



THE LONDON SCHOOL
OF ECONOMICS AND
POLITICAL SCIENCE ■

Report of coded Newspaper Articles

Migrants: Analysis of media discourse on migrants in the UK

The Guardian-The Times (September 2015)

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General Information

Coding: 100 newspaper articles (50 per newspaper)

Newspapers: The Guardian (left-wing) and The Times (right-wing)

Keywords:

“Migrant(s)”

“Migration”

“Refugee(s)”

“Asylum seeker(s)”

Time Frame: September 2015.

1. Sources of News about Migrants & Refugees

The Guardian



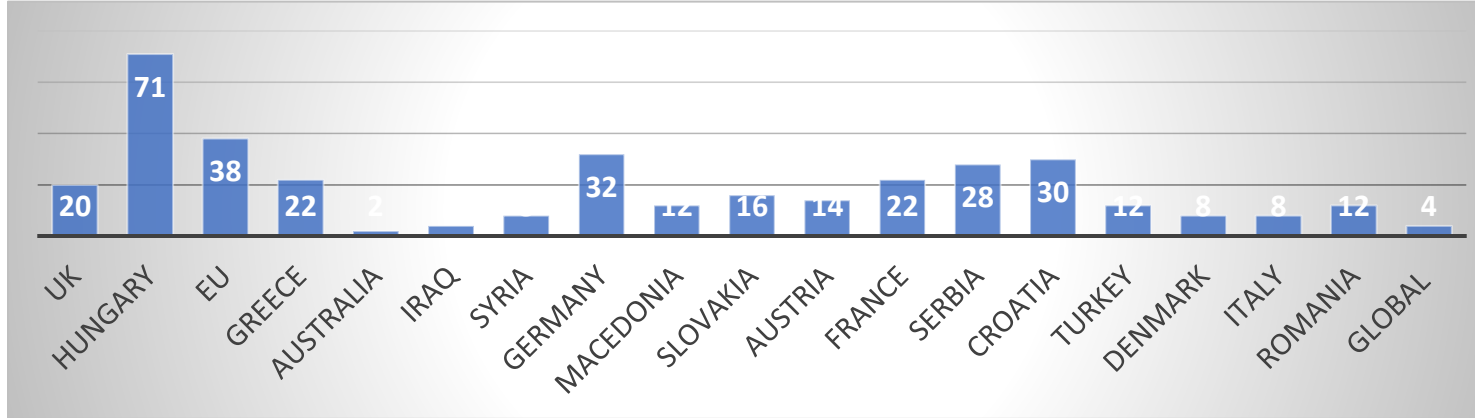
The Times



- In the case of **The Guardian**, (**68%**) news were reported by British journalists, whilst (**32%**) were written by international correspondents .
- **The Times** featured 46 articles by British journalists (**92%**), 3 stories reported by international correspondents (**6%**), and 1 piece that did not mention authorship (**2%**).
- During this period, The Guardian had a wide coverage of the developments at the **Hungarian border**.

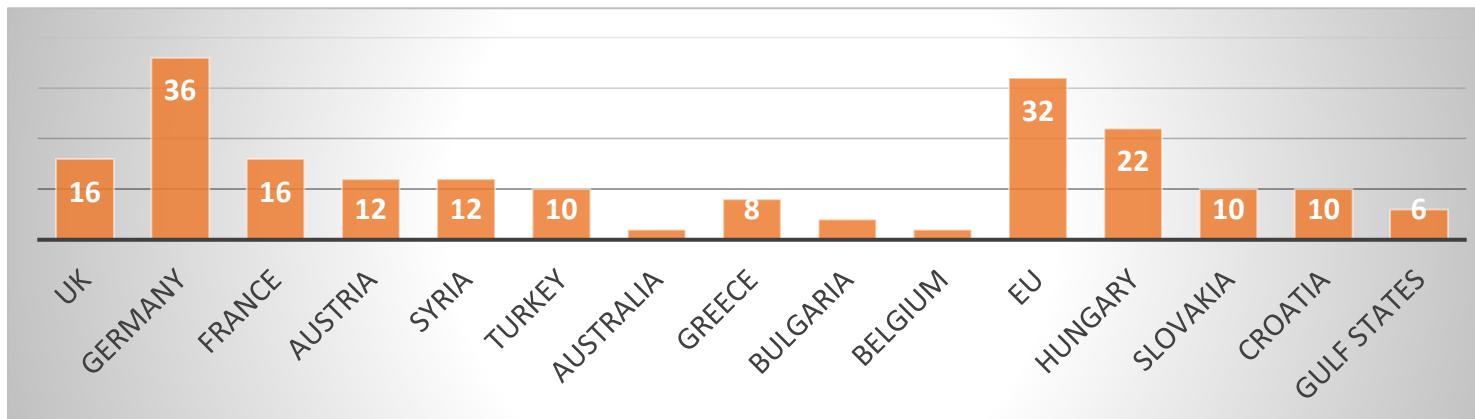
2. Focus of Coverage

The Guardian



- The focus of coverage in **The Guardian** is **diverse**. From the reviewed stories, the most pronounced 71% features Hungary and 38% Europe, most commonly 32% Germany, followed by 30% Croatia, reflecting the main location of the issue in September 2015.

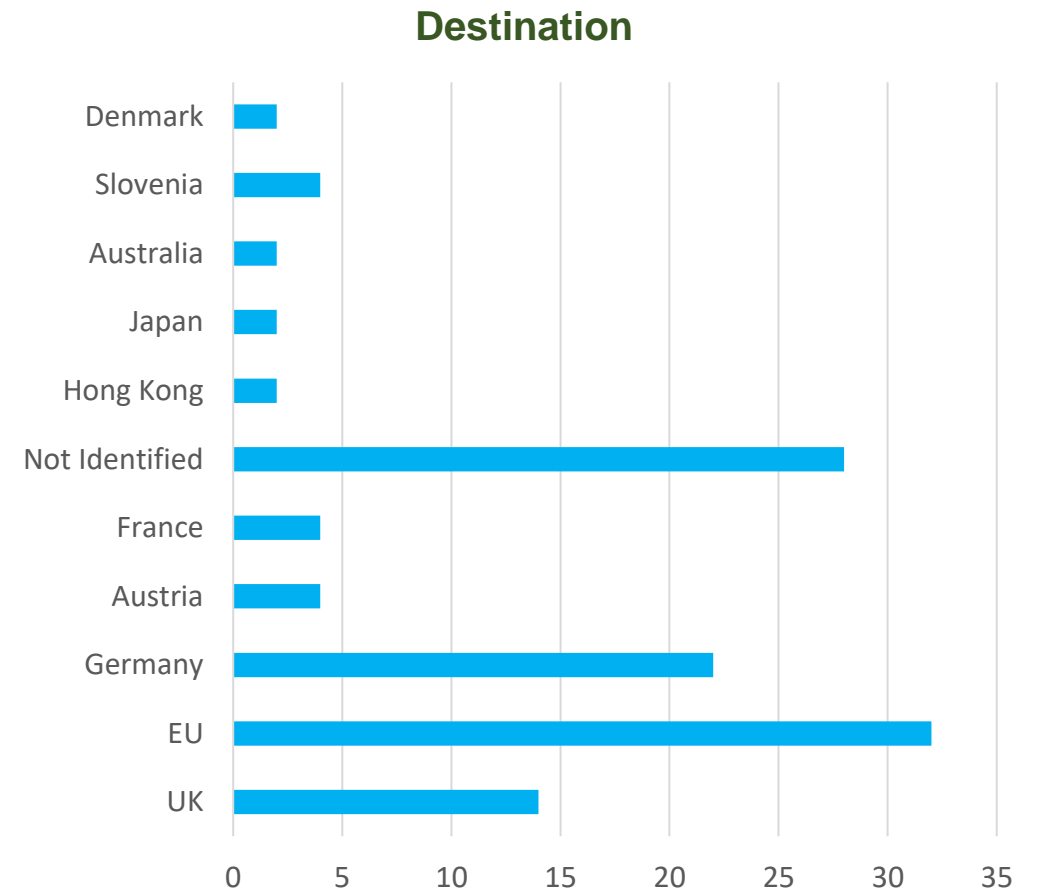
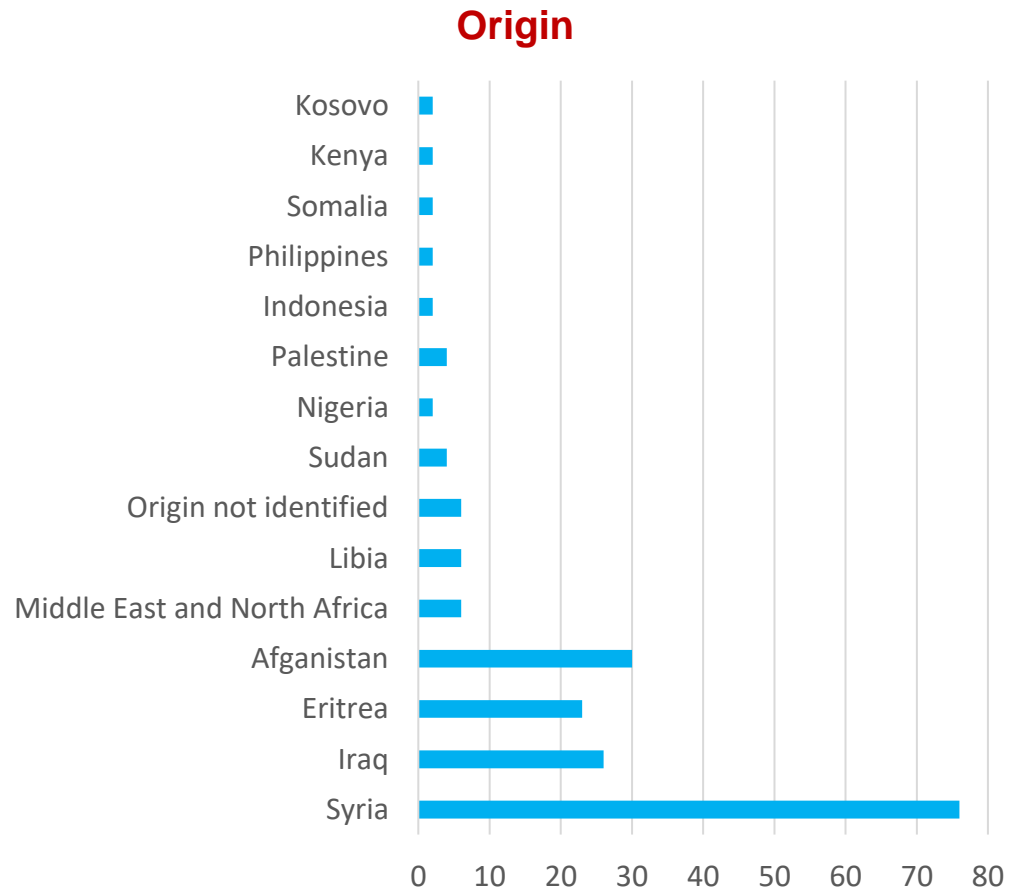
The Times



- **The Times** is equally focused on the same region, however more attention is paid to the western countries of the EU, Germany (36%), E 32%, followed by Hungary (22%).

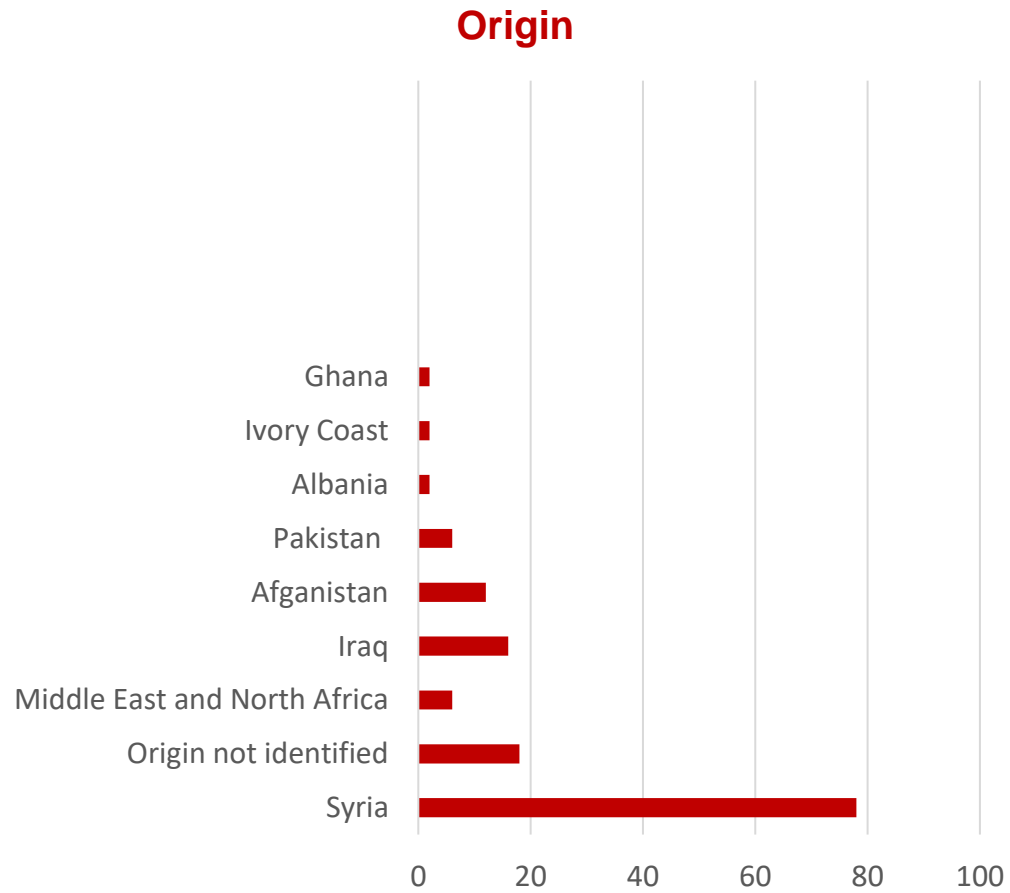
3. Direction of Movement (I)

The Guardian



3. Direction of Movement (II)

The Times



3. Direction of Movement (III)

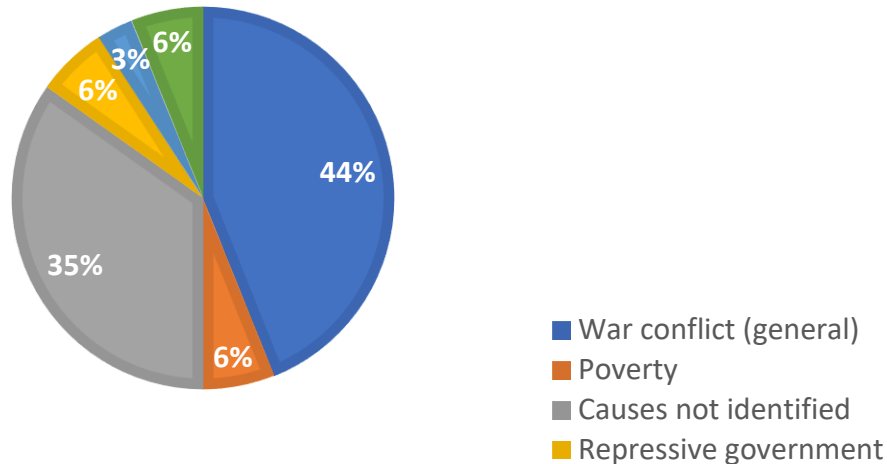
- The articles featured in **The Guardian** has as their point of origin the **Middle East and North Africa**. This is often implied rather than always specifically outlined. Whether a specific country is singled out or the whole region is mentioned, the depicted migration has a clear regional focus. Hence, Syria (38%), Iraq (12%), Afghanistan (10%), and Africa (12%) are most frequent places where the direction of movement is located.
- In terms of destination, the sample of the Guardian predominantly points out Germany (72%), **Europe** more broadly (18%), and the **UK** (10%) as the arrival points for the portrayed migration.
- The case of **The Times**, it is again **Germany** that stands out as the most desired destination, particularly for migrants and refugees who are 'stuck' at the eastern and southern borders of the EU, such as Hungary, Croatia, Greece and Turkey, as many as 20% of the sampled articles do not identify directly the origin of the migration flow making it very ambiguous.
- Regarding the destination of the reported migratory movements, The Times locates their arrival point in **Hungary** (36%), **Germany** (28%), EU (26%), Croatia (4%), Serbia (4%), and Greece (2%).



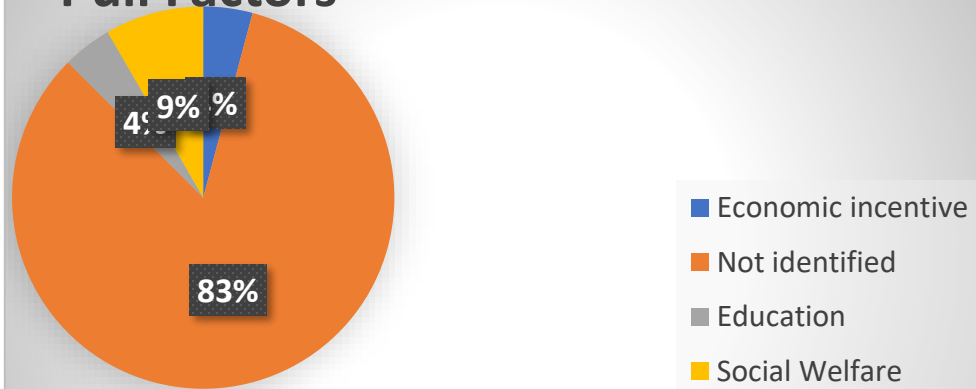
4. Causes of Migration (I)

The Guardian

PUSH FACTORS



Pull Factors

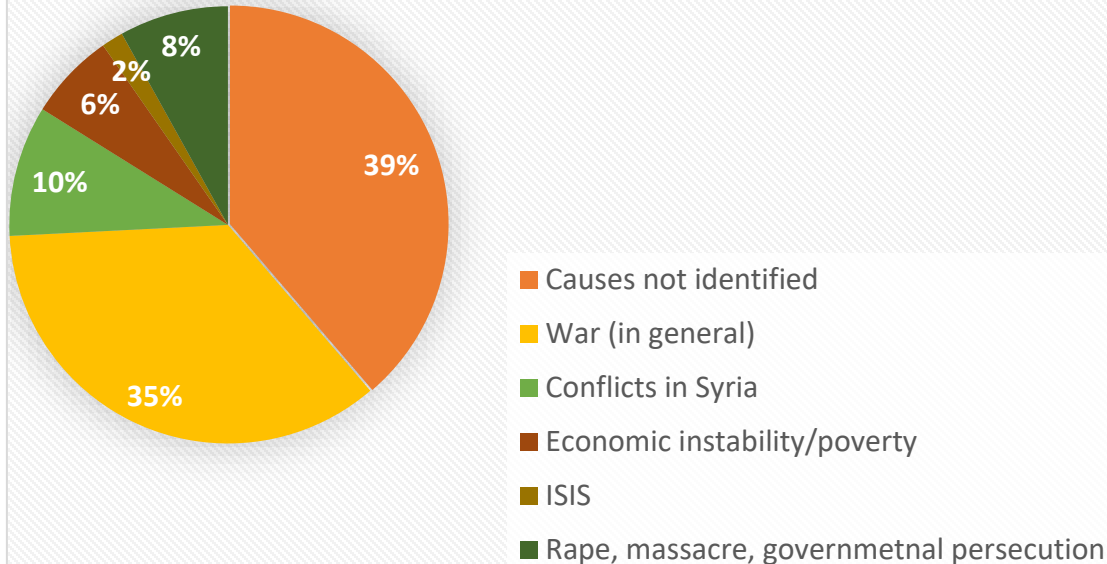


- In the case of The Guardian, the **push factors** given to the causes of migration are: war conflict in general (44%), as high percentage as (35%) did not identify causes. (6%) more specifically identifies conflict in Syria and equally 6% repressive government and poverty. The ISIS and terrorism stands at 3% of coverage.
- On the other hand, the **pull factors** given attributed to the causes of migration by the Guardian are by and large not identified (83%), social welfare is a pull factor identified in (9%) of articles.
- It is important to note that, from the selected sample, 42 news stories (84%) regard **push factors**, whilst 8 (16%) regard **pull factors**.

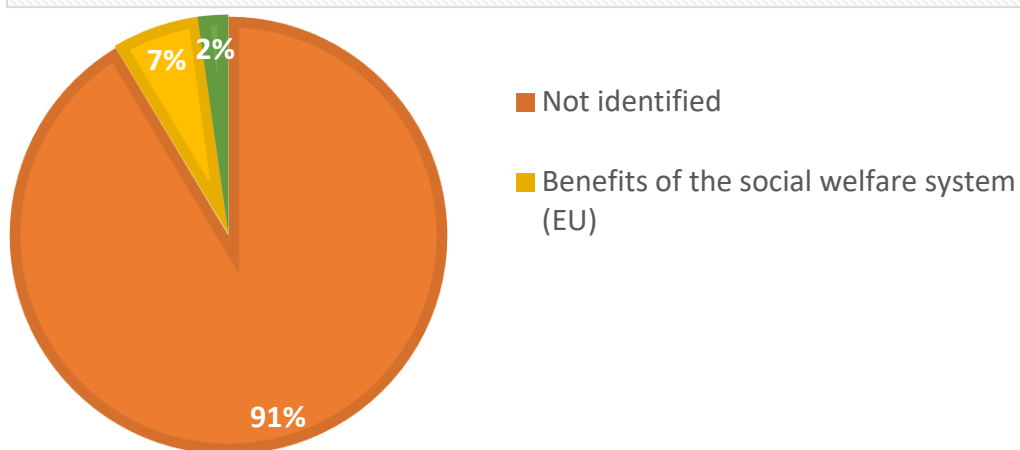
4. Causes of Migration (II)

The Times

Push Factors



PULL FACTORS

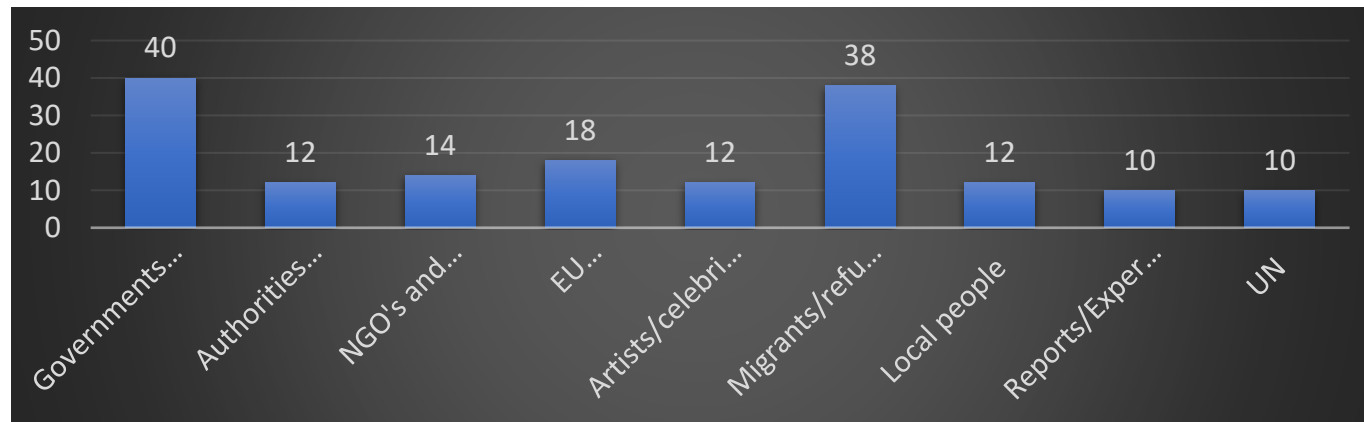


- In the case of The Times, the **push factors**: as high proportion as (39%) relates to articles where causes were not identified, the war in general was presented in (35%) of articles and (10%) specified the conflict in Syria as a cause. Other, less frequently mentioned reasons included poverty and economic instability (6%), rape and massacre (8%) and ISIS (2%).
- On the other hand, the **pull factors** in the Times articles are mostly not presented (91%). And the small proportions are given to the benefits of the social welfare system in the EU (7%), attraction of potential employment (2%).
- From the selected sample, 36 news stories (72%) regard **push factors**, whilst 14 (28%) regard **pull factors**.

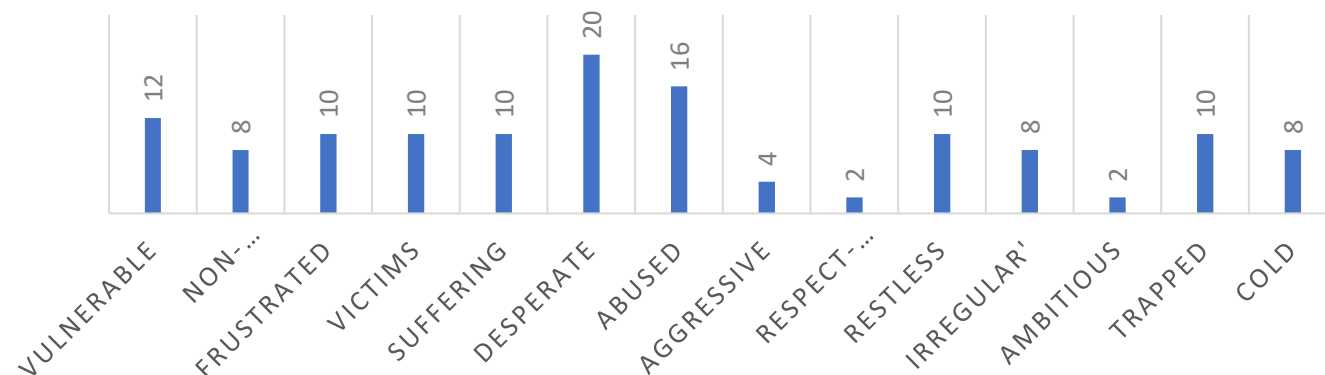
5. Actors (I)

The Guardian

Actors



Most common descriptions



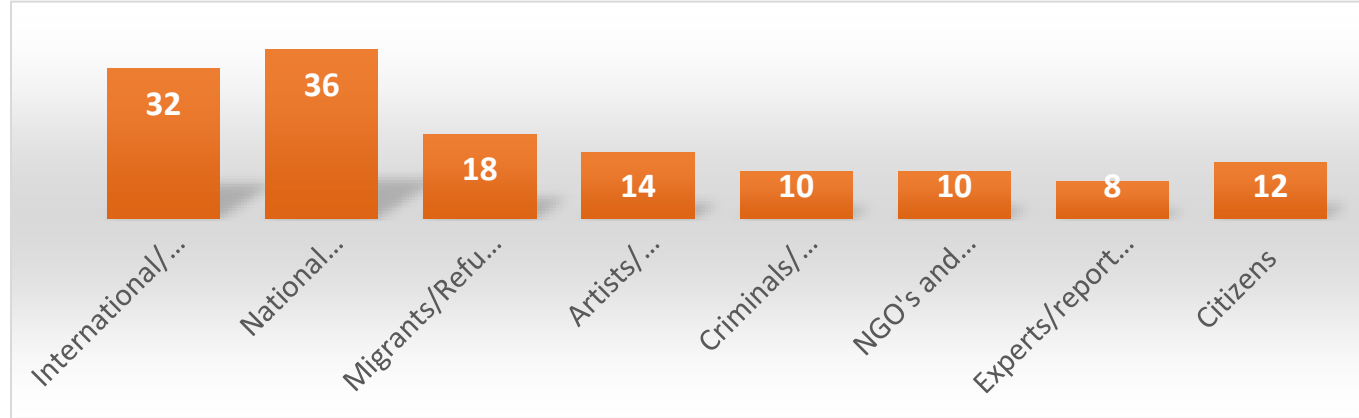
- By far the **most frequent actors** in news stories related to migrants, asylum seekers and refugees are national **governments** (40%), followed by another high figure of (38%) where the main actors (not always active) are refugees and migrants. The **EU institutions and officials** are also relatively frequent actors (18%)

- The **most common descriptions** of migrants describe them as **desperate** (20%), which although implies some empathy, is essentially a negative label. Other terms that describe 'victimisation' of migrants are: **abused** (16%) **vulnerable** (12%), **suffering** and **victims**, both (10%).

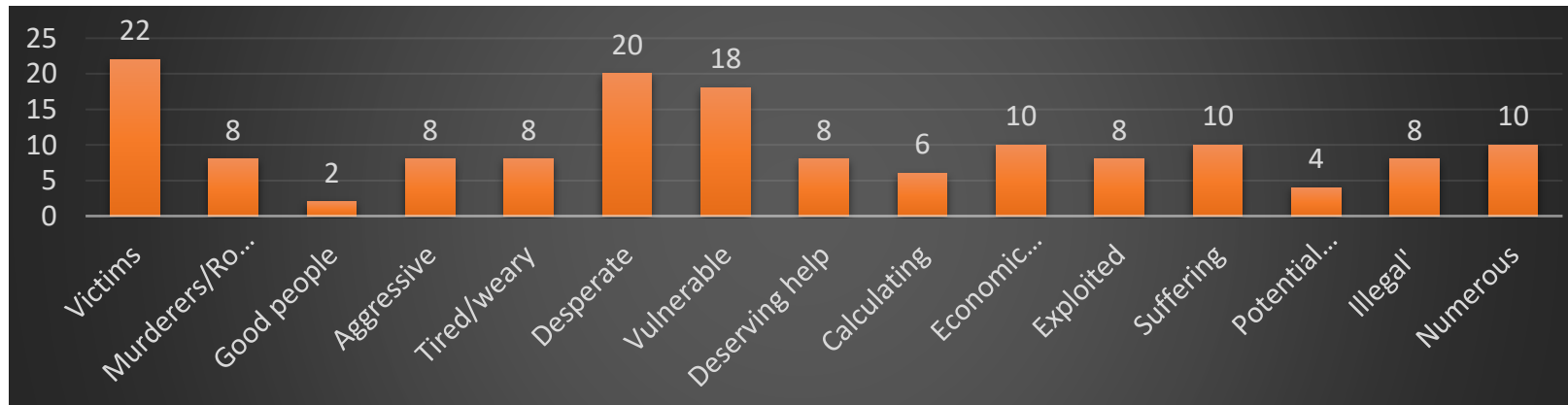
5. Actors (II)

The Times

Actors



Most common descriptions



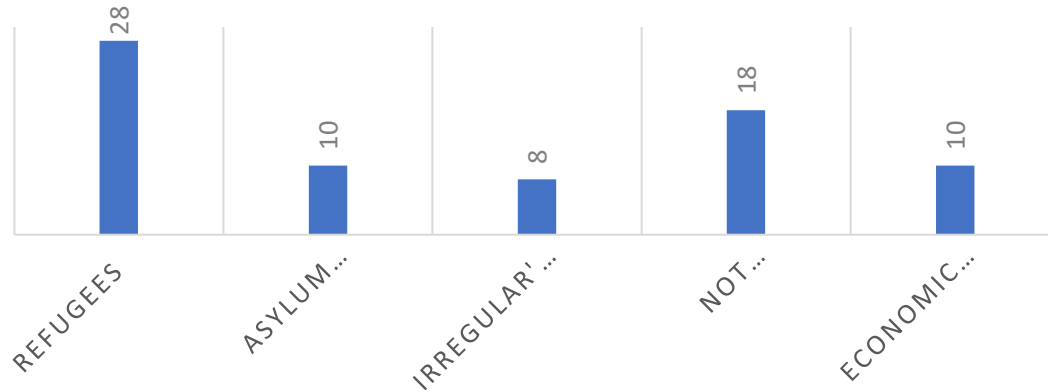
- The **most frequent actors** in news stories related to migrants, asylum seekers and refugees are **Governments and national politicians** (36%), **international/EU politicians and institutions** (32%), **migrants, refugees, or asylum seekers** (18%), closely followed by **artists/activists** (14%) and **citizens** (12%). NGOs and charities are represented the same amount as **criminal gangs and extremist groups** (10%)

- The **most common descriptions** of migrants imply their helplessness; **victim** (22%) and **desperation** (20%). In addition they are described as **vulnerable** (18%), all of which implies passive and voiceless status and no agency. Other interesting descriptions include **economic burden** (10%) and high numbers of migrants **numerous** (10%).

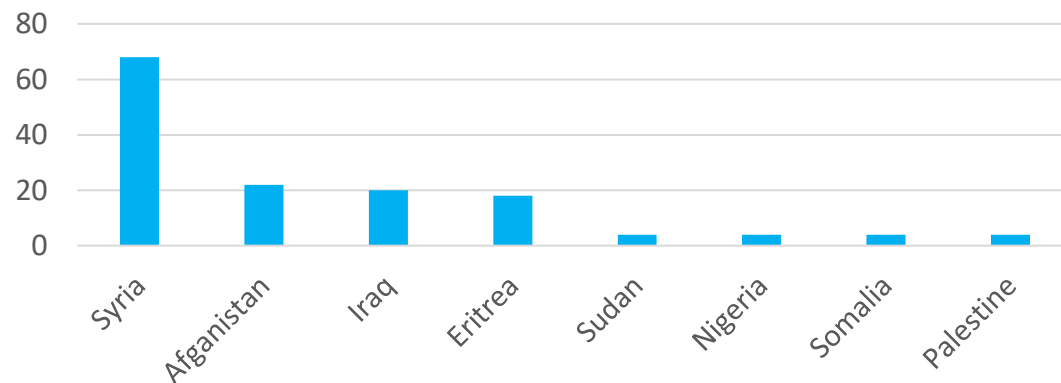
6. Identities of Migrant Actors (I)

The Guardian

Who are the migrant actors?



Nationalities of Migrant Actors



- In the analysed articles from The Guardian, only **9 feature migrants as active, (only 6 of which were named) actors**, i.e. they are described directly in the news story and/or were quoted.
- Most, 28%, of articles used the term refugees, 10% asylum seekers and some pejoratively asylum 'shoppers', 18% did not use any of these terms and 10% either directly 'incorrectly' labelled them economic migrants whereas remaining 8% referred to the actors as irregular migrants.
- **12 articles state the nationalities of the migrant actors.** A high proportion - 68% entail people from Syria.

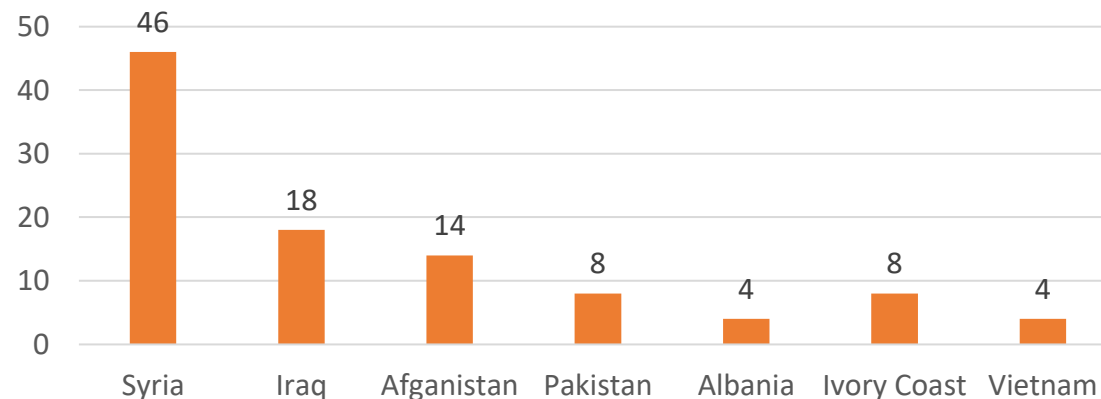
6. Identities of Migrant Actors (II)

The Times

Who are the migrant actors?



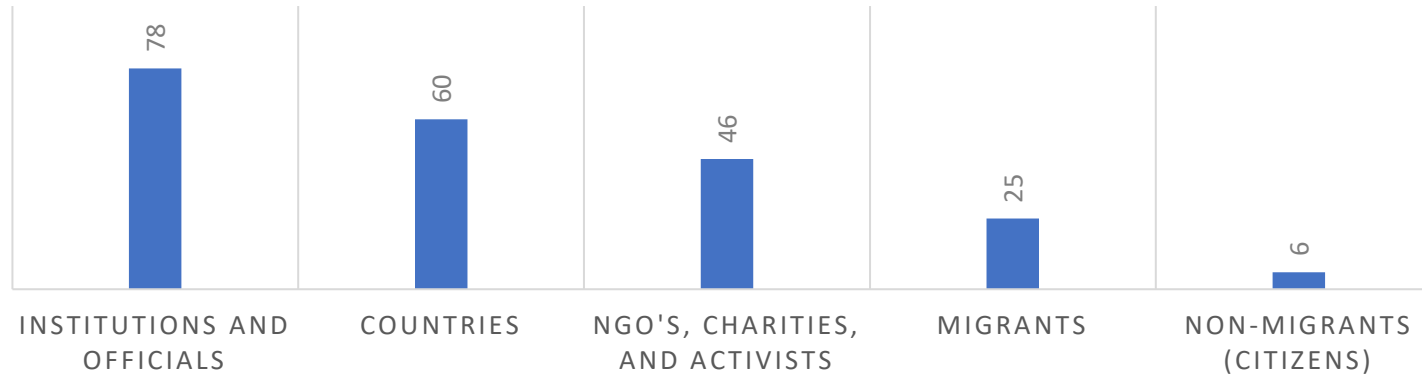
Nationalities of Migrant Actors



- In the analysed articles from The Times, only **8 feature migrants as active actors**, and only 5 of them used migrant's names.
- 30% articles used the term refugee, the most commonly used term as in the Guardian. Often, in fact 18% of times articles often incorrectly use the term migrants, 8% labels them 'illegal' migrants and on one occasion they are referred to as displaced people.
- Now, **only 8 articles clearly state the nationalities of the migrant actors**. In this case as much as, 46% entail people from Syria.

7. Voice

The Guardian



The Times

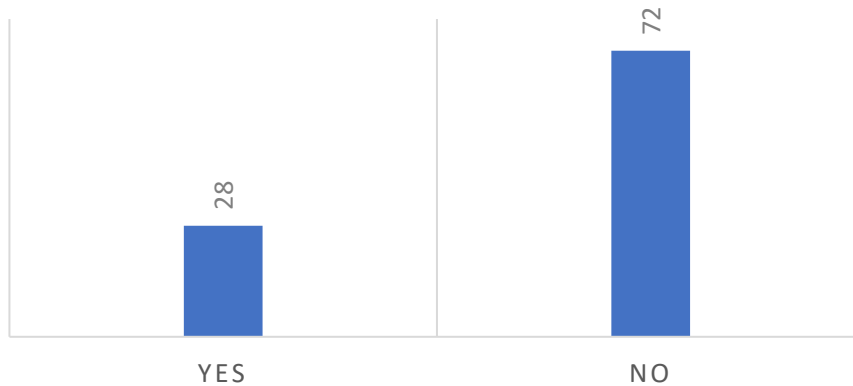


- In the reviewed articles of **The Guardian**, the principal actors who have a **voice** in the stories are **institutions and officials** (78%), **countries** (60%), **NGO's, charities, and activists** (46%), migrants, refugees or asylum seekers (25%), and non-migrant citizens (20%).
- Similarly, **The Times** exhibits the **same tendency**. In this case, the most frequent actors who speak also are: **institutions and officials** (66%), **countries** (58%), **NGO's, charities, and activists** (46%), migrants, refugees or asylum seekers (13%), and non-migrant citizens (8%).

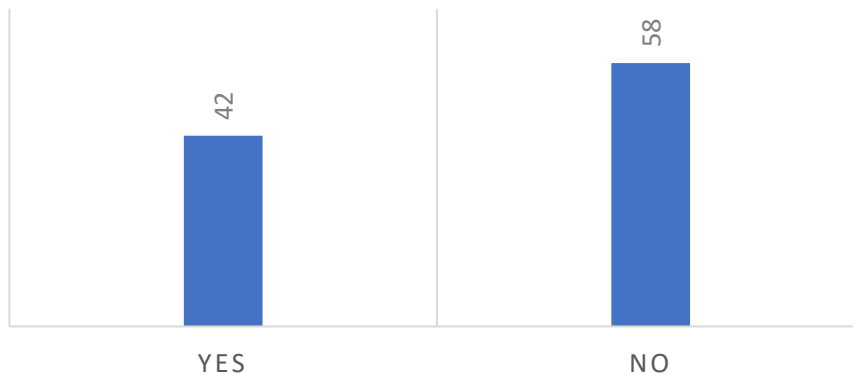
8. Women and Children (I)

The Guardian

Presence of Women



Presence of Children

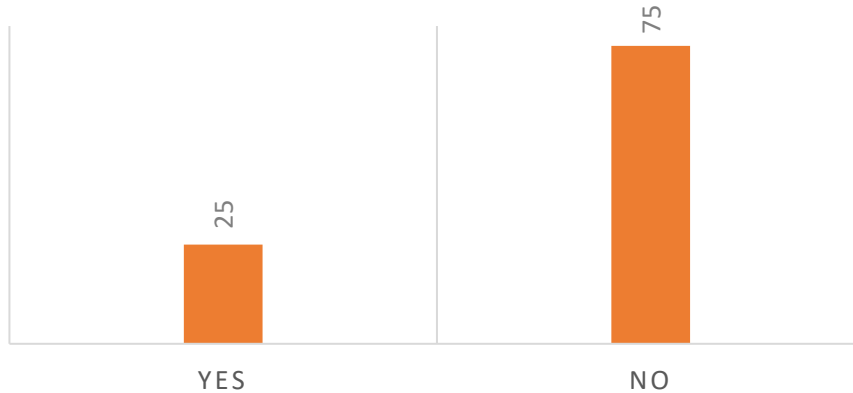


- **72%** of the reviewed articles from The Guardian **do not feature women within** their contents. Only contrary, 28% of them regard stories that are related to migrant women, but mostly very briefly, either as a part of statistics, or occasional reference to carrying a child.
- Regarding the presence of children in the news stories, **42%** of the assessed articles from The Guardian mention events or actions related with **migrant children**, however these are mostly references to one incident – drowning of a Kurdi boy and images of him being carried by the Turkish official on the beach.

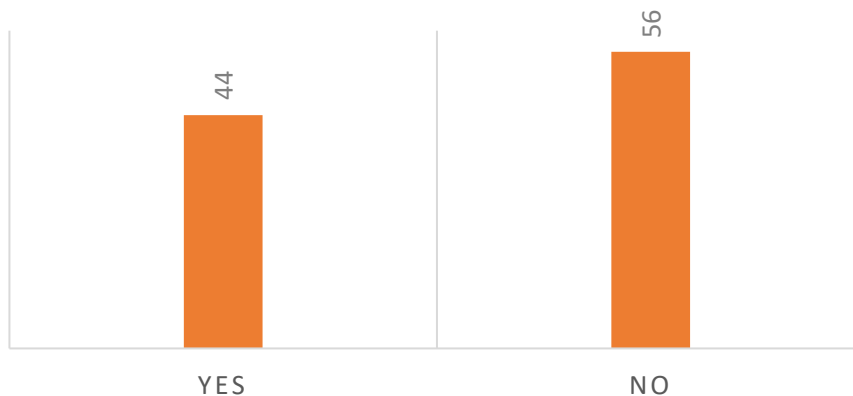
8. Women and Children (II)

The Times

Presence of Women



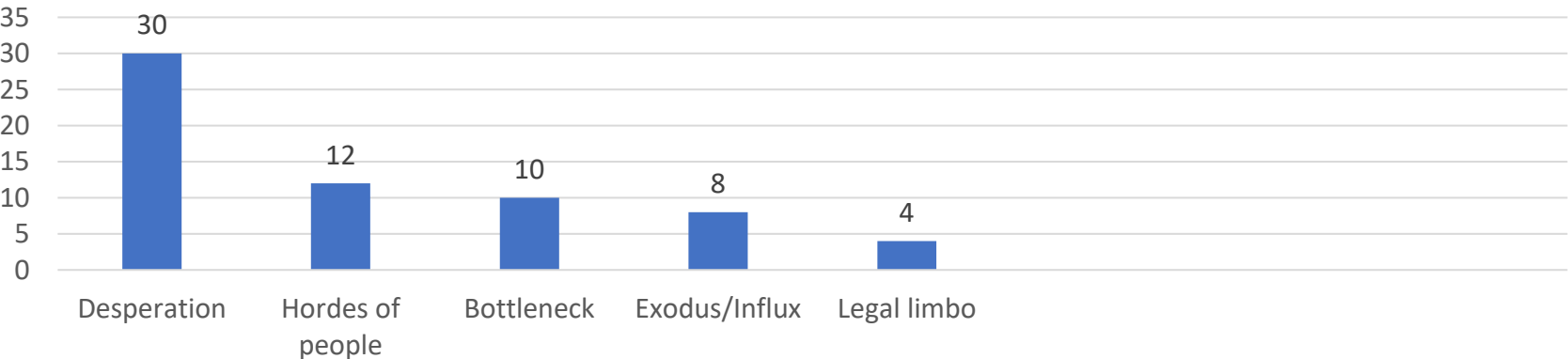
Presence of Children



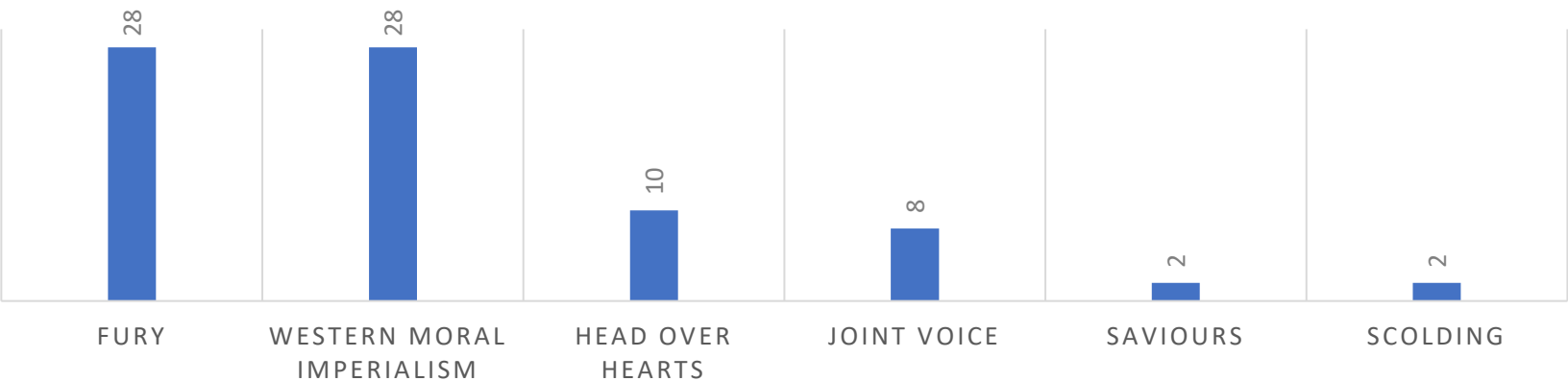
- In The Times, the proportion of articles where women feature is low (25%) and they are mostly interlinked with commentary on children, women are rarely talked about as individual with other than mothering responsibilities, apart from female politicians that feature in articles and talk about migrants.
- Thus, **75%** of the reviewed articles from The Guardian **do not feature women within** their contents.
- Regarding the presence of children in the news stories, the proportion is higher as a number of articles focus on children's charities, but also at drowned Kurdi toddler and the impact of that image on the world. **44%** of the assessed articles from The Guardian feature events or actions related with **migrant children**.

9. Metaphors (I)

Metaphors about migrants



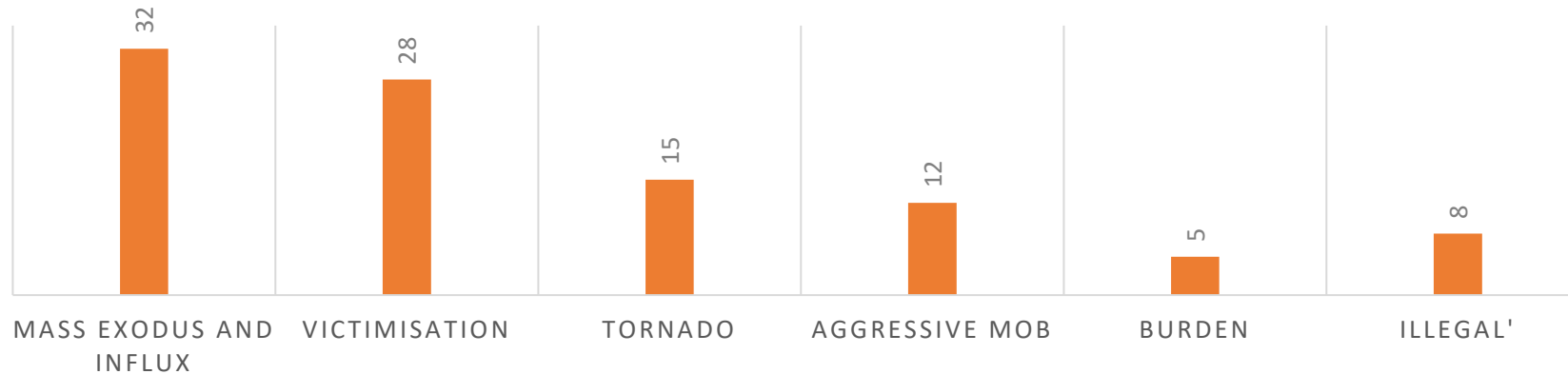
Metaphors about non-migrants



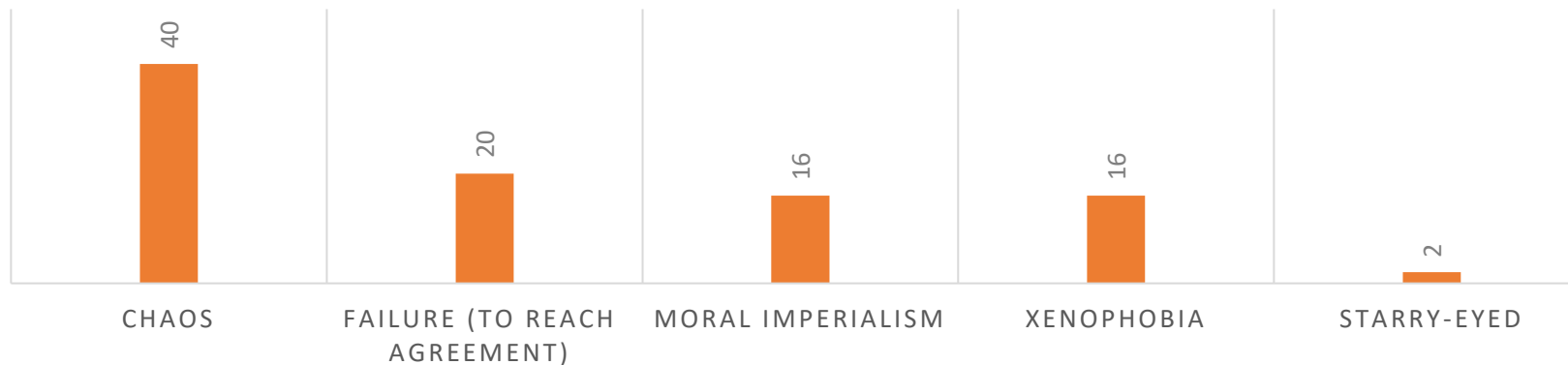
- As indicated earlier in descriptions of migrants, the **most common metaphors** used by The Guardian in articles about migrants, refugees, or asylum seekers entail rhetorical devices along the similar lines of victimisation and struggle: **desperation/destitute** (30%). Another linguistic feature that re-occurs is a description of chaos and huge numbers of refugees at the Hungarian train station: **hordes of people** (12%), **bottleneck** (10%), **exodus/influx** (8%).
- There are two **most frequent metaphors** used by The Guardian in terms of **non-migrants**: **fury** (of EU states at each other – 28%) and related **western moral imperialism** (28%). All is related to dispute between eastern and western EU members.

9. Metaphors (II)

Metaphors about migrants



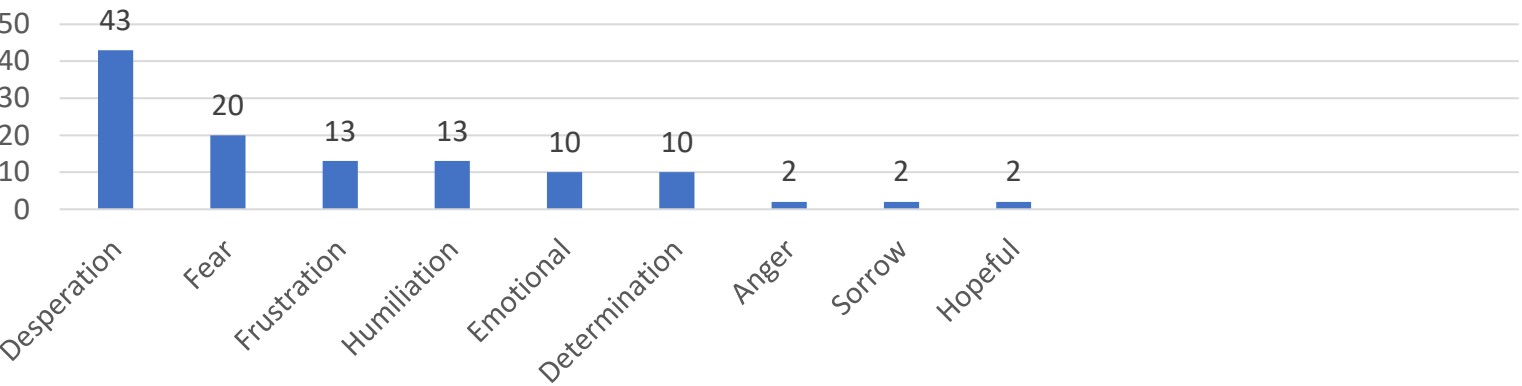
Metaphors about non-migrants



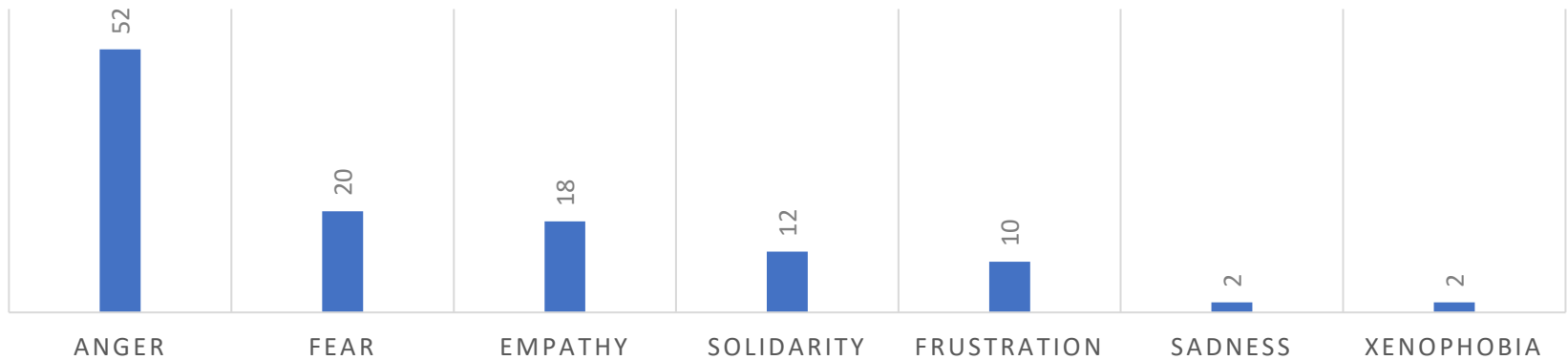
- The **most common metaphors** used by The Times in articles about migrants, refugees, or asylum seekers entail rhetorical devices related with: **mass influx and exodus** (32%), the **victimisation** (28%) theme is followed from the Guardian and expression related to forces of nature such as **tornado** (15%) is also used. 12% articles use metaphors related to **aggression**.
- The **most frequent metaphors** used by The Times in terms of **non-migrants** are associated with meanings of **chaos** (40%) and the **failure to come to an agreement** (20%), but also as in the Guardian – there are references to **moral imperialism** (16%) and **xenophobia** (16%).

10. Emotions (I)

Emotions about migrants

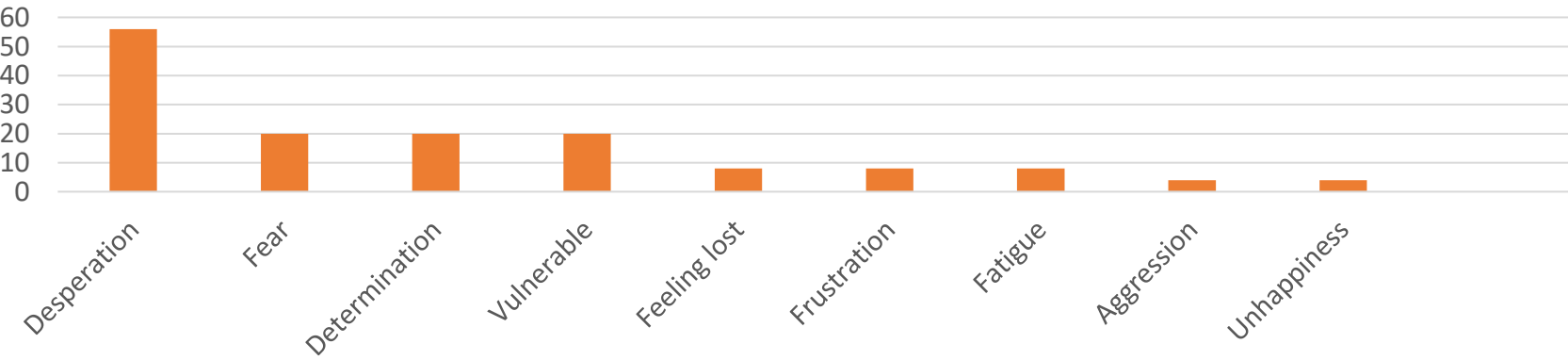


Emotions about non-migrants

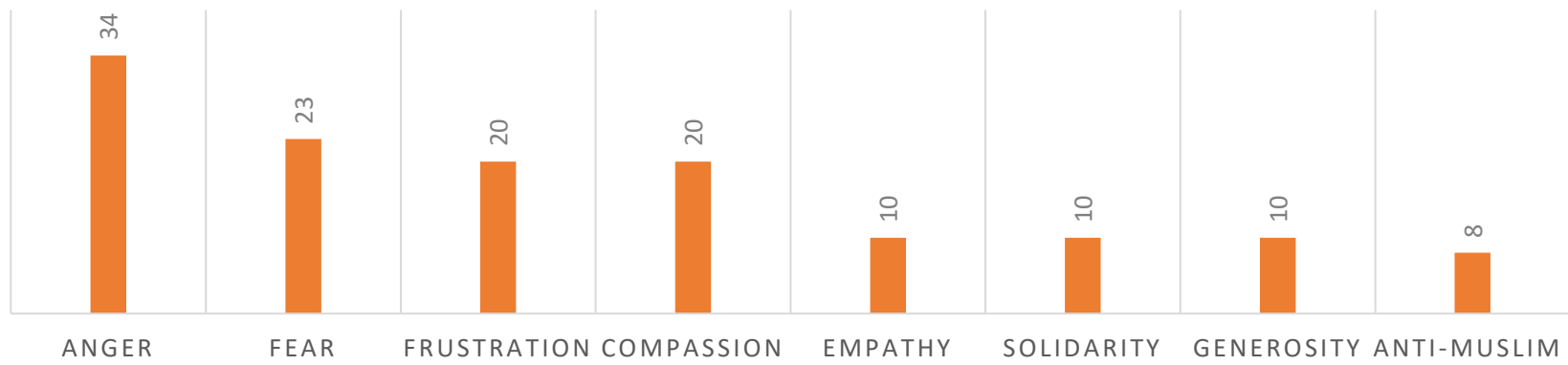


- Emotionally, **migrants** are predominantly depicted by The Guardian as **desperate** (43%), with **fear** (20%), followed by **frustration** (13%), and **humiliation** (13%). This group of 5 emotions are often utilized together. Some less victim related emotions that are depicted include **determination** (10%) and being **hopeful** – only (2%).
- In the case of non-migrants, the most frequent emotions associated with **non-migrants** encompass a feeling of **anger** at each other (member states) as well as anger at the situation (52%), **fear** of migration (20%) and the **hostility** feature relatively high up (15%). The other side include **empathy** towards migrants (18%) and **solidarity** (12%).

Emotions about migrants



Emotions about non-migrants



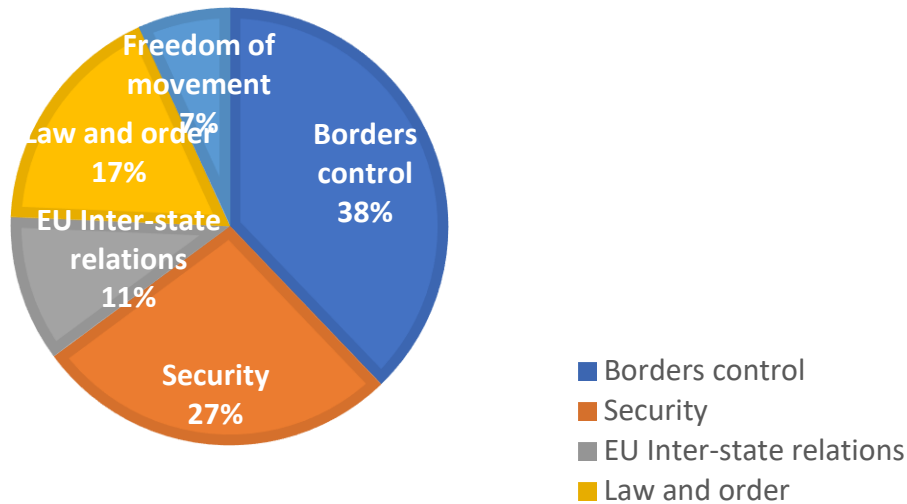
10. Emotions (II)

- Similarly to the Guardian, the **most common emotion** deployed by The Times in the representation of migrants entail a feeling of **desperation** (56%). The other common emotions connected with migration all at (20%) are **fear, determination and vulnerability**
- **Frustration** (8%) is another repeated emotion, together with the sense of **feeling lost and tired** (both 8%).
- In the case of **non-migrants**, negative feelings of **anger** (34%), **fear** (23%) and **frustration** (20%) are more common, followed by more positive sentiments: **compassion** (20%), **empathy, solidarity and generosity** all at (10%).

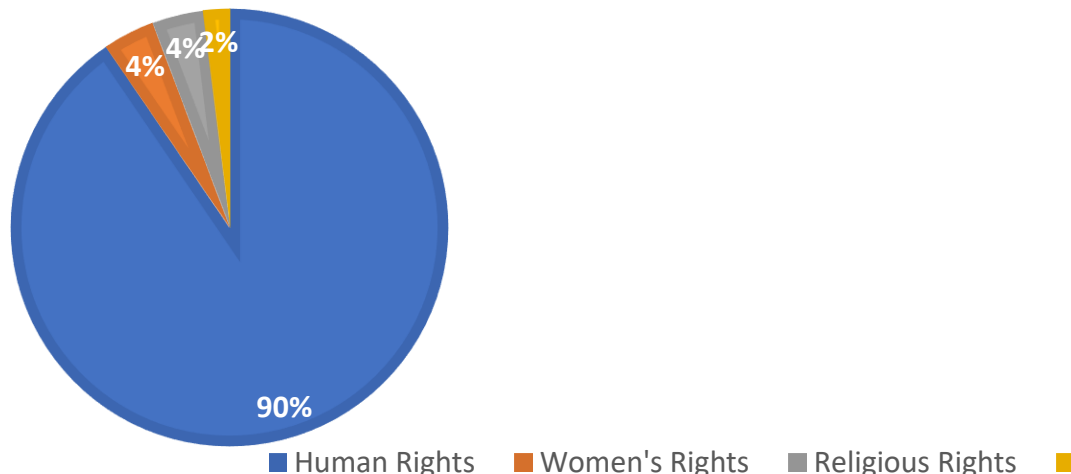
11. Political Frames (I)

The Guardian

MACRO POLITICAL FRAMES



MICRO POLITICAL FRAMES

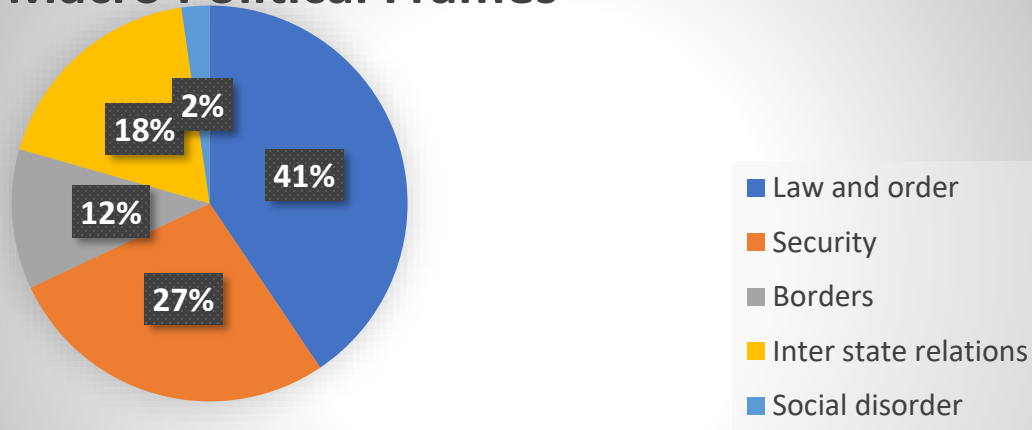


- Both newspapers exhibit two political frames within the sampled articles. One is concerned with **social and political issues** at the **macro level**, whereas the other is located at a **micro level** that encompasses the migrants, refugees, or asylum seekers in a more individualised way.
- The **macro political frames** of the Guardian are: **border control** (56%), almost synonymously used with **security** (40%) and **law and order** (26%). The **IR of the EU states** represents (16%).
- On the other hand, it is possible to observe an overwhelming tendency of a **micro political frame** concerned with the protection of migrants' **Human Rights** (95%). The other subsections are related, but more specific **Women's Rights** (4%) and **Religious Rights** also (4%).

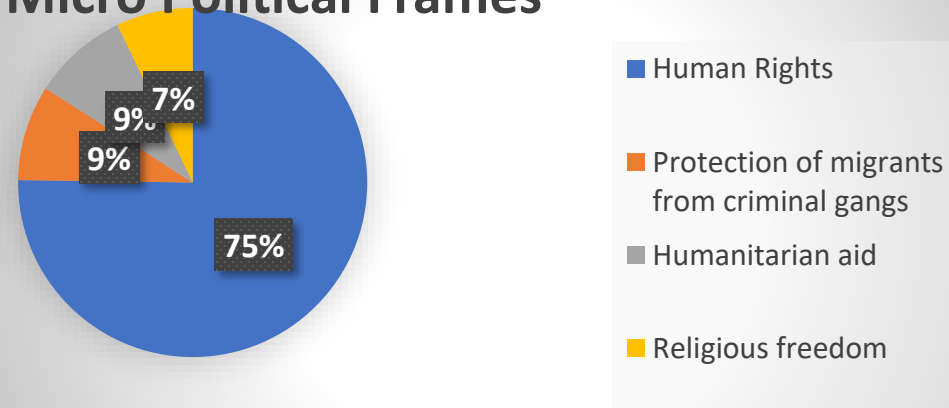
11. Political Frames (II)

The Times

Macro Political Frames



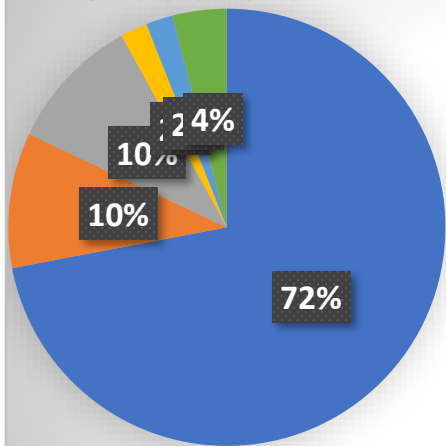
Micro Political Frames



- The macro political frames of **The Times** are primarily focusing on **law and order** (71%) **security** (48%), the **border control is also significant** (65%), the “**migrant crisis**” (20%) as is the EU **inter-state** relation (32%). This segment show classically ‘conservative’ concerns of maintaining status-quo of safety and order.
- On the other hand, the micro political frames exposed in The Times are similarly to the Guardian related with the **Human Rights** (85%), but also with **migrant’s protection from criminal gangs** (10%), **humanitarian aid** (10%) and **religious freedom** (8%).

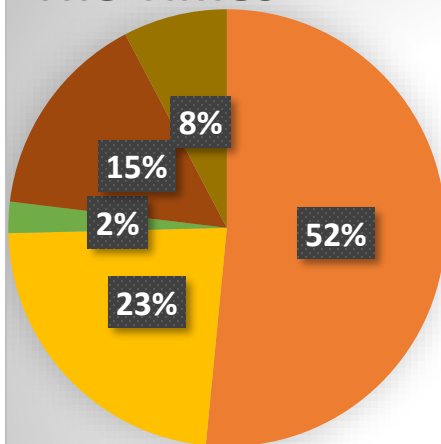
12. Economic Frames

The Guardian



- Financial costs of migration 'crisis'
- People's donations
- UK's financial aid
- Work financially empowering for migrants
- Migrants benefit to economy
- Work restrictions for migrants

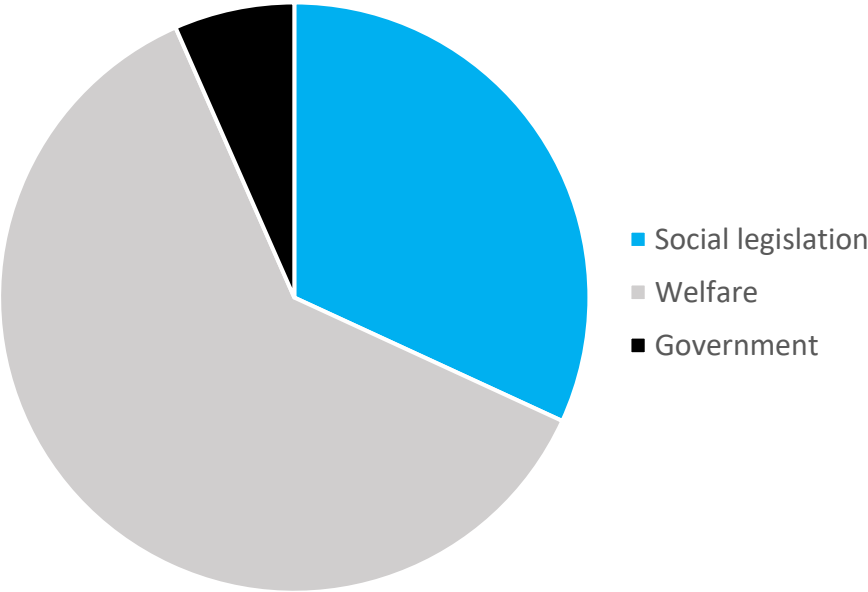
The Times



- Financial costs of crisis
- Donations culture
- Cost of smuggling (for migrants)
- British Aid
- Refugees taking local jobs

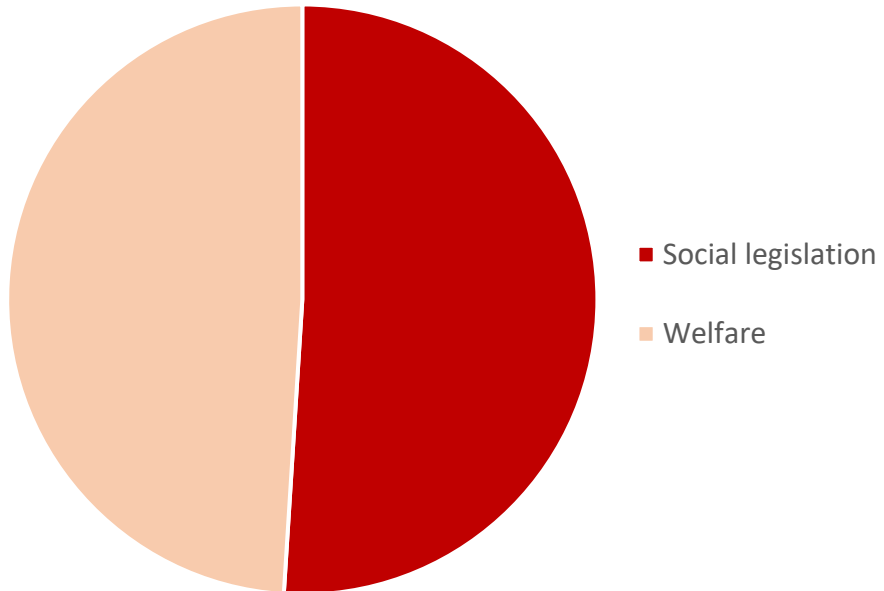
- Not all articles from **The Guardian** presented some sort of **economic frame** (i.e. 12% did not present any financial framework).
- From the remaining 88% that were concerned with the financial costs of migration to the host countries 72% was the dominating figure for the **cost of migration 'crisis'** in general, 10% was concerned with economics of people's donations and another 10% with the Aid Britain put aside to fund the camps in countries bordering Syria. 2% argued that migrants bring economic growth and are beneficial to the host society. Another 2% recognised the value of migrants financial independence.
- 20% of the articles from **the Times** did not address any **economic frame**.
- The economic frames found in this newspaper regard the financial costs of migration to the host countries (67%), the issues of donations by local population (30%) and the idea of Britain contributing with aid a significant amount is covered by (20%). The fear of refugees taking jobs away from local citizens is discussed in (10%) of articles.

13. Social Frames (I)



The Guardian			
Frame	Sub-frame	Frequency	Total
Social legislation	“positive” migration policies	23%	29%
	Social legislation	6%	
Welfare	Social integration (education)	8%	56%
	Healthcare	6%	
	Stigmatization	4%	
	Social anxieties	10%	
	Social perception	4%	
	Community (culture, art, sport, religion)	18%	
	Welfare	6%	
Government	Political unity	10%	15%
	Governmental actions	5%	

13. Social Frames (II)

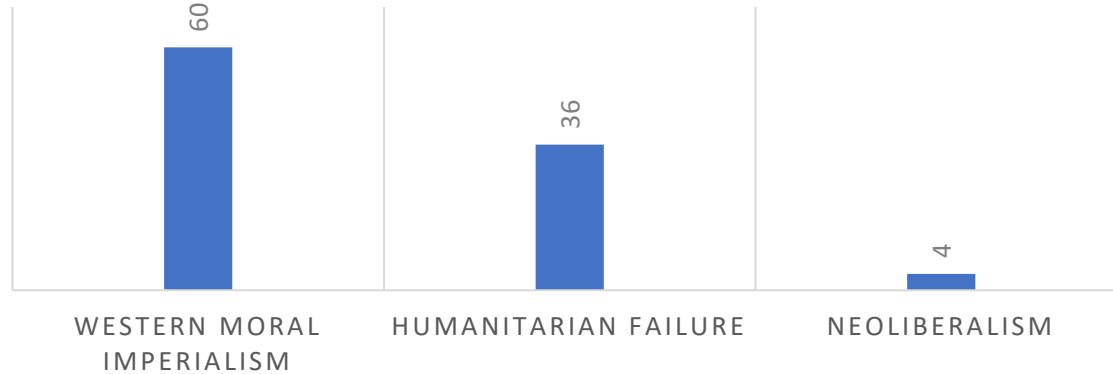


NB: In comparison to the Guardian, the Times focused less on social framework related to migrants and to some extent it also did not focus enough on the social framework of the European or British society. It focused (30%) on **social legislation** – dealings with crime.

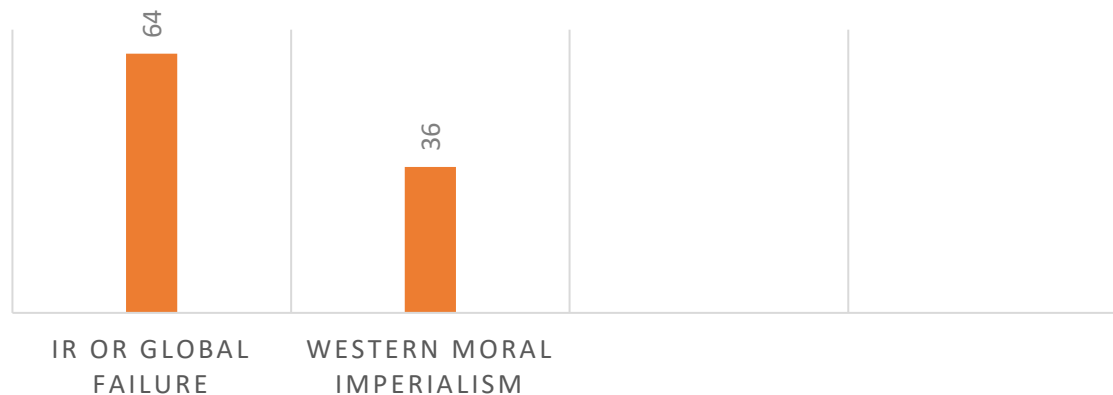
The Times			
Frame	Sub-frame	Frequency	Total
Social legislation	Social legislation	30%	51%
	“Good” migration policies	21%	
Welfare	Social integration	16%	49%
	Welfare	13%	
	Social anxieties	4%	
	Social cohesion	16%	

14. Other Discourses

The Guardian



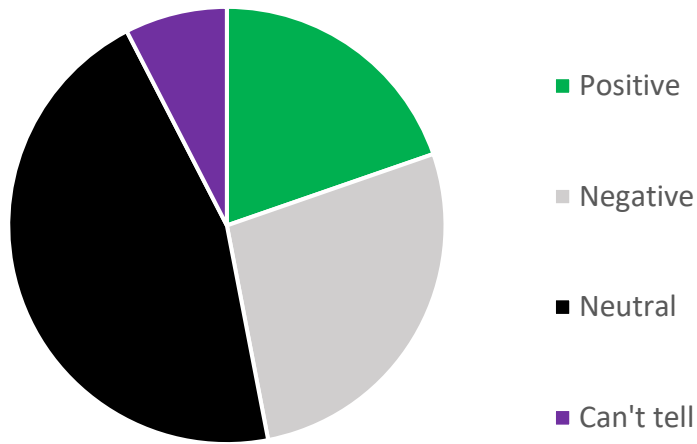
The Times



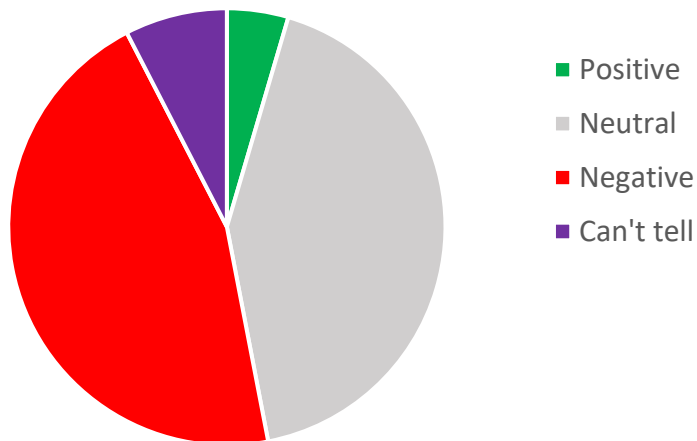
- In **60%** of the reviewed articles from **The Guardian**, there is either directly talked about or implied a discourse of **western moral imperialism**, i.e. a depiction of Western countries as having the duty and responsibility of being the mediators for migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers, but also their moral superiority
- Furthermore, the “western way of life” is suggested as the best scenario for people fleeing from oppressive regimes in the Middle East. 36% of articles framed their stories in the context of **humanitarian failure**.
- **The Times**, conversely, talks about failure in less humanitarian language and uses language (64%) of **IR/Global failure**. Furthermore, this newspaper also continues with the tendency of suggesting that the “western way of life” is the solution for the crises of the Middle East (36%) and also to ‘teach’ Eastern EU members how to act and behave: **western moral imperialism**.

15. Evaluation of Migrants

The Guardian



The Times



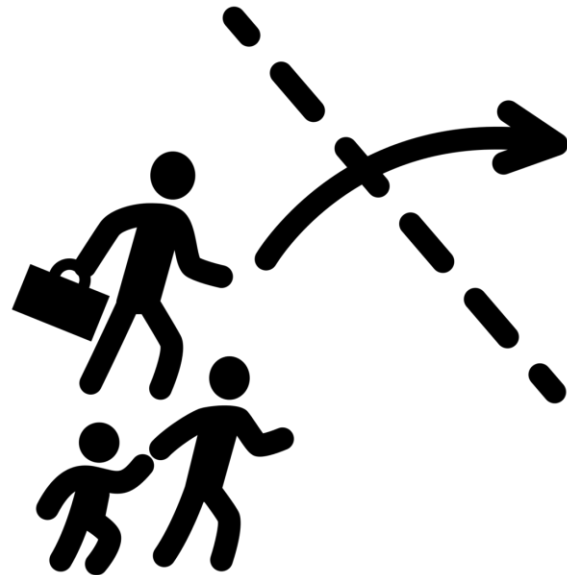
- Overall, the analysed articles from **The Guardian** represent migrants, refugees, or asylum seekers, **neutrally 60%**, it is often carefully worded and neutrality is associated with earlier mention image of a victim. It is surprisingly **negative** about migrants 36% depicting them of them in a negative light and only 26% highlight **positive** aspects of migration, whilst 10% of them are **unclear** either way.
- Equally in the Times a high percentage, **56%** of the reviewed articles depict **migration as neutral**, but the highest figure is for **negative** aspects (60%) ; in addition, 10% of the article are not clear about either and only 6% do it in a **positive** manner.

16. What Is Not Being Said (I)

- **The Guardian** is a newspaper that perhaps somewhat surprisingly depicts migrants neutrally, which does not only strip migrant's of their own agency, but it also overly victimizes them. Hardly any articles provide comprehensive context of either sending or receiving countries and migrants are not even once depicted as professionals with skills and qualifications. There is a significant lack of gender awareness and the complexity of impact migration has on men, women, LGBTs+, disabled or elderly people.
- it is based on a **sense of pity**. In other words, the newspaper deploys **sensationalist discursive tactics** to emphasize the difficult life of migrants in order to generate sympathy. Migrants are always **sufferers** who need to be protected by **mediators**. Indeed, the causes of the “migrant crisis” are severe; however, their representation is entirely based on their vulnerability, on their struggle. Thus, the focus becomes their suffering and not the conditions that are behind this crisis.



16. What Is Not Being Said (II)



- **The Times** deploys more **integral approach**, in terms of **journalistic technique**, when it reports on migration. The news stories of this paper often have balanced views on the matters they are discussing, or at least make clear that a specific standpoint is being highlighted. They are factually easier to follow and generally shorter. However, their focus is heavily on the macro level and micro level is mostly ignored.
- In this regard, the complexity of the “**migrant crisis**” is **satisfactorily represented** by The Times. This newspaper usually provides a background to the crisis in most articles concerned with migration – although the heading and the content of the article often do not match.
- The reviewed articles have a strong emphasis on **European migration**, being described as **negative, dangerous**. The Times reporting is pre-occupied with law and order and gives very little voice to individuals. Similarly to the Guardian, it is pretty much gender blind.



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Report of coded Newspaper Articles

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The Guardian-The Times (September 2015)

by:

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Team Workshop, 2019

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