REPORT OF CODED NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

MIGRANTS:
ANALYSIS OF MEDIA DISCOURSE ON MIGRANTS IN THE UK
THE GUARDIAN-THE TIMES (FEBRUARY 2016)

BY:

RODRIGO MUNOZ-GONZALEZ

TEAM WORKSHOP, 25 NOVEMBER 2019

DEPARTMENT OF MEDIA AND COMMUNICATIONS

LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

Organization

General Information

Coding: 100 newspaper articles (50 per newspaper)
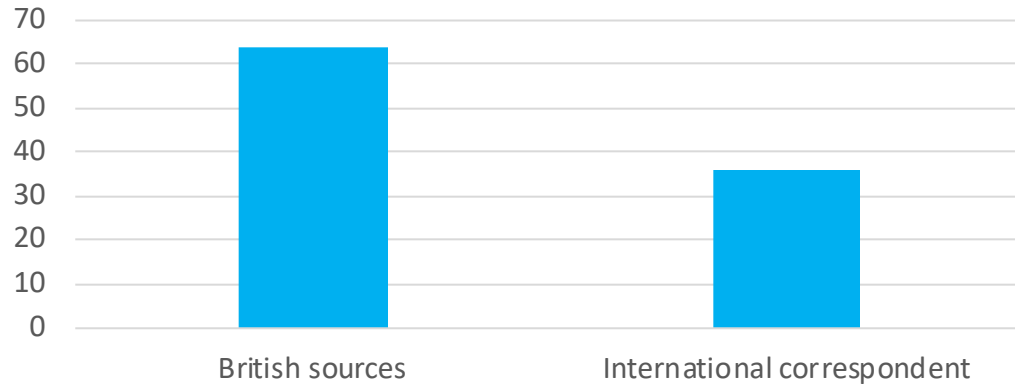**Newspapers:** The Guardian (left-wing) and The Times (right-wing)
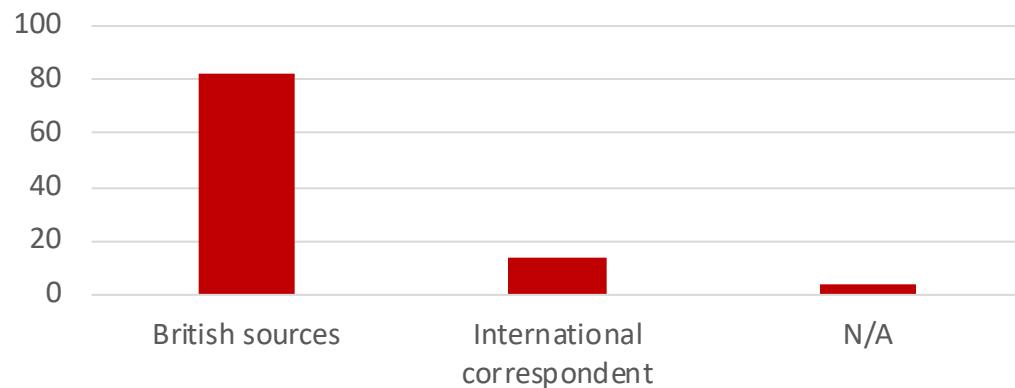
Keywords:
  "Migrant(s)"
  "Refugee(s)"
  "Asylum seeker(s)"

Time Frame: February 2016.

1. **Sources** of **News** about **Migrants** & **Refugees**
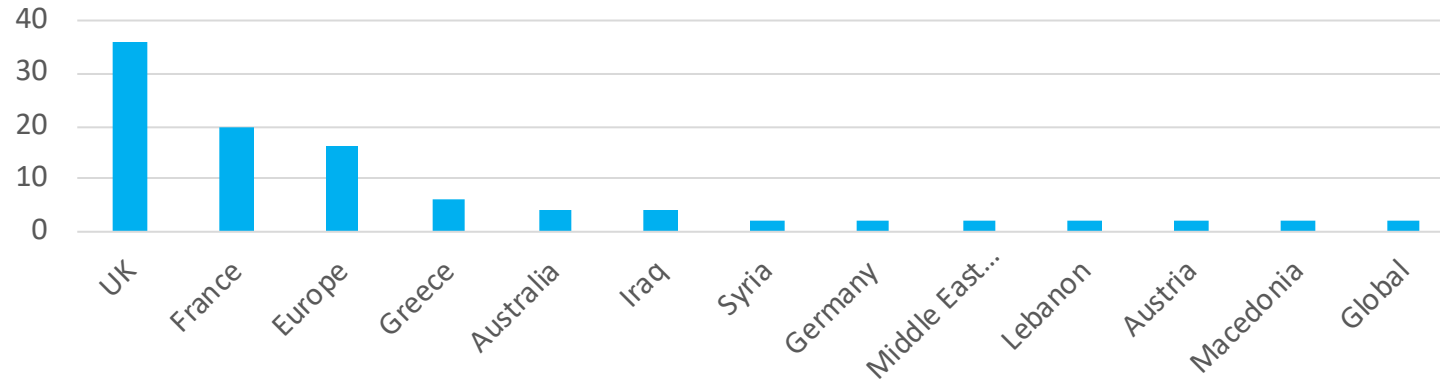
The Guardian

The Times

- In the case of **The Guardian**, 32 news (**64%**) were reported by British journalists, whilst 18 were written by international correspondents (**36%**).

- On the contrary, **The Times** featured 41 articles by British journalists (**82%**), 7 stories reported by international correspondents (**14%**), and 2 pieces that did not mention authorship (**4%**).

- It is crucial to highlight that during this period, The Guardian had a wide coverage of the developments at the **Calais camp**.

2. **Focus** of **Coverage**

The Guardian

The Times
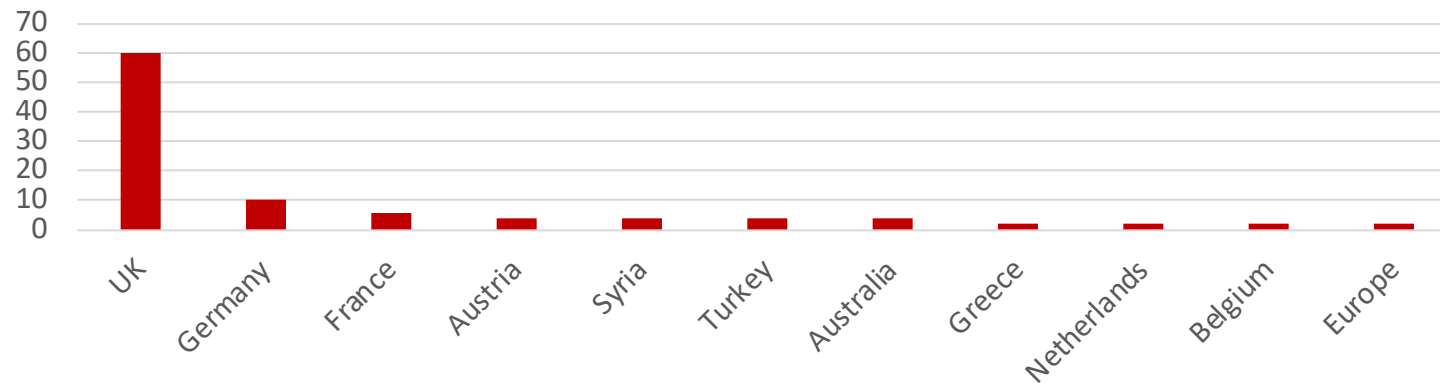
- The focus of coverage in The **Guardian** is **diverse**. From the reviewed stories, 36% regard the UK, 20% France, and 16% Europe, being these place the most frequent.

- **The Times**, on the other hand, is entirely **UK-centric (60%)**. Germany (10%) and France (6%) correspond to the second and third most frequent locations in the coverage of this newspaper.

3. **Direction** of **Movement** (I)

The Guardian

Origin
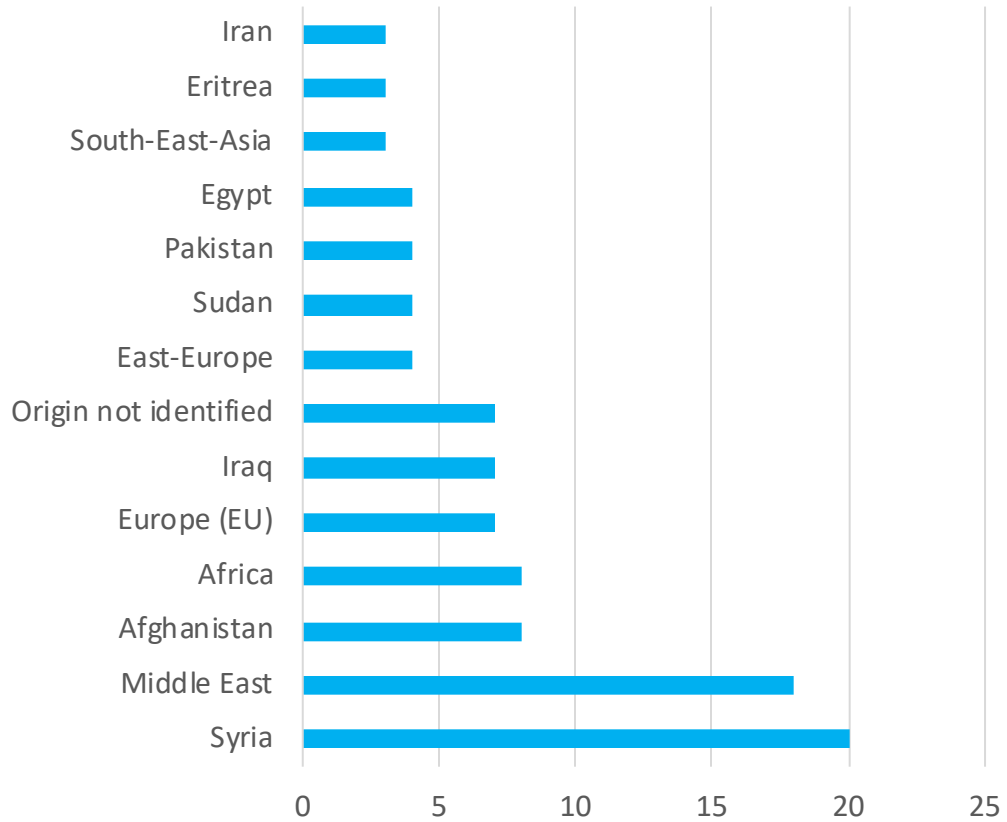
Destination

3. **Direction** of **Movement** (II)

The Times

Origin

Sudan	1
South-East Asia	1
Algeria	1
Morocco	1
Iran	1
Sri Lanka	1
Iraq	1
Afganistan	3
East-Europe	12
Syria	13
Africa	14
Middle East	16
Origin not identified	16
Europe (EU)	19

Destination

Austria	2
Germany	4
Australia	4
France	4
Europe	30
UK	55
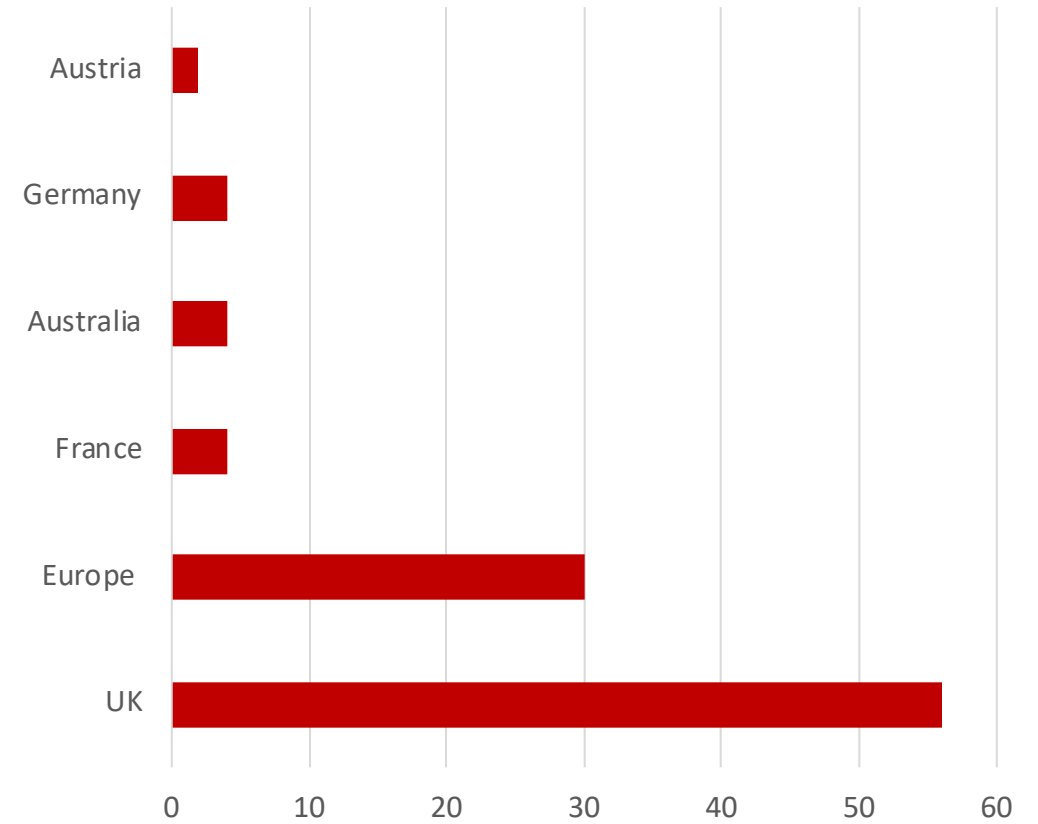
3. **Direction** of **Movement** (III)

- The articles featured in **The Guardian** has as their point of origin the **Middle East**. Whether a specific country is singled out or the whole region is mentioned, th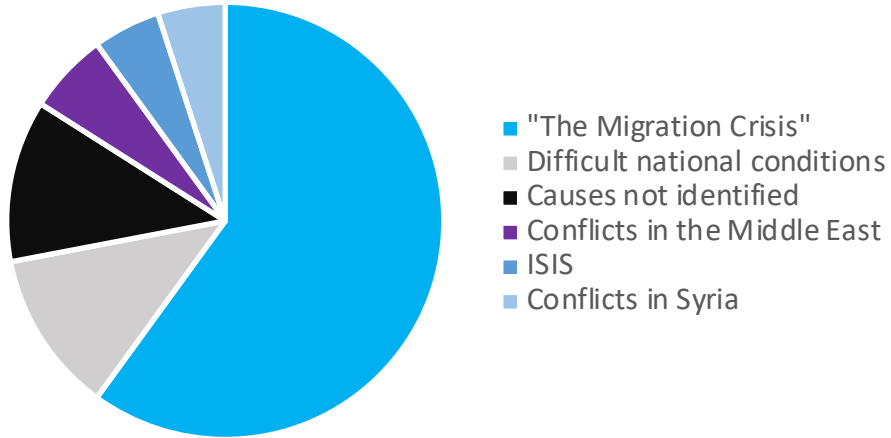e depicted migration has a clear regional focus. Hence, Syria (20%), the Middle East (18%), Afghanistan (7%), and Africa (7%) are most frequent places where the direction of movement is located.

- Now, in terms of destination, the sample of the Guardian points out the **UK** (40%), **Europe** (30%), and **France** (14%) as the arrival points for the portrayed migration.

- The case of **The Times** is different. The stories related to migration from this newspaper regularly locate the direction of movement in **Europe (EU)** (19%), **the Middle East** (16%), Africa (14%), Syria (13%), and specifically East-Europe (12%); furthermore, 16% of the sampled articles do not identify directly the origin of the migration flow.

- Regarding the destination of the reported migratory movements, The Times locates their arrival point in the **UK** (56%), **Europe** (30%), France (4%), Australia (4%), Germany (4%), and Austria (2%).
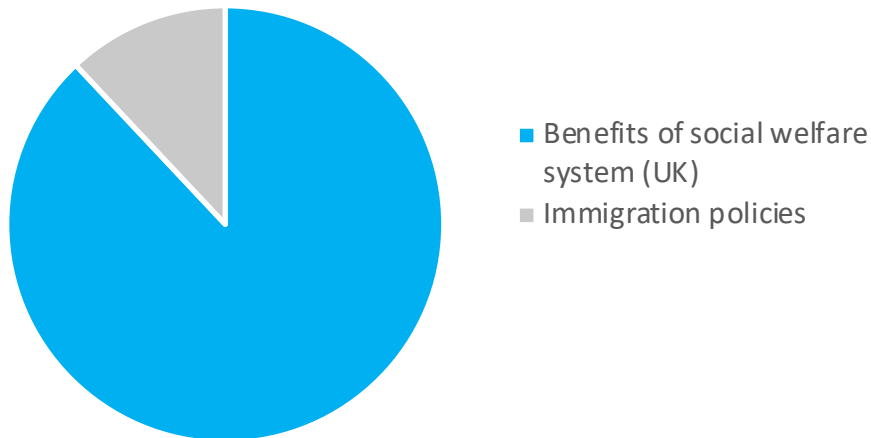
The Guardian

Push Factors

- "The Migration Crisis"
- Difficult national conditions
- Causes not identified
- Conflicts in the Middle East
- ISIS
- Conflicts in Syria

Pull Factors

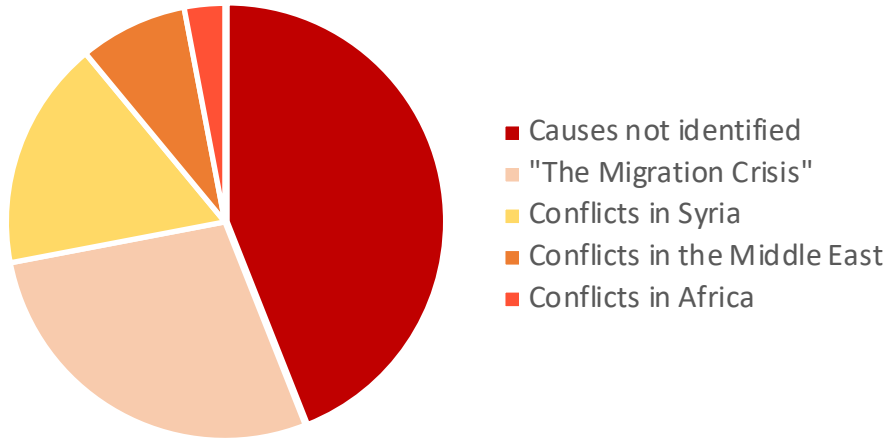- Benefits of social welfare system (UK)
- Immigration policies

- In the case of The Guardian, the **push factors** given to the causes of migration are: "the migration crisis" (60%), difficult national conditions (12%), causes not identified (12%), conflicts in the Middle East (6%), ISIS (5%), and the conflict in Syria (5%).

- On the other hand, the **pull factors** given attributed to the causes of migration by the Guardian are: the benefits of the social welfare system in the UK (88%) and immigration policies (12%).

- It is important to note that, from the selected sample, 42 news stories (**84%**) regard **push factors**, whilst 8 (**16%**) regard **pull factors.**
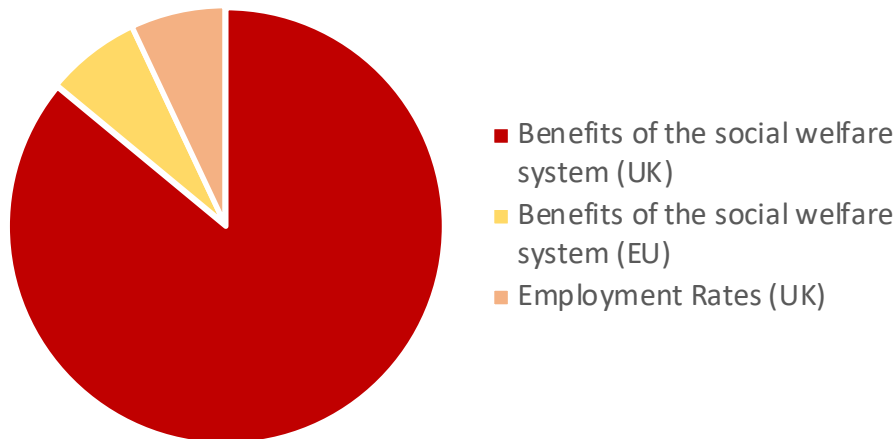
The Times

Push Factors

- Causes not identified
- "The Migration Crisis"
- Conflicts in Syria
- Conflicts in the Middle East
- Conflicts in Africa

Pull Factors

- Benefits of the social welfare system (UK)
- Benefits of the social welfare system (EU)
- Employment Rates (UK)

- In the case of The Times, the **push factors** given to the causes of migration are: causes not identified (44%), "the migration crisis" (28%), the conflict in Syria (17%), conflicts in the Middle East (8%), and conflicts in Africa (3%)

- On the other hand, the **pull factors** given attributed to the causes of migration by the Guardian are: the benefits of the social welfare system in the UK (86%), the benefits of the social welfare system in the EU (7%), and high employment rates in the UK (7%).

- From the selected sample, 36 news stories (**72%**) regard **push factors**, whilst 14 (**28%**) regard **pull factors.**
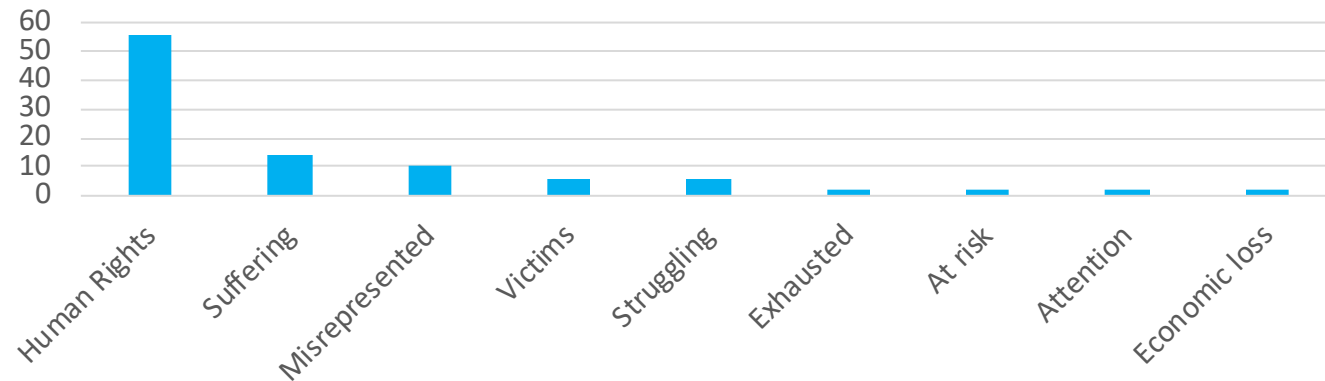
5. **Actors** (I)

The Guardian

Actors
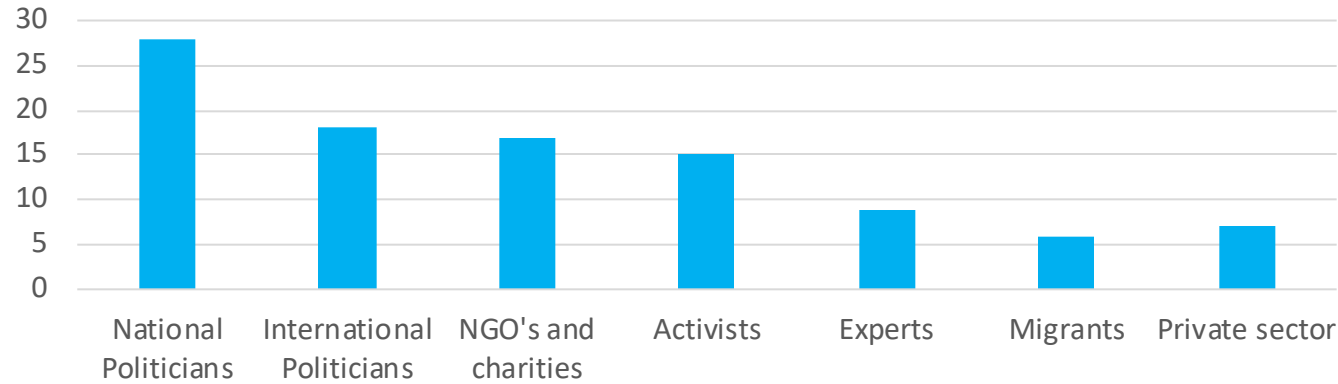
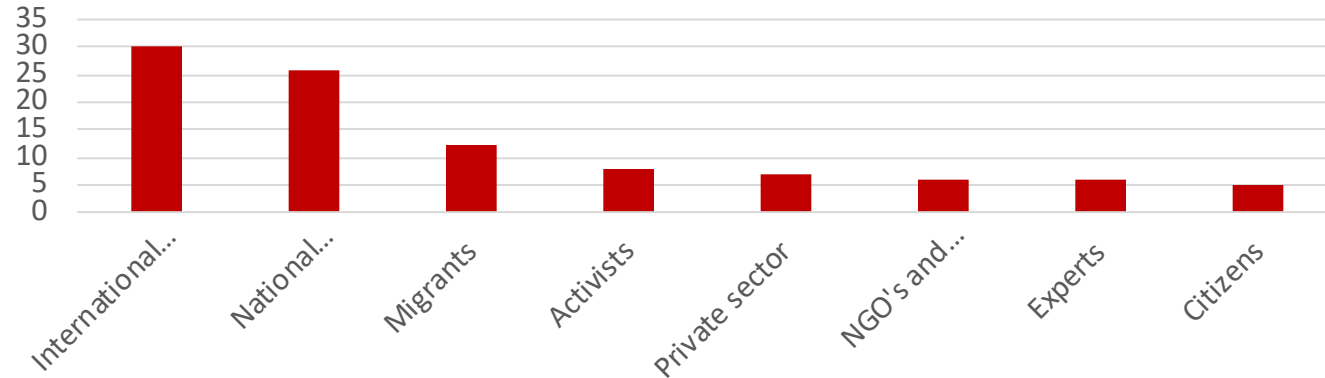**Most common descriptions**

- The **most frequent actors** in news stories related to migrants, asylum seekers and refugees are **national politicians** (28%), **international politicians** (18%), **NGO's and charities** (17%), and **activists** (15%).

- **Only 7%** of the reviewed articles are centred directly on **migrants, asylum seekers, or refugees.**

- **The most common descriptions** of migrants describe them as **deserving human rights** (56%), **"suffering"** (14%), **misrepresented** (10%), and **"victims"** (6%).
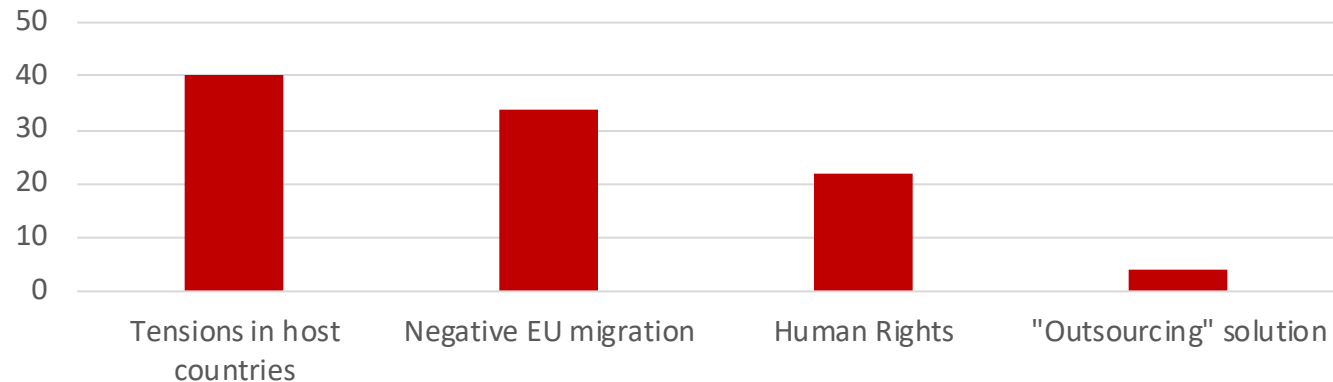
5. **Actors** (II)
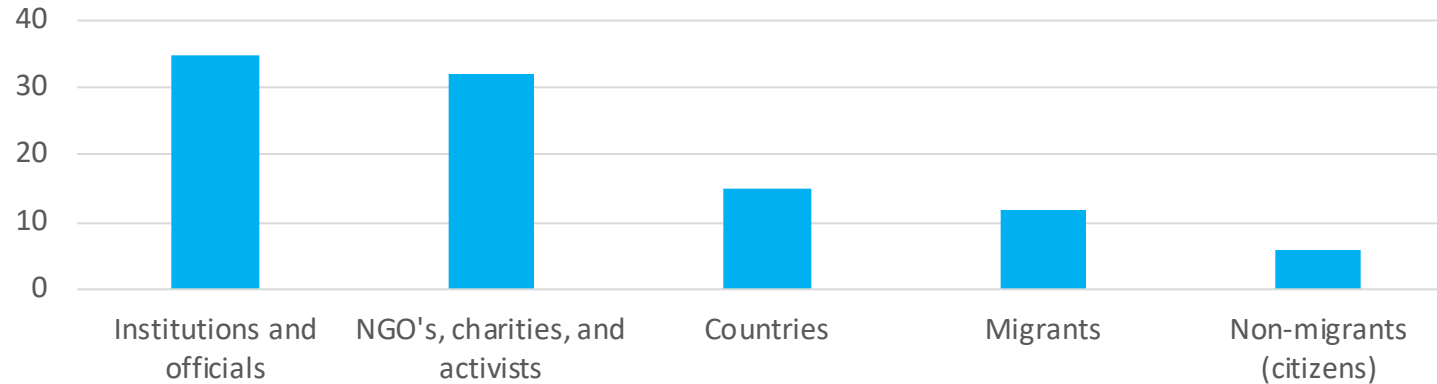
The Times

Actors

Most common descriptions

- The **most frequent actors** in news stories related to migrants, asylum seekers and refugees are **international politicians** (30%), **national politicians** (26%), **migrants, refugees, or asylum seekers** (12%), and **activists** (8%).

- On the other hand, **the most common descriptions** of migrants suggest that they **cause tensions** in their host countries (40%), **European migration is negative** for the UK (34%), the conflicts from which they are fleeing demand a **Human Rights approach** (22%), and that the solution for the migration crisis should be **"outsourced"** to other region (22%).

6. Voice

The Guardian

The Times
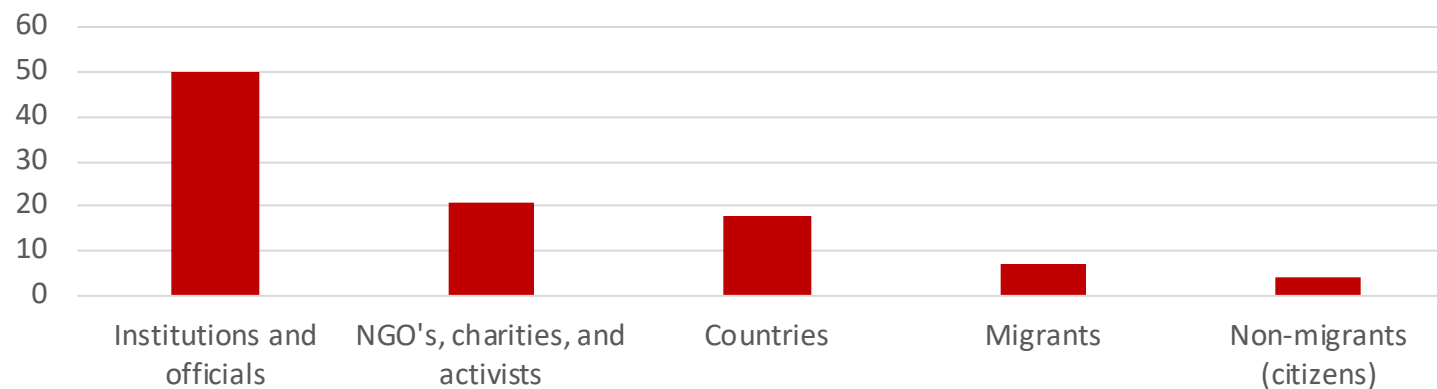
- In the reviewed articles of **The Guardian**, the principal actors who have a **voice** in the stories are **institutions and officials** (35%), **NGO's, charities, and activists** (32%), countries (15%), migrants, refugees or asylum seekers (12%), and non-migrant citizens (6%).

- Similarly, **The Times** exhibits the **same tendency**. In this case, the most frequent actors who speak are: institutions and officials (50%), NGO's, charities, and activists (21%), countries (18%), migrants, refugees or asylum seekers (7%), and non-migrant citizens (4%).

The Guardian

7. **Metaphors** (I)

Metaphors about migrants
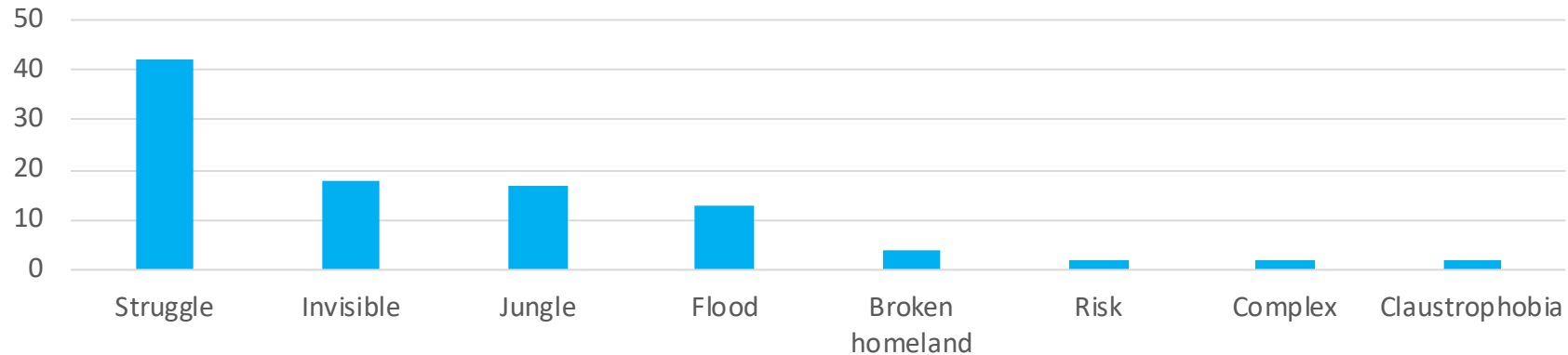
Metaphors about non-migrants
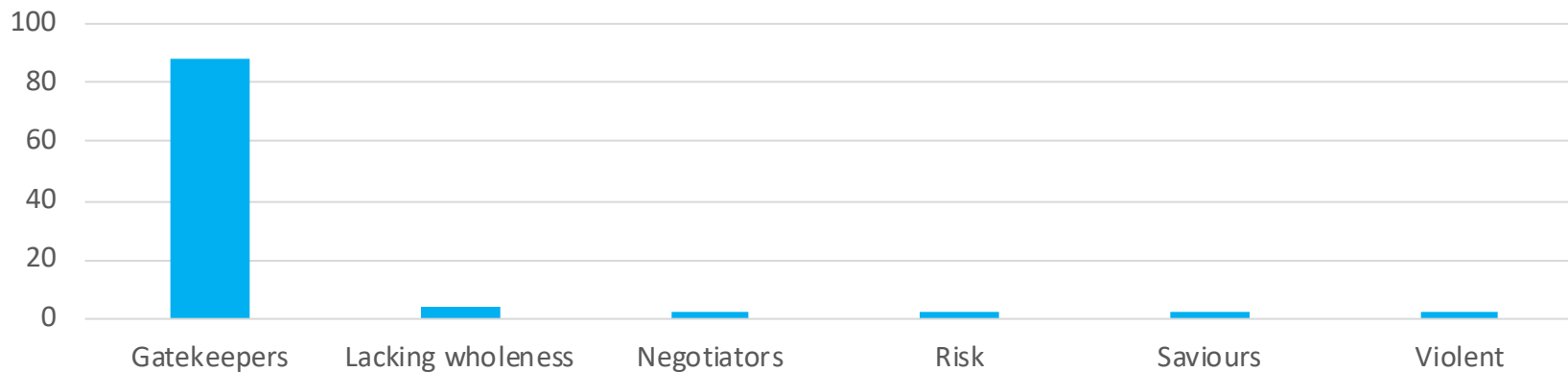
- The **most common metaphors** used by The Guardian in articles about migrants, refugees, or asylum seekers entail rhetorical devices related with: **struggle** (42%), **invisibility** (18%), **jungles** (17%), floods (13%), broken homelands (4%), risks (2%), complexities (2%), and claustrophobia (2%).

- On the other hand, the **most frequent metaphor** used by The Guardian in terms of **non-migrants** is the **gatekeeper** (**88%**), being concerned with the mediators who are helping migrants.

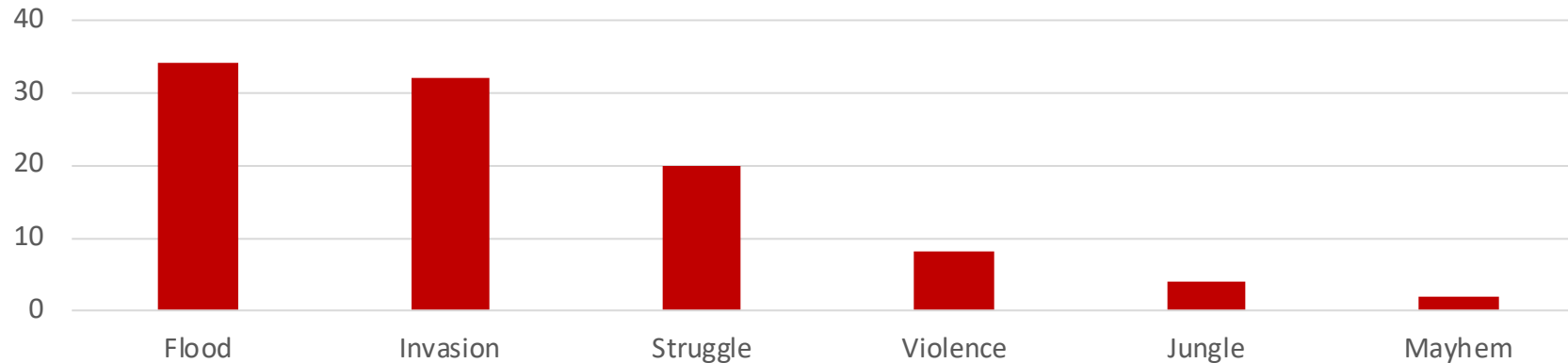# 7. **Metaphors** (II)

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: **floods** (34%), **invasions** (32%), **struggles** (20%), violence (8%), jungles (4%), and mayhem (2%).

- On the contrary, the **most frequent metaphors** used by The Times in terms of **non-migrants** are associated with meanings of **protectors** (**60%**) – specially against EU migration – and **gatekeepers** (**36%**).

Emotions about migrants
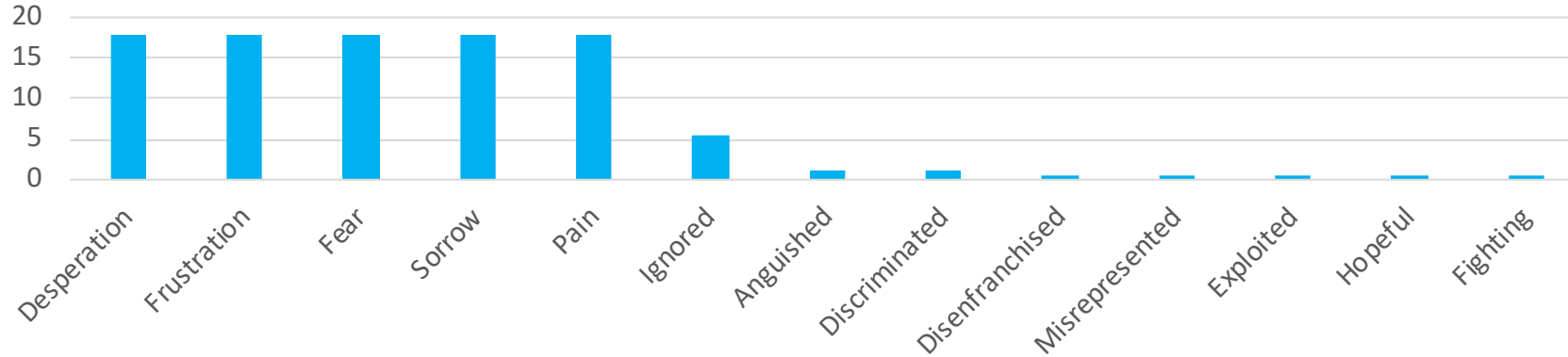
Emotions about non-migrants
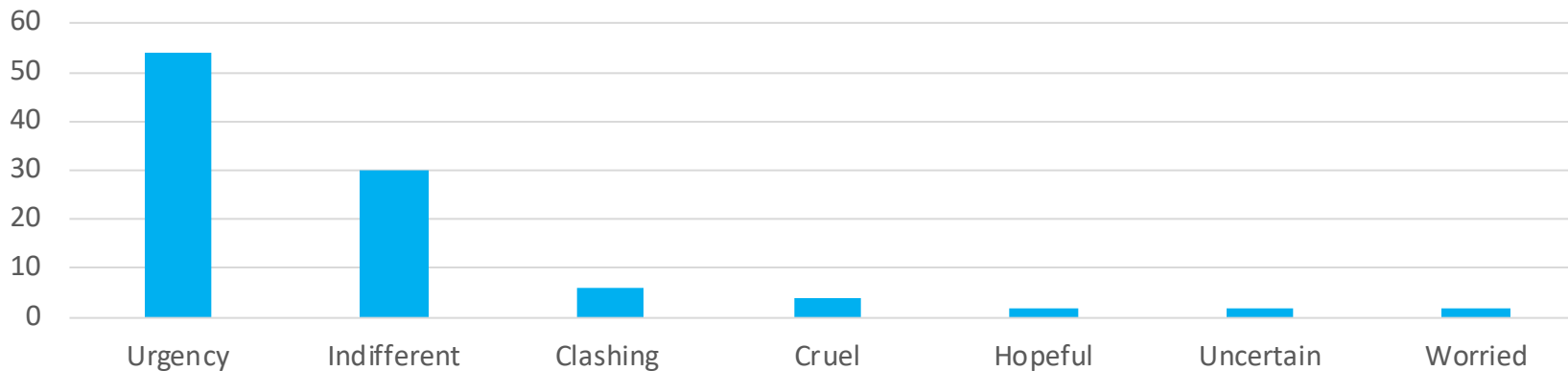
- Emotionally, **migrants** are depicted by The Guardian as **desperate** (18%), **frustrated** (18%), with **fear** (18%), **sorrow** (18%), and **pain** (18%). This group of 5 emotions are always utilized together, being present in **90%** of the sampled articles.

- In the case of non-migrants, the most frequent emotions associated with **non-migrants** encompass a feeling of **urgency** (54%), **indifference** towards migration (30%), and the experience of **clashing sensibilities** towards migrants (6%).

16

Emotions about migrants
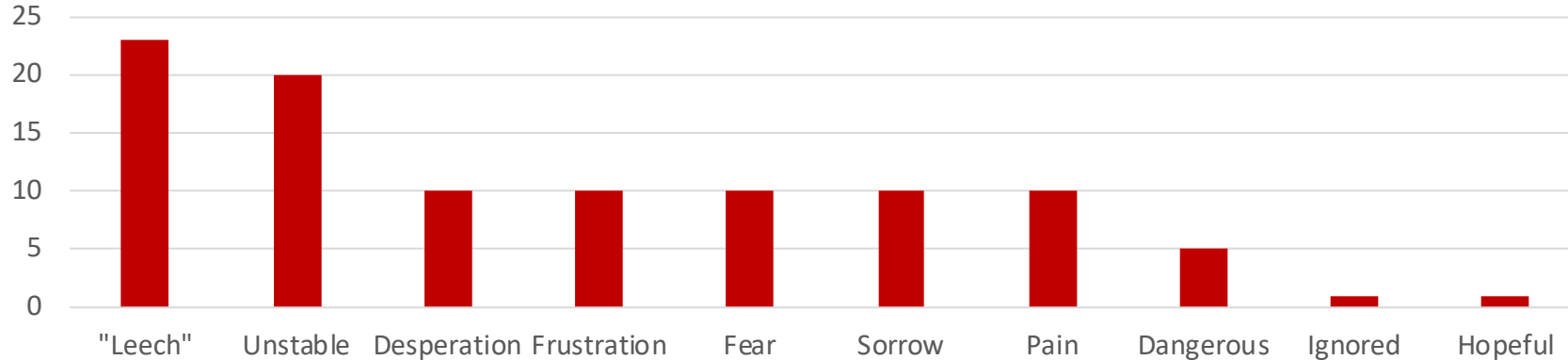
Emotions about non-migrants
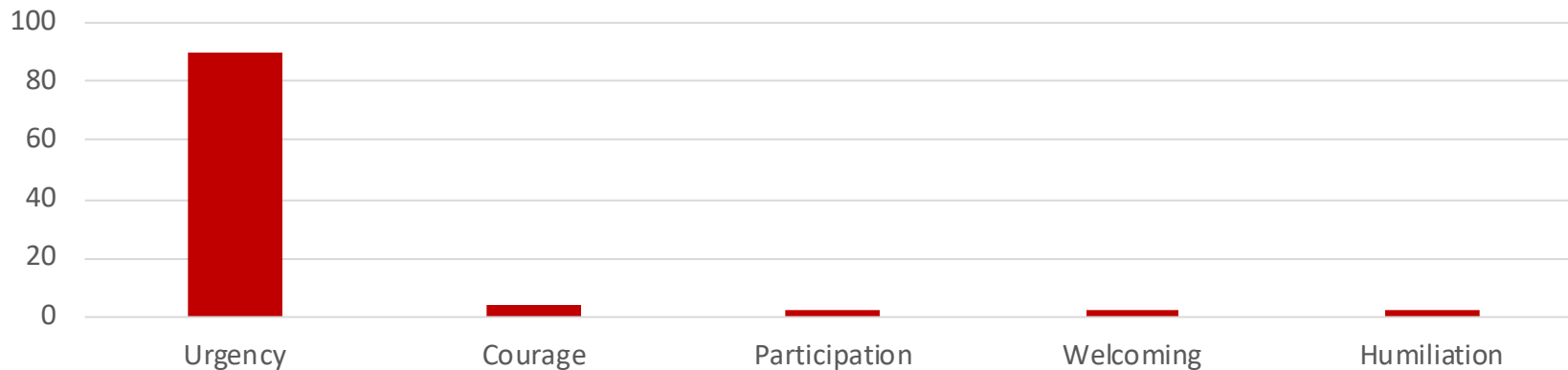
- The **most common emotion** deployed by The Times in the representation of migrants entail a feeling of **sucking out** the **benefits** of the host country, a sensation that can be represented with the figure of the **"leech"** (23%). The second most common emotion connected with migration is **instability** (20%).

- It is crucial to observe how the feelings of **desperation, frustration, fear, sorrow, and pain** represent a **50%** of the emotions used to describe migrants.

- In the case of **non-migrants**, a feeling of **urgency** towards migration is the most frequent emotion of the reviewed news stories (**90%**).

9. **Political Frames** (I)

The Guardian

Macro Political Frames

- ■ Borders
- ■ "Migrant crisis"
- ■ Labour
- ■ Political conflicts
- ■ Law

Micro Political Frames

- ■ Human Rights
- ■ Citizen's rights
- ■ Ideological differences
- ■ Political and economic security
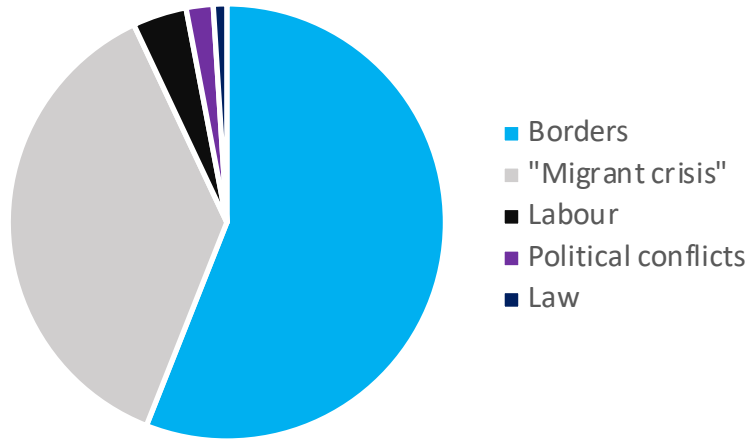
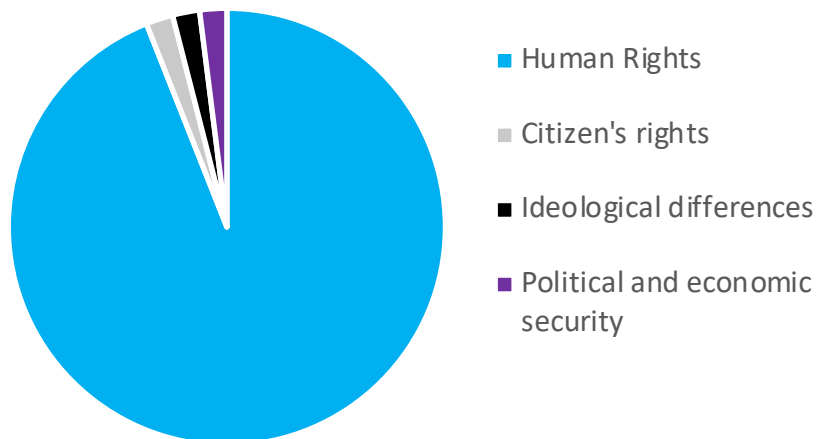- Both newspapers exhibit two political frames within the sampled articles. One is concerned with **social issues** at the **macro level**, whereas the other is located at a **micro level** that encompasses the migrants, refugees, or asylum seekers in a more concrete fashion.

- Thus, the **macro political frames** of the Guardian are: **borders** (56%), the "migrant crisis" (37%), labour (4%), political conflicts in the Middle East (2%), and law (1%).

- 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** (94%). The rest of the frames found in the sample are citizen's rights (2%), ideological differences (2%), and political and economic security (2%).

9. **Political Frames** (II)

The Times

Macro Political Frames

- Borders
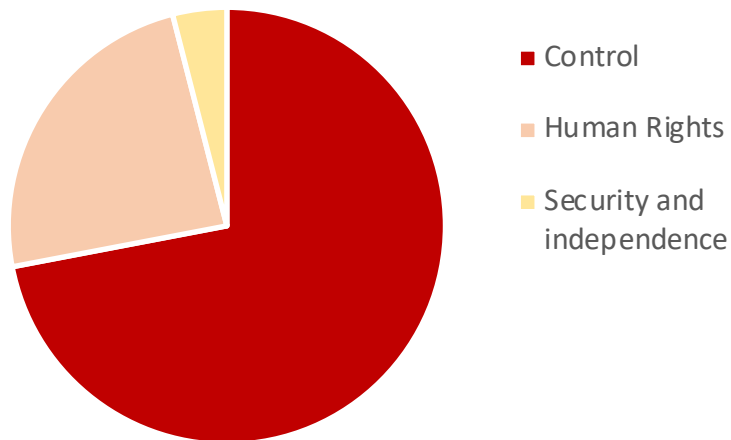- "Migrant crisis"
- Brexit (Election)

Micro Political Frames

- Control
- Human Rights
- Security and independence
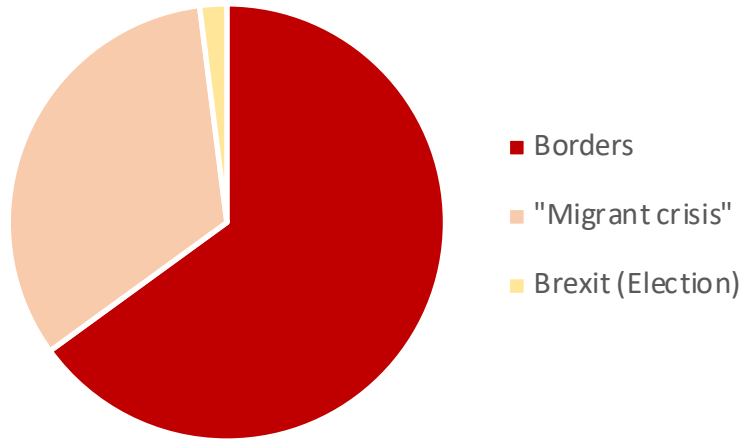
- The macro political frames of **The Times** are more focused. In this sense, they are associated with **borders** (65%), the **"migrant crisis"** (33%), and the **Brexit election** (2%).

- It is crucial to note that many articles from this newspaper covered the preparations for the Brexit referendum; nevertheless, as they were primarily centred around European migration, they were categorised as dealing with "borders".

- On the other hand, the micro political frames exposed in The Times are related with the **control** of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers (72%), the protection of their **Human Rights** (24%), and the UK's **security and independence** from them (4%).

10. Economic Frames

The Guardian

- Financial costs of migration
- Employment
- Growth
- Decline
- New financial rules

The Times

- Financial costs of migration
- Employment
- Growth
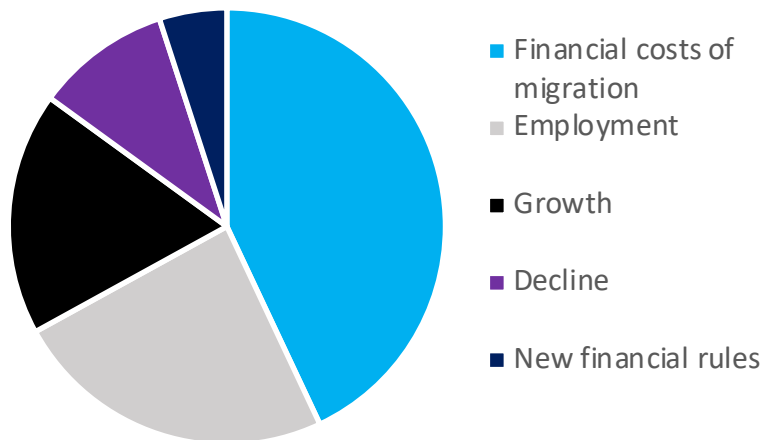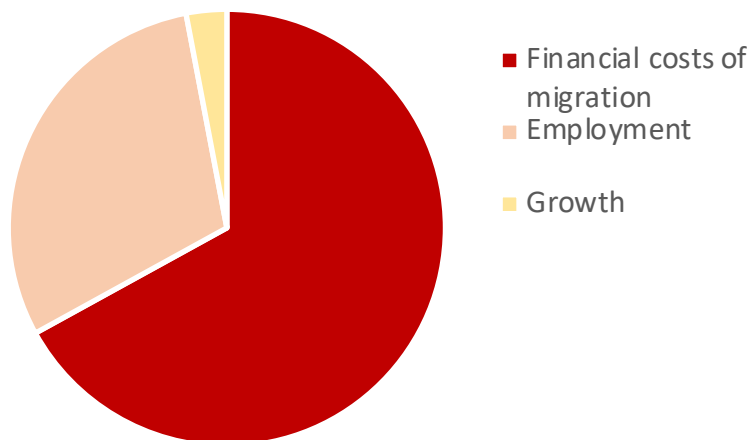
- Only 21 articles from **The Guardian** presented some sort of **economic frame** (i.e. **42%** of the sample).

- From this group, 43% were concerned with the financial costs of migration to the host countries, 24% were related to employment conditions for migrants, 18% argued that migrants bring economic growth, 10% reported on experts or politicians arguing that migrants cause economic decline, and 5% described new financial rules created by migration.

- Only 27 news stories from **the Times** had an **economic frame** (i.e. **54%** of the sample).

- Hence, the economic frames found in this newspaper regard the financial costs of migration to the host countries (67%), the fear of EU immigrants stealing jobs away from British citizens (30%), and experts claiming that migrants bring economic growth (3%).
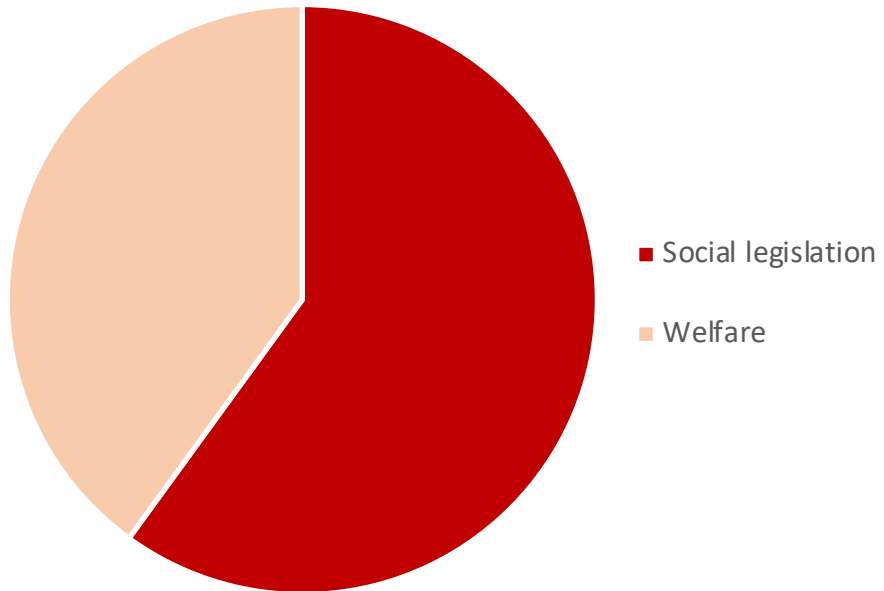
11. **Social Frames** (I)

- Social legislation
- Welfare
- Government
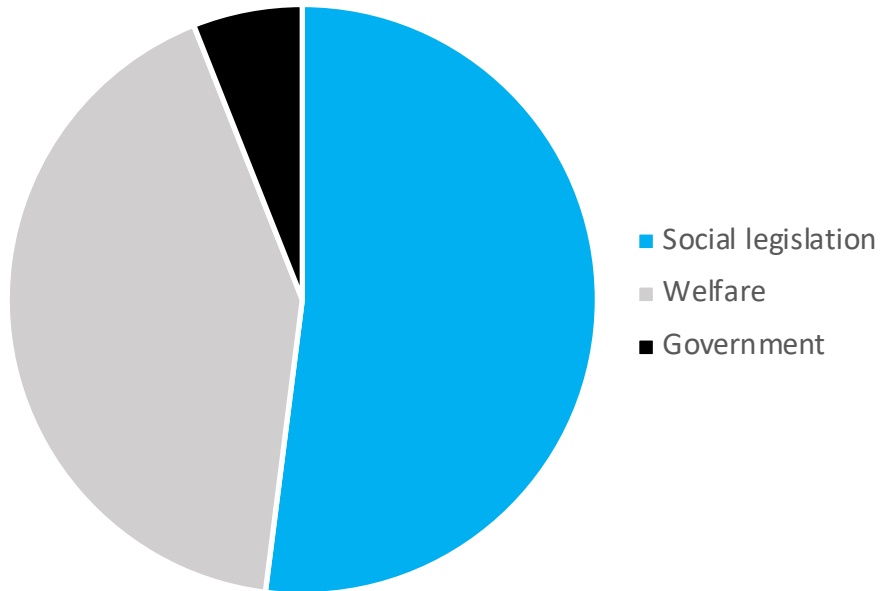
NB: In 23 of the reviewed news stories from The Guardian (i.e. 46%), there is a developmental frame that highlights the risks of migrants in terms of their development.

The Guardian			
Frame	Sub-frame	Frequency	Total
Social legislation	"Good" migration policies	48%	52%
	Social legislation	4%	
Welfare	Social integration	12%	42%
	Social stability	12%	
	Stigmatization	8%	
	Social anxieties	4%	
	Social perception	2%	
	Community	2%	
	Welfare	2%	
Government	Political unity	4%	6%
	Governmental actions	2%	

11. **Social Frames** (II)

- Social legislation
- Welfare

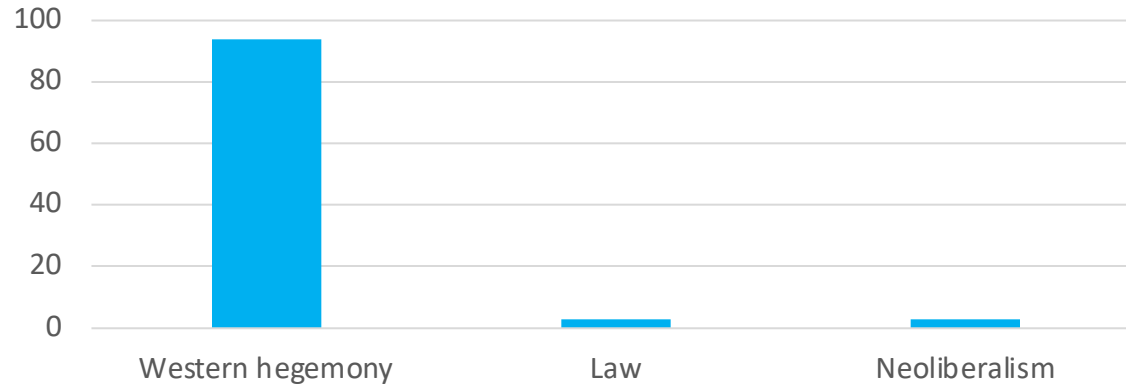| The Times			
Frame	Sub-frame	Frequency	Total
Social legislation	Social legislation	38%	60%
	"Good" migration policies	22%	
Welfare	Social integration	36%	40%
	Social anxieties	4%	

NB: In only 2 of the sampled articles from The Times (i.e. 4%), there is a developmental frame that highlights the risks of migrants in terms of their development.
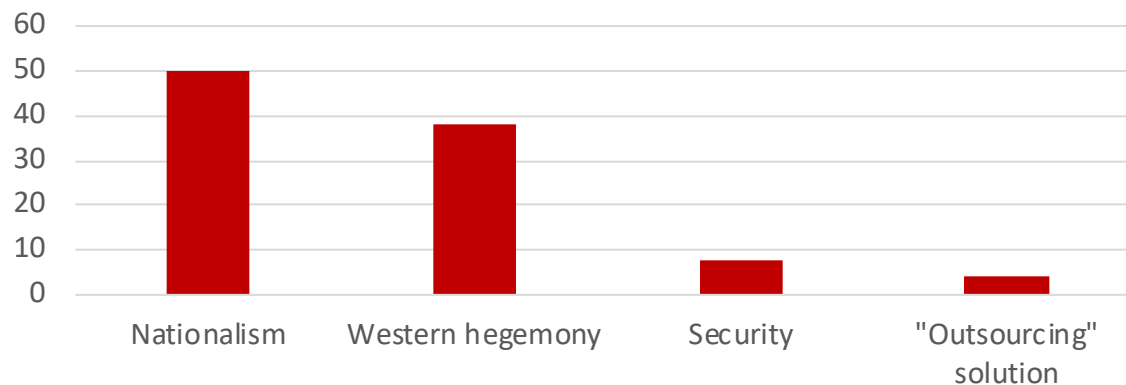
12. Other **Discourses**
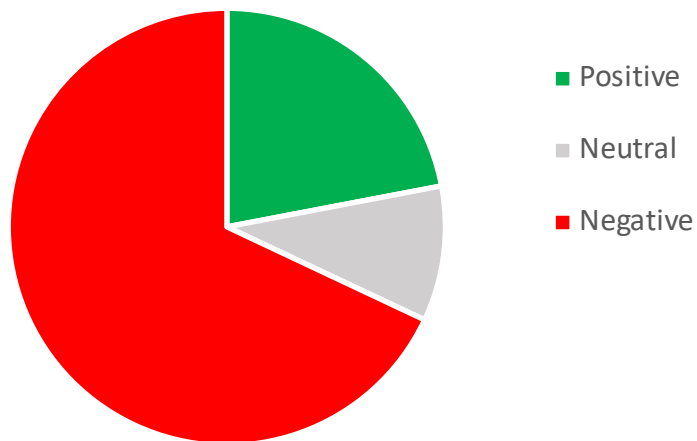
The Guardian

The Times

- In **94%** of the reviewed articles from **The Guardian**, there is a discourse of **western hegemony**, i.e. a depiction of Western countries as having the duty and responsibility of being the mediators for migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers.

- Furthermore, the "western way of life" is suggested as the best scenario for people fleeing from oppressive regimes in the Middle East.

- **The Times**, conversely, exhibits a **high level of nationalistic discourses** in its articles. **50%** of the scrutinized texts were identified as highlighting "British values" over European ones. Furthermore, this newspaper continues with the tendency of suggesting that the "western way of life" is the solution for the crises of the Middle East (38%).

- Summed to this, 8% of the analysed news stories from The Times imply that security is a far more important issue than the free movement of European citizens. Finally, 4% of the articles propose that the "migrant" crisis" should be solved by the countries wherein it is happening.

13. **Evaluation** of **Migrants**

The Guardian

■ Positive ■ Neutral

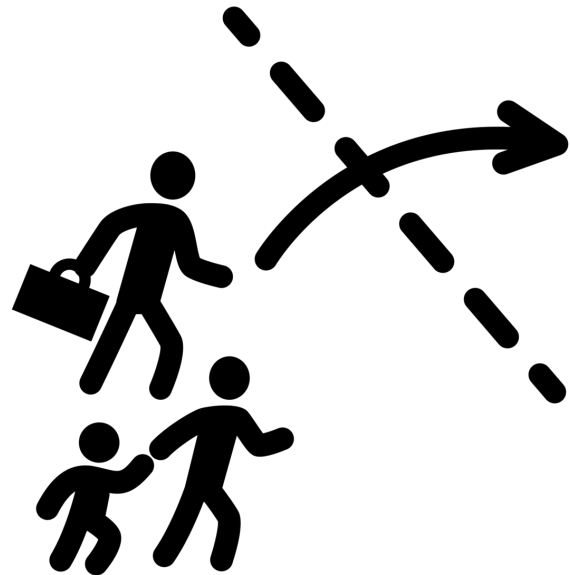**The Times**

■ Positive

■ Neutral

■ Negative
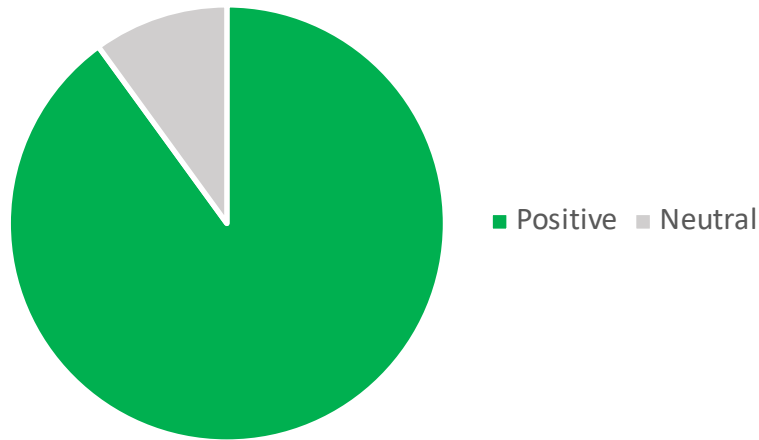
- Overall, the analysed articles from **The Guardian** represent migrants, refugees, or asylum seekers, under a **positive light**. **90%** of them highlight positive aspects of migration, whilst 10% of them convey a neutral image.

- It is noteworthy that none of the scrutinised news stories from The Guardian deployed a negative view of migration.

- On the contrary, **68%** of the reviewed articles from **The Times** depict **migration as negative**; in addition, 22% of them do it in a positive manner, and 10% of them enact a neutral image.

15. **What Is Not Being Said** (I)

- **The Guardian** is a newspaper that has **strong pro-migration position**. Nonetheless, its representation of migrants, refugees, or asylum seekers is problematic for 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.

- This insight allows to understand how the **migrant crisis** as such is portrayed. This crisis is **reified** into a **catastrophe** that has no beginning nor ending. The Guardian has a tendency of reporting it as a matter of **individual pain** instead of a political, economic, and social phenomenon.

15. **What Is Not Being Said** (II)

- **The Times** deploys a 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.

- 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 every article concerned with migration – for instance, a brief explanation of the Assad regime is given when the topic is Syrian refugees.

- Nonetheless, The Times falls into the **trap of British nationalism**. Refugees or asylum seekers are sympathetically depicted inasmuch they are not trying to enter the UK. The reviewed articles have a strong emphasis on **European migration**, being described as **negative**. European migrants are compared to 'vampires' who suck out the benefits from the welfare system of the UK, affecting the quality of the services, specifically, and affecting the identity of the country, generally.

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