *Daily Mail* [online]. 17 May 2020. Available from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8328233/More-300-migrants-caught-trying-Britain-10-days.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

DIJK (VAN), T.A., 1995. Power and the news media. *In:* D. PALETZ (ed.), *Political Communication and Action*. Cresskill: Hampton Press, pp. 9-36.

DUGGAN, J., 2020a. PRITI TOUGH Priti Patel signals fresh crackdown after spike in migrants crossing Channel & vows to tackle 'vexatious' asylum claims.' *The Sun* [online]. 29 April 2020. Available from: https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/11513105/priti-patel-fresh-crackdown-migrants/ [Accessed 9 June 2021].

DUGGAN, J., 2020b. 'SO LUCKY' Proud Syrian refugee wells up as he tells Piers Morgan about cleaning NHS hospital in coronavirus crisis. *The Sun* [online]. 7 April 2020. Available from: https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/11349360/refugee-syria-honoured-coronavirus-wards/ [Accessed 9 June 2021].

EDWARDS, J., 2008. Early splitting and projective identification. *Infant Observation,* 11 (1), pp. 57-65.

ELAM, D., 2019. Postcolonial Theory. *Oxford Bibliographies* [online]. Available from: https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780190221911/obo-9780190221911-0069.xml [Accessed 2 May 2021]

ENLI, G., 2007. Gatekeeping in the new media age: a case study of the selection of text-messages in a current affairs programme. *Javnost – the public*, 14 (2), pp. 47-62.

ENOCH, N., 2020. Ex-soldier who narrowly escaped jail for trying to smuggle Afghan girl into the UK is stunned to learn her father lied to him about escaping Taliban and child's mother being dead. *Daily Mail* [online]. 16 March 2020. Available from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8116263/Ex-soldier-Rob-Lawrie-shocked-truth-girl-rescued-Calais-camp.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

ENSOR, J., 2016. 'Photo of my dead son has changed nothing', says father of drowned Syrian refugee boy Alan Kurdi. *The Telegraph* [online]. 3 September 2016. Available from: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/01/photo-of-my-dead-son-has-changed-nothing-says-father-of-drowned/ [Accessed 21 January 2021].

FANON, F., 1952. *Black Skin, White Masks.* New York: Grove Press.

FROSH, S., 2013. Psychoanalysis, colonialism, racism. *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology*, 33 (3), pp. 141-154.

GABRIELATOS, C. & P. BAKER, 2008. Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding: A Corpus Analysis of Discursive Constructions of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press, 1996-2005. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 36 (1), pp. 5-38.

GALLAGHER, D., 2020. Libyan refugee, 26, faces jail after tricking Harrods staff to steal two luxury Royal Oak watches worth a total of £190,000. *Daily Mail* [online]. 30 March 2020. Available from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8167659/Libyan-refugee-faces-jail-tricking-Harrods-staff-steal-two-luxury-watches.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

GILL, K., 2020. 'I died for 78 minutes but medics saved me... now we must save them!': Fabrice Muamba is living proof of NHS miracles after his cardiac arrest on Tottenham's pitch - and he's calling for pay rises for doctors and nurses. *Daily Mail* [online]. 12 May 2020. Available from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/football/article-8312945/Fabrice-Muamba-living-proof-NHS-miracles-wants-looked-after.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

GIOVANNA SESSA, M., 2020. Misogyny and misinformation: an analysis of gendered disinformation tactics during the COVID-19 pandemic. *EU Disinfo Lab* [online]. Available from: https://www.disinfo.eu/publications/misogyny-and-misinformation%3A-an-analysis-of-gendered-disinformation-tactics-during-the-covid-19-pandemic [Accessed 20 January 2021].

GOODFELLOW, M., 2020. *Hostile Environment: How immigrants became scapegoats*. Verso: London.

GOODWIN, M. & G. HARRIS, 2013. Rallying intolerance in the valleys: Explaining support for the extreme right in Wales. *British Politics,* 8 (4), pp. 433-456.

GRANT, H., 2020. 'All I think of is my brother': UK refugee family reunions disrupted by Covid-19. *The Guardian* [online]. 6 April 2020. Available from: https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2020/apr/06/all-i-think-of-is-my-brother-uk-refugee-family-reunions-disrupted-by-covid-19 [Accessed 9 June 2021].

GROVE, N.J. & A.B.ZWI, 2006. Our health and theirs: Forced migration, othering, and public health. *Social Science & Medicine,* 62, pp. 1931-1942.

HALL, S., 1997. Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices. London: Sage. Hayakawa, S. I. (1978) *Through the communication barrier*. New York: Harper and Row.

HAMMOND, D. & T. WELLS, 2020. MIGRANT RISK Thousands of migrants who may have been exposed to coronavirus will be quarantined in hotels across UK. *The Sun* [online]. 15 March

2020. Available from: https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/11175415/thousands-migrants-exposed-coronavirus-hotel-accommodation-uk/ [Accessed 9 June 2021].

HANS, G., 2020. Former Peshmerga member shares her harrowing battle against brutal Iran regime. *Express* [online]. 30 April 2020. Available from: https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/1275677/Iran-news-Peshmerga-Kurdistan-Diana-Nammi-Shah-democracy-freedom-Ayatollah-Khomeini [Accessed 9 June 2021].

HM GOVERNMENT, 2019. *Online platforms and digital advertising market study. Appendix C* [online]. Available from: https://www.gov.uk/cma-cases/online-platforms-and-digital-advertising-market-study#final-report [Accessed 9 June 2021].

HM GOVERNMENT, 2021a. *Coronavirus (COVID-19) in the UK* [online]. Available from: https://coronavirus.data.gov.uk/details/cases [Accessed 9 June 2021].

HM GOVERNMENT, 2021b. *Statistical data set: Asylum and resettlement datasets* [online]. Available from: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistical-data-sets/asylum-and-resettlement-datasets [Accessed 9 June 2021].

HOCKADAY, J., 2020. Calls for higher allowance for asylum seekers during lockdown. *Metro* [online]. 9 April 2020. Available from: https://metro.co.uk/2020/04/09/calls-higher-allowance-asylum-seekers-lockdown-12535292/ [Accessed 9 June 2021].

HOPE, R., 2020. Unaccompanied children among 50 migrants arriving in UK from camps in Greece. *Sky News* [online]. 12 May 2020. Available from: https://news.sky.com/story/unaccompanied-children-among-50-migrants-arriving-in-uk-from-camps-in-greece-11987060 [Accessed 9 June 2021].

HOWARTH, C., 2011. Representations, identity and resistance in communication. *In:* HOOK, D., FRANKS, B. & BAUER, M. (eds.), *The Social Psychology of Communication*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 153-168.

HYMAS, C., 2020a. Britain's failure to remove illegal migrants is fueling 'dangerous' cross-Channel attempts. *The Telegraph* [online]. 7 May 2020. Available from:

https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2020/05/07/britains-failure-remove-illegal-migrants-fueling-dangerous-cross/ [Accessed 9 June 2021].

HYMAS, C., 2020b. Home Office approaches Australian Border Force chief who helped mastermind return of sea migrants. *The Telegraph* [online]. 25 May 2020. Available from: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2020/05/25/home-office-approaches-australian-border-force-chief-helped/ [Accessed 9 June 2021].

HYMAS, C., 2020c. Priti Patel seeks French backing for plan to return Channel migrants to France to end people trafficking. *The Telegraph* [online]. 6 May 2020. Available from: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2020/05/06/priti-patel-seeks-french-backing-plan-return-channel-migrants/ [Accessed 9 June 2021].

ISAKSEN, J.V., 2019. The impact of the financial crisis on European attitudes toward immigration. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 7 (24) [online]. Available from: https://comparativemigrationstudies.springeropen.com/articles/10.1186/s40878-019-0127-5 [Accessed 24 May 2021].

JEWERS, C., 2020. Border Force intercepts 130 migrants in a week at sea and NONE are being tested for coronavirus despite Covid scare in French camps triggering surge in attempts to cross the Channel. *Daily Mail* [online]. 8 April 2020. Available from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8201589/Border-Force-join-massive-search-rescue-mission-Sussex-Coast-amid-surge-crossing-attempts.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

JOFFE, H., 2007. Anxiety, Mass Crisis and 'the Other'. *In:* SIX, P., S. RADSTONE, C. SQUIRE & A. TREACHER (eds.), *Public Emotions*. Palgrave Macmillan: London, pp. 105-118.

JOHNSON, J. & C. HYMAS, 2020. Government planning new laws to force Channel migrants back to France. *The Telegraph* [online]. 20 May 2020. Available from: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2020/05/20/government-planning-new-laws-force-channel-migrants-back-france/ [Accessed 9 June 2021].

JONES, A., 2020. Dominic Raab: The 'ambitious' former lawyer who has the same lunch from Pret every day. *The Telegraph* [online]. 15 April 2020. Available from: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/0/dominic-raab-coronavirus/ [Accessed 9 June 2021].

KILCOYNE, M., 2020. Our failure to help the people of Hong Kong shames us all. *The Telegraph* [online]. 27 May 2020. Available from: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2020/05/27/failure-help-people-hong-kong-shames-us/ [Accessed 9 June 2021].

KLEIN, M., 1946. Notes on Some Schizoid Mechanism. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, 27, pp. 99-110.

KNIGHT, L., 2020. Rita Ora opens up about 'tough' experiences of prejudice as refugee from Kosovo. *Mirror* [online]. 8 April 2020. Available from: https://www.mirror.co.uk/3am/celebrity-news/rita-ora-opens-up-tough-21837433 [Accessed 9 June 2021].

LASSWELL, H.D., 1948. The structure and function of communication in society. *In:* L. BRYSON (ed.), *The communication of ideas*. New York: Institute for Religious and Social Studies. Quotes from reprint in *Communication Theory and Research Journal* (2007), 24, pp. 215-228.

LAZARSFELD, P.F., B. BERELSON & H. GAUDET, 1948. *The people's choice: How the Voter Makes up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign. New* York: Columbia University Press.

LIPPMANN, W., 1922. *Public opinion*. New York: Macmillan.

MADDOX, D. & M. GIANNANGELI, 2020. Britain ready to welcome Hong Kong refugees. *Express* [online]. 24 May 2020. Available from: https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/1286442/china-security-law-hong-kong-refugees-uk [Accessed 9 June 2021].

MALONE, B., 2015. Why Al Jazeera will not say Mediterranean 'migrants.' *Al Jazeera* [online]. 20 August 2015. Available from: https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2015/8/20/why-al-jazeera-will-not-say-mediterranean-migrants [Accessed 20 January 2021].

MAYBLIN, L., 2017. *Asylum After Empire: Colonial Legacies in the Politics of Asylum Seeking*. Rowman and Littlefield: Maryland.

MBEMBE, A.J., 2016. Decolonizing the university: New directions. *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education*, 15 (1), pp. 29-45.

MCGREAVY, K., 2020. 'Grinning' Afghan asylum seeker, 23, is jailed for more than six years for grabbing woman on her way home and trying to rape her in an alleyway. *Daily Mail* [online]. 20 May 2020. Available from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8340441/Asylum-seeker-jailed-six-years-grabbing-woman-trying-rape-alleyway.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

MEDIA BIAS FACT CHECK, 2021. *Factual news search* [online]. Available from: https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/factual-news-search/ [Accessed 9 June 2021].

MEEKS, L., 2013. He wrote, she wrote: Journalist gender, political office, and campaign news. *Journalism and Mass Communication*, 90 (1), pp. 58-74.

METRO, 2020. *I'm a doctor but I'm being prevented from joining the fight against coronavirus* [online]. 6 April 2020. Available from: https://metro.co.uk/2020/04/06/doctor-coronavirus-refugee-12516316/ [Accessed 9 June 2021].

MIDDLETON, L., 2020. Law student, 19, shot dead by passing car as she walked 100 metres from home. *Metro* [online]. 18 May 2020. Available from: https://metro.co.uk/2020/05/18/law-student-19-shot-dead-passing-car-walked-100-metres-home-12721010/ [Accessed 9 June 2021].

MIGRANT VOICE, 2020. *Heroes, threats and victims: UK media coverage of migration during the first COVID-19 lockdown* [online]. Available from: https://www.migrantvoice.org/img/upload/Migrant_Voice_Media_Monitoring_Report_December_2020.pdf [Accessed 9 June 2021].

MIGRATION OBSERVATORY, 2013. *Migration in the News: Portrayals of Immigrants, Migrants, Asylum Seekers and Refugees in National British Newspapers, 2010-2012* [online]. Available from: https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/PR-2013-Migration_Media.pdf [Accessed 21 January 2021].

MIGRATION OBSERVATORY, 2016. A decade of Immigration in the British Press. *Report* [online]. Available from: https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/reports/decade-immigration-british-press/ [Accessed 20 January 2021].

MOLONEY, G., 2007. Social Representations and the Political Satirical Cartoon. *In:* MALONEY, G. & I. WALKER (eds.), *Social Representations and Identity*. Palgrave Macmillan: New York, pp. 61-84.

MURPHY-BATES, S., 2020. Terrorist pair who raised more than £2,000 for ISIS and shared beheadings footage laugh as they are jailed for a total of more than 14 years. *Daily Mail* [online]. 27 April 2020. Available from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8260615/Terrorist-pair-raised-2-000-ISIS-laugh-jailed.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

NAGARAJAN, C., 2013. How politicians and the media made us hate immigrants. *Open Democracy* [online]. 20 September 2013. Available from: https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/transformation/how-politicians-and-media-made-us-hate-immigrants/ [Accessed 24 January 2021].

NICKERSON, R., 1998. Confirmation Bias: A Ubiquitous Phenomenon in Many Guises. *Review of General Psychology*, 2 (2), pp. 175-220.

NORRIS P. & R. INGLEHART, 2017. *Cultural backlash: Values and voting for populist authoritarian parties in Europe* [online]. Available from: https://www.pippanorris.com/new-research-papers [Accessed 25 March 2021].

OFCOM, 2020. *Effects of COVID-19 on online consumption* [online]. Available from: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0021/203295/covid-19-news-consumption-week-twenty-five-comscore.pdf [Accessed 23 January 2021].

PEW RESEARCH CENTER, 2013. *ComScore media metrix description of methodology* [online]. Available from: https://assets.pewresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/13/2014/03/comScore-Media-Metrix-Description-of-Methodology.pdf [Accessed 9 June 2021].

PHILO, G., E. BRIANT & P. DONALD, 2013. *Bad News for Refugees*. Pluto Press: London.

PISONI, M., 2020. The perpetuation of fear and disinformation around migration by the media in the EU. *A Path for Europe* [online]. Available from: https://pathforeurope.eu/the-perpetuation-of-fear-and-disinformation-around-migration-by-the-media-in-the-eu/ [Accessed 20 January 2021].

RAJARAM, P.K., 2002. Humanitarianism and Representations of the Refugee. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 15 (2), pp. 247-64.

RENNELL, T., 2020a. Hunting evil to the ends of the earth: From a poor girl's hidden grave in Britain to the lawless streets of Kurdistan, how one detective brought down an honour killing gang. *Daily Mail* [online]. 3 April 2020. Available from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8182543/Hunting-evil-ends-earth.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

RENNELL, T., 2020b. How one woman solved Britain's most notorious honour killing: Despite no body, no evidence and a conspiracy of silence, detective who will be played by Keeley Hawes in new drama was determined to see justice done. *Daily Mail* [online]. 1 April 2020. Available from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-8177169/How-one-woman-solved-Britains-notorious-honour-killing.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

RIDLER, F., 2020. Another 80 migrants are picked up in SEVEN boats including a man in a kayak as figures show 1,600 have crossed the English Channel so far this year. *Daily Mail* [online]. 27 May 2020. Available from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8359685/Another-80-migrants-picked-SEVEN-boats.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

RITSCHEL, C., 2020. 1 in 3 boys believe girls have right to education, new survey finds. *The Independent* [online]. 6 March 2020. Available from: https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/education-boys-girls-uk-prejudice-refugees-equality-discrimination-a9384186.html [Accessed 9 July 2021].

ROBINSON, J., 2020. Another 13 migrants, including a toddler, arrive at Dover after 35 on Saturday and 76 on Friday as total for April surges to almost 500 – the highest month ever recorded. *Daily Mail* [online]. 27 April 2020. Available from:

https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8260719/Another-13-migrants-including-toddler-arrive-Dover-total-April-surges-400.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

ROBINSON, M., 2020. From the Calais Jungle to rubbing shoulders with Hollywood's A-listers: How Syrian political activist fled Assad regime and came to Britain on a fake passport before winning a Bafta for BBC film before taking job as NHS cleaner to say 'thanks to the UK'. *Daily Mail* [online]. 21 May 2020. Available from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8343213/Refugee-Syrian-hospital-tells-PM-levy-foreign-workers-unfair-unjust-inhumane.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

SAID, E., 1978. *Orientalism*. London: Routledge.

SANCHEZ, G., 2019. What is happening on the US-MX Border, what is likely to happen and how you can help. *Migration Policy Centre* [online]. Available from: https://blogs.eui.eu/migrationpolicycentre/happening-us-mx-border-likely-happen-can-help/ [Accessed 21 January 2021].

SHOEMAKER, P. & S. REESE, 1991. *Mediating the message: Theories of influence on mass media content.* Michigan: Longman.

SKY NEWS, 2020. *UK rapper Abdel-Majed Abdel Bary arrested on suspicion of fighting for Islamic State* [online]. 22 April 2020. Available from: https://news.sky.com/story/uk-rapper-abdel-majed-abdel-bary-arrested-on-suspicion-of-fighting-for-islamic-state-11976821 [Accessed 9 June 2021].

SMITH, H., 2020. 'Finally, at last': vulnerable migrants to leave Greece for UK. *The Guardian* [online]. 11 May 2020. Available from: https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2020/may/11/finally-at-last-vulnerable-migrants-to-leave-greece-for-uk [Accessed 9 June 2021].

SPIVAK, G.C., 1994. Can the Subaltern Speak? *In:* P. WILLIAMS & L. CHRISMAN, (eds.), *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*. Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, pp. 66-111.

STASZIAK, J-F., 2008. Other/otherness. *International Encyclopaedia of Human Geography* [online]. Available from: https://www.unige.ch/sciences-societe/geo/files/3214/4464/7634/OtherOtherness.pdf [Accessed 20 May 2021].

STURGE, G., 2021. Asylum Statistics. Briefing Paper. *House of Commons Library* [online]. Available from: https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/sn01403/ [Accessed 9 June 2021].

SUBSCRIBE, 2016. *The Press and immigration: reporting the news or fanning the flames of hatred* [online]. Available from: http://www.sub-scribe.co.uk/2016/09/the-press-and-immigration-reporting.html [Accessed 21 January 2021].

TAYLOR, D. & K. WILLSHER, 2020. Calais refugees aim to reach UK to escape coronavirus lockdown. *The Guardian* [online]. 29 March 2020. Available from: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/29/calais-refugees-uk-bid-to-escape-coronavirus-lockdown [Accessed 9 June 2021].

THOMAS, H., 2020. Karel Lek: Jewish painter who found 'freedom' in Wales dies. *BBC* [online]. 5 March 2020. Available from: https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-wales-51759031 [Accessed 9 July 2021].

TOMLINSON, S., 2013. Immigration, immigration, immigration. *Renewal,* 21 (4), pp. 66-73.

TOWNSEND, R., 2020. I've always felt lucky to live with a refugee – but in lockdown, he's invaluable. *Metro* [online]. 19 April 2020. Available from: https://metro.co.uk/2020/04/19/feel-lucky-share-home-refugee-especially-lockdown-12512444/ [Accessed 9 July 2021].

UNITED NATIONS (UN), 1951. *Refugee Convention* [online]. Available from: https://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html [Accessed 20 May 2021].

UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (UNHCR), 2005. *Global Report: Glossary* [online]. Available from: https://www.unhcr.org/449267670.pdf [Accessed 20 May 2021].

VANYORO K.P, L. HADJ-ABDOU & H. DEMPSTER, 2019. Migration Studies: from dehumanising to decolonising. *London School of Economics* [online]. Available from: https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/highereducation/2019/07/19/migration-studies-from-dehumanising-to-decolonising/ [Accessed 21 January 2020].

VASQUEZ, T., 2019. The image America shouldn't need. *Rewire News Group* [online]. Available from: https://rewirenewsgroup.com/article/2019/06/27/the-image-america-shouldnt-need/ [Accessed 20 January 2021].

WALAWALKAR, A., 2020. Home Office to hold on evicting asylum seekers during lockdown. *The Guardian* [online]. 28 March 2020. Available from: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/28/home-office-to-hold-on-evicting-asylum-seekers-from-state-accommodation [Accessed 9 June 2021].

WESTON, K., 2020a. Ex-Border Force chief says migrants crossing English Channel are 'major threat' to UK borders as ANOTHER boat is picked up - taking total number to record-breaking 601 in a month. *Daily Mail* [online]. 22 May 2020. Available from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8347041/British-fisherman-claims-French-patrols-not-interested-stopping-migrants.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

WESTON, K., 2020b. A record 150 migrants are picked up from 10 boats in English Channel trying to get to UK in the last 24 hours - including 50 in one vessel. *Daily Mail* [online]. 8 May 2020. Available from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8300483/A-record-150-migrants-picked-English-Channel-trying-UK-24-hours.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

WHARTON, J., 2020. British freedom fighter says 'I joined the Peshmerga to save my life'. *Metro* [online]. 21 April 2020. Available from: https://metro.co.uk/2020/04/21/british-freedom-fighter-says-joined-peshmerga-save-life-12583911/ [Accessed 9 June 2021].

WHITE, D.M., 1950. The "gatekeeper": a case study in the selection of news. *Journalism Quarterly*, 27, pp. 383-390.

WILLIAMS, Z., 2015. Katie Hopkins calling migrants vermin recalls the darkest events of history. *The Guardian* [online]. 19 April 2015. Available from:

https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/apr/19/katie-hopkins-migrants-vermin-darkest-history-drownings [Accessed 20 January 2021].

WOOD, J., 2020. Migrants must be quarantined for 14 days says MP as 100 wearing facemasks are tested for coronavirus after getting caught in five boats trying to cross the Channel - more than a quarter of this year's total of 388 so far. *Daily Mail* [online]. 25 March 2020. Available from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8150627/Up-100-migrants-facemasks-tested-coronavirus-trying-cross-English-Channel.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

WRIGHT, J., 2020. Jobless Kurdish refugee admits being bomb-maker for planned terror attack in Germany after armed police found 8,000 matches, chemicals and detonator in his Newcastle flat. *Daily Mail* [online]. 20 March 2020. Available from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8135061/Kurdish-refugee-admits-bomb-maker-planned-terror-attack-police-raided-flat.html [Accessed 9 June 2021].

YOUGOV, 2021. *One year of YouGov COVID-19 trackers* [online]. Available from: https://yougov.co.uk/topics/health/articles-reports/2021/03/26/one-year-yougov-covid-19-trackers [Accessed 9 June 2021].

ZARA, C., 2014. Is ComScore Accurate? Online Audience Measurement Challenges Revealed In Vox Media Deal. *International Business Times* [online]. 12 August 2014. Available from: https://www.ibtimes.com/comscore-accurate-online-audience-measurement-challenges-revealed-vox-media-deal-1742852 [Accessed 9 June 2021].

Annexes

1. Keyword analysis: results per frame

The tables below present the results of the quantitative keyword analysis, according to the specific frames to which the keywords may be related. All averages are rounded to two decimal places.

[Table 1] **Keywords that may be associated with the Threat to Health frame**

Keyword	Number of uses in full sample (n=224)	Average number of uses per 1 article in March (sample n=47)	Average number of uses per 1 article in April (sample n=74)	Average number of uses per 1 article in May (sample n=103)
COVID-19	648	2.89 (n=136)	3.32 (n=246)	2.58 (n=266)
health	292	0.96 (n=45)	1.18 (n=87)	1.55 (n=160)
pandemic	211	0.53 (n=25)	1.08 (n=80)	1.03 (n=106)
lockdown	187	0.45 (n=21)	1.03 (n=76)	0.87 (n=90)
testing	117	0.70 (n=33)	0.35 (n=26)	0.56 (n=58)
mask	75	0.36 (n=17)	0.57 (n=42)	0.16 (n=16)
symptoms	75	0.23 (n=11)	0.49 (n=36)	0.27 (n=28)
social distancing	57	0.21 (n=10)	0.28 (n=21)	0.25 (n=26)
healthcare	52	0.19 (n=9)	0.09 (n=7)	0.35 (n=36)
quarantine	38	0.06 (n=3)	0.20 (n=15)	0.19 (n=20)
infection	33	0.13 (n=6)	0.16 (n=12)	0.15 (n=15)
hygiene	7	0.06 (n=3)	0	0.04 (n=4)

[Table 2] **Keywords that may be associated with the Threat to Identity frame**

Keyword	Number of uses in full sample (n=224)	Average number of uses per 1 article in March (sample n=47)	Average number of uses per 1 article in April (sample n=74)	Average number of uses per 1 article in May (sample n=103)
language	43	0.47 (n=22)	0.14 (n=10)	0.11 (n=11)
culture	27	0.17 (n=8)	0.18 (n=13)	0.06 (n=6)
morals	16	0	0.04 (n=3)	0.13 (n=13)
Muslim	15	0.02 (n=1)	0.09 (n=7)	0.07 (n=7)
invasion	10	0.02 (n=1)	0.01 (n=1)	0.08 (n=8)
tradition	8	0.02 (n=1)	0.07 (n=5)	0.02 (n=2)
religion	8	0.04 (n=2)	0.03 (n=2)	0.04 (n=4)
values	4	0.02 (n=1)	0.03 (n=2)	0.01 (n=1)
way of life	2	0	0	0.02 (n=2)
incompatible	0	0	0	0
homophobia	0	0	0	0
misogyny	0	0	0	0
burqa	0	0	0	0

[Table 3] **Keywords that may be associated with the Threat to Wealth frame**

Keyword	Number of uses in full sample (n=224)	Average number of uses per 1 article in March (sample n=47)	Average number of uses per 1 article in April (sample n=74)	Average number of uses per 1 article in May (sample n=103)
support	385	1.47 (n=69)	2.28 (n=169)	1.43 (n=147)
pound/£	232	0.55 (n=26)	0.88 (n=65)	1.37 (n=141)
healthcare	52	0.19 (n=9)	0.09 (n=7)	1.35 (n=36)
cost	50	0.15 (n=7)	0.16 (n=12)	0.30 (n=31)
economy	32	0.06 (n=3)	0.07 (n=5)	0.23 (n=24)
expensive	16	0.09 (n=4)	0.11 (n=8)	0.04 (n=4)
public funds	15	0.04 (n=2)	0.07 (n=5)	0.08 (n=8)
benefits	14	0.04 (n=2)	0.11 (n=8)	0.04 (n=4)
burden	7	0.04 (n=2)	0.01 (n=1)	0.04 (n=4)
taxpayer	5	0.02 (n=1)	0	0.04 (n=4)
expense	2	0	0.01 (n=1)	0.01 (n=1)
drain	1	0.02 (n=1)	0	0
scrounge	0	0	0	0
handout	0	0	0	0
Theme of Threat to Wealth frame: keywords that may be associated with legitimacy				
return	230	0.49 (n=23)	1.05 (n=78)	1.25 (n=129)
fail	86	0.23 (n=11)	0.43 (n=32)	0.42 (n=43)
deport	57	0.32 (n=15)	0.07 (n=5)	0.36 (n=37)
reject	31	0.19 (n=9)	0.18 (n=13)	0.09 (n=9)
false	18	0	0.16 (n=12)	0.06 (n=6)
go back	15	0.11 (n=5)	0.07 (n=5)	0.05 (n=5)
fake	14	0	0.04 (n=3)	0.11 (n=11)
genuine	10	0.02 (n=1)	0.01 (n=1)	0.08 (n=8)
legitimate	4	0.02 (n=1)	0	0.03 (n=3)
evade	2	0	0.01 (n=1)	0.01 (n=1)
loophole	1	0	0.01 (n=1)	0
scam	1	0	0	0.01 (n=1)

cheat	0	0	0	0
authentic	0	0	0	0

[Table 4] **Keywords that may be associated with the Threat to Security frame**

Keyword	Number of uses in full sample (n=224)	Average number of uses per 1 article in March (sample n=47)	Average number of uses per 1 article in April (sample n=74)	Average number of uses per 1 article in May (sample n=103)
police	356	0.72 (n=34)	1.73 (n=128)	1.88 (n=194)
Border Force	275	0.85 (n=40)	1.12 (n=83)	1.48 (n=152)
detain	218	1.26 (n=59)	0.34 (n=25)	0.28 (n=29)
crime	184	0.30 (n=14)	1.12 (n=83)	0.84 (n=87)
terrorism	138	0.28 (n=13)	1.54 (n=114)	0.11 (n=11)
attack	135	0.55 (n=26)	0.58 (n=43)	0.64 (n=66)
violence	87	0.51 (n=24)	0.66 (n=49)	0.14 (n=14)
prison	76	0.45 (n=21)	0.47 (n=35)	0.19 (n=20)
gang	66	0.09 (n=4)	0.47 (n=35)	0.26 (n=27)
security	53	0	0.21 (n=16)	0.36 (n=37)
jail	53	0.15 (n=7)	0.34 (n=25)	0.20 (n=21)
crackdown	24	0.02 (n=1)	0.16 (n=12)	0.11 (n=11)
extremism	8	0.04 (n=2)	0.08 (n=6)	0
Theme of Threat to Security frame: keywords that may be associated with the idea of 'too many' refugees and asylum-seekers				
crisis	143	0.55 (n=26)	0.72 (n=53)	0.62 (n=64)
figures	91	0.17 (n=8)	0.32 (n=24)	0.57 (n=59)
record-breaking	73	0.04 (n=2)	0.18 (n=13)	0.56 (n=58)
thousands	64	0.45 (n=21)	0.22 (n=16)	0.26 (n=27)
hundreds	69	0.04 (n=2)	0.39 (n=29)	0.27 (n=28)
dozens	12	0.11 (n=5)	0.05 (n=4)	0.03 (n=3)
mass	11	0.06 (n=3)	0.01 (n=1)	0.07 (n=7)
tens	10	0.02 (n=1)	0.07 (n=5)	0.04 (n=4)

flood	8	0.04 (n=2)	0.04 (n=3)	0.03 (n=3)
influx	7	0.06 (n=3)	0.01 (n=1)	0.03 (n=3)
large-scale	5	0.08 (n=4)	0.01 (n=1)	0
wave	3	0	0.01 (n=1)	0.02 (n=2)
flock	1	0.02 (n=1)	0	0
horde	0	0	0	0
swamped	0	0	0	0
swarm	0	0	0	0
tide	0	0	0	0
uncontrollable	0	0	0	0

Theme of Threat to Security frame: keywords that may be associated with the idea of illegality

return	230	0.49 (n=23)	1.05 (n=78)	1.25 (n=129)
law	229	0.21 (n=10)	0.45 (n=33)	1.81 (n=186)
illegal	153	0.30 (n=14)	0.85 (n=63)	0.74 (n=76)
smuggling	89	0.45 (n=21)	0.32 (n=24)	0.43 (n=44)
legal	80	0.23 (n=11)	0.31 (n=23)	0.45 (n=46)
status	73	0.43 (n=20)	0.31 (n=23)	0.29 (n=30)
lawyer	61	0.21 (n=10)	0.30 (n=22)	0.28 (n=29)
deport	57	0.32 (n=15)	0.07 (n=5)	0.36 (n=37)
trafficking	57	0.30 (n=14)	0.01 (n=1)	0.41 (n=42)
go back	15	0.11 (n=5)	0.07 (n=5)	0.05 (n=5)
undocumented	15	0.13 (n=6)	0.11 (n=8)	0.01 (n=1)
unlawful	8	0.09 (n=4)	0.01 (n=1)	0.03 (n=3)
sneak	6	0	0.04 (n=3)	0.03 (n=3)
lawful	4	0.02 (n=1)	0.04 (n=3)	0
legality	4	0.06 (n=3)	0.01 (n=1)	0
stowaway	4	0.02 (n=1)	0.01 (n=1)	0.02 (n=2)
evade	2	0	0.01 (n=1)	0.01 (n=1)

[Table 5] **Keywords that may be associated with the Hero frame**

Keyword	Number of uses in full sample (n=224)	Average number of uses per 1 article in March (sample n=47)	Average number of uses per 1 article in April (sample n=74)	Average number of uses per 1 article in May (sample n=103)
NHS	361	0.32 (n=15)	1.05 (n=78)	2.60 (n=268)
doctor	184	0.68 (n=32)	1.24 (n=92)	0.58 (n=60)
nurse	65	0.06 (n=3)	0.28 (n=21)	0.40 (n=41)
health worker	65	0.06 (n=3)	0.11 (n=8)	0.52 (n=54)
frontline/frontline worker	58	0.13 (n=6)	0.16 (n=12)	0.39 (n=40)
hero	20	0	0.14 (n=10)	0.10 (n=10)
key worker	20	0.06 (n=3)	0.11 (n=8)	0.09 (n=9)

[Table 6] **Keywords that may be associated with the Victim/Survivor frame**

Keyword	Number of uses in full sample (n=224)	Average number of uses per 1 article in March (sample n=47)	Average number of uses per 1 article in April (sample n=74)	Average number of uses per 1 article in May (sample n=103)
flee	172	0.70 (n=33)	0.61 (n=45)	0.91 (n=94)
war	113	0.43 (n=20)	0.39 (n=29)	0.62 (n=64)
vulnerable	95	0.47 (n=22)	0.47 (n=35)	0.37 (n=38)
victim	75	0.45 (n=21)	0.05 (n=4)	0.49 (n=50)
desperate	61	0.30 (n=14)	0.24 (n=18)	0.28 (n=29)
trafficking	57	0.30 (n=14)	0.01 (n=1)	0.41 (n=42)
survivor	54	0.32 (n=15)	0.30 (n=22)	0.17 (n=17)
struggle	49	0.17 (n=8)	0.26 (n=19)	0.21 (n=22)
persecution	40	0.30 (n=14)	0.19 (n=14)	0.12 (n=12)
escape	33	0.23 (n=11)	0.16 (n=12)	0.10 (n=10)
tragedy	38	0.04 (n=2)	0.01 (n=1)	0.34 (n=35)

trauma	21	0.21 (n=10)	0.04 (n=3)	0.08 (n=8)
devastated	19	0.04 (n=2)	0.05 (n=4)	0.13 (n=13)
poor	19	0.11 (n=5)	0.08 (n=6)	0.08 (n=8)
racism	19	0.23 (n=11)	0.09 (n=7)	0.01 (n=1)
discrimination	11	0.04 (n=2)	0.08 (n=6)	0.03 (n=3)
prejudice	10	0.06 (n=3)	0.09 (n=7)	0
horror	9	0	0.03 (n=2)	0.07 (n=7)
hunger	8	0.04 (n=2)	0.07 (n=5)	0.01 (n=1)
poverty	5	0	0.04 (n=3)	0.02 (n=2)
plight	5	0.04 (n=2)	0.03 (n=2)	0.01 (n=1)
inequality	4	0	0.05 (n=4)	0
misery	4	0.04 (n=2)	0	0.02 (n=2)
disadvantage	2	0	0	0.02 (n=2)

[Table 7] **Keywords that may be associated with the Community frame**

Keyword	Number of uses in full sample (n=224)	Average number of uses per 1 article in March (sample n=47)	Average number of uses per 1 article in April (sample n=74)	Average number of uses per 1 article in May (sample n=103)
rights/right to	101	0.36 (n=17)	0.32 (n=24)	0.58 (n=60)
welcome	51	0.24 (n=11)	0.23 (n=17)	0.22 (n=23)
citizenship	39	0.06 (n=3)	0.09 (n=7)	0.28 (n=29)
leave to remain	37	0.04 (n=2)	0.11 (n=8)	0.26 (n=27)
human rights	29	0.15 (n=7)	0.01 (n=1)	0.20 (n=21)
integration	11	0.02 (n=1)	0.04 (n=3)	0.07 (n=7)
equality	3	0.04 (n=2)	0.01 (n=1)	0
inclusion	3	0.06 (n=3)	0	0
multicultural	2	0.02 (n=1)	0	0.01 (n=1)
diversity	2	0	0.03 (n=2)	0

2. Additional keyword search

[Table 8]

Question	Keywords
Who is represented?	Baby, child, man/men, male, toddler, woman/women, female, girl, boy, grandma, grandfather, mother, father, family, grandparent, parent
Which terminology is most common?	Refugee, migrant, immigrant, asylum-seeker

3. Interviewee 1 (lawyer/non-profit founder): key excerpts

The interviewee is a lawyer and non-profit founder in the UK in the field of migration. The interviewee does not have a refugee or asylum-seeker background. The interview was carried out via teleconferencing software in April 2021. The interviewee signed a consent form to be recorded and quoted anonymously.

The interviewee discussed the Threat frames, mentioning the Threat to Wealth, Health and Identity.

"Stealing our jobs, employment (...), that narrative has been through and through for god knows how long (...). It can get more and more extreme, they are taking away our Britishness, our British culture. That kind of narrative. The more I think about the [threat] idea, the more they come up. Burden on healthcare: a lot of people think they come to our country, use the NHS, we will be pushed down the queue. (...) I always find it interesting that people think people cross the Channel for the NHS (...) Another thing is the thought of people coming into this country and bringing something. I'm not sure to what extent it was represented negatively in this way."

Ideas linked to the Threat to Security frame were the most widely discussed, in particular the negative portrayals of Channel crossings.

"There is often the stereotype that people come over in boats. (...) I've been asked that many times, but I think I've maybe had one client that came over in a boat, the others, no. I haven't come across stories in the media at least recently about refugees or asylum-seekers coming over via other means [than boats in

the Channel] (...). Whether you are on the side of helping these people or if you see them as a risk, the image of people (...) coming in numbers on a boat (...) is very powerful. Whereas someone sitting in their kitchen on a visit visa waiting for their refugee application to go through, it's not very powerful. It doesn't sell papers. (...) The language that can be used to describe numbers is really important. (...) I remember when David Cameron was Prime Minister and he described refugees as coming over in their swarms, and immediately (...) you associate it so negatively. I think we need to put back the human side of things."

The interviewee placed a strong emphasis on the importance of ethical use of statistics in media reporting.

"It's a balancing act. There are two points that should be focused on when using statistics. One is evaluating the source of the statistics and making its origin clear. What are the numbers out of? Sometimes the (...) media hand out these numbers but we don't know what the picture is. Who gathered the data? Also, being able to evaluate flaws in the data. So, making clear the source, evaluating the source and providing information about that source and the statistics.

The other point is balancing statistics with (...) context which shows the human element behind the people involved. Show that people are people and these are very real stories (...) It's very easy to get swamped in numbers (...). We see it in the media all the time, when you see a report in an NHS hospital and you see a nurse crying. You see the person. I think sometimes when it comes to refugees and asylum-seekers, (...) we need to see a bit more of that human element. I think that would dispel a lot of stigmatisation."

The interviewee also highlighted that ethical storytelling involves giving power to the individual.

"Ethical storytelling: getting that balance of conveying what needs to be conveyed but also respecting the individual and ensuring they don't come to any harm. Paradoxically, sometimes trying to represent "look at these people, isn't this awful", it's actually more dehumanising than if you weren't to do that. (...)

One of the things that is key is ensuring that power is placed with the individuals (...) Whenever there is a platform or a journalist who is representing someone and showing their story, there needs to be a preliminary conversation of how we protect the person (...) but there is also the fact that for them, it might be really disturbing to have people film or report on them (...) and never know what happens to the footage. 9 times out of 10 that's what happens, they are filmed then they never see it, they never see that reporter again.

(..) Various things are involved in that [giving power back to the individual] (...). Of course, outlining the process and adapting to them (...), if someone wants to talk for half an hour, let them talk. (...) Always working around what they feel comfortable with and at all times checking in."

The interviewee saw agency as a means to avoid representing refugees and asylum-seekers as helpless victims.

"I think there is a general sort of inherent view that results in two things: either the hostility we see and the xenophobia, or the white saviour. I think it can be easy for that [latter] to happen because you think I'm helping, but actually it's just reinforcing the power dynamic that has been going on for years. (...) I think there is this patronising element (...) and I think that is another really important aspect behind giving the power back to the individual (...), actually showcasing that person, their struggle and how they are overcoming it."

The interviewee demonstrated concern over the emphasis on illegality/legality in the media.

"There is such an emphasis on legality (...). Again, it goes down to the human element (...) I find it quite baffling that there isn't a bit more empathy. (...) It's much easier to claim asylum and get refugee status once you are in the country as opposed to applying out of the country, so that [the idea of illegality] is nonsense. I don't know why the media does it. From a lawyer's perspective, people have a right to claim asylum in this country (...) Public policy needs to reflect human rights. (...) We need to be taking an attitude in the media of human rights and the rights of the individual, and having a more human attitude towards the issue, rather than a number-crunching one. (...) It's just scapegoating at the end of the day."

The interviewee also discussed the conflation of terms from a legal perspective.

"People often get confused between refugees and asylum-seekers and use the two terms interchangeably. When a person's claim for asylum is rejected, it's also not so clear cut. You can have applied to be a refugee and that could have been rejected but you could get humanitarian protection (...) Also the threshold you have to meet (...) to gain refugee status (...), just because you fail it, it doesn't mean that you shouldn't be a refugee (...). So, it doesn't follow that if you apply to be a refugee and you get rejected that you aren't genuine. (...) Attaching these qualifiers like genuine or legitimate asylum-seeker, that's nonsense. (...) All those qualifiers, often they just don't make sense. (...) Even saying 'genuine' implies that other people have lied (...) those qualifiers I think they go down again to the hostile climate and that negative attitude, (...) they don't add anything and if anything, confuse matters more."

The interviewee was concerned about the lack of depth in media discussions about refugees and asylum-seekers' situations in the UK.

"Something that hasn't got much attention is the secondary impacts of COVID on [refugees and asylum-seekers in the UK]. We've heard about how COVID rates are higher in people of colour but I don't think that [the media] are addressing why that is, (…) the really systemic problems that underpin poverty and social inequality (…). I don't think there's been that specific focus, which in terms of intersectionality, we should be exploring, rather than just saying poverty is happening."

The interviewee highlighted the positive potential of presenting refugees and asylum-seekers as heroes, but also expressed concern over this representation.

"I think it's important to showcase that refugees are doctors, they are doing things which save lives, and I think that is important to dispel stereotypes (…). Sometimes the hero aspect of things can decrease the xenophobic, violent side of things. On the flip side, you don't want to put on them – "this is a refugee being a doctor" – to a huge extent, because you are then spotlighting them in a way which, would you do that if it was a white British person? Maybe not. It's that balance of intersectionality and giving people that voice, showcasing their achievements. (…)

I think that is often something which can result in [refugees and asylum-seekers] feeling they have to prove something. They feel they need to show their gratitude and be positive to society. (…) They feel an additional burden, that you have to work ten times harder. This (…) is incredibly unfortunate because this is guided by our xenophobic culture (…) that people can't go "okay what do I want to do with my life", like a white British person might, they have an additional burden of (…) "I better do something great."

I think that what would be a good thing to do (…) is counteract it by showing other refugees and what they are doing (…): this is a mother of 5 who fled her country (…), rather than (…) thinking about the typical aspects of what we think is a hero, to show the plethora of different circumstances that refugees find themselves in."

The interviewee saw coverage of refugees and asylum-seekers in the community – both those thriving and those needing more help – as a means to undermine the negative rhetoric surrounding refugees and asylum-seekers.

"I think highlighting good stories, people who are thriving in our community and people who need more help in our community, so people can see the plethora of different experiences. (…) The media feed the

information, the numbers, the stories, and that reinforces the stereotype and the scapegoating. But also, the media relies on that attitude of the mainstream to create more stories. Both rely on each other and it's like throwing and catching a ball from one hand to another. In terms of breaking that cycle, a hugely influential platform is the media. If [the media] (…) wrote [stories] in a way which gave power to refugees and asylum-seekers, we might be getting a completely different narrative from the public."

4. Interviewee 2 (academic, intercultural studies/languages): key excerpts

The interviewee is an academic in the field of intercultural studies and languages. The interviewee has a refugee background. The interview was carried out via teleconferencing software in April 2021. The interviewee signed a consent form to be recorded and quoted anonymously.

The interviewee related personal experiences as a refugee in the UK to the portrayals of refugees and asylum-seekers in the media.

"I applied for refugee status and to be honest with you, for years I wasn't comfortable saying that I did. I didn't share that with so many people because I felt a sense of shame and guilt. And it was mainly because of what I see in the news and in the media."

The interviewee discussed the negative portrayal of refugees and asylum-seekers in the media, particularly in terms of a Threat to Wealth.

"There's a lot of scare-mongering, a lot of negativity and negative perceptions attached to the word refugee (…). There's this perception, or rather misconception, that these people are coming here to steal our jobs. And that their decision to come here was based on benefits they're going to get from being in the UK. I've also met many people who are very welcoming, very understanding, and they look at the refugee as one of us (…) But also, a lot of people look at refugees as "they don't belong to us", and there's always this dichotomy. There are two camps: us and them.

Over the past year, I felt that there was a lot of emphasis on the economy and a loss of jobs. And the fact that, you know what, (…) the resources that the United Kingdom has are not enough for everybody (…) they're barely enough for Brits. (…) The way that danger is described is also impacted by the (…) political orientation of the press."

The interviewee also explored the focus on religion as a means to portray refugees and asylum-seekers as threats.

"I think there's a lot [of] those who try to use that scare-mongering propaganda. They also focus on religion a lot. So Muslim, or fanatic, or something along those lines. (...) I think that they start looking at it from a very (...) blinkered kind of view, as opposed to looking at them as humans. They look at them as a threat and mostly as a religious threat (...) You know, maybe an incident happened, and maybe it's not actually related to refugees per se and it is not representative of a whole community, but they are used to spread fear and (...) to get people to, I guess, reject the humanitarian side of the situation and not really take it into account."

The interviewee considered Channel crossings to be over-represented in the media.

"If certain positive aspects are being celebrated, you see that for maybe a short period of time. But then the attention shifts again to the main event and that is the fear associated with (...) crossing the Channel. (...) I think they are disproportionately represented. (...) the media (...) blows everything out of proportion, makes it sound a lot scarier than it is. (...) Using language like waves of refugees and asylum-seekers, it's very sad to see and I think it also contributes to more scare-mongering and spreading fear. (...)

The UK is a country that is full of refugees and has taken refugees since the First World War, so it's just a bit strange when you (...) read that in the media. You are like (...) "clearly you have no understanding of the history of your own country". Or maybe those people's fear is actually based on historical evidence, I have no idea."

The interviewee highlighted the negative impacts that certain language can have, for instance when referring to people as 'illegal.'

"Nobody wants to hear that what they're doing is illegal, especially when it really isn't, that's the whole point. I mean, you look at the UN Conventions. Crossing the Channel to claim asylum, or if you are fleeing danger, war, famine, it's not illegal. So, the use of the word 'illegal', (...) is very dangerous. And it does add to the whole rhetoric. (...) I think probably (...) when I think about that, it was one of the reasons I wasn't very comfortable saying that I was a refugee. I felt that it took away from my achievements and my humanity.

I think that makes it even more dangerous to repetitively use the same language. It's the psychological effects of it. I think they are more dangerous than we think and that we can imagine, and over time (...)

those effects do accumulate and become really harder to shake. (...) It's dangerous full stop. It's very damaging and it does impact also (...) on our sense of belonging. I live here. I'm British now. I'm Syrian British and I'm proud of both nationalities. But there are times when I feel (...), will I ever be a true British citizen? Probably not, I don't know."

The interviewee commented on the dehumanisation of refugees and asylum-seekers in the media, particularly when defining a person as a refugee or asylum-seeker.

"[Refugees and asylum-seekers are portrayed] more and more like a different species (...) You know, even when I (...) say refugees, I feel guilty because (...) you're kind of labelling them and they're human beings. (...) I wish sometimes I could see in the media something like (...), people from Syria or a group of Syrians, people (...), individuals, humans (...) it just seems that refugee has become this umbrella term (...) but each one of them has a different story. Each one of them (...) is an individual in their own right. A human in their own right. And they're not defined (...) by that journey or by (...) that residence permit."

The interviewee expressed concern over the lack of stories exploring why people come to the UK to seek asylum.

"I think there needs to be more. You find that every now and again but I find that mostly when they talk about one person, so they select a refugee and they tell their story. But they really, I think they lose sight of the other thousands of refugees that are in the same boat. (...) Those stories are great to hear and read, but we need more of them (...) There isn't enough information provided and I think (...) they kind of forget the before and there's more about the journey and the after."

The interviewee highlighted the importance of ensuring that dehumanisation does not occur when portrayal refugees and asylum-seekers as victims.

"A victim can be a survivor and a survivor can be a victim. (...) Look at it as metamorphosis (...) maybe one thing changed to another (...), you were weak at one point and you've become stronger. If someone is a victim, that's absolutely fine. They can be a victim. It doesn't (...) make them any less human, but I think (...) sometimes the words that are used kind of take away from someone's humanity and the way they are seen.

I think the representation of refugees and asylum-seekers in the media needs to be improved. (...) the agency isn't really there. Because the refugees are interviewed but they're not really using their voice (...), you interview someone and then you interpret what they said or you just relay the message. (...) there isn't

a lot of emphasis on who they are, what happened to them, what they did, and they're not given a voice. No, they're not. I think their voices are taken away from them."

The interviewee highlighted both the positive and negative potential of representing refugees and asylum-seekers as heroes.

"It is very positive, but I think it also has a negative side because (...) I think it puts pressure on other refugees who are not doing the same thing. And they're not in the spotlight (...) I think the danger is that this comes with the expectation that everybody should be heroes (...) Some refugees are in their late 60s (...) they can't do much, but they don't need to do much. They just need protection. (...) They need the support, they need the love and the protection.

So, I think, yes, it is great to see but to be honest, I'm sometimes tired of seeing it. It's like you know, you celebrate them when you think it's something cool. But, you know, if they're not doing what you think is cool, if they're just minding their own business or they're just sitting in their living room, just feeling safe, that is not good enough. (...) Yeah, it's just if (...) you don't become a celebrity overnight, you're not the good refugee you really need to be. (...) What I'm trying to say is that is not the case for (...) a white British person.

I think I find it also dehumanising (...) because we don't see you as a human, we just look at (...) what you can do to impress us to kind of deserve to be here. Being human isn't enough. (...) Maybe that focus needs to be shifted to also be given to other (...) refugees who are maybe working silently, who are not maybe good with Twitter or Facebook, but they're still doing something great.

I do think that it is important to give back to any country you're in (...) you do need to be a good citizen. And that doesn't necessarily have to come with citizenship, you know, being a good citizen is part of being a good human (...) You're giving back because that's how it should be. But when I give back, I don't think (...) I need to deserve my citizenship. I don't think that way. It's just who I am. (...)

So, I think it's great in principle but it's the way (...) we look at it, it needs to change. It's not because we deserve something or we want them to prove themselves to us, it's just that they need to be encouraged to live the best version of their life, or to be the best version of themselves. Only because that's how it should be for every human being. Not just because you're a migrant or refugee."

The interviewee expressed concerns about which refugees and asylum-seekers are represented as being part of the UK community.

"It's great how the media (...) shared what happened to Aya [Hachem], but it just makes me think: so, they become one of us after they're dead? What about when they were living? (...) I feel frustrated more than anything. I just find that (...) it's great to see, but I've seen it with so many (...) Sometimes, I just feel like you know what? I don't want to hear it. I don't want to read it after someone has died. Things need to be done before (...) But obviously (...) it's good to start seeing things happening (...) it's better than nothing. And it gives me hope, but I also hope that (...) other things will be done for people when they are alive and those individuals will be celebrated during their lives (...)."

On describing a discussion with a taxi driver in Scotland, the interviewee highlighted the difficulty of avoiding labelling.

"I said I was Syrian, and he said "No way you can't be." And I said "why?" and he said I looked like a decent person. (...) I felt at that point that my mission, my job, was to correct whatever idea he had in his mind about, you know, us. Again, I'm using 'us' and it's inescapable, isn't it?

I guess probably [change] should start by (...) maybe we should stop using 'us'. You know, the minute you say 'we', it means that there are 'them', even if you don't use 'them'. Would the same kind of language be used if you're talking about a Scottish man who's just died? I think it always starts with the language that we use. (..) Maybe [we should be] focusing on the human rather than on using labels."

The interviewee explored the influence of language on public opinion.

"The media can control people who are ignorant. When you know more, you start questioning. But when you are ignorant, it's much easier to control [you]. That's the tool that the media uses. And the language also (...) Language is one of the most dangerous tools. You can either use it right or you can use it wrong. And when you use it wrong, you can cause a lot of damage and that's what the media has done over the past few years. Not just during the pandemic (...), the pandemic came with its own challenges and made things worse because people were even more scared (...) So even people who were probably a bit more neutral before (...), it could influence the way they think about refugees. You know, now everybody's struggling. The economy is struggling. So "imagine what would become of us if more refugees arrive in the UK."

The interviewee related the portrayals of refugees and asylum-seekers in the media to the wider societal picture in the UK.

"As long as (…) certain policies are in place, and they're not really looked into carefully and changed in due course, I think the rhetoric can change [so that] it won't be rhetoric anymore. It will become ingrained into British life. And that's the danger (…) That's what worries me most: not the individual words, it's the web of lies that's been woven (…) over the past few years. (…) A lot else needs to happen before this can happen [stop thinking in terms of us and them], a lot that has been ingrained. (..) it's become part of our socio-political life, that needs to change before."

5. Interviewee 3 (academic, sociology): key excerpts

The interviewee is an academic in the field of sociology. The interviewee does not have a refugee or asylum-seeker background. The interview was carried out via teleconferencing software in April 2021. The interviewee signed a consent form to be recorded and quoted anonymously.

The interviewee highlighted the Channel crossings as a key event in media coverage in 2020.

"I think probably the big thing for the media, the big sort of media event was in the summer while the pandemic was still raging and there were a small number of people attempting to cross the Channel in boats. I think it provided a kind of convenient distraction for the government and there was a huge amount of attention on this as a crisis. And the government deployed (…) military warships and employed a new Channel threat commander and did a whole series of things to protect the Southern borders and that got a lot of coverage."

The interviewee further explored the Channel crossings in the context of the idea of unprecedented numbers of arrivals.

"I think we should be a lot more careful about saying that numbers are unprecedented. Obviously, the media thrive on drama and that's why they need to do this. (…) If you just slightly look into it and scratch the surface you're like, "oh so hardly any lorries are crossing the Channel, so people could only go in boats, so more people would go in boats then wouldn't they." So, probably the numbers were roughly around the same that we might have expected for that year. (…) It doesn't even actually matter what the numbers are. I think the drama is the same if it's 100 people or 1000 people. 100 people, if there were 10

yesterday, it's 10 times the number. Yes, they'll always find a way to dramatize it as long as it's focused on that immediate event as a media event, rather than as a complex, long-standing problem."

The interviewee explored the idea of refugees and asylum-seekers from certain parts of the world being considered economic migrants

"At their inception, human rights were a legal architecture designed for white Western people essentially, and there was never an intention that they would be inclusive or that the idea of a human being contained within human rights would be all human beings. It was racially exclusionary. (…) The right to asylum was not imagined as something that would include people in the Third World or the global South, formally colonised countries.

So, when we think about the present and the kind of exclusionary asylum regimes (…), it shouldn't really be a surprise to use that when people started seeking asylum from those countries (…), from Eritrea and Iraq and Afghanistan, etcetera, that there was a total rejection of the idea that these people could be refugees. They must be economic migrants. (…) It doesn't really matter within that logic that there's a gigantic body of research and evidence showing that (…) poverty isn't enough to lead to a large number of people from a country seeking asylum somewhere else.

In around 2002, when [it was] the first wave of the closing down of the right to asylum in Britain, 'bogus' was the main (…) word (…). People who are seeking asylum, they're not really refugees, they're economic migrants in disguise. And that logic has never really ended. It would be interesting to know whether this new discourse of illegality is the primary starting point for talking about people who move through unauthorised channels."

This idea was expanded upon in the context of the dehumanisation of refugees and asylum-seekers.

"It's kind of a wider racialised context in which many people are not thought of as fully human. It would be unthinkable for the EU to see that lots of French people were dying in the Mediterranean and drowning, and remove rescue measures and if anyone rescues them, even fishermen, put them in prison for doing that. It's utterly unthinkable and that's because French people are thought of as properly human. And those kind of levels of dehumanisation are unthinkable because of this (…) racist, colonial past, which continues and the logic continues into the present. In this moment, (…) that racial logic is being pushed (…) further and further into abject dehumanising places that we saw during colonialism.

Across all these things (...) is this framework of humanity that means that the suffering of some people is more tolerable than the suffering of others. (...) So, many people in Britain would just come to any media story primed and knowing and understanding those cues that the suffering of those outside people is tolerable. The level of things that the government now would then be prepared to do to people is something new in terms of the recent past, kind of 2 decades. It's not new in the context of 500 years of colonialism, but it's a new deployment of those kinds of dehumanising logics. (...) It's all grounded on this general consensus that (...) the drowning of some people in the Channel or being pushed back to France and not caring what happens to them, is tolerable."

The interviewee highlighted the Threat to Health frame as present during the COVID-19 pandemic, relating this to Britain's colonial legacy.

"Through a lot of colonial practices and incidences, the most dangerous thing was the mobility of colonizers into a place, bringing a whole suite of diseases that sometimes wiped out large populations. (...) But the general discourse in those periods was of people migrating from colonies into metropoles bringing diseases. And some of the first migration controls were of coloured seamen, people thinking that they would bring TB [tuberculosis], that they were infectious and needed to be quarantined.

Only certain people's bodies seem to be risky in those ways. And with COVID-19, that continues into the present even though it was spread by really privileged people who make lots of circular journeys all over the world all the time, not from A to B, to stay and settle and seek refuge. (...) There are loads of cases all around the world of people being denied access to a territory to claim asylum because there were concerns about them bringing diseases. (...)

And it's the same for COVID (...) Many people were arriving into Heathrow at the height of the pandemic, so it's a joke. (...) It's just clear that whole groups of people are being viewed in particular ways as suspicious and as diseased and cheating."

The interviewee considered that the focus in the media on the illegality of entries into the UK served as a means to limit in-depth conversations about refugees and asylum-seekers.

"It's difficult even to talk about [the idea of illegality] because it's obviously not illegal to travel without documents under the Refugee Convention (....). That's the main word that appears in the New Plan for Immigration. The Home Office has really been pumping out this word [illegal] a lot. It's 74 times in the New Plan for Immigration, (...) so, I expect its [use in the media is] led by the Home Office (...).

The impact is that you end up having to start all the time from the position of pointing out 'it's not illegal'. But that's said once every 20 times that 'they're illegal journeys' is said, so (…) it's a really clever strategy of making the conversation always on your terms. So, rather than the conversation ever being able to start from a completely different set of terms, that didn't really mention illegality, you start from this position where (…) there's an implication that a set of people are criminals and you're trying to suggest they're not criminals. (…) I think it's a really clever discursive strategy of starting from the position in which you are talking about people who are then automatically suspect. (…)

People who are advocating for refugees and asylum-seekers aren't then able to start talking in complex terms about what's going on because you've already started with this extreme, simplistic representation. It takes so long to explain the complexity of the real world that they then have to flip the other way and represent another type of simplicity, which is also then problematic in various ways (…): people are just victims who need to be saved and helped. So, I think it's a really clever way of talking about it because it so constrains the debate and the scope of actual serious (…) discussion. (…) They either have to be saved and rescued (…) or battered off and pushed out."

The interviewee highlighted the idea of 'pure victims' that should be rescued.

"They're [the media] okay with proper, pure victims (…). It's not like Britain wants nobody to ever get asylum here. (…) Pure victims in all the way that we would hope, like children are ideal, as long as they're not too old and don't look manly. But then single men are the ultimate baddy because they are obviously not deserving. (…) The logic is that some people who are victims should be allowed to have refugee status because we're so kind and it's just that we want to protect against all these (…) bogus people. (…) That's how we are correct and moral and rational (…)."

Considering the portrayal of the difficulties faced by refugees and asylum-seekers, the interviewee expressed concern about the lack of truly balanced discussions about refugees and asylum-seekers during the pandemic.

"There probably wasn't enough discussion in the media of the way that borders were being closed, in ways that would have longer-term implications for people seeking asylum. I think a couple of babies died [crossing the Channel] and there were tragedies. So, there was discussion, but it tends to be either a (…) reactionary right-wing, hostile response, or a pretend balanced discussion, but really that is on the terms of it is not able to engage with the terms of the reality of the whole situation. [For example], why a lot of the people that died in the Channel were from Iran, and were Kurdish, and (…) why would Kurdish people with a baby get into a boat that might sink across the Channel. (…)

I think even in the (...) news where they (...) give the impression that they're getting a sort of balanced perspective, it was all always already along the terms of the threat and not with a humanitarian sense from the beginning. A kind of a false concern about people. The solution to them dying in boats in the Channel and the conversation would never be about focusing on them and their rights, their needs. It would be focusing on how to stop them drowning while just getting rid of them (...)."

This lack of discussion of the complexity of the situation was linked by the interviewee to the dehumanisation of refugees and asylum-seekers.

"It's rare to see much coverage (...) that really gets into the complexity of the debates. I think it's fair to say it always leans towards a very limited analysis of what's going on. (...) I think that in the media there's a readiness to see tragedies that happen to people of colour who are seeking asylum, to see people drowning, and (...) being killed at borders, in deserts and seas, living in squalid camps, to see that not as a terrible tragedy but something either that is their appropriate place in the world, as a kind of abject people, but also as potentially, in some way their own fault, because they're cheating scroungers who want to be bogus and all those kinds of words that come up.

There's no narrative in which these people are normal, average people. I think there's just a kind of sense of being primed already to think of them (...) not as fully human people (...) that deserve to be saved and rescued. They might be nice and lovely, hardworking and have a medical degree, or they might be flawed and have mental problems and have bouts of jealousy, lying and selfishness, as normal human beings in the spectrum of humanity.

So, I think when it comes to media coverage, the kind of frames (...) that are ready to deploy, are always on a dehumanising footing. (...) they're always starting from the position, without ever saying it, and without using explicitly racist language, they are primed to be working on the assumption of lying and cheating and sneaking and doing something wrong (...), rather than coming from a humanitarian perspective of sympathy."

The interviewee also highlighted the lack of representation of a diverse range of refugees and asylum-seekers when considering their portrayal as heroes.

"I think there's a danger of getting locked into the state discourse where refugees and asylum-seekers have to be all the time more awesome than citizens. Performing this particular kind of liberal capitalist citizenship where they are such outstanding individuals that 'we will have you then'. I think that getting

too wrapped up in that can be problematic. There was a campaign a few years ago on the underground in London (…) showing pictures of migrants, like firefighters who'd saved people (…) and I felt slightly concerned about that. But at the same time (…) I do think there is a power in those individuals who are very articulate and (…) able to interrupt the conversations, those who are given opportunities to have a voice.

Most people don't want to give something back, they just want to get on with their lives (…) This is another thing, it's not about thinking about people as normal people. They're either victims who are then super grateful or they're (…) suspect and suspicious (…)."

The interviewee expressed that change should come from a social movement, highlighting the human rights discourse as a potential means to undermine Othering.

"I feel like the answer is always so often changing the terms of a conversation. That doesn't come from an individual person, often it comes from social movements. Human rights (…) is like the last dam holding back the most extreme things. Their rhetorical commitments to human rights as something they want to pretend they respect for everybody is the only thing that we've got now. The laws and the things that are in law in order to then challenge the treatment of people, even though we know they don't see that as something that should include a moral duty to everybody.

How do we even start a conversation about (…) just giving them access to due process to the right to asylum, to which they are entitled (…). Just a basic level of humanity becomes really difficult when that [threat] frame is in place in all conversations. As critical as I am of the human rights discourse and all the people it ends up excluding, I think that's the only ready-to-hand discourse we have to draw on, to not represent people as helpless victims but to talk in legal terms about the rights that they should have access to and human rights law.

The only kind of ray (…) of hope I can see is some larger scale outrage tipping into the kind of social movement conversations that start to grow alternative ways of thinking (…) but do end up seeping into the mainstream."

6. Expert interview: basic script (including consent form template)

All the semi-structured interviews were based on the following basic script. Follow-up questions were added based on the answers of the interviewees and their areas of expertise to extract more information.

Before the interview

All interviewees were asked to sign a consent form. It was based on the following template:

CONSENT FORM

I agree to participate in the interview carried out by Rose Michael for the purpose of conducting research for the Master's dissertation at Comillas Pontifical University (Master in International Migration).

I understand that statements from this interview may be used and may be published publicly. I agree for the following to be referenced in publications related to this Master's dissertation:
(please cross out 3 options, leaving only the option you consent to)

   a) My name, specific job title and organisation
   b) My specific job title and organisation only
   c) My organisation only
   d) None of the above (I wish to be referenced anonymously)

I understand that I have the right to refuse to participate in this interview and that I have the right to access, rectify and to request the deletion of any of my personal data that I have provided during this interview at any time.

I understand that the information I provide in this interview will only be used by Rose Michael for the above purpose.

I agree to audio record the interview. The recording is only for the purpose of the data collection presented above. The audio recording will not be published publicly but may be reviewed by the university if requested in the context of validating the research. The recording and this form will be kept in a secure environment according to data protection guidelines, in particular Regulation (EU) 2016/679 (General Data Protection Regulation). After 31 August 2021, the recording and this form will be destroyed.

Researcher
Name:
Place (including country):
Signature and date, agreeing to the above personal data being used as set out above:

_____

Participant
Name:
Place (including country):
Signature and date, agreeing to the above personal data being used as set out above:

_____

<u>During the interview</u>

Introduction

Give overview of the research, including its aims, focus and the objectives of the interview.

Part 1: General attitudes towards refugees and asylum-seekers in the UK and general impressions of media coverage

Main objectives: Establish the interviewee's views on how refugees and asylum-seekers in the UK are perceived and how this translates to coverage in the media. Note which types of frames or themes are highlighted. Determine whether they perceived a general change in trends during the COVID-19 pandemic.

1. To start off, what are your general impressions of the atmosphere towards refugees and asylum-seekers in the UK.

2. In what ways, if any, do you feel that attitudes changed during the COVID-19 pandemic?

3. Thinking about during the COVID-19 pandemic, how do you think these types of attitudes are reflected in the UK mainstream media?
    a. Can you provide any examples of news stories about refugees and asylum-seekers that you feel are particularly important or representative of these attitudes?
    b. Did you notice any change or shift in the types of media coverage of refugees and asylum-seekers during the COVID-19 pandemic?

4. Thinking about the UK mainstream media, what would you say are the most common types of portrayals of refugees and asylum-seekers?
    a. How has this changed over time, if at all?

5. What are the impacts of these portrayals, according to your experience in the field of migration?

Part 2: Examining ideas explored in research

Main objectives: Determine whether the interviewees note the presence of each frame and understand the main themes within the frames that are noted. Establish the interviewee's views on whether these may reinforce or undermine Othering. Understand how language is being used, as well as to what extent refugees and asylum-seekers' voices are represented.

As you know, this research is about representations of refugees and asylum-seekers in the online media. I would like to present to you some ideas that have been explored in research and ask you your impressions.

6. Some researchers have highlighted that refugees and asylum-seekers may be presented as a threat. What do you think of this idea and what coverage do you think of in this context?
   a. How do you think this has changed or was presented during the COVID-19 pandemic?
   b. Can you think of any types of threat that emerged or that reduced?
   c. What do you think are the impacts of this type of portrayal on refugees and asylum-seekers, as well as on the general public?

7. Some researchers have found that refugees and asylum-seekers may be presented as victims. What do you think of this and what kind of coverage do you think of in this context?
   a. How do you think this has changed or was presented during the COVID-19 pandemic?
   b. Can you think of any types of threat that emerged or that reduced?
   c. What do you think are the impacts of this type of portrayal on refugees and asylum-seekers, as well as on the general public?

8. Some researchers have found that refugees and asylum-seekers may be presented as heroes. What do you think of this and what kind of coverage do you think of in this context?
   a. How do you think this has changed or was presented during the COVID-19 pandemic?
   b. Can you think of any types of threat that emerged or that reduced?

c. What do you think are the impacts of this type of portrayal on refugees and asylum-seekers, as well as on the general public?

9. Some researchers have found that refugees and asylum-seekers may be presented as part of the community. What do you think of this and what kind of coverage do you think of in this context?
    a. How do you think this has changed or was presented during the COVID-19 pandemic?
    b. Can you think of any types of threat that emerged or that reduced?
    c. What do you think are the impacts of this type of portrayal on refugees and asylum-seekers, as well as on the general public?

10. What are your perceptions about the coverage of the number of refugees and asylum-seekers coming to the UK?
    a. Do you think this reflects the reality of the situation?

11. Some researchers have highlighted certain uses of language to describe refugees and asylum-seekers. What is your impression of the language used in the media? Have you noted any trends?
    a. Did you note any changes during the COVID-19 pandemic compared to before?

12. When thinking about the voices represented in the media – for instance through quotes – what are your perceptions? What types of people do you feel are most commonly given the opportunity to provide their voices?

Part 3: The wider context and recommendations
Main objectives: Contextualise media representations within the wider context of UK society. Gain insight into if and how the interviewee believes the current state of the media should change.

13. How do you think the media representations of refugees and asylum-seekers fits with the UK's societal structure? Do you feel that these representations are reflected in other institutions?

14. Thinking about the representation of refugees and asylum-seekers in the UK media, what do you think needs to change and why?

    a. What kind of concrete steps would lead to this change?

7. Number of articles analysed per source and political affiliation

[Table 9]

	March	April	May	Bias
BBC	6	3	4	Centre left
Daily Mail	11	23	36	Right
Express	1	4	6	Right
Metro	1	5	6	Centre left
Mirror	1	6	6	Centre left
Sky News	1	1	1	Centre
Telegraph	2	4	10	Right
Guardian	12	9	13	Centre left
Independent	10	14	15	Centre left
The Sun	2	5	6	Right

Sources: All bias ratings were sourced from Media Bias Fact Check (2021).

[Figure 21]

Number of articles according to political bias rating

■ Centre left ■ Right ■ Centre
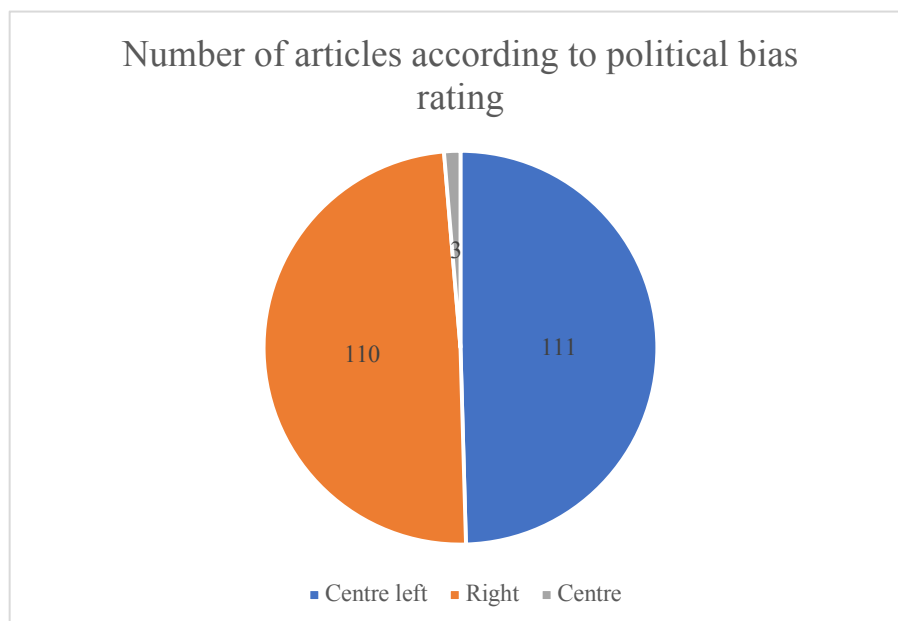
8. Most common keywords per frame: word clouds

[Image 10]

30 most common keywords in articles featuring a Threat to Security frame, March - May 2020

Excluding migrant, refugee, asylum seeker, asylum, immigrant
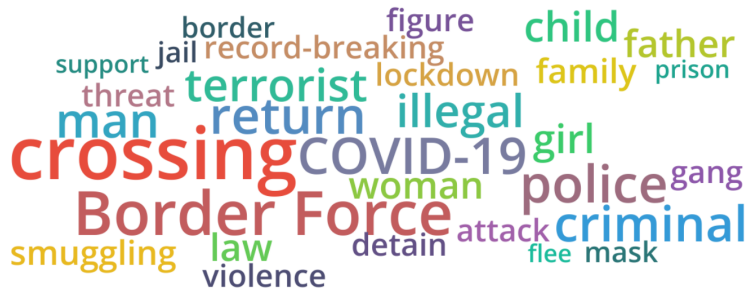
[Image 11]

30 most common keywords in articles featuring a Threat to Wealth frame, March - May 2020

Excluding migrant, refugee, asylum seeker, asylum, immigrant

[Image 12]

30 most common keywords in articles featuring a Threat to Health frame, March - May 2020

Excluding migrant, refugee, asylum seeker, asylum, immigrant

[Image 13]

30 most common keywords in articles featuring a Threat to Identity frame, March - May 2020

Excluding migrant, refugee, asylum seeker, asylum, immigrant

mask law jail
flee criminal detain illegal
border smuggling girl woman prisoner
mother
Border Force police family
crossing man lockdown
COVID-19 return father parent
child cost
threat figure record-breaking
testing desperate

[Image 14]

30 most common keywords in articles featuring a Hero frame, March - May 2020

Excluding migrant, refugee, asylum seeker, asylum, immigrant

economy
rights health worker frontline
support pandemic family
child prisoner
NHS £ hero doctor infection
cost
health COVID-19
war nurse flee hundreds
healthcare crisis leave to remain language
mother father woman return

[Image 15]

30 most common keywords in articles featuring a Victim/Survivor frame, March - May 2020

Excluding migrant, refugee, asylum seeker, asylum, immigrant

return vulnerable
crime Border Force pandemic doctor
men women girl father law war
support £ police detain
COVID-19 NHS family crisis
crossing
charity children attack flee health
lockdown rights threat testing

[Image 16]

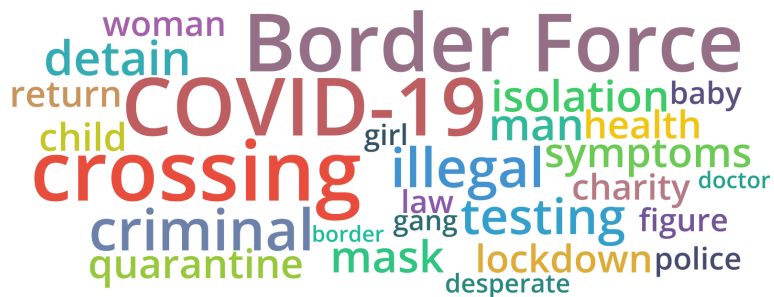## 30 most common keywords in articles featuring a Community frame, March - May 2020

Excluding migrant, refugee, asylum seeker, asylum, immigrant

[Image 17]

30 most common keywords in articles featuring an Advocating for Change message, March - May 2020

Excluding migrant, refugee, asylum seeker, asylum, immigrant

9. Adjectives used to qualify 'refugee(s)' or 'asylum-seeker(s)'

[Table 10]

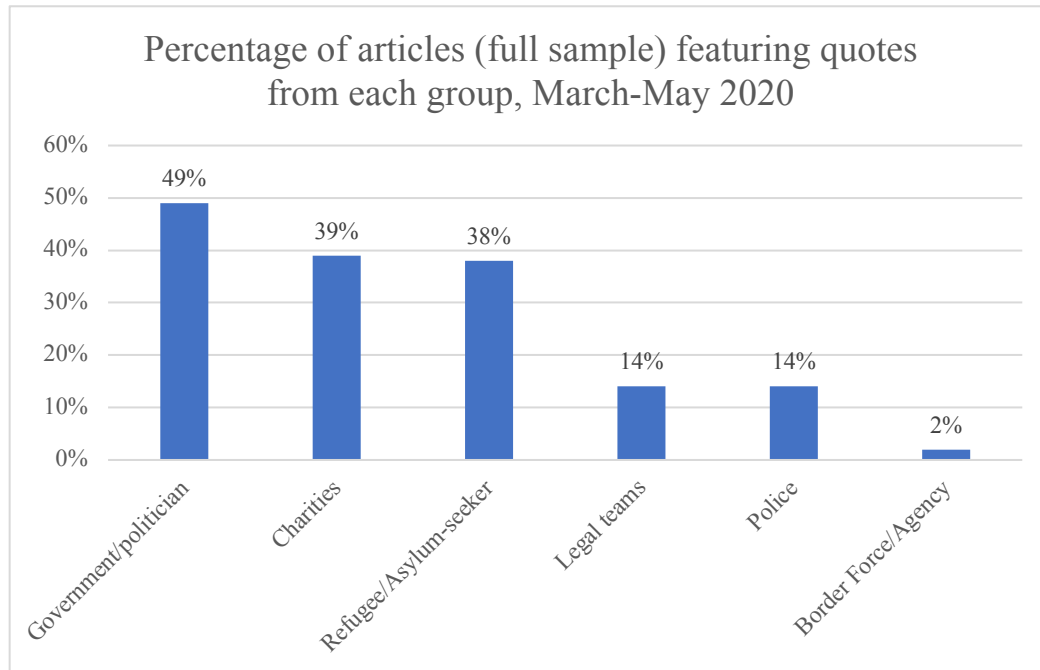| Adjective used to qualify 'refugee(s)' or 'asylum-seeker(s)	Number of uses as qualifying adjective in full sample, March-May 2020
Child/teen/young (or similar)	74
Related to country of origin	59
Failed/refused	15
Vulnerable/destitute	11
New/recent	8
Legitimate/genuine/bogus	7
Political	6
Trained	2
Jobless	2
Other	16

10. Use of terminology per type of frame featured in the article

[Table 11]

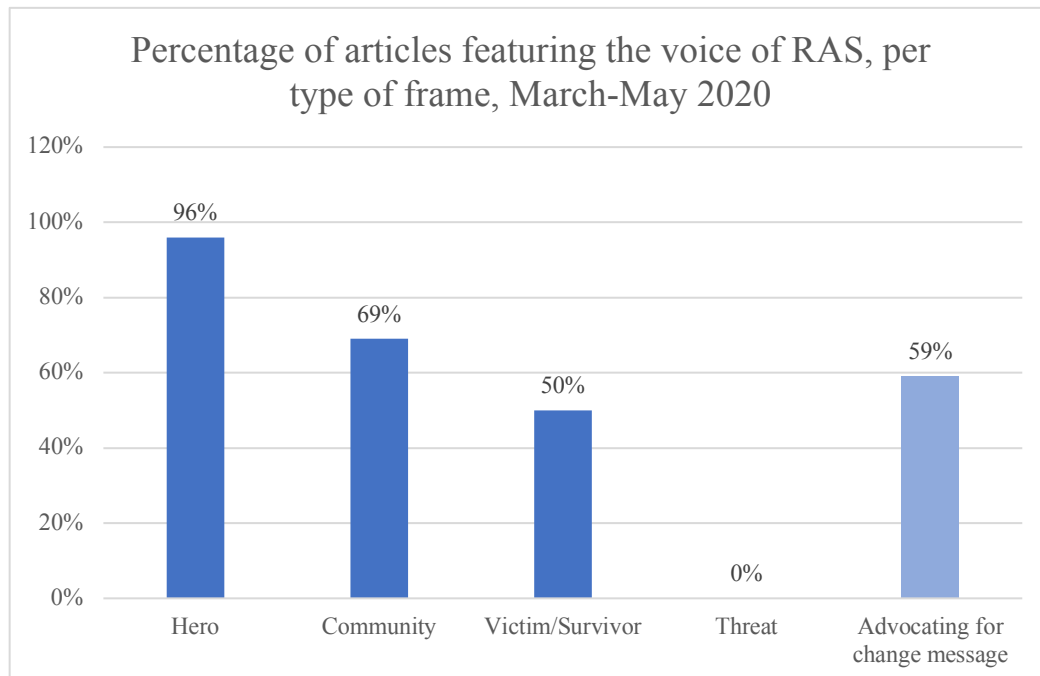|	Average use per article in full sample	Average use per article including a Threat to Security frame	Average use per article including a Threat to Wealth frame	Average use per article including a Threat to Health frame	Average use per article including a Threat to Identity frame	Average use per article including a Hero frame	Average use per article including a Victim/Survivor frame	Average use per article including a Community frame	Average use per article including an Advocating for Change message
Migrant	4.86	9.75	14.49	21.53	15.92	2.93	4.30	1.2	2.78
Refugee	2.73	1.59	1.86	1.79	3.08	4.26	3.33	3.13	4.36
Asylum-seeker	1.40	0.96	1.48	2.21	0.85	0.30	1.62	0.78	2.57
Immigrant	0.17	0.15	0.2	0.32	0.15	0.30	0.15	0.04	0.27

11. Figures relating to Agency

[Figure 22]

Percentage of articles (full sample) featuring quotes from each group, March-May 2020

Group	Percentage
Government/politician	49%
Charities	39%
Refugee/Asylum-seeker	38%
Legal teams	14%
Police	14%
Border Force/Agency	2%

[Figure 23]

Percentage of articles featuring the voice of RAS, per type of frame, March-May 2020

Frame	Percentage
Hero	96%
Community	69%
Victim/Survivor	50%
Threat	0%
Advocating for change message	59%

[Figure 24]

Number of times each voice of a refugee or asylum-seeker was heard, March-May 2020

15

13

7

2

48

■ Hassan Akkad   ■ Aya Hachem's family   ■ Lord Dubs   ■ Rita Ora   ■ Other people
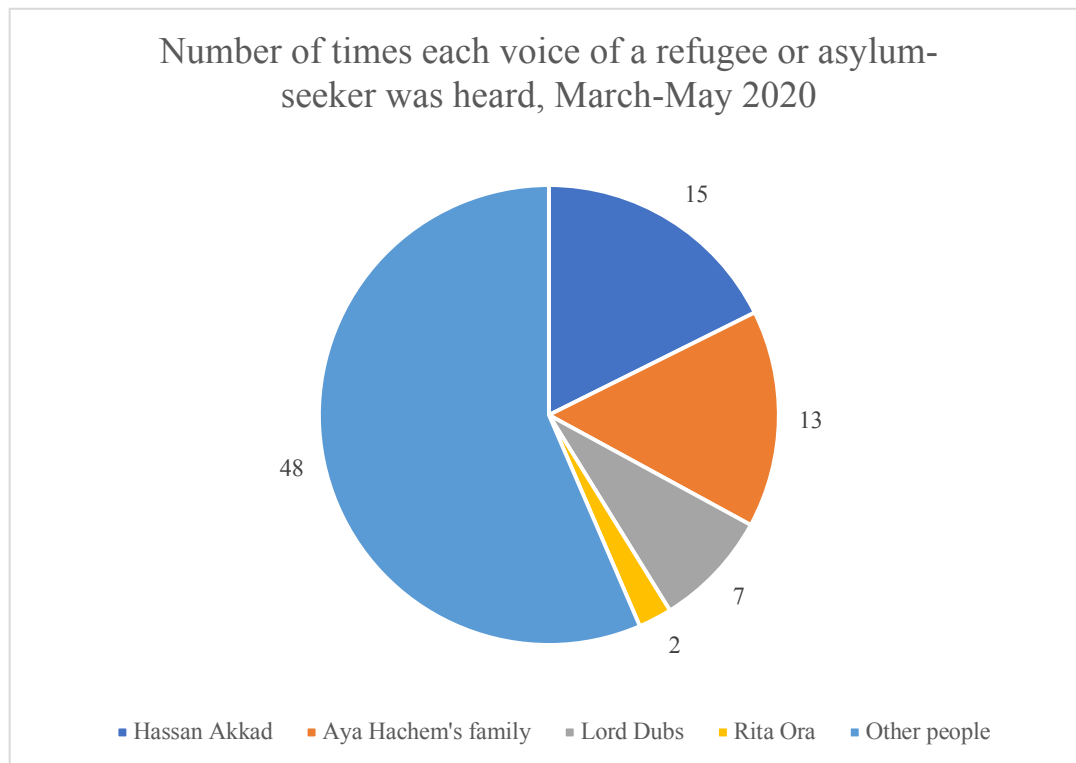
12. Additional press clippings

12.1. Threat to Security frame

[Image 18]

Another 13 migrants, including a toddler, arrive at Dover after 35 on Saturday and 76 on Friday as total for April surges to almost 500 – the highest month ever recorded

- **Coastguard helicopter and lifeboats involved in sea rescue off the Kent coast**
- **A toddler and 12 other refugees rescued while trying to cross the Channel today**
- **At least 476 migrants have made the crossing this month - a record number**
- **Border Force are not testing migrants for coronavirus 'in line with PHE guidance'**

Source: Robinson (J), (2020 [Daily Mail])

[Image 19]

'Grinning' Afghan asylum seeker, 23, is jailed for more than six years for grabbing woman on her way home and trying to rape her in an alleyway

Source : McGreavy (2020 [Daily Mail])

12.2. Threat to Health frame

[Image 20]

Asylum seekers or migrants arriving in Britain likely to have been exposed to Covid-19 will no longer be sent to packed centres to avoid spreading the bug.

Source: Hammond and Wells, (2020 [The Sun])

12.3. Threat to Identity frame

[Image 21]

They decided she was immoral, a whore, an outcast; and dozens were involved in bringing about her brutal death and then concealing it — including her own father and uncle. Banaz's murder was one of far too many so-called 'honour killings' in

Source: Rennell (2020b [Daily Mail])

[Image 22]

Lawrie felt as though he'd been "hit round the back of the head with a cricket bat". He realised that if this woman was telling the truth, all that he knew about Bru and her father would be wrong. Goli claimed that Bru and Reza hadn't fled the Taliban but had in fact come from Iran, where they had been living with Goli before Reza kidnapped her and headed for Europe, in pursuit of a better life.

Source: Arbuthnot (14 April 2020 [The Telegraph])

12.4. Hero frame

[Image 23]

A Syrian refugee risking his life in the fight against coronavirus as a hospital cleaner has won the right for his family to be granted indefinite leave to remain were he to die on the frontline.

Source : Corbishley (2020a [Metro])

[Image 24]

From the Calais Jungle to rubbing shoulders with Hollywood's A-listers: How Syrian political activist fled Assad regime and came to Britain on a fake passport before winning a Bafta for BBC film before taking job as NHS cleaner to say 'thanks to the UK'

Source: Robinson (M) (2020 [Daily Mail])

12.5. Victim/Survivor frame

[Image 25]

Care4Calais volunteer Tia Bush said there were between 100 and 200 children living in Calais, who were mostly unaccompanied.

"The problem is the conditions have got so bad here with the virus that obviously people are more desperate to get to the UK," she said.

"They are not safe here, so they have nothing to lose," she said.

Source: Wood (2020 [Daily Mail])

[Image 26]

According to the survey, 89 per cent of respondents aged 14-30 believe that education is a basic human right. However, just 44 per cent strongly agreed that refugees deserve this right.

Source: Ritschel, (2020 [The Independent])

12.6. Community frame

[Image 27]

**'I died for 78 minutes but medics saved me... now we must save them!':
Fabrice Muamba is living proof of NHS miracles after his cardiac arrest on Tottenham's pitch - and he's calling for pay rises for doctors and nurses**

Source: Gill (2020 [Daily Mail])