2018 British Media Representations of Refugees

The case of The Guardian
ABSTRACT

Writer(s): Anca Georgiana Radu
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This study aims to examine the media representations of the refugees in the United Kingdom, during the first three months of 2018. The stated period succeeds the peak of the refugee crisis, which benefitted from a high media coverage. Scholars have concluded that media representations of the refugee crisis during its peak were often stereotyped and collectivised. This thesis aims to find out how the refugee crisis is represented in the period after the peak. Thus, the thesis analyses the newspaper The Guardian, by using the method of Critical Discourse Analysis in order to reveal the frames and collectivisation/individualisation practices in the news articles. In this way, the theories of representation, stereotyping and framing represent the basis of this study. Furthermore, individualisation and collectivisation practices represent the core of this thesis, since studying their presence can reveal underlying stereotypes in the news articles. The analysis revealed that The Guardian’s reports presented both individualised and collectivised representations of the refugees. Hence, the thesis concluded that The Guardian has attempted a more positive way of reporting, but their reports are not totally objective and unbiased.

Keywords: Individualisation, Collectivisation, Framing, Refugees, The Guardian, Refugee Crisis
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1. Introduction

In 2015, over 1.25 million refugees attempted to enter the European Union, being compelled to flee their countries by social, economic, and political issues such as the ongoing Syrian civil war. Since the beginning of the war, in 2011, more than 5.4 million people have fled Syria, looking for a safe living environment (UNHCR, 2018).

Even though the number of refugees reached its peak during the summer of 2015, refugees continue to arrive at the borders of Europe. The International Organization for Migration reported that a total of 8,501 refugees arrived in Europe in January 2018, 7,147 arriving by sea and 1,327 by land (IOM, Mixed migrant flows in the Mediterranean, January 2018, p.1). Furthermore, in a report released in March 2018 it is stated that a total of 18,956 refugees have entered Europe, through both, sea and land, by the end of the first quarter of 2018. (IOM, Mixed migrant flows in the Mediterranean, March 2018, p. 4)

The high number of refugees represents one of the biggest humanitarian crisis since the World War II, and it pushes the limits of the host countries to find long standing solutions for hosting the refugees. As the number of refugees arriving in Europe increased, so did the media coverage on the subject (Kedra & Sommier, 2016, p. 39).

Media outlets being the primary source of information, they hold an important role in reporting and representing the refugee crisis. Media corporations not only play a central role in distributing information, but, according to Shani Orgad (2012), they also have the power to shape the way the receiver perceives the information, through media framing.

Previous research on the United Kingdom’s (UK) media sphere presented collectivised representations about refugees and immigrants and constructed stereotypical images about them. On one hand, in this thesis the term collectivised representations is understood as media representations which refer to the refugees as a collective and not as singular individuals. On the other hand, individualised representations are understood as representations which frame the refugees individually, emphasising their distinct characteristics. Nevertheless, Lutgard Lams (2018) stated that in comparison to other European media outlets from France, Netherlands and Belgium, the British media was the media system that presented the refugees in a less stereotyped way, having the highest percentage of individualisation. (Lams, 2018, p. 104). Furthermore, the concept of stereotype is understood as the specific characteristics attributed to the refugees, either positive or negative, which are constructed or exaggerated through the media.
News articles published on The Guardian’s website represent the material of analysis for this thesis. The Guardian was chosen because it is perceived as an objective newspaper, while having in 2016 the fourth highest monthly readership in the United Kingdom, reaching a total of 22,904 individuals through both, print and digital platform (OFCOM, News consumption in the UK, 2017 p. 29). The objectivity of the newspaper here refers to reports in which the refugees are represented in a truthful and non-stereotyped manner.

Preceded by the Introduction chapter, which presented background information on the subject of media representations of refugees, the refugee crisis and details about The Guardian, the thesis follows up with the subchapter, where the aim and research questions are discussed. In the second chapter of the thesis, the previous research that has been conducted on the field of media representations of refugees is discussed. The third chapter of the thesis presents the chosen method of analysis and the material to be further analysed. The thesis continues with the fifth chapter, which is represented by the actual analysis of the research material. The sixth chapter presents the results of the analysis. Finally, the concluding discussion is presented in the seventh chapter and the thesis ends with the references and appendices.

1.1 Aim and Research Questions

Scholars such as Joanna Kedra and Mélodine Sommier (2016) and Lutgard Lams (2018) focused their studies regarding the representation of refugees on the peak of the refugee crisis in 2015 and 2016. These authors reached the conclusion that media representations of refugees during this period were stereotyped and have collectivised the refugees.

The area of media representations of the refugees is lacking a study which is conducted during the year of 2018, reflecting what happened in the media after the peak of the crisis has passed. Based on the reasons that the year of 2018 is not over and academic papers require a minimum time of six months prior to be published, there are no published articles regarding the media representations of refugees in 2018 by the time this thesis was conducted.

This being stated, this thesis wishes to answer the question whether the refugees are still represented in a stereotyped and collectivised way in the present days, as previous researchers have stated. This thesis represents a small contribution to the studies that will further be published in the research field of media representations of refugees.

Following the previous research literature, this paper wishes to investigate the refugees’ representations in the UK media during the period of 1st January 2018- 31st March 2018. Thus, the aim of this thesis is to analyse how refugees are represented in the news articles published on The Guardian’s website. Applying the methods of Critical Discourse Analysis and Visual Analysis, this thesis strives to comprehend if the refugees are portrayed as individuals
or as a collective and to draw conclusions on whether or not The Guardian uses stereotyped representations.

Thus, two research questions emerge from this aim:

1. How are the refugees portrayed in The Guardian articles? Are they individualised or collectivised?
2. What type of stereotypes are present in The Guardian’s representations of refugees?

2. Previous research

This chapter is presenting the field of media representations of refugees and immigrants, with the aim of finding out what are the research gaps in this field, but also what information is already mapped out and what methods previous researchers have used, while conducting their studies. To gather the articles that will be further examined, a search process was conducted.

The search process started on the following databases: Taylor & Francis Online, Sage Journals, ProQuest, Communication Source (EBSCO) and BrowZine. The search process was defined by the following key words: “refugees”, “media representations”, “frames”, “immigrants and refugees”, “media coverage” and “media framing”. The articles which have been retrieved by the databases were then read and inspected. At times, checking the citations and references of these articles led to finding other relevant academic articles covering the subject of media representations of refugees. After this process of searching, reading and examining, the final number of papers that will be discussed in this chapter was reached.

Seth Holmes and Heide Castaneda (2016) analysed the media coverage of the ongoing refugee crisis in Germany and Europe. In doing so, the authors focused on aspects of legitimisation, meaning and power found in media representations of the refugees. The authors discuss the lexical choices in media representations, focusing on the difference between the words ‘refugee’ and ‘immigrant’. Holmes and Castaneda (2016, p.17) concluded that, on the one hand, refugees are involuntarily forced to flee their home country by political circumstances as well as natural disasters. On the other hand, immigrants are perceived as voluntarily fleeing their home countries, searching for a better life. The authors further stress that using both terms creates confusion. Reporting about violence, political attacks and linking the refugees with terrorist attacks creates a ‘lexicon of terror’ (Feitlowitz, 1998, as cited in Holmes & Castaneda, 2016, p.13).

Bastian Vollmer and Serhat Karakayali (2018) have focused their study on the ‘deserving and undeserving’ dichotomy in relation to refugees, in German media, during the years of 2015 and 2016. The study has used the method of Critical Discourse Analysis to conduct the text
analysis. An image analysis was conducted as well (Vollmer & Karakayali, 2018, p.119). From the image analysis, the authors concluded that media uses metaphors, such as ‘the boat metaphor’, to create the image that refugees are by nature’s hands, on the open sea. Framing their story almost as a natural disaster, represents them as vulnerable, and frames them as the ‘deserving migrant’ (Vollmer & Karakayali, 2018, p.123). The authors are emphasising that media representations change accordingly to key events. For example, when the refugee boy Aylan Kurdi was found dead on a beach in Turkey, his story spread all over the media. In this period, media was framing refugees, mostly referring to women and kids, which were depicted as the vulnerable, deserving ones (Vollmer & Karakayali, 2018, p.127). Furthermore, the authors analysed media representations after the event of January 2016, when women were assaulted in Cologne, Germany, by a group of refugees that arrived in Germany during the summer of 2015. They reached the conclusion that when negative events are linked to the refugees, the media coverage switches from women and kids, to young men, which are framed as ‘evil doers’ (Vollmer & Karakayali, 2018, p.130).

Esther Greussing and Hajo Boomgaarden (2017, p. 1749) conducted an analysis on Austrian media, which discovered that media framed the refugee crisis related to administrative and economic problems which their arrival might bring up.

Furthermore, Samantha Cooper, Erin Olejniczak, Caroline Lenette and Charlotte Smedley (2017) performed a Critical Discourse Analysis, aiming to investigate representations of the refugees in Australian regional newspapers, reasoning that while policies ask refugees to resettle to regional areas, there is little research made on the regional newspapers and the media representations of refugees.

The authors highlight that the Australian media uses frames that aim to dehumanise the refugees, such as “threats to employment, social cohesion, national and border security and the Australian way of life” (Cooper et al., 2017, p. 79). Cooper et al. (2017) reached the conclusion that regional newspapers provided a positive overview of the refugee crisis, opposing previous research, which stated that refugees are portrayed in a negative manner.

Another study was conducted on Australian media by Fiona McKay, Samantha Thomas and Warwick Blood (2011). This article examined media representations of asylum seekers on a period of five days after a boat, which was transporting 49 asylum seekers, exploded on the north coast of Australia. In doing so a qualitative content analysis was conducted on three Australian newspapers. The authors reached the conclusion that the analysed articles were focusing on reporting the illegal way the refugees tried to enter Australia, frame which is associated with moral panic and risk. An interesting statement made by the authors is that when the articles had a positive or balanced perspective on the SIEV- 36 events, the
publications also provided an explanation on why they report in a balanced perspective. The authors concluded that the media was trying to maintain an objective way of reporting, but they still considered the views of their readers, which explains their need to justify (McKay et al., 2011, p. 623).

Fadi Jaber (2016) studied the media representations of the ‘Syrian humanitarian disaster’ in the news publications The Guardian and The New York Times, by looking into the media ethics and responsibility of the translations of direct quotes from Syrian citizens (Jaber, 2016, p. 65). On the one hand, the study found out that the British newspaper, The Guardian, used translations of the narratives told by Syrian refugees located in refugee camps. On the other hand, the study suggests that the American newspaper The New York Times chose to translate narrations told by Syrian protesters, residents in Syria and persons that witnessed the events happening in Syria (Jaber, 2016, p. 76). The study concludes that besides the differences in choosing which actors get a voice in the articles, both newspapers, translate in a transparent and ethically manner different aspects of the Syrian Humanitarian Disaster. The author also adds that both publications follow the ethical rules of journalism, presenting the events within an objective manner (Jaber, 2016, p. 79).

A comparative analysis of French, Dutch, Belgian francophone and British media representations of refugees was conducted by Lutgard Lams (2018). The analysed newspapers are: The Times from United Kingdom, Le Figaro from France, La Libre Belgique from Belgium and De Telegraaf from Netherlands. The article examined the individualisation and collectivisation practices, as well as the negative or positive roles assigned to the refugees using critical discourse analysis as a method. The author investigated also the given roles to three non-refugee actors: EU, Germany and Hungary (Lams, 2018, p. 103). The study concluded that in all four newspapers refugees are represented as highly collectivised, mentioning that the British newspaper, The Times, has the highest rate of personalisation, and that the French newspaper, Le Figaro, has the lowest rate of personalisation (Lams, 2018, p. 113). When studying the semantic roles of the refugees, the author states that all studied newspapers place the refugees in a passive role. The British newspaper The Times is presenting the refugees related to both positive and negative events in equal percentages. Opposite to this, the French newspaper Le Figaro and the Belgian newspaper La Libre Belgique present the refugees from a victim position (Lams, 2018, p. 115).

Furthermore, Francesco Somaini conducted a content analysis on American and Italian media with the aim of finding out if the presence of by-lines in the studied articles influences the media representations (Somaini, 2017, p. 159). The author reached the conclusion that both newspapers portrayed the refugees in a negative manner. Somaini further stated that articles
without by-line portrayed refugees in a more negative and stereotyped manner than articles that had present by-lines (Somaini, 2017, p. 167).

Based on the fact that Canada is seen as a country which offers support for refugees and immigrants, a long-term study was conducted on the Canadian media by Andrea Lawlor and Erin Tolley (2017) with the aim of analysing the discursive distinctions that media makes between immigrants and refugees, by looking into media framing of immigrants and refugees (Lawlor & Tolley, 2017, p. 967). In doing so, the authors conducted a content analysis over local and national print media during a period of nine years, from 2005 to 2014.

The first conclusion the authors reached is that Canadian media portrays immigrants as contributing to the economy, and that refugees are portrayed as not contributing to the Canadian economy (Lawlor & Tolley, 2017, p. 972). The second deduction the authors reach is that the Canadian media coverage of refugees depends on various events, such as big number of refugees arriving at the same time. During such periods, the media coverage of the refugees is higher. The authors also highlight that the media portrays the refugees as ‘takers’ and not contributing to the economy, by reporting with focus on the costs and expenses of the refugee intake (Lawlor & Tolley, 2017, p. 972). The authors concluded that the media framing of the refugees was more negative, compared to the media framing of immigrants (Lawlor & Tolley, 2017, p. 985).

Arguing that journalistic photographs portraying children facing the refugee crisis have the power to create sensitive reactions among viewers, the study of Joanna Kedra and Mélodine Sommier (2016) aimed to find out what kind of representation is present in journalistic photographs. The authors conducted a qualitative analysis on 19 pictures retrieved from World Press Photo contest. They concluded that the frame of vulnerable children was used in all the studied pictures. The vulnerability of the children was emphasised by showing them sleeping in the woods, or in the hands of other refugees trying to pass the children over the borders (Kedra & Sommier, 2016, p. 52).

Susana de-Andrés, Eloisa Nos-Aldás and Augustin García-Matilla (2016) also analysed the power of photography in news journalism, focusing on the case of the death of Aylan Kurdi. The authors determined that the powerful image of Aylan Kurdi broke a stereotype about refugees and pushed the media to individualise refugees and put a name on each story related to the refugee crisis (de-Andrés et al., 2017, p. 35). Their main conclusion was that the emotional power behind the image made journalists around the world to review ethical practices. Based on this, the authors stated that the image represented a powerful tool for social change (de-Andrés et al., 2017, p.36).
While this body of previous research provides a deep understanding of the media representations of refugees in various countries, most of the articles studied the media coverage during 2015 and 2016, years when the refugee crisis reached its peak. Even though the numbers are not as high, comparing to the year 2015, refugees continue to arrive in Europe nowadays. This thesis examines how refugees are represented in the media in the first trimester of 2018, and this is the research gap the paper wishes to fill. The previous studies concerning media representations of refugees provided a strong theoretical ground for this paper. This literature review has also provided inspiration for choosing the research methods and the material of research. The method of Critical Discourse Analysis was chosen after the examination of the previous studies, based on the reason that it is a qualitative method and thus, allows a deeper understanding of the media representations, by studying a small number of texts and examining them in detail.

3. Theoretical frame and concepts

In this chapter, the theories that have guided the analysis of the individualisation and collectivisation practices in the British newspaper The Guardian are discussed. The chosen theories and concepts are: objective journalism, representation, media representations, semiotics, stereotyping, framing and individualisation and collectivisation.

3.1 Objective journalism

Before discussing the theoretical basis of this thesis, the concept of objective journalism will be presented. Based on the ethical rules of journalism, which state that reporting should be objective, a further clarifying of the term objective is required. The aim of this thesis is to investigate media representations and to draw conclusions on how refugees are portrayed in the media and if they are stereotyped or not. Thus, this thesis will also conclude whether or not the studied articles represent the refugees in an objective way.

The Oxford Dictionary of Media and Communication defines objective journalism as: “a professional ideal or norm in factual reporting involving the related goals of truthfulness, impartiality, neutrality, disinterestedness, and the avoidance of conscious bias or distortion” (Chandler & Munday, 2011). Therefore, it can be stated that in this thesis, the term of objective journalism is understood as reports which portray the refugees and the events related to them in a truthful manner, without presenting any traces of ideology, social stereotyping or personal opinions of the authors.

According to Orgad (2012, p. 47), certain media representations and frames of an event will have an impact on the way the readers perceive the event. For understanding how media can generate this process, the concept of representation will be further discussed.
3.2 Representation

In the book “Representation”, Stuart Hall (1997, p. 1) theorises that language, a system established on signs and symbols, allows individuals to share and interpret knowledge, thus language acts like a representational system. He based the representation theory on the argument that the process of the representation shares meanings and knowledge through language. Hall defined three theories of representation, each one describing a different way in which representation creates knowledge through language (Hall, 1997, p. 24). The reflective approach argues that every sign has an already set meaning and language reflects the reality. The second approach is the intentional approach, which opposes the reflective approach. The intentional approach implies that meaning is created by the author of the message and that signs do not hold an already established meaning. The constructionist approach is the third theory of representation, in which is argued that meaning is constructed through the usage of signs. Thus, neither the signs, nor the author hold the fixed meaning, but meaning is constructed based on previous representations of signs and knowledge, which create a representational system (Hall, 1997, p 25).

3.3 Media representations

Orgad (2012) developed the media representation theory, having as a starting point Hall’s theory of representation. According to him, media representations provide a frame which helps the reader to have a better understanding of the world. The author also stated that media representations main function is “to produce meaning, to capture in some way reality, in signs” (Orgad, 2012, p. 47). Orgad defines representation as “the process of re-presenting, the process by which members of a culture use systems of signs to produce meanings” (Orgad, 2012, p. 47). Furthermore, he discussed two approaches of the media representations: 1) the reflectionist approach, which assumes that the language and systems of signs act like a mirror and reflect the outside world, without influencing it (Orgad, 2012, p. 49), and 2) the constructionist approach, which assumes that meaning is created by the way things are represented, thus representations cannot be a mirror of reality (Orgad, 2012, p.53).

As argued by Stuart Hall (1997, p. 45), at the core of the constructionist approach stands the idea that objects and events exist in the real world, but they acquire meaning through language and representation. The constructionist approach represents the core of this study, which investigates what type of meaning is created by different media representations. For further studying meaning, the concept of semiotics is of primarily importance.

3.4 Semiotics

Ferdinand de Saussure’s work as a semiotician had a great influence on the constructionist approach of representations. Ferdinand de Saussure (1997 as cited in Orgad, 2012, p. 54)
concluded that language is a system of signs, each sign having two components: a signifier and a signified. Furthermore, the author stresses that the production of meaning is represented by the relationship between the two components, stating that a sign cannot exist in the absence of either one of them. Saussure also points that in the representational system, signs do not have a fixed meaning, but meaning is rather constructed based on the relation to other components of the system. Orgad (2012, p. 54) further highlights the importance of this concept, stating that a signifier can have different signifies. Thus, in different parts of the world, the same sign can have different interpretations.

3.5 Stereotyping
As previously discussed, the media plays a central role in spreading information, but also shaping and constructing views, ideologies and ideas over subjects of public interest. Fadi Jaber (2016, p. 69) highlights that Western media represents the East in stereotyped ways, with focus on presenting the differences between the West and the East, more precisely between ‘us’ and ‘them’. In the context of media representations of immigrants, Orgad emphasises that media signifies ‘others’ in relations to ‘us’, highlighting the differences between ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Orgad, 2012, p.55). When talking about media representations of immigrants, Orgad states that immigrants are represented in opposition to the host nation, “as criminals, cunning, immoral invaders versus a lawful, hardworking, and/or innocent host society” (2012, p. 70). The author further stresses that such representations contribute to the production and sharing of stereotypes. Stereotyping is the process of exaggerating and sharing specific characteristics attributed to a person and it mostly focuses on negative traits. Stereotypes further enhance the barrier between ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Orgad, 2012, p.70).

3.6 Framing
Moreover, discussing the process of knowledge production, Dietram A. Scheufele and David Tewksbury (2007, p. 11) argued that the way information is presented in a news text, has an impact on the way the audience will perceive the information. It also has the power to form attitudes and beliefs. Thus, the media has the power to shape audience behaviour by using different frames to expose the information. This is the concept of framing, first developed by Erving Goffman (1986). Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007, p. 12) concluded that media texts are formed with both, information and frames. The authors further argued that framing is a process which helps the writers expose only useful information, even though an outcome of framing can be that it enhances stereotyping.

While conducting a study on media representations of refugees and the ‘deserving/undeserving’ frame, scholars Seth Holmes and Heide Castaneda (2016, p. 16) concluded, on the one hand, that refugees are framed as ‘deserving’ and in need of help because they are
forced to flee their countries. While, on the other hand, immigrants are seen as unworthy of social or political help, since they voluntarily chose to migrate to another country. Therefore, media frames immigrants as 'undeserving'.

Vollmer and Karakayali (2018, p. 123) stress that when media focus on exposing the refugee crisis as a natural disaster, refugees are framed as ‘vulnerable’ and ‘deserving’, because their life is in the hands of nature. Myria Georgiou and Rafal Zaborowski (2017, p.8) concluded that in Europe, media frames refugees either as ‘vulnerable’, emphasising the challenges they have to overcome, or as ‘dangerous’, focusing on what problems can arise from their presence in the host countries. Samantha Cooper, Erin Olejniczak, Caroline Lenette and Charlotte Smedley (2017) discussed another frame which is frequently used in the media, the ‘threat’ frame, in which refugees are framed as threats to different aspects, such as economy or safety.

Ulas Sunata and Esra Yıldız (2018, p. 129) examined how Syrian refugees are represented in the Turkish media, during the summer of 2015. The authors concluded that there were four types of frames present in the media: refugees framed as criminals, humanitarian aid receivers, victims and role models. The authors highlight that the refugees are framed as ‘criminals’ when the media reports about crimes they have committed, such as, fights, terror attempts, rape or even begging. Moreover, presenting the refugees as threatened by the war, being involved in accidents, or presenting the issues they have when searching for a shelter frames the refugees as ‘victims’, a frame which has the power to make the reader empathise with the refugees. The frame of ‘humanitarian aid receivers’ is encountered when the news articles report about organizations which offer support to the refugees. As stated by Sunata and Yildiz (2018), this is a positive approach to represent the refugees and can have a great impact on the reader. The last frame discussed by the authors is the frame of ‘role models’, which occurs when the media reports about the performances and the success refugees have in different areas of interest. The authors further emphasise, that this positive frame is not exceedingly used in the current media representations of refugees (Sunata & Yıldız, 2018, p. 145).

Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 116) discuss another frame that media uses regularly, the ‘loving mother’ or ‘loving parent’ frame, which occurs when media focuses their reports on the parent status and not the refugee status. Because the image of a mother or a father represents something which is sacred, it has the power to suggest positive connotations, such as love and compassion, therefore it humanises the refugees. Hansen and Machin (2013) have concluded that the way a person is referred to in a text can create stereotyped views of the person. The authors state that when persons are related to negative events, they are referred to, in the media texts, with terms that emphasise the ‘otherness’. In these cases, terms such as Muslims, immigrants, unemployed and refugees are used to represent the refugees, while the host
nation’s representatives are portrayed as innocents, workers, fathers and similar (Hansen & Machin, 2013, p. 122).

### 3.7 Individualisation and Collectivisation

Hansen and Machin (2013) further stress that it is important to investigate how actors are described, either as individuals or as a collective. They posit that individualising, providing personal details and names helps the readers perceive the actors as real people, while collectivising them, representing them as a category or a group, further enhances the differences between ‘us’ and ‘them’ and maintains stereotyped views on the refugees (Hansen & Machin, 2013, p. 127).

Within the study of representation of refugees and immigrants, Theo Van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak (1999, p. 48) have developed, based on a socio-cognitive approach, certain analytical categories through which media representations of refugees can be evaluated. From the categories the authors have proposed, the individualisation/assimilation is most relevant for the purpose of this thesis. Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999, p. 48) theorised that individualisation of refugees and immigrants is visible when they are referred to as individuals. The concept of collectivisation is discussed by the authors under the name of assimilation and it is defined as referring to the refugees as a group and not as specific individuals.

Further discussing assimilation, the authors differentiated two ways through which it is performed. The first way the assimilation is performed is through the method of aggregation, which quantifies individuals and treats them as statistics. The second way to achieve assimilation is through the collectivisation of individuals and placing them in one category. Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999, p. 49) ponder that collectivisation can be realised also by using a mass noun, such as: the group, the community, the nation and others. Additionally, the authors defined the two concepts in opposition to each other, stating that individualisation is realised through singularity, and collectivisation through plurality. Lams (2018, p. 112) also indicated that plurality deprives individuals of their specific characteristic and portrays them as a homogenous group.

Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999, p. 50) concluded the discussion on individualisation and assimilation, stating that immigrants are usually aggregated, through the usage of percentages or quantifying substantives, such as: some, many, a number and similar. Majid KoshraviNik (2010, p. 14) has mentioned other commonly used quantifying substantives, such as: ‘existing numbers’ or metaphorical structures, as for example: ‘waves of refugees and immigrants’. KoshraviNik (2010, p. 13) has also discussed the aggregation and collectivisation, which he has defined as “linguistic processes through which these groups of people are systematically
referred to and constructed as one unanimous group with all sharing similar characteristics, backgrounds, intentions, motivations and economic status or reducing the groups to their function”. The author theorised that another commonly used discursive strategy in media representations of immigrants and refugees is to functionalise the refugees and refer to them as ‘arrivals’, and ‘arrival cases’ and not as individuals. Lams (2018, p. 112) highlighted that the use of functionalising substantives has the effect of dehumanising the represented individuals.

Correspondingly, KoshraviNik (2010, p. 15) discussed the process of individualising the refugees and immigrants in the media and stated that individualisation and humanisation of the actors is realised through emphasising the different characteristics of each individual. Moreover, the author concludes that individualising each person has a positive outcome and it humanises the person. Furthermore, Lams (2018, p. 3) has also debated the collectivisation and individualisation, but in relation to stereotyping. The author has concluded that stereotyping, which is the process of portraying individuals as members of a group, who share common beliefs and traits, has a standardising effect of individuals and leads to collectivisation. Based on this theoretical ground, the thesis aims to look at media representations of the refugees and investigate the individualisation and collectivisation practices in the British newspaper The Guardian.

4. Method

To observe media representations, individualisation and collectivisation practices in British media, this thesis analyses news articles covering the ongoing refugee crisis posted on The Guardian’s website during the first trimester of 2018: from 1st of January 2018 to 31st of March 2018. The Guardian was chosen based on the argument that it is a newspaper with one of the highest readerships in the UK, being ranked on the fourth place, in both print and online versions (Ofcom, News consumption in the UK, 2017 p. 29). Another significant criterium was the fact that The Guardian is an innovative and contemporary publication committed to offer quality journalism to its readers (The Guardian, 2010). The online version of the newspaper was chosen based on the reason that nowadays audiences tend to move towards the online version and readership is declining in the print version (Halliday, 2012). Thus, it is crucial to analyse the material that has a higher reach and influence on the readers. Being a quality newspaper, it provides its readers with knowledge, but it also has the power to influence public debate.

The three months period was chosen for being the most possible updated period, since previous research regarding refugee issues have been conducted mainly during 2015 and 2016, when the refugee crisis reached its peak, but as refugees continue to arrive in Europe, it is crucial to continue to analyse this problem in 2018. Because there were no major events related
to the refugee situation during 2018, the period of the first three months offer a solid and unbiased basis for the thesis analysis.

This thesis follows a qualitative method of analysing data: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Grounded on the fact that the study aims at finding out the meaning behind media representations, the method of Critical Discourse Analysis was chosen as an analysis method. This paper also contemplates a visual analysis of the selected news articles. A total of four news articles and four pictures will be further analysed.

According to Meyer and Wodak, “CDA may be defined as fundamentally concerned with analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. In other words, CDA aims to investigate critically social inequalities as it is expressed, signalled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use (or in discourse)” (Meyer & Wodak, 2001, as cited in Hansen & Machin, 2013, p.120, original emphasis).

CDA analyses the lexical choices found in a text, which will provide a deeper understanding of the underlying messages hidden in the text. The method was selected because it combines a denotative analysis with a connotative analysis, and can reveal the power relations, social ideologies and influences that the text seeks to create (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.4). The thesis focuses on how the refugees are framed in the selected news articles, examining if they are individualised, collectivised, or stereotyped.

4.1 Tools of Critical Discourse Analysis

From the variety of tools that CDA offers to investigate ideas and values, this paper uses the following analytical tools, proposed by Hansen and Machin (2013): over-lexicalisation, individualisation and collectivisation, aggregation, suppression and metaphor. Hansen and Machin’s (2013) analytical tools were chosen based on the reason that they were developed and discussed in detail by the authors, discussion which provided a deep understanding on the way the tools perform during the analysis.

Over-lexicalisation

According to Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 121), this tool investigates the choice of words of the author, what kind of words are used in the text and how often are they used in the text. The authors also state that using the same words, creates evidence of over-description, which can create the feeling of persuading the reader. In this study, the tool of over-lexicalisation is used to find traces of over-description and possibly reveal stereotyping and exaggeration of different aspects.
Individualisation and Collectivisation

Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 125) state that looking into how a person is referred to in a text, it is possible to discover who is important in a text, who gets a voice and who does not. The authors also highlight that, if participants are described individually, the details will help the reader perceive them as real persons, while if they are described as a collective, they will stay anonymous for the reader. The analysis of individualisation and collectivisation can reveal if there are actors being humanised in the news stories. This tool is significant to this study and it exposes if refugees are individualised and thus, framed in an objective and positive manner or if they are collectivised and framed as a homogenous group.

Aggregation

According to Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 129), aggregation is a tool which quantifies individuals and treats them like a number, and not like actual persons. The use of aggregation can further enhance the stereotyped view that all refugees are the same. Through this thesis, this tool reveals if the refugees are quantified and represented as numbers, action which further enhances them as a homogenous group and creates stereotypes.

Suppression

Ideas are not always communicated through the text, they can be communicated also by the absence of specific words from the texts. According to Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 130), what is missing from the text can reveal information that the author wants to distract the reader from. The tool of suppression detects the exclusion of different aspects from the text and allows drawing conclusions on what information is missing from the text, which can further enhance different frames or stereotypes.

Metaphor

The tool of metaphor is used when authors are describing events, things or individuals in connection with other concepts, as argued by Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 143). The authors also stress that this tool is generally used to shape an understanding of the described situation, rather than to actually describe the situation. As the tool of metaphor shapes understandings, it can have a powerful effect on framing the refugees and enhancing stereotyped views. Since metaphors use a figurative language, it can also be stated that they can add depth and emphasis to the described situation. This tool is used to reveal what kind of frames and images are associated with the refugees.

4.2 Visual tools

As previously stated, a visual analysis will also be conducted. To analyse the four chosen images, the following tools, also described by Hansen and Machin (2013), are applied:
Analysing participants: Individual or in group?

According to Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 192), analysing participants in an image has the power to reveal who is represented and how the reader should relate to them. People can be presented as individuals, or as part of a group. Visual individualisation occurs when the image is depicting only one person. Visual collectivisation occurs when the image is depicting groups of people. The group can be depicted as a homogenous group, where all the members present the same characteristics. Furthermore, Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 193) highlight that an image can present only one person, but if the focus is on specific features of a group, the person is thus turned into a type and collectivised. Using this tool to analyse participants allows a deeper understanding of how refugees are portrayed in the pictures and if any stereotypes are created.

Analysing Gaze

Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 181) highlight the importance of analysing where the persons depicted in an image are looking. The authors stress that if the person is looking at the viewer, then the image has the power to create a feeling of interaction between the viewer and the depicted person. If the depicted person is not looking directly at the viewer, the viewer will be just an observant, without having the feeling that there is an interaction between them. Analysing the gaze of the persons reveals the feelings of the pictured person and provides a deeper understanding of their situation.

Analysing Poses

In visual communication, postures of the body and poses can reveal different connotations through metaphorical associations. As stated by Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 177), each pose is related to a concept. When analysing poses, it is required to investigate the position of the body, how much space does the person take in the picture and how does the position appear to feel, comfortable or not comfortable. In this thesis, this tool is used to examine the poses of individuals which have the power to represent their values and behaviour and it allows drawing conclusion on the identity and feelings of the persons.

Analysing Objects

When analysing an image, the objects depicted can reveal precious information. Same as with poses, it is important to first look into what objects are present in the image and what can they describe or be related with. This tool delivers an understanding of what objects are correlated with the refugees and what is the meaning behind the correlation. This tool can also reveal certain frames and stereotypes associated with the refugees.
Analysing the Setting

Furthermore, the settings can be analysed. The place where an object or a person is positioned will reveal powerful associations. For analysing the settings, the background can also be investigated (Hansen & Machin, 2013, p. 186). Analysing the setting exposes the location of the photographed individuals and allows drawing conclusions on whether the setting enhances the frames used throughout the text of the articles.

Analysing the Colour

As stated by Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 201), the colours used in an image can reveal what objects or persons are accentuated or not. The authors point out that flat, warm and pastel colours create a clean and simple look, while bright saturated colours have the power to bring the emphasis to one characteristic of the image and they are associated with strong emotions. Using this tool can reveal the emotions and feelings of the refugees and allows a deeper understanding of their situation.

4.3 Material

With the help of the previously stated tools, the paper will qualitatively analyse four articles, which reported about the refugee situation, from the British newspaper The Guardian. To gather the articles, the ProQuest database was used for collecting all the published articles regarding this topic. Using the database, articles about refugees published between 1st of January 2018 and 31st of March 2018 were searched.

To define the search, the keyword ‘refugee’ was used. This process generated 74 articles published in the given period. Out of these 74 articles, 43 were also available on the US version of The Guardian’s website, but they were all written by UK-based authors. Because the articles originated from the UK, the fact that they are available also on the US version will have no impact on the results of this study, therefore the decision of keeping these articles as material for analyse was taken. To narrow down the search, the total of 74 articles were then read and inspected, action which lead to the conclusion that 16 articles were related to the actual refugee crisis and presented relevant content for the purpose of this thesis.

From the 16 relevant articles, the four final ones were chosen based on two criteria. The first criteria is related to the plurality of cases, with articles that presented the refugee issues in different European countries were chosen. This selection allows a further understanding of how The Guardian represents the refugee crisis in different settings. Because there were more than four articles presenting the refugee crisis in different European countries, the second criteria referring to the living conditions of the refugees was then chosen. While different European countries confront specific problems related to the refugee crisis, the topic of living
conditions and hosting the refugees is one that occurs in all the cases, therefore the four final articles report about the living conditions of the refugees in different European countries.

The lexical analysis precedes the visual analysis of the images that accompany the texts of the news articles. The images that will be further analysed were collected from The Guardian’s website, based on the reason that the ProQuest Database would deliver only the text of the news articles, without providing the visual elements. Each article presented three to four images, but only the first images were chosen to be analysed, since those are the ones that generate the first impression on the reader and because of the length limitations of the thesis. All the details regarding the articles and the images that will be analysed can be found in Table 1: Data Set (Appendix A).

5. Analysis

5.1 Article 1, text analysis

The article “From periods to pregnancy – the sexual health crisis for Calais refugees” was written by Alice Rowsome and published on 26th of February 2018, on The Guardian’s website. The article reports about the sexual health and the living conditions of the women from the Calais camp, in France. The health condition of seven refugee women is described throughout the article, which also provides details about the nurses and midwives that voluntarily take care of them.

Most of the refugees live on their own, in the woods of Pas de Calais, but the article focuses on the stories of the women that live in the “safe house of Calais”, a house where the nurses and midwives take care of the women in need, which can only accommodate six to seven persons. Even though the author calls it a safe house, there is no mention if the house is guarded by someone or if it has a protection system. Here, there is an indication that the author used the method of suppression, where she did not specify in the text why the house is a safe house. The fact that the house is not located in the woods and that medical personnel also live in the house, can be a reason why the house is described as safe, but the reader is not provided with this information, which allows the reader to imagine and speculate about this information.

In the construction of the title, the author used the tool of over-lexicalisation, present in the structure “the sexual health crisis” by over-describing the health condition of the women in Calais and framing it as a ‘crisis’. By applying this method, the author is over-exaggerating the situation. Framing the events as a crisis makes the situation appear more dramatic, thus, since this appears in the title of the article, it can be stated that the author wishes to attract the reader’s attention.
The news article first presents the case of a 25-year-old woman, Dilva, seven months pregnant, who needs proper medical help because her body is attacking her baby’s red cells and she is at risk of terminating the pregnancy. The author provides her name from the beginning. According to Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 126), providing her name individualises her and helps the readers to perceive her as a real person. Throughout the text, the author provides more personal details about Dilva, focusing on the fact that in the past she had another baby born in Calais. The author is framing her as a mother. As stated by Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 116), the mother image represents something which is sacred, and it has the power to suggest positive connotations, such as love and compassion.

Later in the text, the author is using individualisation again, this time to describe the nurses and midwives that give up their vacation days to volunteer at the camp in Calais. She presents the story of two of them, Prel and Depierre, providing their names from the beginning individualises them and helps the reader perceive them as real persons. Further in the article, the author is discussing how the volunteers managed to keep on taking care of the refugees, after “the demolition of the ‘jungle’ in 2016”. The author uses the metaphor of the jungle, indeed written in quotation marks, but without providing an explanation on what she wants to communicate through the word “jungle”, the metaphor implies negative connotations. Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 290) stress that using such metaphors as the jungle one has the power to influence the readers to perceive the refugees as elements of “the Jungle”.

By describing the refugees in relation to the jungle, the author creates the impression that all refugees are animals. The connotation of this metaphor has an even greater impact on the reader, considering that France does not have an actual jungle, therefore, implying that the refugees create the jungle. All the negative qualities associated with the jungle, danger and violence, are shifted to the refugees, which are therefore framed as wild, uncivilised and dangerous. Furthermore, the fact that the author did not provide an explanation why she used the word “jungle” to describe the Calais camp, indicates the use of suppression. What is missing from a text has an equal importance as the information that is present on the text, hence, the use of suppression can attract the reader’s interest to continue reading the article, with the hope that the missing information will be provided after further reading. The use of suppression and having provided incomplete information additionally suggests that the article is not written in an objective way.

The article continues stating that “some” of the refugees are looking to ask for asylum in the UK and “some” are happy that they ended their journey in France. In this structure, the author is using collectivisation and aggregation to describe the refugees, through the usage of the word “some”. Collectivisation is created by not providing the actual number of refugees that wish to leave France and the number of refugees that wish to stay in France, thus, the refugees are
portrayed as a group, as Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 129) highlight. Here, the word “some” was used as a tool of aggregation, which quantifies the refugees that want to leave for other countries, and the ones that wish to stay. The reader does not know why the refugees want to leave and he/she is left again with the possibility of imagining the reasons. The usage of aggregation can indicate a wish of depoliticisation of the situation, since the refugees generally rely on the government for help and support. Furthermore, the missing information in this structure creates a lack of credibility.

Moreover, the metaphor of the jungle appears a second time in the news article: “It is 4.22pm and already dark as Maëva Hammouche and Manon Berthou, a nurse and a midwife, both 25, continue their daily, 12-hour search for vulnerable girls through forests, swamps and industrial parks. Right now, they are at Rue des Verrotières. Although it has been dubbed ‘the new Jungle’” (Rowsome, 2018). In this paragraph, the nurse and the midwife are individualised, a process which humanises and presents them as actual individuals. The author makes use of the jungle metaphor again, this time, describing the setup of the camp as a jungle. As in the previous example, the author does not specify why the camp is called the new Jungle, but the reader is left with the impression that the environment looks like a jungle. The usage of the words dark, forests, swamps and industrial parks, portray a hostile and dangerous environment. All these expressions depict the image of a cold and terrifying place. By leaving the impression that the Jungle is represented by the cold setting of the camp, and not by the refugees and their attitude, the previous paragraph can push the reader to feel compassion and concern for the refugees, who are forced to live in this environment. Additionally, by using the metaphor of the jungle the second time, the author is using the tool of over-lexicalisation, which creates further emphasis that the situation in Calais is critical. Not only the refugees were framed as animals, part of the jungle, but also the environment is framed as a jungle, a frame which further suggests chaos and anxiety and it enhances stereotypes such as that refugees are dangerous.

In the news article, the author discusses the story of seven refugees and four medical personnel. They are all individualised in the text, with the author providing the names and the age of all of them. By individualising all the actors, the author minimises the stereotypes about the refugees and shows that she makes no distinction between the refugees and the medical personnel, treating all of them in the same manner.

5.1.1 Image 1 analysis

Analysing the settings of the image (Figure 1, Appendix B), the picture is taken in an inside space, a small-sized room. The picture is taken from a distant perspective, which suggests the photographer was standing in one of the entrances of the room, while taking the picture. Furthermore, on the left side of the picture it can be seen what looks like an open entrance to
another room. Therefore, having two entrances of a room visible in just one picture demonstrates that the space is a small-sized room. Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 186) state that a big and airy space stands for luxury and wealth. Thus, drawing on the authors’ statement, it can be stated that the small-sized room depicts poverty and a poor living environment.

The walls of the room are covered in a pale pink with a flower pattern wallpaper. The colours of the wallpaper create a cosy environment, but at a closer look, it can be observed that, in the left side of the picture the wallpaper is not properly attached to the wall. This part of the picture depicts once more poverty, since it is an easy fixable situation, but no one has fixed it. The reader can imagine that there are no resources for fixing such details and that resources are invested into the health of the refugees and not into the design details of the house.

In the right side of the picture, a red curtain can be seen, which appears to be moving, most probably caused by the wind coming from the window. The red colour has a strong connotation, varying from love and happiness to even anger, rage and emergency. The red colour of the curtain and the pink colour of the walls are from the same spectrum of colours, creating a harmonious ambience. The matching of the two colours have the power to depict a warm and cosy environment, even though the room does not present many furniture objects. The house is depicted in the picture in opposition with the description of the Calais camp that the author provides. The house is presented as a warm and cosy environment, but the Calais camp is described as a dark and scary environment.

Another element that further accentuates the poverty of the environment is represented by the fact that the room does not look as a living room, it is a room with one piece of furniture, a bed, which will imply that the picture is taken in a bedroom. But the description provided by the author informs the reader that the room is a living room. Having no living room specific furniture further emphasises the poverty and the tough living conditions of living in the Calais Camp.

Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 187) state that the presence of a window in a picture transmits transparency and optimism. Here, the opposite occurs. The fact that the curtain covers the window, even though it is clear from the lighting of the picture that is day outside, it can mean that the residents want privacy or the fact that they want to hide inside the safe house. A possible interpretation for the curtain covering the window, is that the refugees that are in the house want to hide from the outside environment, which is described in the text of the article, like a dangerous place.

In the centre of the picture, an improvised bed can be observed. This is the only furniture object that appears in the picture and by the fact that it is located in the centre, it transmits to the reader the impression that it is the most important part of the room. The bed is not made, and
most probably there are two persons are sleeping in the small bed, since there are two pillows laying on the bed, at opposite sides, which further emphasises that refugees live in though conditions, by having two persons sleeping in one small bed. Kidisti is pictured sitting on the bed with her back at the reader. Her face cannot be seen. On the one hand, she is individualised, being the only person who appears in the photograph, but on the other hand, analysing the gaze in this picture, and the fact that Kidisti is not looking at the reader, it can be stated that she is decharacterised and there is no interaction between her and the reader. According to Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 183), such a pose transmits feelings of fear and loneliness.

Decharacterisation is described by Kati Caetano (2006, p. 152) as the lack of details which helps the reader identify the person. The author also mentioned that decharacterisation and the lack of identity conceals and anonymises the actor. In this picture, Kidisti’s identity is indeed concealed, because she is photographed from her back and there are no visible features that can help identify her. Caetano (2006, p. 153) further accentuated that pictures which decharacterise individuals act like a mechanism of social disentitlement and enhance their status as victims. The decharacterisation of Kidisti portrays her as a ‘victim’, frame which is further emphasised by her bad living conditions and the lack of access to medical help.

It can be observed that she is looking at the wall in front of her and not at the window, which is positioned directly next to her and it can be understood that she is not looking somewhere with a specific reason. This pose leaves the possibility of two interpretations. For the first interpretation, it can be imagined that she is afraid of the environment at the Calais Camp, reason why she does not want to expose herself and prefers to preserve some privacy. The second interpretation that can be made is that it was the choice of The Guardian to not show her face and her specific features. If this was the case, the decharacterisation of the person connotes that any other refugee could be in Kidisti’s position, frame which collectivises and stereotypes the refugees.

From the picture, it can also be observed that she is looking down, which stands for negative and low energy, and a low status of living (Hansen and Machin, 2013, p. 183). Kidisti can be seen to wear house slippers, which connotes that even though she lives in though conditions, she cares for being in a clean environment and cosy enough to try to feel she is at home.

Analysing the angle of the picture, it can be observed that the picture was taken at a horizontal angle, but from a side, probably from the entrance of the room, as previously stated. This setting creates no involvement from the reader, and it simply places the reader as an observant of the depicted situation, as Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 190) clarify. The fact that Kidisti is pictured from distance emphasises her decharacterisation.
The small room, with just one piece of furniture and walls that need to be renovated depicts a poor living environment, further emphasising the bad living conditions in Calais, which the author has described in the text of the news article.

5.2 Article 2, text analysis

The article “In Sweden, Noor went straight to school; in Britain, Ammar waited six months” was written by Fran Abrams and published on 13th of February 2018 on The Guardian’s website. The article presents the stories of two refugee teenagers and their current living and studying conditions in Sweden and in the UK. The text also focuses on pointing out the differences between the two countries, regarding the refugee policies.

Already in the title of the article, it can be observed that the author uses the individualisation tool, by providing the names of the two boys. They are represented as any other person named in the text. This practice emphasises that not all refugees are the same, and that they should not be collectivised or perceived as a general category, because they all have different traits, stories and characters.

The first paragraph of the article provides a short description of the two boys, in which is stated: “Both are bright, ambitious and determined to make a contribution”. Here, the journalist used collectivisation in the description of the boys, through the usage of the word “both”. Because there are no details to help the reader differentiate the two boys, collectivisation could have negative connotations, but in this case, it has positive connotations because it is correlated with their positive description. Moreover, the usage of the adjectives “bright” and “ambitious” portrays the two boys as good students and ‘role models’ of the society. Emphasising their qualities also frames them as ‘deserving’ refugees, which are more than entitled to receive support from the state to continue studying. As Sunata and Yıldız (2018, p.145) stated, the framing of refugees as models of the society has a positive impact and it influences the reader to perceive the refugees as good members of the society.

Both teenagers are represented in an individualised way further throughout the text, with the author describing each one of them using different adjectives to portray their qualities. For example, the author stated the following about Noor: “Noor – sharp, confident; looks you straight in the eye when he speaks”. By using different adjectives for each of the boys, they are portrayed as specific individuals with specific characteristics. While describing Ammar’s experience before reaching England, the author writes the following sentence: “He left his family behind on a perilous boat journey to Greece and eventually found an aunt in Nottingham”. In this sentence, it can be observed that the author uses the adjective “perilous” to add deepness to Ammar’s story. The world perilous has a strong connotation and implies a great risk of disaster or ruin. The chosen word is very dramatic and exaggerates the story of
Ammar’s journey. Even though Ammar arrived in England healthy and unharmed from the journey, the adjective “perilous” frames the boat travel to England as a possible catastrophe, indicating that his life was in the hands of fate. Amplifying the dramatic side of a story, is a strategy which helps sustain the reader’s attention throughout the text. Furthermore, the adjective “perilous” was used twice throughout the text. The author used the word in the same context, to describe the boat journey that the boys took towards Europe. By using the word twice, the author used the technique of over-lexicalization, which further emphasises the critical situation of their journey and maintains the reader’s interest. In the same sentence, the author is highlighting that Ammar’s destiny was dependent on fortune, by stating that he “eventually” found an aunt in Nottingham. The author does not state how Ammar found his aunt, or if this was the reason he decided to take the boat trip to Europe. With the word “eventually”, the author is concealing the information that is missing from the text, indicating suppression, as Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 141) have theorised.

Towards the end of the article, the author discusses the problems of the English system, and makes the following statement: “Nationally, there are few hard facts on the numbers of asylum-seeking children out of school”. In this sentence, the author is using aggregation by not saying which are the hard facts regarding the children out of school. The author uses the word “few”, which provides the reader with no information regarding to how many hard facts the author refers to, therefore the information is quantified. Furthermore, the journalist also uses suppression in this sentence, because no information is provided by the word “few”. The word does not inform the reader if the facts that are keeping children out of school are linked to politics, to the educational system or to the school’s management. As stated by Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 129), using the word “few” in this context creates depoliticisation and hide the responsibility of the political and educational system of England.

It can be concluded that in this article, the two teenage boys were mostly individualised and presented as specific individuals, action which humanises them. Furthermore, collectivisation was also observed in the text, but the author used collectivisation while presenting positive traits of the boys. This action has a positive connotation and portrays the two boys as excellent students.

5.2.1 Image 2 analysis

Figure 2 (Appendix C) is accompanied by a short caption, which informs that the picture portrays Ammar, one of the two subjects of the article, who is forced to learn on his own to be able to be admitted in medical school, because he does not receive support from the UK. The picture apparently individualises Ammar, as he is the only person shown in the image but, as his face is not shown, he is in fact decharacterised. The picture provides no personal details to help characterise and individualise Ammar. In their study about visual dehumanisation of
refugees, authors Roland Bleiker, David Campbell, Emma Hutchison and Xzarina Nicholson (2013, p. 405) have concluded that not showing visibly recognisable facial features contributes to the decharacterisation and dehumanisation of the pictured persons. The authors theorised that not showing facial features and decharacterising the person can influence the reader to show indifference to the depicted situation, because the lack of identity creates a lack of credibility that the depicted person actually exists.

Analysing the setting of the picture, it can be observed that the picture was taken in an inside space and there was a blur effect applied to the photograph. The blurring effect, on the one hand, transmits privacy, closure and fear, by not showing too many details and keeping the setting private. On the other hand, it adds extra emphasis to the central object of the image. Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 199) argue that blurring the background reduces the details of an image, and it has the power to draw attention to a particular object, by shifting the focus. In this case, the biology book is the central object of the picture. Ammar is not only decharacterised, but also objectified, because the focus of the picture is on the book and not on him. The lack of presence of other objects in the picture decontextualizes the picture and intensifies the symbolic role of the book. The book connotes a wish to learn and further develop, but also knowledge and experience.

Analysing the colours of the picture, the background is red, colour that can suggest anger and rage, which can be associated with Ammar’s feelings, because he is not receiving studying support from the UK government.

Furthermore, analysing the only person in the picture, Ammar, his face is hidden behind the book he is reading, and it is also blurred. It can clearly be seen that he holds the book he is reading with both hands, and places it in front of his face. Applying the blurring effect to Ammar and having is face covered by the book, suggests two possible interpretations. The first interpretation is that it was Ammar’s choice to hide and not show his face, with fear of that the action of exposing himself would have repercussions on his situation and the right to study. The second possible interpretation is that it was the journalist’s decision to not show Ammar’s face, action which objectifies, and decharacterises him.

The picture has its central focus on the biology book Ammar is reading. The book covers almost 80 percent of the space in the picture, which demonstrates the importance of the book, for both, the picture and Ammar’s life. Holding a book, frames Ammar as a good an ambitious student. This is the same framing that the author makes throughout the text of the article. The colour of the book is green, which contrasts with the red colour of the background. The contrast of the two colours emphasises the contrasts of the situation, where a good student is not provided with access to education.
Analysing the angle of the picture, it can be stated that the picture was taken at a horizontal position and the reader is positioned at the same level as the subject, Ammar. Hansen and Machin (2013, p.190) state that having the reader and the subject at the same level, suggests equality. Hence, it can be argued that Ammar is portrayed in an equal position in relation to the reader, but in fact he is not equal to the reader, he does not have the same rights as the reader and he is denied the basic right to learn and have access to education.

The picture portrays Ammar as a good student and it shows his ambition to study and become a doctor, which further highlights the framing of ‘good student’ that the author has used throughout the news article to represent the boys. Having his face not shown and being decharacterised frames him as a ‘victim’. Bleiker et al. (2013, p. 411) have stated that decharacterising and showing the refugees as faceless individuals, objectifies them and generalises their struggles, action which results in enhancing the ‘victim’ frame. Ammar is framed as a ‘victim’ also in the text of the article.

5.3 Article 3, text analysis
The article “They are our salvation’: the Sicilian town revived by refugees” was written by Lorenzo Tondo and it was published on The Guardian’s website on 19th of March 2018. The article presents the story of an aged Italian city, which was brought back to life by 50 refugees that were offered asylum in the city. Analysing the title of the article, the first sentence, “They are our salvation”, indicates that the author used the metaphor to address the refugees. The metaphor is constructed by describing the refugees as the “salvation” of the city and portrays the refugees in a positive way. The metaphor salvation frames the refugees as the positive agent of change, and it connotes that the city was prevented from ruin with the help of the refugees.

The author also used collectivisation in the title: without providing names or personal details of the refugees, the author places them in one category, which here has a positive impact. It suggests that all the refugees had a constructive impact on the development of the city and, therefore, it generates a favourable portrayal of the refugees. Framing them as a positive agent of change, hardworking and having the power to bring back to life a city, frames them as ‘deserving’, entitled to receive help, but also as a ‘role models’ for the Italian society.

Further discussing the positive changes, the refugees have brought to the Italian city of Sutera, the author makes the following statement: “The refugees are also helping to support the businesses of the butcher, grocer and baker”. Besides the fact that the refugees populated a city that was at the risk of disappearing, the author emphasises that they have also supported the local businesses. By making this statement, the author frames, once more, the refugees as the ‘salvation’ of the city.
The author describes in the beginning of the article the story of a boat that sunk in the Mediterranean, which resulted in the death of 4000 persons. By providing the exact number of victims, the author reports in an objective way and leaves no space to further interpretations for the reader. The article continues describing one of the refugee’s story and her living conditions in the Italian city. She is individualised from the beginning of the paragraph, where her name, Deborah, and age are provided. The author provides details of her personal life, revealing that she has recently became a mother and that her daughter was born and baptised in Sutera. By providing this information, the author frames her not only as a refugee, but also as a mother, frame which has positive connotations, as Hansen and Machin (2013, p.116) stated. Individualising and framing her as a mother, breaks the stereotypes that all refugees are violent and a threat to the national culture.

Moreover, the article mentions that the local school was at the point of closing, because it had just 10 pupils, before the arrival of the refugees. The author makes the following statement: “It is thanks to children from Ethiopia, Pakistan and Nigeria that the school’s pupil numbers are now sufficient for its survival”. Here, the refugees are collectivised, by not providing their personal details, thus the reader does not know who these children are. Even though collectivisation has negative implications and can create stereotype, in this example it has a positive outcome, since the kids are portrayed as saviours of the local school. This representation frames the children as ‘role models’, frame which is visible throughout the article.

In this article, the refugees were mainly collectivised and framed as ‘the salvation’ of the Italian city Sutera, frame which has a positive connotation. The author has also used individualisation while reporting on a story of one refugee living in the Italian city, Deborah. She is framed as a ‘mother’, frame which highlights that not all refugees are violent, and that they are normal persons, who love their families.

5.3.1 Image 3 analysis

Analysing the setting of the image (Figure 3, Appendix D), it can be seen that the picture was taken in a school classroom, with pastel coloured walls with many decorations on it. The room is also properly lighted. The lighting and the pastel colours suggest a calm and peaceful environment. This setting of the picture has the same meaning as the news article, connoting that now the refugees live a happy and peaceful life in Sutera, Italy.

Looking into the collectivisation and individualisation of the subjects, all kids pictured in the school, in the classroom, it can clearly be seen that they are collectivised. Even though collectivisation had negative effects and it includes all the subject in the same category, it can be stated that here it has a positive effect, emphasising once more that all the refugee kids
contributed to maintaining the school open in Sutera. Analysing the participants, they are photographed from behind, on a diagonal line, which shows the reader that they focus their attention on the teacher, in front of the classroom.

On one hand, the profile of the children seated in the second row can be seen in the picture, while, the faces of the children in the first row cannot be seen at all. Taking the picture from this angle and not having their faces present in the picture decharacterises the children and further emphasises their collectivisation. As stated by Bleiker et al. (2013, p. 408), this type of picture, where a small group of persons is photographed, but their individual characteristics are vaguely visible, decreases the possibility of having an emphatic response from the reader, towards their story.

On the other hand, the face of their teacher can clearly be seen in the picture, action which individualises her. Individualising only the teacher and not the children contributes to create a stereotyped image that all refugees are the same. The fact that their faces are not visible can have two different interpretations: the first one being that it could have been the people responsible for the children that decided to not expose them and the second one being that it could have been the journalist’s choice to not expose the children. Analysing the content of the article, and the fact that the refugees are portrayed as the ‘positive agent of change’ and ‘role models’ for the Italian city Sutera, it can be understood that there was no reason to hide their faces. They are not at risk of being kicked out of Sutera, since the locals are more than happy of their presence there, therefore, it is most probable that the journalist made the decision of not showing the faces of the children, decision which could lead to stereotyped views, as earlier stated. The picture is taken from a horizontal angle, but from one corner of the classroom, which positions the reader as an observant, and does not require the reader to be involved, as Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 191) state.

It can be concluded that the visual collectivisation of the children in school further highlights the collectivisation the author has used in the text of the article to describe the refugees and their current living conditions in Sutera. Because the refugees are framed as ‘role models’ and ‘the salvation’ of the city, the collectivisation results in producing the positive stereotype that all refugees can contribute to the well-being of the host nation.

5.4 Article 4, text analysis
The article “Rats, mould and broken furniture: the scandal of the UK’s refugee housing” was written by John Harris and it was published on 10th of January 2018, on The Guardian’s website. The article discusses the living conditions the refugees are facing in England. In the lead of the article, the author makes the following statement: “The Home Office says that asylum seekers deserve ‘safe, habitable’ homes. What too many of them get is filth and
squalor”. In this sentence the author uses aggregation and avoids being specific, by means of the structure “too many”, which provides the reader with only half of the information. The reader does not know how many does “too many” mean. Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 129) stress that the presence of the word “many” is aggregating the refugees, quantifying them and treating them as a number. Moreover, in the same sentence, there is evidence of suppression: the structure “way too many” is also used to conceal the fact that the information regarding the number of the refugees that get bad housing is not provided in the text.

The text starts with the description of the situation of Duminda and his children, who live in a dirty and mouldy house in Coventry, UK. The author uses individualisation here by presenting and addressing Duminda by his name. Describing his living conditions, the author states: “An old mattress is propped up against the wall, and behind it is an expanse of black-green mould. In the downstairs bathroom, there is similarly widespread damp, and a smell that suggests the problem is serious”. The chosen words to describe the house where Duminda lives, connote a dark and dirty living environment. The description creates the image of an environment which is not safe to live in. Duminda is portrayed as a ‘victim’, being forced to live in such conditions. This frame portrays him as a ‘deserving migrant’, entitled to receive help. Such representation could imply compassion and influence the reader’s interpretation. Sunata and Yildiz (2018, p. 143) have stated that news articles that present housing situation of the refugees, usually frame refugees as ‘victims’ of the shelter system, frame which is noticeably used also by the journalist in this article. Additionally, the author reports that Duminda has done voluntarily work in the UK and that the system does not allow him to have a paid job. Again, he is portrayed as a ‘victim’ in need of help.

Furthermore, the journalist moves over discussing that a pressure group, Migrant Voice, conducted a study on the housing facilities offered to the refugees. In describing the group’s initiative, the author states: “the pressure group Migrant Voice put out a report based on research done in the West Midlands, which shone light on what far too many refugees have to put up with”. Here the use of the structure “too many” for the second time throughout the text indicates that the author has used over-lexicalisation to emphasise once more the bad housing options that the refugees are pressured to take. Hansen and Machin (2013, p.123) state that the abundance of same words in a text, creates evidence that something is problematic. Thus, it can be stated that the journalist intended to highlight how critical the housing situation is in England. The over-lexicalisation is not only created by the usage of the same structure several times, but also by adding the word “far” to the “too many” structure, over-describing and exaggerating the facts presented in the text. Moreover, the structure “too many” additionally shows evidence of suppression and aggregation. The reader is still not provided with the information of how many refugees have to cope with this problem. The usage of the word
“many” not only aggregates the refugees and quantifies them as a number, but it also creates collectivisation. The reader is left with the impression that all the refugees have to face similar problem, because of the over-lexicalisation and exaggeration that the author uses.

The article continues with the stories of two more refugees, Miriam and Aman, which are facing living in bad and inappropriate houses provided by different private companies, which have a contract with the government. They are presented in an individualised manner, with the author stating their names, age and country of origin. While reporting on Miriam’s story, the author refers to her as a mother, and he presents the story of her and her four-year-old daughter. Framing her as a mother not only individualises but it also humanises her and associates her with positive connotations. Thus, she is associated with the image of a loving single mother, who fights for the well-being of her daughter. This association can make the reader empathise with her story (Hansen & Machin, 2013, p. 116). Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 125) ponder that journalists use humanising frames, such as the mother, for describing refugees when their mission is to portray them as innocents. Indeed, it can be stated that the article’s author exposes the refugees as innocent and portrays the private housing companies as the ones responsible for their bad living conditions.

Aman is also portrayed as a mother: “a single mother from Pakistan”. The frame of the single mother has again the same connotations: a deserving refugee in need of help. When describing the conditions that Aman lives in, the author makes the following statement: “a shared house whose walls do not seem to have been decorated for decades, and whose communal living area contains a filthy old sofa”. The author here is describing a visual image, which is framed like a house from a horror movie, rather than one suitable for living. The walls that have not been painted for decades and the old and dirty sofa, frame Aman’s house as dirty and sinister. Thus, Aman here is framed as a ‘victim of the system’, potentially generating compassion in the reader’s mind. The article then moves on presenting the case of two other refugees from Congo, Jenny and Philipe, which face similar problems regarding the housing facilities. They are both individualised, and both of their names are present throughout the text.

While describing the companies that provide housing for the refugees, the author is focusing on exposing the fact that they do not care about the state of the houses, and that they ignore the complaints from the refugees. The following sentence describes how one of the companies have dealt with a complaint from Duminda: “They emailed G4S photos of the damp walls two months ago but have got no further than a contractor finally turning up in December and telling them he was going to formally report their problems”. In this sentence the author is emphasising the fact that the companies ignore the refugees complains and that they avoid changing the state of the houses by postponing the formalities of sending a complaint. By exposing this information, the author is framing the companies as ‘the reason of the refugees’
suffering’. The refugees and the housing companies are represented in opposition to each other, the refugees being framed as ‘victims’ and the companies being framed as ‘the agent responsible for the refugees’ suffering’.

To sum up, it can be stated that the author used both practices, individualisation and collectivisation while referring to the refugees. The author has provided names and personal details for all the actors presented in the text and he used collectivisation to emphasise that all of them must cope with bad living conditions. The usage of collectivisation in this context, frames the refugees as ‘victims’ of the English housing system.

5.4.1 Image 4 analysis

Figure 4 (Appendix E) is also complemented by a short description in the publication. The author provides the following description: “Duminda, living with his wife and two young children in damp, squalid conditions at a G4S house in Coventry”. The presence of the description is important as it informs the reader that the person seen in the picture is one of the refugees the news article discusses: Duminda.

Looking into the individualisation practice, since Duminda is the only person shown in the picture, it could be stated that he is individualised, but the picture shows just his hand and the shadow of his body, setting which decharacterises Duminda. Bleiker et al. (2013, p. 408) have theorised that decharacterisation dehumanises the refugees and it not only influences the reader to not show empathy to their sufferings, but it also stops the reader from further acts of help towards the refugees. As discussed by the authors, in the context in which Duminda is framed as a ‘father’ and also as a ‘victim’ of the housing system in England, an image showing Duminda and his family, would have had a humanising effect and it would have helped the reader to identify Duminda.

The problem of being decharacterised rises here, as in the previous analysed images (see Figure 1, 2, and 3), with two possible interpretations: it was Duminda’s choice to hide, decision that could come from the fear of having his house taken away from him, or the second interpretation that it was the journalist’s choice to not expose Duminda.

Taking a closer look at Duminda’s hand, it can be seen that he is wearing a wedding ring, detail which frames him as a family man. This portrayal is also highlighted in the text, along with the frame of ‘loving father’. By taking a closer look at the image, it can be stated that this is the only visible characteristic in the picture, the wedding ring which can demonstrate that the photographed person is Duminda, because in the text he is framed as a familyist and father.

Analysing the angle of the picture, it can be observed that the picture was taken at an oblique angle. As Hansen and Machin (2013, p. 192) state, this technique suggests tension. This is a
further emphasis that Duminda is fearful and tensioned, matching with the fact that he shows only his hand in the picture. This angle, which connotes tension, can suggest that it was Duminda’s wish to not expose himself, since he and his family are in a tensed situation with the firm that provided them with accommodation. Duminda’s wish of not exposing himself is not stated in the text and it is also not clear from the image, therefore, this can only be one of the ways the reader can interpret the image.

Analysing the setting of the picture, which is clearly taken from an outside environment, the picture has the window of Duminda’s house in focus. On the left side of the picture, it can be seen a small portion of the wall of the house, which has an old-fashioned colour. The fact that the picture frames only the window and not the whole house, further suggests a wish of hiding, and it objectifies Duminda, reducing his story, to the story of the house he has to live in, by having the picture focused on the house. Moreover, analysing the objects exposed in the picture, in the centre of the window sill there is a small white vase with red roses. The red roses suggest energy and love, hope, but also power and strength. This setting can be perfectly attributed to Duminda, who is depicted as a loving father, but also as a strong man, who fights for the well-being of his family.

It can be concluded that the picture decharacterises Duminda, the wedding ring visible in the picture is the only object that can suggest to the reader that Duminda is the photographed man, because in the news article he was framed as a ‘father’. The oblique angle in which the picture was taken depicts tension. The tension can be related to Duminda, which is also stressed because of the condition of his house.

6. Results

The results of the analysis support, to some extent, the theory and the findings of previous research, which state that refugees are mainly stereotyped and portrayed in a negative manner. On one hand, during the analysis of the four articles and four images from The Guardian, indications of negative framing and stereotyping were found. The most negative stereotype that the analysis has revealed, was created using the ‘jungle’ metaphor, which framed the refugees as ‘wild’ and ‘dangerous’. On the other hand, the analysis revealed also significant positive portrayals of refugees, such as saviours, role models, and loving fathers and mothers. Although positive, this depiction of the refugees is also stereotyped, even archetypical, which indicates that The Guardian attempted to report about the refugees’ situation through positive lens but still in a stereotyped manner.

To answer the first research question of the thesis about how the refugees are portrayed in terms of individualisation and collectivisation in recent The Guardian articles, the analysis
revealed that the refugees were mostly individualised throughout the news articles, but the analysis of the articles exposed also traces of collectivisation. In the first analysed article, the refugees, as well as the medical personnel in Calais, were individualised, indicating the journalist’s attempt to report in an objective way and not create differences between the actors and stereotypes. Even though there were attempts to objective reporting, the analysis revealed that the articles did not always report in an objective manner. In the second article, individualisation was also visible by the reporting on two refugee boys. Indications of collectivisation were also found in the article, but with a positive connotation because it was correlated with the positive description of the boys. The third article displayed collectivisation already in the title, but again it had a positive outcome, because the refugees were portrayed as the ‘salvation’ and ‘positive agents of change’ of an Italian city and as ‘role models’. Opposing to Hansen and Machin’s argument (2013, p. 127) that collectivisation creates stereotypes and connotes a negative framing, the association between collectivisation and the positive framing also had positive connotations. The fourth analysed article presented traces of both, individualisation and collectivisation. According to Hansen and Machin’s (2013, p. 127) statements, individualising and providing personal details and names helps the readers perceive the actors as real people. Whereas collectivising them, represents them as a category or a group, further enhancing the differences between ‘us’ and ‘them’ and maintaining stereotyped views on the refugees.

The analysis exposed indications of collectivisation throughout the articles, which in two of the cases had a positive outcome, because it contributed to the construction of a positive frame, but still full of stereotypes, such as ‘role models’ and ‘excellent students’. In the other cases that collectivisation was indicated by the analysis, the usage of words such as ‘some’ and ‘far too many’ not only aggregated the refugees but it also enhanced the stereotyped view that all refugees are the same. The analysis further revealed that all the articles used also individualisation while constructing the refugees, action which developed positive framing of the refugees. Using both, individualisation and collectivisation, it can be stated that The Guardian does not represent the refugees in an objective way, even though attempts of objective reporting can be found in the articles.

Concluding on the visual analysis of the four images, it can be stated that in three of the four images the refugees were individualised, and the fourth being collectivised. However, the analysis further revealed that all the actors were decharacterised. The images did not present specific characteristics and features to help the reader understand which person is depicted in the picture. As argued by Bleiker et al. (2013, p. 411), the decharacterisation of the refugees firstly conceals their identity and dehumanises them and, secondly, it enhances their framing as victims.
Considering that decharacterisation is present in all four analysed images, The Guardian’s Editorial Guidelines were consulted. The code states that individuals will be more honest if they are allowed to be exposed anonymously. The Guardian also mentions that the safety and privacy of their subjects are valued, therefore they do not publish identifying details, unless there is a clear public interest in doing so (The Guardian, 2011, p.4). This being stated, it can be concluded that the four analysed images decharacterised the refugees and it was a decision made by The Guardian in order to assure the safety of the subjects, but also the quality of their reports.

Regarding the second research question about representing refugee by means of stereotypes, the analysis revealed that The Guardian is representing the refugees in a stereotypical way, supporting the findings of previous research. Sunata and Yıldız (2018, p.129) concluded that when reporting on refugees there are four types of frames present in the media: refugees framed as ‘criminals’, ‘humanitarian aid receivers’, ‘victims’ and ‘role models’. While reporting about the refugees, The Guardian used the frames of ‘victims’, ‘humanitarian aid receivers’ and ‘role models’. In the first article, on one hand, the refugees are framed as ‘mothers’, which humanises them and has positive connotations. On the other hand, the author has used the metaphor of the ‘jungle’ to describe both the refugees and the camp in Calais, metaphor which frames the refugees as ‘wild’ and ‘dangerous’. These frames are highly stereotyped and indicate that the article is not based on objective reporting. In the second article, the two teenage refugees were framed as ‘role models’, with the author focusing on presenting them as excellent students, who possess valuable knowledge. The frame of ‘role models’ has positive connotations and contributes to lead the reader to empathise with the refugees’ situation. Framing the refugees as ‘role models’ can influence the reader to express a higher acceptance and openness towards the refugees. Furthermore, the analysis of the third text revealed that refugees were framed as ‘role models’ and ‘the positive agent of change’, the report focusing on their great impact on an aged Italian city, which was close to disappear. As stated by Sunata and Yıldız (2018, p.129), using the frame of ‘role models’ had great positive connotations and promotes the acceptance of refugees in their host society. The analysis of the fourth article revealed that the author has framed the refugees as ‘victims’ of the companies that provide them housing in England. The findings of this analysis further confirm Sunata and Yıldız’ (2018, p. 129) conclusions, who stated that in news articles reporting about the housing situation, the refugees are framed as victims.

7. Conclusion

In this thesis, the aim was to investigate how the British newspaper, The Guardian, is portraying the issue of the refugee immigration in the first trimester of 2018. The thesis
intended to find out if The Guardian is reporting in a stereotyped manner, through investigating the individualisation and collectivisation practices, as well as the media frames used in the news articles. The analysis used the method of Critical Discourse Analysis, as well as a Visual Analysis. Through these methods, this thesis investigated a total number of four news articles and four images. Theories of representation, framing, individualisation and collectivisation represented the basis of this thesis and have guided the analysis.

This thesis concluded that The Guardian has presented individualised representations of the refugees, as well as collectivised representations. The image analysis revealed that the method of individualising the refugees, was visible in three of the analysed articles. Even though the images individualised the refugees, conclusion based on the singularity of subjects, the refugees were dehumanised and decharacterised, because the pictures did not present any visible features, to further help identify the refugees. The result of having pictures which decharacterise the refugees were not expected, as the studied previous research on the visual representations of refugees did not present indications of decharacterisation. This being stated, it can be highlighted once more that the decision of concealing the identity of the refugees is an editorial choice of The Guardian, with the aim of protecting the refugees’ identities and safety. At the same time, indications of collectivisation were also discovered through the analysis.

These results were expected, based on previous discussions by Lams (2018, p. 113), who concluded that the British media has a high rate of personalisation and individualisation. Lams (2018, p. 113) also emphasised that, even though the British media has a high rate of individualisation, it presents also collectivisation of refugees. Thus, the results of this thesis, which emphasise that The Guardian has used positive framing, as well as negative framing, through the processes of individualisation and collectivisation, further enhance the author’s findings and conclude that The Guardian presents the refugees, individualised, as well as collectivised.

The presence of ‘the jungle’ metaphor, which stereotyped the refugees and framed the refugees as ‘violent’ and ‘wild’, further emphasised the partial way of reporting The Guardian has used. The Guardian has attempted to use an objective style of reporting, at times using frames which aimed at humanising the refugees, such as ‘the mother’, ‘role models’ or the ‘positive agent of change’ frames. Nevertheless, considering that the presence of both, negative and positive frames, observed throughout the analysis, it can be once more highlighted that The Guardian did not necessarily report in an objective way.

The analyses of the four articles and four pictures revealed negative, as well as positive framing and stereotyping methods. This is a great indication that The Guardian has used the
constructionist approach of the theory of representation, while developing the content of the news articles. The refugees were represented in relation to cultural stereotypes, where techniques such as framing and using metaphors, were used to communicate to the reader different views regarding the refugees.

As stated by Orgad (2012, p.47), the way media represents refugees and immigration is anticipated to have a great impact on the way the receivers perceive these issues. Considering the results of this thesis, it can be further concluded that The Guardian’s representations of refugees, from 1st of January 2018 to 31st of March 2018 are not completely objective and contain, to some extent, positive and negative framing and stereotyping. However, it is worth to mention that these results were expected, based on Lams’ (2018, p. 113) previous research which showed that media representations of the refugees, during the years of 2015 and 2016, when the refugee crisis reached its peak, contained both objective and also stereotyped and prejudiced representations. It can be concluded that the findings of this thesis further enhance the findings of Lams’ (2018) previous research.

This thesis represents a small contribution to the media representations research field. The main limitation of this study is represented by the size of the sample. As stated by Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 207), the small sample size does not affect the quality of the research, since the method of CDA has the power to reveal meaning buried in texts, but it does imply that conclusions reached in this analysis are not generally applicable to other texts and therefore, further investigations on a larger scale could reach broader conclusions about the media representations of refugees. Additionally, based on the interpretative method of the analysis, it is important to mention that the results of the analysis are to some extent dependant on the interpretations of the researcher, therefore, other investigations on the same sample of material, that follow an equivalent method of analysis may reach other conclusions. In this study, it was demonstrated that The Guardian represents the refugees by using positive and negative stereotypes, individualisation and collectivisation methods, as well as positive and negative framing. Moreover, as the sample of the analysed articles and images was quite small, for further research on this topic it is suggested to having an investigation with a larger sample of material to be analysed.
8. References


## 9. Appendices

### Appendix A: Table 1: Data set

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Number of the article</th>
<th>Title of the article</th>
<th>Hyperlink</th>
<th>Date of publication</th>
<th>Image selected for the analysis, Caption of the Image, Credits of the image</th>
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<td>2</td>
<td>In Sweden, Noor went straight to school; in Britain, Ammar waited six months</td>
<td><a href="https://www.theguardian.com/education/2018/feb/13/sweden-school-britain-education-young-refugees">https://www.theguardian.com/education/2018/feb/13/sweden-school-britain-education-young-refugees</a></td>
<td>13th February 2018</td>
<td><img src="Image" alt="Ammar, a Syrian refugee in Britain who wants to become a doctor, had to buy his own text books and put himself through a sciences GCSE. Credits: Christopher Tomond" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>They are our salvation’: the Sicilian town revived by refugees</td>
<td><a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/19/sutura-italy-the-sicilian-town-revived-by-refugees">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/19/sutura-italy-the-sicilian-town-revived-by-refugees</a></td>
<td>19th March 2018</td>
<td><img src="Image" alt="Migration into Sutera has brought a new influx of children to a school that had been earmarked to shut Credits: Francesco Bellina" /></td>
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Appendix B:

Appendix C:

Figure 2. Ammar, a Syrian refugee in Britain who wants to become a doctor, had to buy his own text books and put himself through a sciences GCSE. Source: https://www.theguardian.com/education/2018/feb/13/sweden-school-britain-education-young-refugees
Figure 3. Migration into Sutera has brought a new influx of children to a school that had been earmarked to shut. Source: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/19/sutera-italy-the-sicilian-town-revived-by-refugees