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# Media, Politics and The 'Refugee Crisis'

Exploring the mechanisms of influence between politics and the press in the case of the UK news media during the 2015 refugee crisis

**ABSTRACT** – In this paper we will explore the complex relationship between the news media and political decision making in the United Kingdom, as well as how that relationship affects an actor's role in international relations. Focussing on a selection of British newspapers and the government, we analyse the discourse surrounding migration and refugees during the 2015 Refugee Crisis. We observe the intersections of political influence which travel between the press and politicians, and vice versa, as well as the ways in which those influence mechanisms can impact behaviour at the international level. Considering the relationship according to conceptions of normative values and social hegemony we can identify how the discourse informs the national attitude towards particular issues.

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# 1. Introduction

For many people, 2015 was a year of crisis. Due to violence, persecution and insecurity more than a million people fled their home nations and travelled great distances across borders to seek refuge in Europe. The majority of these people were fleeing from their homes in the Middle East and Central and North Africa; most recognisable to the public consciousness were the vast numbers escaping the increasingly brutal civil war in Syria. For European nations it became one of the worst humanitarian crises they had faced since the end of the Second World War. The number of refugees in Europe grew from 1.5 million in 2010 to over 2.8 million in 2015, an increase of nearly 90% (UNDESA, 2017). Countries across the continent were ill-prepared to handle the dramatic influx of people arriving at their borders, with the responsible authorities under-resourced and overwhelmed. The situation quickly began to be referred to as the Refugee Crisis.

The rising number of refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants hoping to find relief in European countries presented authorities with crucial challenges. How to process them all in an efficient and humane way, making sure to accommodate their fundamental human rights and protecting the most vulnerable, was a significant task. A great number of the refugees and migrants undertook perilous journeys to reach Europe, with a dangerous network of irregular sea crossings in the Mediterranean resulting in thousands of dead and missing (UNHCR, 2017). Those that made it faced slow official procedures that could mean a long time waiting in difficult conditions for a decision on whether they would be allowed to stay. All this was occurring at a time when there were growing tensions over the value of European culture, concerns regarding struggling economies, and fear of terrorism. The human tragedy created waves of sympathy among the European public, while simultaneously imbedded fears led to suspicion of the newcomers and contempt for their plight.

Refugee situations and their associated challenges can be heavily politicised and controversial. In the decade up to 2014 the British public had grown significantly dissatisfied with the government's perceived ability to slow immigration to the UK, and by 2015 more than half of the public considered immigration one of the top issues facing the country (Duffy et al., 2014; Ipsos MORI, 2015). This paper seeks to examine the mechanisms of influence that exist between the British news media and the political class and assess how the relationship

between them affects public opinion and policy making. It is hypothesised that the role of the media and national politics is internationally significant because of how their influence can direct the national narrative which can shape internationally relevant policy decisions. Whether this is halting refugees at a border leading to disruption in another state, or using anti-immigrant rhetoric as part of an argument for leaving a trading union. The intention is to explore the relationship between press and political discourses and identify the ways that can shape internationally relevant agendas.

Though while international relations study generally focusses on the state as a unitary actor interacting with other states, this paper chooses to explore state behaviour as a composite of ideas and decisions coming from deep within a country's structure. This is particularly important when considering liberal democracies, as in the case of the United Kingdom. Classical international relations ideas can be insufficient in analysing multi-faceted and intersectional issues such as the refugee crisis, often neglecting their value as a topic of study. This paper will instead look at how the web of cultural, social and political identities informed the British hegemony's (the political and social elite in positions of power) decisions to wage a 'war of position' to alter the nation's policy direction and acceptable popular discourse (Cox, 1983). It is hoped that by investigating the effects of the refugee discourse on domestic and foreign policy in Britain we can contribute to the breadth and diversity of international relations study.

This research paper will look at a variety of the mainstream news media in Britain and the behaviours of corresponding political decision makers. The chosen sources are the Guardian, Telegraph, Daily Mirror, and Daily Mail; chosen because two represent the liberal, politically left-leaning press, and two represent the conservative, politically right-leaning press. In exploring the relationship between their coverage of the refugee crisis and the discourse or policy choices of the political class, we find that influence is complex, multidirectional, and divided across ideological lines. Influence in this case is considered a correlation of processes and decisions between the press and political class. We will not assert specific causality, rather we will infer that the relationships between the press and politicians is indicative of influence mechanisms. It becomes clear that the right-leaning newspapers were in a better position to utilise their influence mechanisms due to their ideological alignment and their proximity to power. The left-leaning media appeared to present a

narrative that aligned with the political opposition, but could not be considered to have presented significant influence on decision makers.

## 2. Method

The primary goal of this paper is to investigate the relationship between the British media's portrayal of refugees during the 2015 crisis and the country's policy responses. Building on what has been seen in the scholarly research, we hypothesise that the dominant socio-political discourse promulgated by the mainstream news media is an influential element in driving political decision making. We also believe that this is important for consideration for the field of international relations as it demonstrates the valuable role domestic media actors play in influencing internationally relevant politics.

We begin by providing an overview of the conceptual debate surrounding this topic as it exists in the extant literature. Once that has been established we will move on to the core of our investigation which utilises a qualitative approach to explore the networks of political influence, analysing the news media discourse, and is supported by relevant quantitative data. A documentary analysis of news sources constitutes the body of this paper. This method has been chosen because we are seeking to identify how the media discourse shaped, or is shaped by, the political narrative. We have selected four British news sources with the widest scope variety of readership from across the political spectrum – the Guardian and Daily Mirror (liberal/left-leaning) and the Telegraph and Daily Mail (conservative/right-leaning). These newspapers<sup>1</sup> were selected due to their relatively even readership and their appropriately juxtaposing socio-political positions.

To maintain a functional study scope, a selection of articles from each media source was made, focussing on two non-consecutive week-long periods in 2015. The first week chosen was 26 July to 1 August, and the second from 22 to 28 November. The July period was chosen because this month saw a large number of refugees and migrants move into and through Europe, as well as significant disruption at the France-UK border point in Calais. This disruption is reflected heavily in the media discourse. The November period was chosen because of its distance from the height of the summer disruption. The November period was not chosen because of its proximity in time to the November 13<sup>th</sup> terror attacks in Paris, France, however their significance cannot be denied within the broader refugee crisis

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<sup>1</sup> Newspaper in this context refers to the news media outlet, and is not limited to mean only a paper print copy of a publication.

discourse. How the newspapers and the political class incorporate security and social anxiety into their narrative is valuable to our assessment of multidirectional influence.

Following the scope period selection, an advanced search was then conducted on each of the newspaper's online archives to identify articles that included either key word 'refugee' and/or 'migrant'. These articles were then further filtered to exclude articles reporting on refugees or migrants disconnected from the focal refugee crisis in Europe and the global north. For example, articles on refugees on the Bangladesh-Myanmar border were not considered, however articles on Syrian refugees in Canada were considered relevant. The small number of articles excluded was ultimately negligible so does not affect to the overall study. In total, 141 articles were identified and examined for their content (see Appendix 1). The analysis looks closely at the language and themes in the article, the supposed intent, and the context in which the article was written. It will then be assessed as to whether these themes are reflective of the broader discourse or independently occurring by comparing them to quantitative media data and the political discourse. Public political reactions will also be assessed using publicly available data polls on attitudes and voting behaviours.

Classical international relations theory has typically neglected to look too seriously at how domestic influence can affect the international sphere. A realist perspective might suggest that the UK's political response to the refugee crisis was led by the state's concerns for its security and relative power. A liberal institutionalist perspective may suggest that the UK's response was oriented around its relationship with supranational bodies such as the European Union. We submit that these classical approaches do not sufficiently take into account the importance of domestic structures of political influence, which run vertically and horizontally in both directions. The news media and political elite are in positions of significant power when it comes to the creation and direction of social norms and ideas, as well as being able to effectively employ identity as a political tool. Therefore the international relations theory which will provide a framework for our analysis is a social constructivist approach. We will also include an element of analysis focussing on a critical theory perspective, based on the Gramscian 'war of position' extrapolated by Cox (1983). Though somewhat abstracted from its original context of Marxist revolutionary thinking, this view is based on the idea that the elite have achieved a "hegemonic position of leadership" which allows them to cultivate norms and values in civil society (ibid, p.163). Thus, we suggest that the contemporary

political elite and the news media are able to infuse their ideas and norms into society using their hegemonic status.

There are some weaknesses in this methodology that should be acknowledged. In doing a content analysis and examining the relationship between the discourse and policy it is possible to mistakenly attribute correlations and causality where there may not necessarily be any. The time periods selected can also be considered very narrow when compared to the length and continuing impact of the refugee crisis. The source selection may also be considered too narrow, as we are only taking into account four mainstream news media sources which does not reflect the sum media influence on the British public. The exclusion of further outlets, and to an extent social media, was a choice made to ensure the scope of this research remained achievable. It is suggested that the other scope conditions be utilised in further study. Similarly, the time frame was selected to ensure research feasibility. Focussing on different periods will also need to be considered in further study. To overcome the risk of drawing inappropriate correlation and causality the analysis will seek to examine around the content in search for context as much as possible. A discourse analysis alone cannot prove the presence of specific thought processes, nor can it provide evidence for what certain actors are basing their decisions on. But it can demonstrate how certain arguments are constructed and narratives are shaped. It can show us what message is being given truth-status and through context we can discern the political implications of this. As mentioned above, the content will be considered alongside corroborating data, polling information, and evidence of political actor behaviour. It is hoped this will mitigate the risk of false correlation.

To summarise, our approach will consist of a news media discourse analysis from four separate media outlets, supported by media meta-data, public political and opinion polls, as well as political speech and political acts. Through this method we will be able to explore the relationship between the news media and Britain's political responses to the refugee crisis.



## 3. Literature Review

In order to better understand how refugees, the media, and the state connect we must look at some of the conceptual debates behind these issues. We will provide an overview of what the extant literature says concerning refugee issues and how that relates to this research, contextualising the conceptual debate as well as the relationship between refugees and politics both internationally and domestically. We will first build an understanding of what we are referring to when discussing refugees and migrants, how those two concepts differ, and why those differences are important. Secondly, we will look at what the scholarship says about the relationship between states and refugees. Finally, we will explore existing research dealing with the relationship between the news media and refugees, especially in the case of the Syrian refugee crisis.

### 3.1. Conceptualising refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants

Defining what a refugee is and understanding the conceptual difference between refugee, asylum seeker, and migrant is a valuable first step. This paper concerns the refugee crisis in Europe and news media depictions of people variously labelled refugees, asylum seekers, or migrants. These are three prominent and emotionally charged terms present in the discourse. In many contexts they are used interchangeably, either unconsciously or because of specific intent to drive a narrative. Understanding the difference between the terms means we will be able to better explain why conflation of the terms can be a tool for redirecting perceptions. In the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees the United Nations establishes that a refugee is a person who is:

“owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it” (UNHCR, 2011, Article 1).

The two core components of the UN definition are the “well-founded fear of persecution” and “departure from the home nation”. Accordingly, persecution is what differentiates a

refugee from a migrant and leaving the home nation distinguishes the refugee from being an internally displaced person. Refugees are thus distinct from other migrants, specifically within the context of this UN classification. Furthermore, an asylum seeker is an individual seeking international protection, but whose claim for asylum has not yet been accepted by the country the claim has been submitted to. Amnesty International (2017) claim that initially every refugee is an asylum seeker, but not all asylum seekers can be classified as refugees. They are, however, similar terms that in popular discourse are often used to mean one and the same. A migrant who is not a refugee is much more simply any person who leaves their country for a reason besides persecution, such as for economic incentives or family connections. Many asylum seekers may be classified as migrants if their asylum claim is rejected and their status as a refugee is unrecognised. It is also important to acknowledge that illegal migration is a frequent term in the discourse, but there is no such thing as an illegal refugee. The confusion between these terms is a consistent feature we will see in the news media discourse, as they are used interchangeably or incorrectly in order to support a particular narrative.

Importantly, by defining someone as a refugee it implies that they require or deserve aid in a way that non-refugees do not (Lister, 2013). Once a person is labelled a refugee they are automatically relegated to a sub-category in society laden with associations of helplessness, dependency, and misery (Harrell-Bond and Voutira, 1992). These perceptions are key to why policy makers may respond to refugees differently than they do towards other irregular migrants, in order to circumvent the necessary legal protections expected for refugees. Indeed, the complexities of the humanitarian emergency that is a refugee situation and its inevitable politicisation leaves refugees in a paradox. As a group they become trapped between their human identity and the exclusionary marginal identity inherited with the refugee label (Nyers, 2006). Because of the inherently constructed nature of refugee or asylum seeker status, it is viable to have these group identities deconstructed in an effort to alter public or political perceptions. Holmes and Castañeda (2016) claim that native anxieties about economics or cultural diversity can be projected onto incoming refugees. This can lead to a moral delineation between the deserving and the undeserving newcomers, even if the distinction is superficial. This contrast is present in the way refugees have been studied in the past. Some early scholars argued that refugees were created by political circumstances and

migrants exist as a result of economic factors (Fagen et al, 1968); while other scholars argue that it is a combination of political and economic contexts that lead to the creation refugees (Zolberg, 1981; Hein, 1993; Levitt et al, 2003). Understanding the factors leading to refugee migration as being multidimensional is key to building an appropriate response to the pressures refugees create. Our analysis will look more closely at how overt conflation of terminology and refugee causation can sway the discourse and how this relates to UK policy.

### 3.2. The State

One of the defining elements of refugees and migrants is that they are individuals who have left their home country and have moved across sovereign borders to another state. The relationship between transitory peoples and state behaviours is therefore core to this study's focus. A review of the literature will demonstrate some of the identified challenges states face regarding refugees, how states cooperate or don't when facing these challenges, and what theories underpin the study of refugees from an international relations perspective.

Refugees and migrants have, since the 1990s, featured more prominently on European national security agendas. Scholars approaching the issue from a realist international relations perspective argue that states will see large flows of people, refugees or migrants, as a threat to their sovereignty and relative power structures (Adamson, 2006; Hammerstad, 2011; Snyder, 2011). Arguments from classical realist scholars such as Hans Morgenthau (1951) suggest that states will be sceptical of altruism or humanitarianism that might threaten their power and security in relation to other states. Thus, this would suggest that states forge their immigration policies in response to their security agendas and are likely to see unauthorised mass migration of any variety as a potential danger. The insecurity created by migration need not necessarily be physical, but also political. Activists in the Sikh community in Britain worked hard to draw attention to grievances in Punjab, a border region of India and Pakistan and the heart of Sikhism in India. This activism alienated the Indian government and soured India-UK relations for many years (Bali, 2013). This demonstrates that refugees can measurably affect the security of a state, either directly or indirectly, leading to shifts in policy direction. However, it also reveals flaws in the realist perspective because it shows that citizen pressures can alter the behaviour of states domestically and internationally, without necessarily being related to the objective power of the state.

Collective action and the sharing of the refugee burden has been frequently suggested as a sensible method for dealing with refugee crises. In her paper on the Syrian Refugee Crisis, Ostrand (2015) claims that if there were a balanced distribution of responsibility in Europe during the crisis the burden on each state would be less significant. However, a realist argument would say that because the state is being driven by security concerns, they are unlikely to embrace a burden sharing philosophy (Suhrke, 1998). It would expect to see the burden shifted, with powerful or wealthy nations seeking to protect their interests by externalising the refugee or migrant burden onto another state, preventing people ever reaching their borders (Frelick et al, 2016). An example of this is the European Union's 2016 agreement with Turkey, whereby Turkey would receive funding to prevent refugees reaching Europe through Turkish territory (European Council, 2016). Externalisation is not uncommon, and deterrence is an integral part of every nation's immigration policy, though the extent of these measures differ. What this demonstrates though, is that states desire to reduce their own responsibility in order to maintain their relative power and security.

However, as with the case of the British Sikhs, a realist approach does not go far enough to help us explain the importance of perception, especially domestic perceptions, in leading to the state behaving un-cooperatively. Evidence suggests that restrictive migration controls are closely related to the distortion between the humanitarian needs of migrants and the threat perceived by the state's society (Gammeltoft-Hansen and Tan, 2017). This illustrates the importance of perception in policy making and the value of the imagined threat as much as the real. The make-up of a society's values and normative attitudes are influential factors in shaping national response to a refugee crisis. The United Kingdom is a liberal democracy, and a challenge faced by its leaders is the need to balance the commitments to liberal values and international law with the various anxieties of its citizens. As Gibney (1999) argues, liberal states should be expected to accept refugees and migrants, for humanitarian or economic reasons, until the state's ability to maintain equilibrium between the residents and newcomers is affected. The equilibrium may be a literal zenith where the state can no longer provide adequate service, but it may also be the point where the public perception shifts out of favour. The role of the democratic will of the citizens cannot be ignored, so the citizens will be important considerations for any state in designing refugee policy.

The threat to liberal values is present in the discourse across Europe, and has been long before the most recent crisis. Boswell (2000) argued that changes in refugee numbers and origins threatened the practicality and feasibility of the liberal universalist model as the guiding force behind refugee policy. Murray's (1997) theory of avoidance would explain that states with defined liberal philosophies act against humanitarian compulsion because issues such as human rights are considered too controversial or 'unsafe', and are buried beneath 'safer' discussions of due process and legality (p.231). The news media is a powerful actor in shaping citizen's perceptions and an issue's narrative, and therefore they also play a part in shaping what is considered 'safe' and 'unsafe'. Thus, rather than seeing the state as only acting according to power structures and security, we can see it as the combination of elements of a society which directs policy behaviour according to constructed norms, values and perceptions, with the news media playing a role in shaping those constructions.

### 3.3. The Media

As we have indicated, the news media can be a powerful actor in society when it comes to shaping and directing a narrative. We must therefore explore what the scholarship has to say about the role the media plays in framing a crisis and what techniques are used to influence the discourse. In her book, *Asylum*, Miranda Lewis (2005) recognises the important relationship between politics and the news media and how they symbiotically frame contemporary issues. In this case Lewis primarily refers to a reflective model of issue framing; political elites would speak about asylum, shaping how the press reported the issue, which would influence the public and they in turn would influence their political representatives. The implication here is that it may be the views of very few individuals, political and media elites, shaping the way millions of British citizens perceive an issue such as asylum. Lewis says that if there is an absence of strong political leadership and balanced media, there is little opportunity for the people to be well informed on an issue because there is confusion between fact and perception (ibid). It has also been found that the media is more likely to prioritise shaping an issue through an economic frame or with an attribution of responsibility – i.e. placing blame on an authority – than choosing to frame the issue in human or moral terms (An and Gower, 2008).

The broader literature regarding the influence relationship between mass media and policymakers is complex and conflicted. Some scholars argue that the relationship is top-

down, where political actors direct what is on the media agenda and decide on the focus issues (Brandenburg, 2002). Others argue for more of a 'mediacratic' model that suggests the media is a base actor influencing what fits on the political agenda (Soroka, 2000; Walgrave et al., 2008). Agenda-setting has been demonstrated in certain cases, with media coverage frequency and positioning – positive or negative reporting – influencing respondents perceptions on the issues (Wanta et al., 2004). These findings illustrate that the media can frame issues and lead to public perception shifts depending on how and how much they cover an issue. Contemporary scholars now more generally agree that influence is often multidirectional and depending on the context can be more substantial in either direction. Conditionality is also an important consideration, as it has been found that certain issues and certain time contexts can lead to the media having more or less significant influence on policymakers (Green-Pedersen and Stubager, 2010). This tells us that particular issues can be framed in a certain way by the media or politicians, and this can have a greater effect depending on when this framing is employed. Therefore, the timing and issue type is important to assess in this case.

Images are also important in issue framing, as using a particular image can change the way the story is perceived. Visually framing refugees or migrants in a way that dehumanises them, such as not showing faces in order to abstract human emotion, can reinforce a negative position among the readership and restrain compassionate responses (Connolly, 1991; Bleiker et al., 2013). The reverse can also be true, with images eliciting sympathy displayed when a compassionate response is being promoted. As might be expected in written media, the language used by the press is also critical to how refugees and migrants are framed. Charged language repeated in the widespread media can contribute to shaping the refugee discourse and evoking particular responses from people in society. Common metaphors include comparisons such as the migrant 'trojan horse', eliciting imagery of a secret invasion, or likening refugees to water with words such as 'tide', 'flood', 'wave' to illustrate the overwhelming influx of people (Holmes and Castañeda, 2016). The language used will depend on the media source and the intent behind the reporting, as well as the present normative frame for the issue. The language can also be traced as becoming more evocative as refugees are perceived to be more of a threat. The correlation that can be drawn from this is that the

way the refugee issue is framed, by images and language, can affect but also be affected by normative attitudes in society.

There have been various studies on news media content concerning immigration, migrants, and refugees, with these studies often illustrating the role of socio-cultural norms in shaping responses and behaviours. Scholars have observed ideological shifts in discourse surrounding these issues that mirror similar shifts in politics. In the French press from the 1970s to the 1990s, it was observed that the discourse shifting from a focus on immigrant suffering to social security grievances resulting from immigrants (Benson, 2002). It was also noted that negative stories were often generated by individuals in the political class, using the press to promote an agenda. Similarly, a study on the Italian press found compassionate references to immigrants were gradually replaced with allusions to immigrants' role in criminality (Sciortino and Colombo, 2004). However, other scholars found that in contemporary media immigrants are as commonly associated with the economy as they are with social grievances such as crime or security (Caviedes, 2015). Though a clear concurrence exists regarding the role of the political elite in shaping and being shaped by the news media on refugee and migrant issues. There is also agreement that the discourse can be shifted in a direction by a particular event happening outside of the norm, for example, an economic crash or terrorist attack. In negative shifts, the dominant discourse will typically reinforce the out-grouping of refugees and migrants, and the same being likely if the reverse is true.

Defining refugees and migrants as an out-group is a common technique identified by the literature. This out-grouping can take the form of exclusion due to race, culture, language, or any number of signifying differences, with varying acceptability for use in the mainstream discourse. For example, the press may selectively focus on particular groups and shift its out-grouping depending on the agenda, creating xenophobia in situ when it suits their purpose (Fox et al., 2012). Gale (2004) also talked about how media representations of refugees can incept race into the politics of the issue, which can be useful for some among the political elite to align with populist and nationalistic ideals. Demonising non-citizens has been a frequently occurring feature in the discourse, with the press framing of these groups as potential risks allowing authorities to transform an otherwise unremarkable issue into something sensational (Bosworth and Guild, 2008; Esses et al., 2013). This constructed sensationalism is useful for the political elite, providing them with better recourse to push a

potentially unpopular policy without as much public resistance. These more extreme views are most visible among European populist movements, who use anti-immigrant sentiments to garner support and criticise the policies of mainstream parties; these techniques and framing devices are used with great efficiency by to mobilise support for right-wing political values (Rydgren, 2008; Jacobs et al., 2017). From this we can infer that the relationship between the press and political elite is layered and complementary, with the narrative behaving reflectively and in response to high profile stimuli such as a political actor's statement or an event.

### 3.4. Informing the current research

We have now established what the body of scholarly research is on the issue of refugees, the media, and international relations. There has been a prominent stream of research on refugees from international relations perspective of inter-state relations, and a reactive body of research on the relationship between refugees and the media. What there has been little of is how the two intersect, looking at the importance of the media in influencing and cooperating with politics. International relations research has primarily tended to focus on the refugee issue from the outside, seeing it as a transnational issue concerning states and power. While research on media discourses often neglects to explore the political significance of refugee and migrant framing. This review has helped to develop our understanding of the challenges facing refugees and nations in their response to them, as well as how this issue can be reflected in civil society.



## 4. The Guardian and The Daily Mirror

In the following two chapters we will focus on analysing the content from the selected news media sources. We will look at what trends exist in the reporting, what is significant about what the articles have to say, and what this might tell us about the media source's relationship with political influence. We cannot, through this research, claim explicitly that the media influenced UK politicians, or vice versa. What we will instead focus on is exploring the mechanisms of influence and assessing to what extent the political positioning aligns with media agenda-setting. According to our supporting theories, we might expect to see the political class and the news media interact to a certain extent, engaging in a war of position that has been informed by or motivated by particular norms and values. Chapter 5 will focus on the right-leaning press, while chapter 6 looks at the government and its parliamentary opposition. For this chapter, we will be looking through the gathered content data from the Guardian and the Daily Mirror.

### 4.1. Owners and Audience

The first part of this chapter will look at the contexts from which each newspaper operates – their readership, who owns them, and who is their target audience. The Guardian and the Daily Mirror were selected based on their respective political leanings and their large base readership; both are left-leaning and in the period October 2015 to September 2016 their net print and online readership was approximately 26.1 million and 24.9 million respectively (National Readership Survey, 2016). At this point it is also worth noting the ownership status of both media outlets.

The Guardian is owned by the independent Scott Trust Limited and further subsidised by voluntary reader donations (The Guardian, 2018). It was founded in 1821 with the purpose of providing impartial and independent news without biased editorial oversight. It has since become one of the leading left-leaning newspapers in Britain. Though it maintains no official allegiance to a specific political party, it has consistently been critical of the Conservative party's mandate. The Daily Mirror has historically supported the Labour party and continues to maintain this allegiance. It is owned by a publicly traded company, Reach plc., which also owns a number of other national and regional publications such as the Daily Express, Manchester Evening News, The Chronicle, and several others (Reach, 2018). The Guardian is

financially independent of political actors and the Daily Mirror is given relative editorial freedom by its parent company that allows for its continued political positioning on the left. This is valuable information to consider when examining political influence mechanisms, as an outlet receiving funding from a politically motivated actor is likely to be explicitly influenced by said actor's agenda.

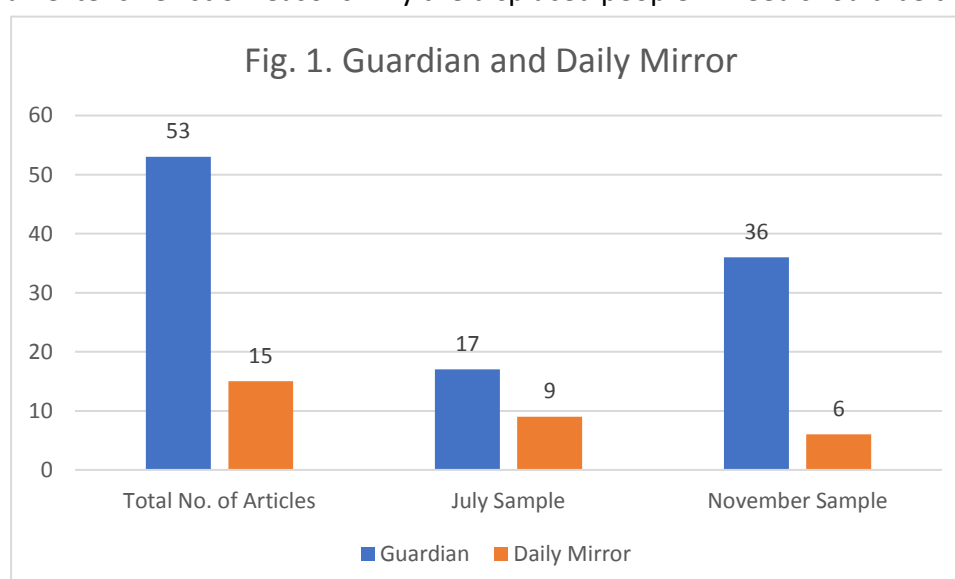
Besides the newspaper ownership, looking at the influence mechanisms that exist between the news media, the public, and policy makers requires understanding who the target of the news is. We have established that influence is multi-directional, travelling from the political class to the public and vice versa, with the media acting as a hinge element in between that can shape the narrative or be shaped by it. If we are trying to see how the left-leaning news media fits into this mechanism, we must establish what the intended directionality is and what they would be trying to achieve with their coverage.

We have established that both newspapers are editorially inclined to the political left. Their reporting is therefore going to be aimed at ideologically similar people. Readership of the Guardian newspaper is higher than average among young, working professionals, individuals who are more likely to have received an education to degree level or above, and earn a higher than average median income (The Guardian, 2010). It also has a slightly higher audience among male readers than female, but indicates it is read by families with children. The Daily Mirror is also read by professionals, but has a high readership among working class skilled and unskilled manual workers, and is popular with people aged over 35 as well as pensioners (Statista, 2018). It is read in far more significant numbers outside of London or Scotland and is slightly more popular among women than men. This information fits with what we might expect from these types of newspaper, with the tabloid appealing more to working and lower middle-class individuals and the broadsheet marketed more towards educated professionals. Besides knowing what kind of audience each newspaper has, we expect that the readers are likely to share a basic political leaning with the source due to media confirmation bias. This bias exists as a natural consequence of people seeking out appealing news and news firms seeking to maximise their confident readership (Gentzkow and Shapiro, 2006). It is worth saying though that the data does not show that either newspaper is consumed exclusively, so a reader of one may also read the other, or an entirely different news source all together.

## 4.2. Exploring the Coverage

During our two sample periods the Guardian had the highest coverage of the refugee crisis with a total of 53 relevant articles across both weeks, whereas the Daily Mirror had the lowest level of coverage of all four of our media outlets with only 15 articles in total (Fig.1). We speculate this may be the case because the Daily Mirror, being a commercial tabloid, had fewer incentives to focus as deeply on the refugee issue. A smaller number of articles is in keeping with the Daily Mirror's editorial style, as it balances news and entertainment pieces. The Guardian on the other hand, whose editorial focus is more on hard-news, had numerous articles per day looking at different aspects of the overall refugee and migrant situation.

A number of trends were evident in each of the newspapers' coverage of the refugee crisis. Both newspapers focussed on the human struggles of the refugees and migrants, with even the coverage of the associated disruption resulting from the crisis generally framed within the context of the broader difficulties of being a displaced person. Both the Guardian's and the Daily Mirror's articles were found to be mostly sympathetic towards refugees and migrants. This was demonstrated in the choice of language used by the article authors, as well as how the article narrative was constructed to reflect on the refugees and migrants themselves. One article from the Daily Mirror was headlined, "They are not migrant hordes – they are people, and they're probably nicer than us," argues against the negative sensationalism surrounding the refugee crisis (Boniface, 2015). Boniface (who writes under the pseudonym 'Fleet Street Fox') critiques the use of labels such as swarm, flood, or tide and the dismissive attitude many hold towards the humanity of the refugees and migrants. Her article is an extensive list of reasons why the displaced people in need should be treated with



compassion and humanity. A similar article in the Guardian titled, "The truth about the people and numbers in loud and furious migration debate [sic]" also looks at dispelling what it considers some of the negativity in the refugee crisis debate (Portes, 2015). The writer emphasises the globality of the crisis and addresses some core questions regarding the reality of being a refugee. He also offers some directed criticism of the then Prime Minister, David Cameron, saying that Cameron's comments on the crisis, while not entirely untrue, are not too helpful in addressing such a complex issue.

The critique of policy makers occurs in many of the articles, as would be expected of newspapers politically aligned in opposition to the Conservative government in 2015. In the Guardian this criticism is frequently framed with the use of key figures, such as members of the opposition, in government or members of civil society groups. One article opens by saying that many have criticised the Prime Minister, "saying his description of migrants in Calais as a 'swarm of people' trying to reach Britain was dehumanising" (Elgot and Taylor, 2015). In other articles the focus is on the depleted capacity of local services to handle stresses associated with the refugee crisis. Though the commentary in these articles is often divided between portraying "the government's failures" and bemoaning the "enormous strain" placed on local services by refugees (Travis and Elgot, 2015). Articles covering domestic disruption are more likely to be less sympathetic than ones covering purely foreign disruption, and to frame the domestic problems, rather than the refugees as central. This is interesting because it demonstrates that when the issue is closer to home for the UK audience, they themselves are brought more into the frame and the refugees are moved into a more ancillary position. In fact, despite generally being more sympathetic, some of their coverage reinforces certain stereotypes and re-uses some of the more troubling imagery. Unintentionally reinforcing the concept of a 'migrant threat' may align with readers because they are afraid for their jobs and wages, and being culturally concerned is not isolated to the right-wing. Therefore a reader of, for example the Guardian, may still find themselves seeing migration as a danger and this could put them in a position to support government migration policy that the Guardian is opposed to.

In articles that are framed around the refugees themselves the newspapers occasionally employ personalised narrative devices in their articles. This means including the voices of the refugees and migrants in their reporting, with interviews and comments from

individuals used to ground their situation for the audience. A report on a Pakistani man who was killed in an accident when attempting to board a train to England included comments from his cousin, who was in the Calais camp (Taylor and Topping, 2015). Another article titled, "We were abandoned': migrants tell of suffering in Italy's private shelters," includes the testimony of a refugee and the leader of an Italian rights group (Kirchgaessner, 2015). The value of first-hand testimony in news media is found in the effect it can have on an audience. A personal account of someone's trauma can help to dramatise their stories, humanising their struggle and influencing the audience's emotional response (Allan and Thorsen, 2009). The implication of this is that if the audience is emotionally motivated by news coverage, they may be more inclined to make their voices heard, and thus attempt to influence their policy makers.

In the July period there are a number of articles relating the refugee crisis to the UK, especially in relation to the disruption in Calais. In the November period, however, there were few articles with a focus on the UK's relationship to the crisis, instead the newspapers focus on the rest of Europe and to a lesser extent on North America. It is also the November period in which the Guardian published a much greater number of articles on the issue, a 71% increase on the figure for the July period. In November the coverage from the other surveyed newspapers either dropped off or remained constant. That the Guardian's increased so significantly relative to July could indicate their intent to keep the refugee crisis on the public agenda. With the Calais disruption out of the primary frame, their coverage was broader and so there are more articles looking at different aspects of the crisis. For example, there are articles relating to the refugee crisis in Greece, Italy, Turkey, the United States, Canada, Germany, and Sweden. The variety of locations shows us that the two newspapers, though predominantly the Guardian, believe it is valuable to cover the crisis even when it is not directly affecting the UK. In reading their news, the audience will see this as a representation of how the refugee crisis is a continuing phenomenon even when it may not be creating newsworthy pressure in the domestic sphere. It helps the audience to see the crisis as an international, and especially pan-European, issue to help solve.

There are also a small number of articles which allude to the relationship between the refugee crisis and the threat of terrorism in Europe. Tensions were high in much of Europe in the wake of the November 13<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks in France. One of the attackers was alleged

to have entered Europe among refugees in Greece, leading many to connect the issues of terrorism, security, and refugees. The Guardian reported on Prime Minister David Cameron's statements, claiming that they reflected "the British focus on immigration and security." (Tisdall, 2015). Terrorism and national security are issues with significantly more pull power for policy makers. When terrorism and the refugee crisis are connected, this can lead to refugees being unfairly labelled as a threat group, allowing easier passage for less compassionate policy responses. However, the newspapers would present a counter-narrative that encouraged reasonable judgement. In one, the Chief of Staff of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) is quoted saying, "There is an incorrect notion that migration and refugee flows are somehow linked to terrorism or that terrorist activities are motivated" (Ovais Sarmad, quoted in Rossington, 2015). Counter-narratives like this are important because they challenge what is otherwise a very influential security narrative. They are not, however, particularly prevalent in the discourse, receiving only passing reference in the Guardian.

In general, these trends are indicative of the left-leaning newspapers aligning with the position of the opposition parties in parliament, rather than the Conservative government position. At this time, the opposition parties were vocal about the government's inaction in response to the refugee crisis and critical of their policy choices, which is something we can see mimicked in the press coverage. This is an example of the elite groups outside of power attempting to wage their own war of position to bring the public and political opinion around against the ruling group. The two groups are effectively cooperating in their narrative direction. The Daily Mirror's position is most likely a specific response to the Labour party's arguments, whilst what we know about the Guardian tells us that their position is most likely driven by an anti-Conservative philosophy rather than reactions to the Labour party. Together, the opposition media and political figures are challenging the decisions of the hegemony, which is composed of the Conservative government and the news media aligned with the Conservative's position. However, this attempt is largely ineffective, as the left-leaning groups are pushing against a divisive issue which is supported by a similar force of position. The relative ineffectiveness of the left-wing's war of position is demonstrated in the government's continued reluctance to act in the left's desired manner. Though as we will see

later, the left's efforts are not entirely to no avail, as they do appear to affect how the government engages with their own position.

### 4.3. Word Selection

A critical factor in how the news media is able to frame stories on refugees is their word choice. For many people the news is how they view and understand many of the things that happen outside of their own lived experiences. Framing is therefore important because it is how the media selects and emphasises particular elements of a perceived reality for the audience (Papacharissi and Oliveira, 2008). In the case of the refugee crisis, word choice matters because it can change the way a reader reacts to the article focus. If we are considering mechanisms of influence, the selection of words and descriptions can matter in building perceptions for the reader, which they may then take into their broader life. For example, a reader may respond differently reading a description that says, 'a refugee family huddles in their shelter' compared to a description reading 'a group of migrants camp illegally'. A more positive word choice can increase the chance of sympathy and a negative description can increase the chance for emotional dissonance with the refugee's plight.

As we have already established, both the Guardian and the Daily Mirror published more articles that were sympathetic to refugees than non-sympathetic pieces. This was displayed primarily in how the writers would choose to word their articles and frame the refugees. For example, one article refers to refugee as "vulnerable", "desperate", "victims" of violence, and encourages a "humane" response (Day, 2015). This language specifically frames the issue as one with immense human suffering, where the tragedy is of the individuals fleeing danger overseas rather than the potential disruption caused to British citizens. Another article describes "20 million people seeking sanctuary" and then positively encourages empathy, humanitarianism, and solidarity (Viner, 2015). The use of the word 'people' alone is significant because at the time the terms refugee and migrant were saturating the news cycle. Saying 'people' is enough to reinforce the humanity of a target group, instead of continuing to rely on epithets that can breed emotional distance. Describing them as 'seeking sanctuary' is also a more compassionate choice of words, highlighting their need for safety. One way of defining compassion is that it is when one is able to pay attention to another's suffering and forges the will to bring about an end to that suffering (Bein, 2013). If the newspaper can foster compassion in its audience then it is reasonable to infer that some

people may become more inclined to forge the will to help end the refugee's suffering. This will could manifest itself in the choices a citizen or politician makes, whether it is direct action or the mounting of pressure from civil society.

Another important element of word selection involves the conflation between the terms refugee and migrant. As was covered in the Literature Review, the two terms have separate definitions and different connotations, so using them interchangeably can be at best unhelpful and at worst misleading. It was found that in these two newspapers several articles made explicit space for clarifying the differences between the two terms and encouraged readers to remember that refugees are subject to specific legal status (Boniface, 2015; Day, 2015). However, in many other articles two terms were often used interchangeably. Unlike in this paper where migrant and refugee are used in tandem for the sake of accurate inclusion, the newspapers would use the terms independently to speak about the same groups of people. This was most typical when the focus of the article was on Calais and the 'Jungle'<sup>2</sup> camp situated near the France-UK border transit point. It is true that the 'Jungle' was occupied by people from a variety of countries, some of which would fit the legal definition of a refugee and others that would not be afforded the same status. Though by not ensuring careful separation of the terms the newspapers are tacitly contributing to a narrative whereby many refugees are separated from their protected status. Furthermore, conflation of the terms in reference to the 'Jungle' occupants reinforces the idea that there are 'undeserving' immigrants attempting to enter the UK and this is likely to influence the audience opinion negatively when considering how to deal with the Calais issue.

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<sup>2</sup> The 'Jungle' is a term used to refer to the makeshift camps occupied by migrants and refugees in the Calais area. The terms origin is believed to have come from the original illegal camp that appeared following the closure of the Red Cross reception centre at Sangatte in 2002 (Kirby, 2009).



## 5. The Telegraph and The Daily Mail

In this chapter we will repeat the exercise from chapter 4, analysing content and trends in the two right-leaning newspapers, the Telegraph and the Daily Mail. The chapter will begin by looking at the relevant contexts of the newspapers in question, followed by an exploration of their coverage of the refugee crisis, and finally with an analysis of their word selection. Following this chapter, we will make a brief comparison of the different perspectives and approaches employed by the four newspapers, before looking at the political aspects of influence mechanisms.

### 5.1. Owners and Audience

As with the two left-leaning newspapers, we will begin by establishing the appropriate contexts for the chosen media sources. The Telegraph and Daily Mail were selected to represent the right-leaning political press and to offer a reasonable alternative perspective to the two left-leaning newspapers. According to the National Readership Survey (2016), for the period October 2015 to September 2016, the Telegraph's readership in print and online was 22.2 million and the Daily Mail's was 29.2 million. This shows that their readership is comparable to the two left-leaning newspapers, displaying similar audience reach.

Both newspapers are different to their left-leaning counterparts in how they are owned and operated. This affects their place in the mechanisms of political influence. The Telegraph is owned by the businessmen David and Frederick Barclay via the Telegraph Media Group Limited, with the business's operational oversight handled by David Barclay's son, Aidan Barclay (Bloomberg, 2018). Interestingly, evidence shows that Aidan Barclay personally made efforts to influence David Cameron's behaviour, both before and after Cameron became Prime Minister. This includes a number of face to face meetings and text-message exchanges where Barclay encouraged Cameron to communicate more with the editor of the Telegraph to share the Tory party line (Leveson Inquiry, 2012, pp. 84). The evidence tells us that Cameron did go on to liaise with the Telegraph editor, though the number of occasions and content of their discussions is unclear. Regardless, we can see from this that there was a relationship between the Barclays, David Cameron, and the Telegraph editor.

Like the Telegraph, the Daily Mail is owned by a holding company, in this case the Daily Mail General Trust (DMGT, 2018). Chairman of the Trust is John Harmsworth, a descendent

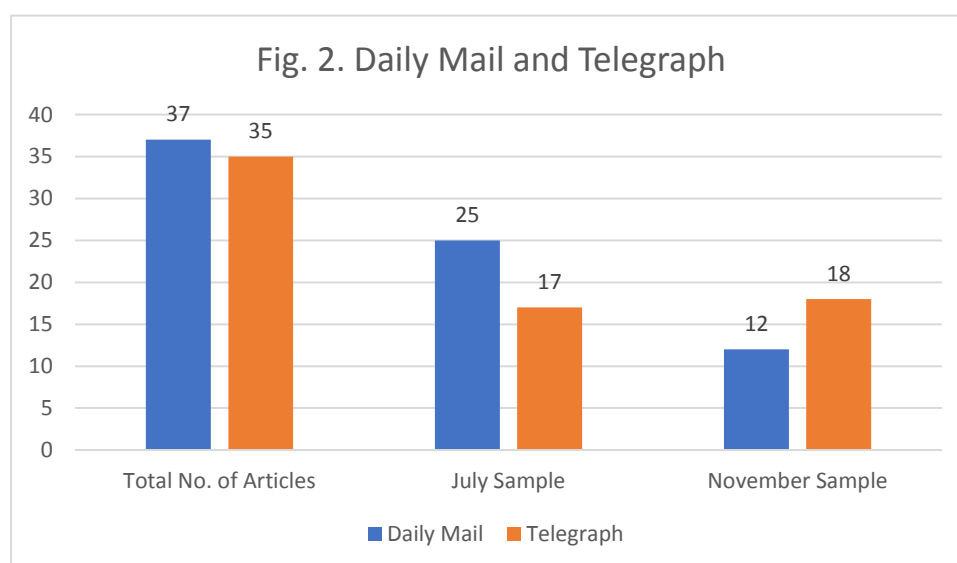
of the founders of the newspaper, who owns 100% of the voting stock in the Trust but does not involve himself in the editorial decisions of the newspaper. The editor, and man in charge of directing its agenda from 1992 to 2018, was Paul Dacre. His role was essential when looking at the influence of the newspaper because of the power he appears to have displayed in influencing the political landscape. The Economist (2018) reported that the Daily Mail's power "derives [...] from politicians' belief that it is powerful", and that the Mail is a gauge for public opinion as well as an agenda setter for the general media climate. They also report that former Prime Minister Tony Blair admitted that he believed falling out with Dacre would have resulted in damage to his government (ibid). Dacre consistently opposed interference with his editorial line, loudly championing press independence (Dacre, 2012). Though the newspaper has openly supported the Conservative party for many decades, Dacre was not unwilling to be critical of the establishment or the party, which demonstrates the Daily Mail's capacity to influence and the political class's willingness to participate with it.

A critical factor in why the Daily Mail is able to exert this power over politicians is their wide reach among the citizens of Britain. As stated above, their news reaches over 29 million people, which accounts for a significant portion of the UK's population. Their readers are predominantly aged 34 and above, with the over 65s specifically constituting 45% of their audience (Intermedia, 2017). They count more women than men in their reader base, and appeal to people who are employed in professional environments, as well as skilled and unskilled manual workers. The Telegraph is similar in that they appeal to older individuals, a 2013 report showing the average age of their readers was between 39 and 60 (The Telegraph, 2013). However, unlike the Daily Mail, Telegraph readers are more likely to be male and employed in a professional line of work. They are also more likely to be broadly affluent and politically conservative. This is what we would expect considering the newspaper is openly supportive of the Conservative party. Whilst the Daily Mail is not loyal to a specific party in the same manner as the Telegraph, it has nonetheless supported the Conservatives in every general election since 1945, with the exception of 1979 when it advocated a Conservative/Liberal coalition (Butler and Butler, 2010). With their connections to the political class, their power to influence, and their Conservative alignment, it is likely that these two newspapers are better placed to form influence networks than their left-leaning counterparts at a time when there was a Conservative government.

## 5.2 Exploring the Coverage

Both of the newspapers had a similar number of published articles across the two survey periods, the Telegraph producing 35 and the Daily Mail producing 37. The Daily Mail had a higher peak of coverage in July, with more than 70% of their articles published in this period, whereas the Telegraph was mostly consistent across both periods (Fig.2). We speculate this is because during July the disruption in Calais was at its peak, presenting a situation that was far more relevant to the average British reader than, for example, the situation in the Balkans. As a popular tabloid newspaper, we expect the Daily Mail to be especially concerned with covering matters that affect the UK, hence why it chose to pay closer attention to Calais with almost daily updates.

A consistent trend among the coverage from these two newspapers was their critique of the authorities responses to the refugee crisis. Both would claim that the British government was struggling to effectively deal with the refugee issue in Europe and, especially during July, failing to contain the situation in Calais. Their critique also extended to blaming other nations for their failures, most notably the French government in their approach to controlling the Calais border area. The trend when covering the crisis close to home, in articles about the UK or Calais, was to frame the refugee crisis as an issue of security and social stability. Both newspapers include coverage that the government is being called upon to deploy troops to Calais in order to control the situation, but that they are refusing to consider that option. In these contexts, mentioning the Army reinforces the potential securitisation of the refugee and migrant issue whilst also presenting a critique of the government for



supposedly not doing enough. An article in the Daily Mail outlines a proposed plan for fixing the crisis which includes more fencing at the border, increasing police presence, and fast-tracking legislation that would make it easier for authorities to process asylum applications (Slack and Martin, 2015). They are actively commenting on a proposal from the Prime Minister, which already displays elements of securitising the issue, and suggesting that it needs to go further to protect Britain.

Likewise, in their coverage of the Calais situation, both newspapers focus on how it is directly affecting the UK, framing it as disrupting trade, tourism, and local services in England. Their coverage is not generally hostile towards refugees or migrants, but it is less sympathetic the closer the crisis gets to Britain. When reporting on the situation in Calais the coverage is most concerned with how migrants are negatively affecting British people. For example, the Telegraph's coverage of Operation Stack<sup>3</sup> in Kent emphasises the stresses placed on local services and that police are "busting at the seams" (Barrett and Ward, 2015). While Operation Stack was a direct result of industrial action from French ferry workers leading to many ferry services being cancelled, the newspapers frequently allude to the migrants being the source of the disruption. This has the effect of enforcing a narrative that focusses on how migrants are bad for British services, because of the disruption they are supposedly causing. The audience to this narrative are therefore likely to be more amenable to more aggressive measures, such as troop deployment or closed border scenarios, because the issue is framed in a way that makes them feel threatened. The double effect of associating migrants with the blame for Operation Stack is that it detracts from the concerns of the ferry workers, who were protesting for rights and pay following redundancy (BBC News, 2015). This is in line with the pro-business, anti-union philosophy of British Conservatives.

As well as supporting traditionally Conservative policy points, the Telegraph was not afraid to challenge the government for not going far enough to secure the country. Their coverage featured an article written by UK Independence Party (UKIP) Member of the European Parliament Steven Woolfe (2015). The article is critical of the government's response, and of both the UK and French authorities generally. It focusses on how Britain is suffering from the lack of control, framing the crisis as one of safety and security, leaning on

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<sup>3</sup> A Kent Police contingency which creates a standing lorry park on the M20 motorway approaching the port of Dover, for use when cross channel travel is disrupted.

euroscepticism to pass blame onto European neighbours. As UKIP's migration spokesperson, Woolfe is producing a narrative that the government needs to do more to keep the country safe and part of that should be reducing its open relationship with the continent. UKIP was an important political entity at the time as the party that most challenged the Conservative party dominance over conservative leaning voters. The effect of UKIP's influence is that it drives the Conservative government further towards a more anti-immigration and Eurosceptic position in order to preserve their voter base. Exposing the public to UKIP positions means the Telegraph is participating in the driving of British conservatism in that direction and contributing to an environment that would be more susceptible to events like the 2016 Brexit referendum. A study from 2015 demonstrated that negative attitudes towards immigration are strongly associated with lower public support for European integration (Toshkov and Kortenska, 2015). Thus, in the UK, a war of position directed against immigration would serve the interests of those who are opposed to Britain being part of the European Union.

Another common trend in the coverage from these two newspapers was their emphasis on the irregularity of the migration taking place across Europe. The Daily Mail especially would stress the notion of illegal migration when covering refugees and migrants attempting to enter the UK. People hiding in lorries or on train carriages are "illegal immigrants" as opposed to potential asylum seekers or refugees (Chorley, Stevens and Martin, 2015). This is another vestige of the dichotomy between deserving and un-deserving migrants, with the epithet 'illegal' directing the audience towards negative connotations. This is not to say that there were no migrants making illegal entry into the UK at this time, however it is the press narrative here that colours many people with the same brush and neglects taking a nuanced approach on the matter. Echoing the deserving/un-deserving contrast is a tool for agenda setters who are directing the narrative towards a particular position. In this case, the Daily Mail is opposing further increased migration, and this is easier to do when the perception of migrants is that they are illegitimate. The Telegraph similarly constructed a negative narrative of illegal migration, even implying that illegal immigrants could receive financial assistance from the government (Ross et al., 2015) – something which is untrue, as to receive state assistance one must have a citizenship or legal leave to remain (Citizens Advice, 2018). Illegal immigration has been a traditionally hot button issue in British politics

and playing on anxieties about it the newspapers are shaping their narrative to suit a particular political angle.

### 5.3 Word Selection

Besides the label 'illegal migrant', the term 'economic migrant' was also used in both newspapers to refer to diverse groups of people (Reid, 2015; Farmer et al., 2015). As with the former term, 'economic migrant' is employed because it implies the migrating people are not fleeing danger, only financial hardship. This diverts attention away from the core refugee issue and supports the framing of good vs. bad migrants. Furthermore, both of the newspapers in general consistently used 'migrant' and 'refugee' interchangeably, doing so far more than either the Guardian or Daily Mirror. One of the Telegraph's articles, a live stream of coverage on the situation in Calais, includes the word 'migrant' 117 times while only using the word 'refugee' once, when quoting an MP (Boyle and Mulholland, 2015). This disparity is consistent across both sources, but it primarily occurs in articles focussing on UK or UK-adjacent issues, and occurs less in articles discussing the refugee crisis further afield. This supports the idea that the closer the issue is to the British sphere of involvement, the more likely the newspaper will choose to report on the symptoms of the refugee crisis unsympathetically.

Uncritically reusing contentious language was a common occurrence in both newspapers coverage. This was particularly the case in the July period when there was coverage of Prime Minister David Cameron's use of the word 'swarm' to describe people crossing the Mediterranean to reach Europe. Though their reports may include quoted criticisms of the Prime Minister's wording, they would typically not condemn his words from an editorial level. More commonly they would repeat the word, keeping it in quote marks, but not challenging the more insidious nature of what it implies about migrants and refugees. An article in the Telegraph actually does defend Cameron's choice of words, the writer claiming that, "to most voters, words like 'swarm' and 'swamp' do not seem unkind, but factual" (Moore, 2015). Other terms such as storm, wave, or flood were also commonly used to refer to refugees and migrants and their actions in attempting to enter Europe or the UK. For example, one Daily Mail article includes the phrases "wave after wave" and "illegal immigrants stormed the [Channel] tunnel" (Robinson et al., 2015). These metaphors associate the migrating people with water, inclement weather, or violent entry. This elicits imagery of

erosion and damage, which could lead the reader to relate migration to fear of these negative consequences. It is in this manner that the newspapers can forge a line of influence to the people and into the political sphere.

As Holmes and Castañeda (2016) discuss, the media's responses to certain events can challenge the dominant narrative and influence changes in discourse or policy. This can be in their contrasting coverage of 'migrants' and 'refugees', with the former word delegitimising fleeing people and the latter reinforcing their protected status. Or it can be in the way they contextualise the refugee issues, such as describing people as a flood, swarm, or wave as opposed to describing them as people legitimately seeking refuge. The media's leaning towards one of these contextualisations of the refugee crisis, reduced down to either protect or refuse, is illustrative of the war of position occurring in Britain's social dialogue. The newspapers, with their tens of millions of readers and connections to policy makers, are using language and narrative framing to alter the general position on the refugee crisis. In this case, the newspapers are not only going to be responding to the political class, but also attempting to direct it because of the media's normalised structures of power and influence in society (Cox, 1983). As has already been mentioned, it is expected that the Telegraph and Daily Mail are inherently better positioned to form this influence.

#### 5.4. Photographs and Images

All four of the newspapers make use of photographs or other images in their coverage of the refugee crisis, with many commonalities between their photo choice. As previously discussed in chapter 2, image choice is important to how the media frames a refugee or migrant. Visually framing groups or individuals in a way that dehumanises them can reinforce negative positions and reduce the compassionate response among the readers (Connolly, 1991; Bleiker et al., 2013). Likewise, the reverse is also true where humanising imagery can form a more compassionate response.

The Daily Mail was by far the most prolific user of photographs in their articles, often with more space devoted to photos than to text. The Daily Mirror was similarly inclined to allocate a considerable amount of article space to photos. The Telegraph and Guardian would have title pictures but also commonly one or two inserts, depending on the article's overall length. What was surprising about the choice of photos was the common use across the newspapers, with the same photographs being reused by each one to illustrate different

points. This was especially the case in coverage of the Calais situation, where pictures would typically show men gathering at border points or of them crossing security measures. One example was found in the Daily Mail, Daily Mirror, and Guardian, and it depicts a man being tackled by French Gendarme while a separate Gendarme employs a deterrent spray on a group of people (Appendix 2). Though the story that this image accompanied was different in each paper; the Daily Mail article focussing on the French border police being overwhelmed, the Daily Mirror as part of its coverage on the 'heart breaking' scenes of people attempting to make it across the border, and the Guardian opinion piece arguing that 'Europe could solve the migrant crisis' if it tried harder (Robinson et al., 2015; Fricker and Webb, 2015; Trilling, 2015).

By and large, with some exceptions, the Guardian and Daily Mirror both included images that would support their articles in making a point either about the maltreatment of refugees and migrants or the more general difficulties faced by those people. The Telegraph's photo choice appeared similar to the Guardian's, photos to support a narrative. The Daily Mail stands as an outlier because of their substantial use of images that almost overwhelmed the articles themselves. One particular Daily Mail article was an illustration on the refugee crisis, in the form of a political cartoon. This picture (Appendix 3), however, is steeped in troubling imagery, depicting cartoonish criminal migrants in the rear of a truck accompanied by the caption, "There it is, lads. The land of plenty, where the police ignore burglaries and cannabis farms..." (Mac for the Daily Mail, 2015). The obvious intention in this cartoon is to depict migrants as being socially subversive, criminal, and undesirable. This image is the more extreme end of how the right-leaning press portrays what they consider to be unwanted migrants, but is emblematic of the attitudes central to their broader coverage.



## 6. The Government

We have now looked at a snapshot of how the UK news media responded to the refugee crisis during 2015. To complete our exploration of the mechanisms of influence between society and policy makers we will now analyse the role played by the UK government to see how it acted. We will look at what aspects of the government's behaviour is reflective of the media's, and also what implications this could have to Britain's political reality both domestic and internationally.

### 6.1. The Government's Response

According to Hansard, the UK's parliamentary records database, there are 4148 records entered into the archive covering the whole of 2015; using the same search terms as were used for the newspaper survey, we identified that only 13 were related specifically to discussing the issue of refugees or asylum seekers (Hansard, 2018). A small number of discussions are dedicated to border management in Calais and a portion of the discussions on Syria involve the issue of displaced persons. What this immediately demonstrates is that the government dedicated a very small proportion of its time to discussing matters related to the refugee crisis, though migrants and refugees may have been brought up in sessions not chaired on those specific issues, but in these cases it would not have been the key issue being discussed. We consider this representative of the overall approach of the government at this time, in that they set their policy and were slow to respond to the changing environment or outside pressures. The government did not want to appear as if they are openly acting against their responsibilities towards refugees and their fellow EU member states. And yet, they still pursued a system of restriction where they limited the number of people granted asylum in the UK, were selective in their interpretation of international law, and prioritised control of the borders over refugee protection. This is what Rosales (2016) calls the governance gap, the distance between promoted response and actual behaviour.

An example of this governance gap in action is the government's reaction to public and opposition pressure. Public pressure can be demonstrated by a petition calling for the UK to accept more asylum seekers and increase support for refugees already in the country, which received 450,287 signatures (UK Gov, 2015). The government agreed to a parliamentary debate on the issue in September and released a statement repeating their

commitment to help vulnerable people and Syrian refugees (ibid). Furthermore, in the same month Prime Minister David Cameron committed to extending the Syrian Vulnerable Person Resettlement Scheme (VPRP) target to resettle 20,000 people from the Syrian region in the UK by 2020 (McGuinness, 2017). The petition, parliamentary debate, and Prime Minister's response all indicate a level of receptiveness in the government to help, or appear to help, refugees from the crisis. However, their actual response is illustrative of the governance gap, as in reality the government made little effort to improve its commitment to assist refugees. In the first two years of the VPRP scheme fewer than 5,500 Syrian refugees had been resettled in the UK and the government remained steadfast that they would not offer asylum to refugees already in Europe (ibid).

Another example of this governance gap is in how legislators responded to pressure in drafting the Immigration Act 2016. Pressure from MPs and civil society groups like Save the Children mounted on the government in efforts to have the UK accept unaccompanied children from refugee populations in Europe. The proposal by Save the Children was that the UK accepts 3,000 unaccompanied children. In the end the law passed with Article 67 stating that the country would assist in relocating up to 480 vulnerable minors as long as they were in Europe prior to March of 2016 (Immigration Act 2016). This further demonstrates the reluctance of the British government to contribute to solving the refugee crisis on the same relative scale as other EU member states. By the end of 2015 the UK had received the ninth highest number of asylum applications among the EU, with a total figure of 32,733; of that number, only 15,264 were eventually granted asylum, humanitarian protection, or discretionary leave to remain in the UK (Home Office, 2016). This was a shy figure when compared to other EU member states and demonstrates an official policy of limiting the physical burden on Britain. This not only supports the suggestion of a governance gap, but also indicates that the government's position on the refugee crisis was largely set and that it was only partially responsive to changing influences suggesting opening up admissions.

## 6.2. The Rhetorical Relationship With The Press

As previously discussed, we cannot state empirically that there is causality of influence between the news media and policy makers. However, we can explore what correlations exist between the groups' behaviours and reflect on them with our theoretical framing. Looking at

the language used by political figures during 2015 we see that there are certain similarities between what policy makers are saying and how the press reports on the refugee crisis.

In most cases parliamentarians are more cautious with their use of language than the news media, which is in fitting with their professional environment and their audience. However, it was found that there were still instances of the interchangeable use of the words 'refugee' and 'migrant', which has been established as a simple yet effective way of delegitimising the refugee issue. It was also observed that it was Conservative MPs, members of the government, that were using the terms migrant and refugee interchangeably while members of the opposition parties, Labour and the Scottish National Party (SNP), would emphasise the value in distinguishing the words. However, this is not the case in every instance, as MPs on both sides use the terms interchangeably and others use them accurately throughout. In a debate regarding the refugee situation in the Mediterranean Labour MP Keith Vaz describes people arriving in Greece as migrants and is immediately followed by Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) MP Jim Shannon referring to the same people as refugees (HC Deb 16 Jun, 2015, c.291). Further throughout this session it is seen that the term refugee is used more in relation to people crossing the Mediterranean Sea, while the word migrant is used more when speaking about the people gathered in the Calais 'Jungle'. Concerns about the humanitarian impact of the crisis are also raised repeatedly, with the government primarily responding with statements about their commitment to invest and spend in Syria and the surrounding region affected by the conflict. This policy being promoted based on improving the region so people there do not feel the need to flee. Another element in this session, as well as occurring in others, is the touted relationship between smuggling gangs and the presence of refugees in Europe. This is an extension of a theme found in the newspapers, where the displaced people are associated with criminality and as a result their humanitarian requirements are neglected. Though the government is focussing on the criminal gangs that allegedly smuggle refugees into Europe and the UK, the connotation is close enough to the core subject that the association is unavoidable.

In a debate on Calais border security the Home Secretary, Theresa May, refers to the problem with "illegal immigration" and the need for action to prevent disruption to British businesses and holidaymakers (HC Deb 14 Jul, 2015, c.731). This is exactly the same as the arguments we saw in the newspapers, especially in the Telegraph and Daily Mail, which

focused on the disruption caused to British services by the situation in Calais. However, Theresa May does speak about how this disruption is related to the French ferry workers strike, something that was mostly left un-mentioned in the press. This shows that the government is concerned with dealing with the causes of the problem, whereas the press selects aspects of the crisis which suit their perspective and are freer to overlook factors that won't entice their audience so much. In their primary September debate on the refugee crisis, the government faced questions from across the House challenging their commitment to helping refugees (HC Deb 8 Sep, 2015). Speakers from the government maintained their argument throughout the debate, highlighting the UK's vast financial contributions to the Syrian region and the 20,000 resettlement figure they had announced. It is here we see a clear divide between the government and the opposition which reflects the same division between the left- and right-leaning newspapers. A Conservative MP speaks about 'economic migrants' and casts doubt on the true number of refugees coming to Europe, upon which he is challenged by an SNP MP who accuses him of 'peddling myths' (ibid, c.269). We saw in the Telegraph and Daily Mail more frequent references to 'economic migrants' and challenges to this kind of term in the Guardian.

We see the same terminology being used repeatedly by senior members of the government in parliament but also when speaking in public. Home Secretary Theresa May repeatedly employed the good vs. bad migrant rhetoric in different settings. In a Home Office statement she describes the need to remove "economic migrants" but assist those who genuinely "needed our help" (May, 2015). In a public statement made at the Conservative Party Conference she also promoted this point, saying that the government should "review the international legal definitions of asylum and refugee status" so that they could better choose which migrants the UK would accept (Independent, 2015). In response to this speech the Guardian described her comments as "inflammatory" and "a challenge to almost every claim of a liberal migration policy" (The Guardian, 2015). This is the kind of response we would expect from this newspaper and it aligns with the opposition party's position. Interestingly, the Telegraph held a similar position, choosing to feature the many criticisms of May's speech and denounce her hard approach to immigration (Wilkinson, 2015). Nonetheless, in their coverage of the speech they also display the same affinity for distinguishing between asylum

seekers and legal migration and illegal migration, supporting the former and condemning the latter.

The approach of distinguishing good and bad migrants that we have discussed is something that reaches the core of the British public's sentiments. According to polls at the time, half of the British public – and 66% of Conservative voters – considered immigration to be one of the most significant issues facing the country (Ipsos MORI, 2015). The report explains how these anxieties have increased as the refugee crisis progressed, with the considerable news media coverage considered partly to blame. As May's speeches and statements have demonstrated, the position of the government was defensive at the prospect of accepting any greater number of migrants. According to Gibney (2004), the economic benefits of immigration to the UK are often side-lined due to popular anxieties over immigration, anxieties typically formulated as a result of racial and cultural tensions. Teun van Dijk's theory on elite racism (1987; 1991) tells us that the reproduction of prejudice is in the interests of the elites because of how it serves to preserve the status quo, and as such prejudice is preformulated by the 'elite' class. The 'elite' in this case referring to members of the political and media class, as well as influential business actors and individuals with access to key decision makers. What are seeing here is a build-up of anxiety among the public which is shown responding to the news media and is being addressed in a defensive way by the political elite. Considering United Nations figures found that 87.4% of press coverage during the refugee crisis made reference to the origins of the displaced people, it is possible to see how these tensions were being exploited (Berry, Garcia-Blanco and Moore, 2015). We are not in a position to say that the press or the politicians influenced the each other in a specific direction, but rather that parts of them are acting in concert to direct the issue and shape public perception.

### 6.3. What Are The Implications?

In the aforementioned Conservative Party Conference speech given by Theresa May, her comments regarding a review of the international definitions of refugee and asylum status are part of a broader discourse seeking to isolate the UK from the mass migration burden. It also illustrates how this rhetoric can be accompanied by shifts in decision making that can impact both domestic policy and international relations. And though the UK has not yet redefined the legal definition of refugee status, it has since taken steps that withdraw the

country from international and European institutions and norms. The UK accepted far fewer refugees than their immediate equals in the EU, and in 2016 the British public voted to leave the European Union completely in order to remove themselves from the constraints of EU legislation. The systems of interrelated influence between politics, the media, and the public are not necessarily to blame for this, but they can be considered part of the overall process in creating the conditions whereby these events have been able to take place.

In responding to the refugee crisis in the manner which we have observed, particularly in the existence of a governance gap, the UK subverted the expectations commonly placed on liberal states. It has been suggested that when facing a sudden increase in migration, as in 2015, a liberal state should act on its principles and do its best to assist as many people as it is able to (Gibney, 1999). This is similar to what can be seen in Germany, where a great number of refugees were welcomed into the country, and this welcome was only reconsidered when the equilibrium point between the state's ability to provide for citizens and newcomers was reached. Though for most liberal nations, as in the UK, this is not what has been demonstrated. Instead, the British government led with a policy that claimed to be in the best interests of helping refugees, while simultaneously limiting the number of vulnerable people the country accepted and crafting a narrative of defense and suspicion. We have touched upon the relationship between this approach and British identity, but it is here we should discuss the importance of this identity in informing that policy narrative. From a social constructivist perspective, the behaviour of policy makers in this instance is connected to informing elements of British society. Informing elements such as the preoccupation with cultural and racial normativity over economic gains, or the elite class' desire to maintain a status quo that might be threatened by changing demographics. It is in this sense that the elite, in this case the government and adjacent news media, constructed their war of position which would serve to direct the public narrative towards their desired goal.

What our evidence shows is the position of the government and news media outlets with a significant reach to the public constructed a narrative that was openly defensive towards the prospect of increasing the number of refugees or migrants resettled in the country. This narrative formulated in response to a humanitarian crisis but framed as a threat to the nation's well-being. Aspects of the news coverage were critical of the British establishment, but also of the EU and the actions of EU member states. It has been found that

a more negative attitude towards immigration is correlated to a higher incidence of opposition towards European integration (Toshkov and Kortenska, 2015). Furthermore, a study of elections in the EU parliament demonstrated the influence anti-immigrant sentiments had on voting behaviours, causing a shift towards Euroscepticism among both the left- and right-wings (Spanje and Vreese, 2011). As our studied coverage focussed on the negatives associated with the refugee crisis, such as disruption at the border, struggling local services, or interruptions to holiday plans, it is possible to infer that the consciousness of the public was being shifted towards outward scepticism. The way the news is framed can affect the audience's cognitive responses to an issue (Vreese, 2007). And as such framing immigration negatively and associating immigration with a particular focus, for example Europe, will contribute to the base conditions of Euroscepticism. We do not know to what extent increased Euroscepticism and the resulting fallout from the European Union relates to the goals of the elite class when they forged their war of position. However, we can say that it was at least partly a consequence.

## 7. Conclusion

In exploring news media coverage of the refugee crisis and the behaviours of the government in response to the crisis, we have been able to see that there is, to an extent, a relationship between the two. This study is not able to prove a causality of influence in this relationship, though at this point we believe it should be acknowledged that influence flows in both directions and is affected by a number of factors, so causality is not necessarily relevant. One of the factors considered most crucial in the case of the United Kingdom is the preformation of social norms that affected the way the news and political elite would choose to respond to the refugee crisis. The idea that political change was curated in the maelstrom of influence mechanisms is somewhat supported by what we have observed. With the influence fluctuating between top-down or bottom-up, with governance at the top and the public at the bottom. We believe that it is an appreciation of these factors, such as the power social norms have on informing decisions and processes, that enable a better understanding of the situation. It is for this reason we believed that traditional realist and liberal theories in international relations were insufficient for explaining the UK's behaviour during the refugee crisis. Because the UK did not act according the liberal norms or sought to insulate itself entirely to preserve its relative power, we believe traditional theories are not sufficient for improving our understanding of the processes. We observed instead behaviour in line with decision making informed by complex social identities and normative values.

It was notable how the left-leaning news media had far less in common with the government's decisions and actions. Though the presence of a governance gap, as posited by Rosales (2016), indicates that the government was not acting entirely against the position of the more left-leaning elements of society. Instead, its actions can be perceived as an attempt to placate its opposition by declaring assistance in the crisis and posing as a helping entity, all the while functionally reducing their commitments. In examining the right-leaning press there was a far greater level of commonality and clearer alignments between the media narrative and the government's position. This is not wholly unexpected because of the conservative political positions of the newspapers and the Conservative party in government. Given what we know about the elite status of the figures directing the two right-leaning newspapers and their proximity to power, it is to be anticipated that their interests might align to the government of 2015.



In looking at the structure of the alignment between the right-leaning media and the government we also believe there is reason to infer a further relationship between the narrative regarding refugees produced by the key actors and a shift towards stronger Eurosceptic sentiments. It is not believed to be the whole reason behind this shift, nor would the evidence suggest that. However, it should not be ignored as a factor in the changes to the broader socio-political environment of the UK during and following the refugee crisis in 2015. We hypothesised that the relationship between the media and politics is internationally relevant because of how that relationship can shape policy debates and decisions. While our evidence is not wholly conclusive and could benefit from greater exploration, we believe that it shows the press-politics relationship can take on an internationally significant dimension. Further study is required in order to properly flesh out this connection and more generally examine the effects of mass media relationships to the dominant political discourse of the time. Ultimately, however, we believe that there exists a relationship between the news media and the political class that has the power to shape decision making processes.

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By-line	Date [2015]	Media Source	Headline	URL
<b>Gemma Mullin and Elaine O'Flynn</b>	27-July	Daily Mail	Now it's ferry passengers who are hit as cross-Channel services between Dover and Calais are suspended until Tuesday	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3174918/Channel-Tunnel-bosses-hope-clear-backlog-passengers-today-hit-migrants-trying-sneak-trains-great-getaway-continues.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3174918/Channel-Tunnel-bosses-hope-clear-backlog-passengers-today-hit-migrants-trying-sneak-trains-great-getaway-continues.html</a>
<b>Imogen Calderwood</b>	27-July	Daily Mail	Tearful Syrian refugee boy sparks outpouring of sympathy across Turkey after being beaten by restaurant manager for selling tissues on the streets to survive	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3175871/Tearful-Syrian-refugee-boy-sparks-outpouring-sympathy-Turkey-beaten-restaurant-manager-selling-tissues-streets-Izmir-survive.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3175871/Tearful-Syrian-refugee-boy-sparks-outpouring-sympathy-Turkey-beaten-restaurant-manager-selling-tissues-streets-Izmir-survive.html</a>
<b>Laura Wells</b>	28-July	Daily Mail	The boy who fled the bombs of Aleppo to sell tissues on the street of Turkey: Heartbreaking story of the Syrian refugee, 13, who was beaten by a restaurant boss in pictures that sparked outrage	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3176974/He-fled-bombs-Aleppo-sell-tissue-street-Turkey-heartbreaking-story-Syrian-refugee-boy-13-bloodied-beaten-restaurant-boss-pictures-sparked-outrage.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3176974/He-fled-bombs-Aleppo-sell-tissue-street-Turkey-heartbreaking-story-Syrian-refugee-boy-13-bloodied-beaten-restaurant-boss-pictures-sparked-outrage.html</a>
<b>Peter Allen and Simon Tomlinson</b>	28-July	Daily Mail	TWO-THOUSAND migrants storm the Channel Tunnel in one night as riot police battle for six hours in a desperate attempt to keep them out	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3176965/Holidaymakers-face-travel-misery-latest-wave-migrant-chaos-sparks-hour-long-delays-Eurotunnel-Operation-Stack-causes-gridlock-Kent.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3176965/Holidaymakers-face-travel-misery-latest-wave-migrant-chaos-sparks-hour-long-delays-Eurotunnel-Operation-Stack-causes-gridlock-Kent.html</a>
<b>Claire Duffin</b>	29-July	Daily Mail	Flimsy fences that are no barrier: Men, woman and children simply pull themselves through mesh on to the train tracks to begin perilous walk to Channel Tunnel	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3179276/Flimsy-fences-no-barrier-Calais-security-farce-wave-wave-migrants-trample-wire-mesh-bid-wander-train-tracks-risk-lives-cross-Channel.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3179276/Flimsy-fences-no-barrier-Calais-security-farce-wave-wave-migrants-trample-wire-mesh-bid-wander-train-tracks-risk-lives-cross-Channel.html</a>
<b>Imogen Calderwood</b>	29-July	Daily Mail	Still thinking of heading to France for your holiday? Horrendous traffic jams, run the gauntlet of migrants, road blockades, wildfires at campsites... and now farmers are spraying manure over cars	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3177135/Summer-trouble-Holidaymakers-face-chaos-amid-warnings-severe-threats-fresh-forest-fires-south-France-10-000-tourists-forced-flee-flames-engulfed-campsites.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3177135/Summer-trouble-Holidaymakers-face-chaos-amid-warnings-severe-threats-fresh-forest-fires-south-France-10-000-tourists-forced-flee-flames-engulfed-campsites.html</a>
<b>Martin Robinson, Gemma Mullin, Matt Chorley, James Slack, Daniel Martin and Gerri Peev</b>	29-July	Daily Mail	Calais' thin blue line: Helpless French police are over-run as hundreds more migrants storm Channel Tunnel declaring 'it's England or death' - so when will Cameron finally take action?	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3179285/As-Cameron-preaches-abroad-slave-labour-migrants-besiege-Tunnel-join-black-economy-MPs-demand-Calais-Send-Army.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3179285/As-Cameron-preaches-abroad-slave-labour-migrants-besiege-Tunnel-join-black-economy-MPs-demand-Calais-Send-Army.html</a>
<b>Matt Chorley, John Stevens and Daniel Martin</b>	29-July	Daily Mail	French blame chaos in Calais on everyone but themselves including British businesses, Channel Tunnel operators and Libyan migrants	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3178202/Theresa-hold-emergency-Cobra-meeting-Calais-crisis.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3178202/Theresa-hold-emergency-Cobra-meeting-Calais-crisis.html</a>

<b>Peter Allen, Simon Tomlinson and Gemma Mullin</b>	29-July	Daily Mail	Extra riot police drafted in to protect Eurotunnel from thousands of migrants trying to reach Britain as Calais braces itself for a third night of chaos and cross-channel misery continues	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3178274/ANOTHER-1-500-migrants-storm-Channel-Tunnel-including-one-dead-hit-truck-calls-ARMY-drafted-search-vehicles-stowaways.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3178274/ANOTHER-1-500-migrants-storm-Channel-Tunnel-including-one-dead-hit-truck-calls-ARMY-drafted-search-vehicles-stowaways.html</a>
<b>Daily Mail Comment</b>	30-July	Daily Mail	DAILY MAIL COMMENT: It is time to end this migrant madness	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3179339/DAILY-MAIL-COMMENT-time-end-migrant-madness.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3179339/DAILY-MAIL-COMMENT-time-end-migrant-madness.html</a>
<b>Hannah Parry</b>	30-July	Daily Mail	Refugees from war-torn Syria claim racism in Germany is so extreme they want to GO HOME as growing unrest and anti-Muslim feeling sees attacks on foreigners soar	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3179916/Refugees-war-torn-Syria-claim-racism-Germany-extreme-want-HOME-growing-unrest-anti-Muslim-feeling-sees-attacks-foreigners-soar.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3179916/Refugees-war-torn-Syria-claim-racism-Germany-extreme-want-HOME-growing-unrest-anti-Muslim-feeling-sees-attacks-foreigners-soar.html</a>
<b>Mac for the Daily Mail</b>	30-July	Daily Mail	Mac on... The migrant chaos in Calais	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3179368/Mac-migrant-chaos-Calais.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3179368/Mac-migrant-chaos-Calais.html</a>
<b>Matt Chorley</b>	30-July	Daily Mail	Cameron accused of treating migrants like 'insects' after blaming Calais crisis on 'swarm' of people from Africa	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3179750/Cameron-accused-awful-dog-whistle-politics-describing-Calais-migrants-swarm.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3179750/Cameron-accused-awful-dog-whistle-politics-describing-Calais-migrants-swarm.html</a>
<b>Claire Duffin</b>	31-July	Daily Mail	Now it's batons and tear gas in the battle of Calais: French police finally take action to try to stem the flow as migrants storm the Channel Tunnel for a FOURTH night	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3180723/Now-s-batons-teargas-battle-Calais-French-police-finally-action-chaotic-port-migrants-continue-try-storm-Channel-Tunnel-fourth-night.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3180723/Now-s-batons-teargas-battle-Calais-French-police-finally-action-chaotic-port-migrants-continue-try-storm-Channel-Tunnel-fourth-night.html</a>
<b>Emma Glanfield</b>	31-July	Daily Mail	Suspected Sudanese migrant discovered under a horsebox at the home of British showjumping after stowing away on a lorry at Calais	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3180267/Suspected-Sudanese-migrant-discovered-horsebox-home-British-showjumping-stowing-away-lorry-Calais.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3180267/Suspected-Sudanese-migrant-discovered-horsebox-home-British-showjumping-stowing-away-lorry-Calais.html</a>
<b>James Slack and Daniel Martin</b>	31-July	Daily Mail	How feeble! David Cameron attacked for 'sticking plaster' response to Calais crisis after he announces plans for a few extra sniffer dogs and better fences	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3181696/How-feeble-David-Cameron-attacked-sticking-plaster-response-Calais-crisis-announces-plans-extra-sniffer-dogs-better-fences.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3181696/How-feeble-David-Cameron-attacked-sticking-plaster-response-Calais-crisis-announces-plans-extra-sniffer-dogs-better-fences.html</a>
<b>Martin Robinson</b>	31-July	Daily Mail	Clinging on for dear life: Astonishing photos show two migrants lying on roof of a lorry as it leaves Eurotunnel terminal in Kent - while in Calais terrified children are lifted over barbed wire fences	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3180929/Another-night-chaos-Calais-Migrants-cling-roof-lorry-arrives-Kent-children-pulled-barbed-wire-fences-surrounding-Channel-Tunnel-French-struggle-cope.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3180929/Another-night-chaos-Calais-Migrants-cling-roof-lorry-arrives-Kent-children-pulled-barbed-wire-fences-surrounding-Channel-Tunnel-French-struggle-cope.html</a>

## Media, Politics and The 'Refugee Crisis'

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<b>Martin Robinson</b>	31-July	Daily Mail	BBC reporter who asked migrants if they were returning to 'the Jungle' is slammed by viewers even though he was referring to the temporary camp in Calais	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3181165/BC-reporter-asked-migrants-returning-Jungle-slammed-viewers-referring-temporary-camp-Calais.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3181165/BC-reporter-asked-migrants-returning-Jungle-slammed-viewers-referring-temporary-camp-Calais.html</a>
<b>Martin Robinson, Emma Glanfield, Claire Ellicott and Stephen Wright</b>	31-July	Daily Mail	Fury after PM warns of 'swarm': As police seize stowaway migrants across South, Cameron is attacked for 'likening them to insects'	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3180063/British-police-stop-lorry-M20-just-15-miles-Folkestone-arrest-12-migrants-patrols-stepped-sides-Channel-days-migrants-storming-tunnel.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3180063/British-police-stop-lorry-M20-just-15-miles-Folkestone-arrest-12-migrants-patrols-stepped-sides-Channel-days-migrants-storming-tunnel.html</a>
<b>Matt Chorley</b>	31-July	Daily Mail	The real reason Cameron is tiptoeing around the French: They could scrap deal on border checks and move the chaos from Calais to Kent	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3179958/How-Cameron-refused-criticise-French-border-British-soil.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3179958/How-Cameron-refused-criticise-French-border-British-soil.html</a>
<b>Ollie Gillman</b>	31-July	Daily Mail	Migrants slice their way out of a lorry in West Midlands after sneaking into truck 250 miles away in Calais as Keith Vaz warns crisis will affect 'the whole country'	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3180997/Moment-migrants-slice-way-lorry-West-Midlands-climbing-250miles-away-Calais-Keith-Vaz-warns-crisis-affect-country.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3180997/Moment-migrants-slice-way-lorry-West-Midlands-climbing-250miles-away-Calais-Keith-Vaz-warns-crisis-affect-country.html</a>
<b>Ollie Gillman, Gemma Mullin, and Claire Duffin</b>	31-July	Daily Mail	Your summer holidays have gone up in smoke: British families start cancelling holidays to France as crisis in Calais grows after striking ferry workers block roads with burning tyres	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3181242/Striking-ferry-workers-burn-tyres-Calais-roads-causing-chaos-Brit-holidaymakers.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3181242/Striking-ferry-workers-burn-tyres-Calais-roads-causing-chaos-Brit-holidaymakers.html</a>
<b>Jay Akbar</b>	01-August	Daily Mail	Refugee life through a child's eyes: Young Syrians capture the laughter and heartbreak of living in a refugee camp in photos they took themselves	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3177515/Refugee-life-child-s-eyes-Young-Syrians-capture-laughter-heartbreak-living-refugee-camp-photos-took-themselves.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3177515/Refugee-life-child-s-eyes-Young-Syrians-capture-laughter-heartbreak-living-refugee-camp-photos-took-themselves.html</a>
<b>Larissa Brown</b>	01-August	Daily Mail	Hamad's fast track to Eldorado: Sudanese migrant who was in Italy five weeks ago is now in UK thanks to free train rides across Europe and he wants his family to join him	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3181691/Hamad-s-fast-track-Eldorado-Sudanese-migrant-Italy-five-weeks-ago-UK-thanks-free-train-rides-Europe-wants-family-join-him.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3181691/Hamad-s-fast-track-Eldorado-Sudanese-migrant-Italy-five-weeks-ago-UK-thanks-free-train-rides-Europe-wants-family-join-him.html</a>
<b>Ollie Gillman</b>	01-August	Daily Mail	Food shortages loom because of Calais chaos, hauliers warn - as 36-mile Operation Stack queue finally starts moving	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3182131/Food-shortages-loom-Calais-chaos-hauliers-warn-Operation-Stack-queue-Kent-hits-36-MILES.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3182131/Food-shortages-loom-Calais-chaos-hauliers-warn-Operation-Stack-queue-Kent-hits-36-MILES.html</a>
<b>Tom Wyke</b>	22-November	Daily Mail	Chaos across Europe as migrants struggling to cross borders protest in Macedonia and face freezing temperatures in Germany and Serbia	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3329345/Chaos-Europe-migrants-struggling-cross-borders-protest-Macedonia-face-freezing-temperatures-Germany-Serbia.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3329345/Chaos-Europe-migrants-struggling-cross-borders-protest-Macedonia-face-freezing-temperatures-Germany-Serbia.html</a>

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<b>Allan Hall</b>	23- November	Daily Mail	Germany to convert Berlin's abandoned Stasi HQ into a shelter to house 500 migrants amid refugee crisis	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3330336/Germany-convert-Berlin-s-abandoned-Stasi-HQ-shelter-house-500-migrants-amid-refugee-crisis.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3330336/Germany-convert-Berlin-s-abandoned-Stasi-HQ-shelter-house-500-migrants-amid-refugee-crisis.html</a>
<b>Julian Robinson</b>	23- November	Daily Mail	Winter is coming: Migrants face plummeting temperatures as snow sweeps across Europe amid fears refugees could freeze to death	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3330282/Winter-coming-Migrants-face-plummeting-temperatures-snow-sweeps-Europe-amid-fears-refugees-freeze-death.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3330282/Winter-coming-Migrants-face-plummeting-temperatures-snow-sweeps-Europe-amid-fears-refugees-freeze-death.html</a>
<b>Julian Robinson</b>	23- November	Daily Mail	All the terrorists are basically migrants': Controversial Hungarian prime minister calls for EU border clampdown in wake of Paris attacks	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3330077/All-terrorists-basically-migrants-Controversial-Hungarian-prime-minister-calls-EU-border-clampdown-wake-Paris-attacks.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3330077/All-terrorists-basically-migrants-Controversial-Hungarian-prime-minister-calls-EU-border-clampdown-wake-Paris-attacks.html</a>
<b>Jennifer Newton</b>	25- November	Daily Mail	Poland's new PM says the country will not accept an EU quota of 4,500 refugees in the wake of the Paris terror attacks	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3333233/Poland-s-new-PM-says-country-not-accept-EU-quota-4-500-refugees-wake-Paris-terror-attacks.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3333233/Poland-s-new-PM-says-country-not-accept-EU-quota-4-500-refugees-wake-Paris-terror-attacks.html</a>
<b>Siofra Brennan</b>	25- November	Daily Mail	'Joyfully heartbreaking' photo of Syrian refugee who feeds the homeless in Berlin to 'give something back' sweeps the internet	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-3332346/Image-Syrian-refugee-feeds-homeless-Berlin-sweeps-internet.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-3332346/Image-Syrian-refugee-feeds-homeless-Berlin-sweeps-internet.html</a>
<b>Ulf Andersson</b>	25- November	Daily Mail	Thugs hurling stones, cars set on fire and refugee children aged five escorted to school by POLICE: Inside the once tranquil Swedish village at war with migrants housed in emergency centre	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3315739/The-tranquil-Swedish-village-living-hell-refugee-invasion-locals-migrants-throw-stones-children-aged-five-need-POLICE-ESCORT-school.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3315739/The-tranquil-Swedish-village-living-hell-refugee-invasion-locals-migrants-throw-stones-children-aged-five-need-POLICE-ESCORT-school.html</a>
<b>Claire Duffin and Nigel Blundell</b>	27- November	Daily Mail	Stranded on a Kent beach: French 'people smuggler' whose speedboat broke down after 'ferrying migrants from Calais for £10,000 a time'	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3336922/Suspected-10k-time-French-people-smuggler-pictured-stranded-beach-Kent.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3336922/Suspected-10k-time-French-people-smuggler-pictured-stranded-beach-Kent.html</a>
<b>Joseph Curtis</b>	27- November	Daily Mail	Villagers' fury over plans to build a refugee centre for 1,000 migrants in a community where only 100 people live	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3336743/Villagers-fury-plans-build-Gloucestershire-refugee-centre-1-000-migrants.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3336743/Villagers-fury-plans-build-Gloucestershire-refugee-centre-1-000-migrants.html</a>
<b>Sue Reid</b>	27- November	Daily Mail	Migrant blunder splitting Germany in two: Weeks ago, Merkel threw open Germany's doors. Today, amid fears it's importing anti-Semitism, many worry their way of life is under threat	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3337002/Migrant-blunder-splitting-Germany-two-Weeks-ago-Merkel-threw-open-Germany-s-doors-Today-amid-fears-s-importing-anti-Semitism-worry-way-life-threat.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3337002/Migrant-blunder-splitting-Germany-two-Weeks-ago-Merkel-threw-open-Germany-s-doors-Today-amid-fears-s-importing-anti-Semitism-worry-way-life-threat.html</a>
<b>Caitlin O'Toole</b>	28- November	Daily Mail	Rapper M.I.A. highlights the plight of refugees in striking video for her new song Borders	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-3337598/Rapper-M-highlights-plight-refugees-striking-video-new-song-Borders.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-3337598/Rapper-M-highlights-plight-refugees-striking-video-new-song-Borders.html</a>

<b>Isabel Hunter</b>	28-November	Daily Mail	Shocking moment a frustrated Hungarian truck driver speeds towards helpless migrants by the side of road near Calais	<a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3337603/Shocking-moment-frustrated-Hungarian-truck-driver-speeds-helpless-migrants-road-near-Calais.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3337603/Shocking-moment-frustrated-Hungarian-truck-driver-speeds-helpless-migrants-road-near-Calais.html</a>
<b>Albertina Lloyd</b>	27-July	Daily Mirror	Katie Hopkins admits she does regret some of her controversial comments about migrants	<a href="https://www.mirror.co.uk/3am/celebrity-news/katie-hopkins-admits-regret-controversial-6146171">https://www.mirror.co.uk/3am/celebrity-news/katie-hopkins-admits-regret-controversial-6146171</a>
<b>Martin Fricker</b>	29-July	Daily Mirror	Calais security chaos exposed: Migrants cut through fences and tear down barriers in desperate bid to reach UK	<a href="https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/calais-security-chaos-exposed-migrants-6158560">https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/calais-security-chaos-exposed-migrants-6158560</a>
<b>Mikey Smith</b>	29-July	Daily Mirror	What's happening in Calais? Everything you need to know about Operation Stack and the migrant crisis	<a href="https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/whats-happening-calais-everything-you-6156489">https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/whats-happening-calais-everything-you-6156489</a>
<b>Peter Allen and Sam Webb</b>	29-July	Daily Mirror	Calais crisis: Migrant killed by truck as thousands storm Eurotunnel's French terminal	<a href="https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/calais-crisis-migrant-killed-truck-6156482">https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/calais-crisis-migrant-killed-truck-6156482</a>
<b>Martin Fricker</b>	30-July	Daily Mirror	Calais chaos: Hundreds more migrants break through Eurotunnel perimeter fences for third night	<a href="https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/calais-chaos-hundreds-more-migrants-6162294">https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/calais-chaos-hundreds-more-migrants-6162294</a>
<b>Richard Wheatstone, Neil Lancefield and Alex Diaz</b>	30-July	Daily Mirror	Pictures show migrants desperation to reach Britain in another night of Channel Tunnel chaos	<a href="https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/pictures-show-migrants-desperation-reach-6162760">https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/pictures-show-migrants-desperation-reach-6162760</a>
<b>Tom Parry</b>	30-July	Daily Mirror	Is 4-metre high steel wall the answer to Calais crisis? This razor-packed super-fence on Bulgarian border has stopped migrant flood	<a href="https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/4-metre-high-steel-wall-6165122">https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/4-metre-high-steel-wall-6165122</a>
<b>Fleet Street Fox</b>	31-July	Daily Mirror	They are not migrant hordes – they are people, and they're probably nicer than us	<a href="https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/not-migrant-hordes--people-6165167">https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/not-migrant-hordes--people-6165167</a>
<b>Martin Fricker and Sam Webb</b>	31-July	Daily Mirror	Calais crisis: Desperate migrant throws child over fence as others cling to top of moving lorries	<a href="https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/calais-crisis-desperate-migrant-throws-6169449">https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/calais-crisis-desperate-migrant-throws-6169449</a>
<b>Elle Griffiths</b>	22-November	Daily Mirror	Shocking footage claims to show Greek coastguard 'deliberately trying to SINK a boat full of refugees'	<a href="https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/shocking-footage-claims-show-greek-6880938">https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/shocking-footage-claims-show-greek-6880938</a>
<b>Alex Wellman, Matthew Drake and Sam Adams</b>	23-November	Daily Mirror	Europe's most wanted man Salah Abdeslam slips the net as Belgian police arrest 16 in terror raids	<a href="https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/europes-most-wanted-man-salah-6881696">https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/europes-most-wanted-man-salah-6881696</a>
<b>Kirstie McCrum</b>	23-November	Daily Mirror	Refugee crisis leaves mountains of life jackets on Greek paradise island	<a href="https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/refugee-crisis-leaves-mountains-life-6882869">https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/refugee-crisis-leaves-mountains-life-6882869</a>
<b>Louise Sassoon</b>	23-November	Daily Mirror	Syrian refugee repays 'German people' in the best way possible	<a href="https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/syrian-refugee-repays-german-people-6888171">https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/syrian-refugee-repays-german-people-6888171</a>



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<b>Ben Rossington</b>	24-November	Daily Mirror	Paris attacks border crackdowns sees number of migrants entering Europe plummet	<a href="https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/paris-attacks-border-crackdowns-sees-6895539">https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/paris-attacks-border-crackdowns-sees-6895539</a>
<b>Natalie Evans and Sam Webb</b>	28-November	Daily Mirror	Drowned Syrian refugee Aylan Kurdi's family to be admitted to Canada	<a href="https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/drowned-syrian-refugee-aylan-kurdis-6916083">https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/drowned-syrian-refugee-aylan-kurdis-6916083</a>
<b>Stephanie Kirchgaessner</b>	26-July	Guardian	Tensions run high in Rome's suburbs as Italy struggles with migration crisis	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/26/italy-migrant-crisis-rome-protests-tensions-casale-san-nicola">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/26/italy-migrant-crisis-rome-protests-tensions-casale-san-nicola</a>
<b>Kirk Day</b>	27-July	Guardian	These are refugees, not migrants, arriving in their thousands on Greek shores	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/jul/27/refugees-not-migrants-arriving-thousands-greece-shores">https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/jul/27/refugees-not-migrants-arriving-thousands-greece-shores</a>
<b>Matthew Taylor, Alexandra Topping, John Domokos and Mona Mahmood</b>	27-July	Guardian	Fortress Calais: fleeting fixtures and precarious lives in the migrant camp	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/27/migrant-camp-fortress-calais-jungle">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/27/migrant-camp-fortress-calais-jungle</a>
<b>Damien Gayle, Alan Travis and Jessica Elgot</b>	28-July	Guardian	Channel gridlock after migrants make 2,000 attempts to storm Calais terminal	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/28/emergency-measures-on-kent-roads-to-combat-channel-tunnel-gridlock">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/28/emergency-measures-on-kent-roads-to-combat-channel-tunnel-gridlock</a>
<b>Jessica Elgot in London and Patrick Wintour</b>	29-July	Guardian	Calais: man killed as migrants make 1,500 attempts to enter Eurotunnel site	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/29/calais-one-dead-1500-migrants-storm-eurotunnel-terminal">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/29/calais-one-dead-1500-migrants-storm-eurotunnel-terminal</a>
<b>Peter Walker</b>	29-July	Guardian	Migration crisis: Operation Stack is predominant issue for Dover residents	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/29/migration-crisis-operation-stack-dover-kent-asylum-seekers">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/29/migration-crisis-operation-stack-dover-kent-asylum-seekers</a>
<b>Alan Travis</b>	30-July	Guardian	The only 'migrant madness' is the tabloid pretence about events in Calais	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/30/the-only-migrant-madness-is-the-tabloid-pretence-about-events-in-calais">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/30/the-only-migrant-madness-is-the-tabloid-pretence-about-events-in-calais</a>
<b>Jessica Elgot and Alan Travis</b>	30-July	Guardian	Kent social services struggling to cope with children seeking asylum	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/30/kent-social-services-struggling-to-cope-with-children-seeking-asylum">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/30/kent-social-services-struggling-to-cope-with-children-seeking-asylum</a>
<b>Jessica Elgot and Matthew Taylor</b>	30-July	Guardian	Calais crisis: Cameron condemned for 'dehumanising' description of migrants	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/30/david-cameron-migrant-swarm-language-condemned">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/30/david-cameron-migrant-swarm-language-condemned</a>
<b>Kate Connolly</b>	30-July	Guardian	Germans greet influx of refugees with free food and firebombings	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/30/germans-greet-influx-of-refugees-free-food-fire-bombings">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/30/germans-greet-influx-of-refugees-free-food-fire-bombings</a>

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<b>Matthew Taylor and Alexandra Topping</b>	30-July	Guardian	Calais migrants: 'This is no place to live, but we can't go back'	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/30/calais-migrants-this-is-no-place-to-live-but-we-cant-go-back">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/30/calais-migrants-this-is-no-place-to-live-but-we-cant-go-back</a>
<b>Matthew Taylor, Patrick Wintour and Jessica Elgot</b>	30-July	Guardian	Calais crisis: Cameron pledges to deport more people to end 'swarm' of migrants	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/30/calais-migrants-make-further-attempts-to-cross-channel-into-britain">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/30/calais-migrants-make-further-attempts-to-cross-channel-into-britain</a>
<b>Clár Ní Chonghaile</b>	31-July	Guardian	People smuggling: how it works, who benefits and how it can be stopped	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/jul/31/people-smuggling-how-works-who-benefits-and-how-to-put-stop">https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/jul/31/people-smuggling-how-works-who-benefits-and-how-to-put-stop</a>
<b>Daniel Trilling</b>	31-July	Guardian	Europe could solve the migrant crisis – if it wanted	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jul/31/europe-migrant-crisis-political-choice-toxic-waste-sanctuary">https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jul/31/europe-migrant-crisis-political-choice-toxic-waste-sanctuary</a>
<b>Emma Graham-Harrison</b>	31-July	Guardian	Women in Calais camps: 'I have to focus on how I can stay alive'	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/31/women-in-calais-camps-i-have-to-focus-on-how-i-can-stay-alive">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/31/women-in-calais-camps-i-have-to-focus-on-how-i-can-stay-alive</a>
<b>Patrick Kingsley</b>	31-July	Guardian	We can't stop the flow of migrants to Europe. Rehousing them is our only option	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jul/31/migrants-calais-resettlement-europe">https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jul/31/migrants-calais-resettlement-europe</a>
<b>Jonathan Portes</b>	01-August	Guardian	The truth about the people and numbers in loud and furious migration debate	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/aug/01/calais-illegal-immigrant-uk-facts">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/aug/01/calais-illegal-immigrant-uk-facts</a>
<b>Helena Smith</b>	22-November	Guardian	Greek concerns mount over refugees as Balkan countries restrict entry	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/22/greek-concerns-mount-refugees-balkan-countries-restrict-entry">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/22/greek-concerns-mount-refugees-balkan-countries-restrict-entry</a>
<b>Lindy West</b>	22-November	Guardian	The US debate around Islam makes George W Bush look progressive	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/nov/22/the-us-debate-around-islam-makes-george-w-bush-look-progressive">https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/nov/22/the-us-debate-around-islam-makes-george-w-bush-look-progressive</a>
<b>AFP</b>	23-November	Guardian	Canada to turn away single men as part of Syrian refugee resettlement plan	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/23/canada-syrian-refugee-resettlement-plan-no-single-men">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/23/canada-syrian-refugee-resettlement-plan-no-single-men</a>
<b>Ben Doherty</b>	23-November	Guardian	Yanis Varoufakis says closing borders to Muslim refugees only fuels terrorism	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/24/yanis-varoufakis-closing-borders-muslim-refugees-only-fuels-terrorism">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/24/yanis-varoufakis-closing-borders-muslim-refugees-only-fuels-terrorism</a>
<b>Fiona Beckett</b>	23-November	Guardian	The International Peace Cafe: 'When people get together over food they can talk about anything'	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/wordofmouth/2015/nov/23/the-international-peace-cafe-bristol">https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/wordofmouth/2015/nov/23/the-international-peace-cafe-bristol</a>



<b>Maina Kiai, Jan Axel Nordlander, Robert Hardh, Thomas Hammarberg, Bjørn Engesland</b>	23- November	Guardian	Cutting aid in order to support refugees will allow extremism to thrive	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/nov/23/aid-cuts-refugees-extremism-thrive-sweden-norway">https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/nov/23/aid-cuts-refugees-extremism-thrive-sweden-norway</a>
<b>Martin Farrer</b>	23- November	Guardian	Yanis Varoufakis: Europe is being broken apart by refugee crisis	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/23/yanis-varoufakis-europe-is-being-broken-apart-by-refugee-crisis">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/23/yanis-varoufakis-europe-is-being-broken-apart-by-refugee-crisis</a>
<b>Patrick Kingsley</b>	23- November	Guardian	Stranded migrants sew mouths shut in protest against Balkan border controls	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/23/stranded-migrants-sew-mouths-shut-in-protest-against-balkan-border-controls">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/23/stranded-migrants-sew-mouths-shut-in-protest-against-balkan-border-controls</a>
<b>Rory Truell</b>	23- November	Guardian	Social workers' response to Europe's refugee crisis a testament to human hope	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/social-care-network/2015/nov/23/refugee-crisis-europe-austria-social-work">https://www.theguardian.com/social-care-network/2015/nov/23/refugee-crisis-europe-austria-social-work</a>
<b>Simon Tisdall</b>	23- November	Guardian	France's anti-Isis coalition: where the key countries stand	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/23/francois-hollande-france-global-alliance-defeat-isis-russia-us-uk-germany">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/23/francois-hollande-france-global-alliance-defeat-isis-russia-us-uk-germany</a>
<b>Barney Bardsley</b>	24- November	Guardian	Safe house: theatre's role in helping refugees	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/stage/theatreblog/2015/nov/24/safe-house-theatres-role-in-helping-refugees">https://www.theguardian.com/stage/theatreblog/2015/nov/24/safe-house-theatres-role-in-helping-refugees</a>
<b>David Crouch</b>	24- November	Guardian	Sweden slams shut its open-door policy towards refugees	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/24/sweden-asylum-seekers-refugees-policy-reversal">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/24/sweden-asylum-seekers-refugees-policy-reversal</a>
<b>Georgi Gotev</b>	24- November	Guardian	EU countries diverting overseas aid to cover refugee bills, report says	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/nov/24/eu-countries-diverting-overseas-aid-to-cover-refugee-bills-report-says">https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/nov/24/eu-countries-diverting-overseas-aid-to-cover-refugee-bills-report-says</a>
<b>Jessica Murphy</b>	24- November	Guardian	Canada will take extra time bringing in Syrian refugees in order to 'do it right'	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/24/canada-syrian-refugees-extra-time-do-it-right">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/24/canada-syrian-refugees-extra-time-do-it-right</a>
<b>Jon Worth</b>	24- November	Guardian	Cancelling the Schengen agreement won't make Europe safer	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/nov/24/cancelling-schengen-agreement-europe-terrorists">https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/nov/24/cancelling-schengen-agreement-europe-terrorists</a>
<b>Katherine Viner</b>	24- November	Guardian	The plight of refugees is the crisis of our times	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/society/2015/nov/24/guardian-and-observer-charity-appeal-2015-refugees-katharine-viner">https://www.theguardian.com/society/2015/nov/24/guardian-and-observer-charity-appeal-2015-refugees-katharine-viner</a>
<b>Patrick Kingsley</b>	24- November	Guardian	When asylum seekers sew up their mouths, Europe must start talking	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/nov/24/asylum-seekers-europe-borders-macedonia-refugee-crisis">https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/nov/24/asylum-seekers-europe-borders-macedonia-refugee-crisis</a>

<b>Patrick Kingsley</b>	24- November	Guardian	Canada's exclusion of single male refugees may exacerbate Syrian conflict	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/24/canada-exclusion-refugees-single-syrian-men-assad-isis">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/24/canada-exclusion-refugees-single-syrian-men-assad-isis</a>
<b>Phoebe Greenwood</b>	24- November	Guardian	Swedish asylum policy fuels support for far-right nationalist party	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/24/swedish-asylum-support-far-right-nationalist-sweden-democrats">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/24/swedish-asylum-support-far-right-nationalist-sweden-democrats</a>
<b>Angelique Chrisafis</b>	25- November	Guardian	Manuel Valls: the French PM taking a hard line against terror	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/25/manuel-valls-french-pm-hard-line-against-terror">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/25/manuel-valls-french-pm-hard-line-against-terror</a>
<b>Harriet Sherwood</b>	25- November	Guardian	Justin Welby says UK military action in Syria 'almost inevitable'	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/25/church-of-england-syria-archbishop-of-canterbury-refugees">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/25/church-of-england-syria-archbishop-of-canterbury-refugees</a>
<b>James Nevis</b>	25- November	Guardian	Good thing Native Americans didn't treat the Pilgrims like we treat Syrian refugees	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/nov/25/good-thing-native-americans-didnt-treat-the-pilgrims-like-we-treat-syrian-refugees">https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/nov/25/good-thing-native-americans-didnt-treat-the-pilgrims-like-we-treat-syrian-refugees</a>
<b>Reuters Press</b>	25- November	Guardian	Angela Merkel stands by refugee policy despite security fears	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/25/angela-merkel-stands-by-refugee-policy-syria-despite-security-fears">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/25/angela-merkel-stands-by-refugee-policy-syria-despite-security-fears</a>
<b>Tom Stevens</b>	25- November	Guardian	What is the current mood like in Sweden?	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/25/what-is-the-current-mood-like-in-sweden">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/25/what-is-the-current-mood-like-in-sweden</a>
<b>Reuters Press</b>	26- November	Guardian	Obama calls on Americans to welcome Syrian refugees as latter-day Pilgrims	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/nov/26/obama-americans-welcome-syrian-refugees-pilgrims">https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/nov/26/obama-americans-welcome-syrian-refugees-pilgrims</a>
<b>Robin Yassin-Kassab</b>	26- November	Guardian	The sound and the fury: how Syria's rappers, rockers and writers fought back	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/music/2015/nov/26/how-hip-hop-and-heavy-metal-are-waging-war-in-syria">https://www.theguardian.com/music/2015/nov/26/how-hip-hop-and-heavy-metal-are-waging-war-in-syria</a>
<b>Stephanie Kirchgaessner</b>	26- November	Guardian	We were abandoned': migrants tell of suffering in Italy's private shelters	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/26/italy-migrant-shelters-refugees-naples-landlords">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/26/italy-migrant-shelters-refugees-naples-landlords</a>
<b>Andrew Brown</b>	27- November	Guardian	When Sweden shut its doors it killed the dream of European sanctuary	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/nov/27/sweden-shut-doors-killed-dream-european-sanctuary">https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/nov/27/sweden-shut-doors-killed-dream-european-sanctuary</a>
<b>Constanze Letsch</b>	27- November	Guardian	Turkey putting Syrian refugees 'at serious risk of human rights abuse'	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/27/amnesty-international-turkey-syrian-refugees-human-rights-abuse">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/27/amnesty-international-turkey-syrian-refugees-human-rights-abuse</a>

<b>Harriet Gibsone</b>	27- November	Guardian	MIA's Borders: artist braves boats and barbed wire in video crusade for refugees	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/music/2015/nov/27/mia-borders-video-refugee-crisis-europe">https://www.theguardian.com/music/2015/nov/27/mia-borders-video-refugee-crisis-europe</a>
<b>Tash Reith-Banks</b>	27- November	Guardian	Creating cardboard beds for a more comfortable Christmas on the streets	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/science/blog/2015/nov/27/creating-cardboard-beds-christmas-streets-homelessness-stem-refugees">https://www.theguardian.com/science/blog/2015/nov/27/creating-cardboard-beds-christmas-streets-homelessness-stem-refugees</a>
<b>Audrey Gillan</b>	28- November	Guardian	From Aleppo to Paisley: the battle to make refugees feel welcome in Scotland	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/28/aleppo-to-paisley-make-refugees-welcome-in-scotland">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/28/aleppo-to-paisley-make-refugees-welcome-in-scotland</a>
<b>Suzanne Moore</b>	28- November	Guardian	Life in a refugee camp: 'the cold and fear get in your bones'	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/society/2015/nov/28/life-in-a-refugee-camp-the-cold-and-fear-get-in-your-bones">https://www.theguardian.com/society/2015/nov/28/life-in-a-refugee-camp-the-cold-and-fear-get-in-your-bones</a>
<b>Will Coldwell</b>	28- November	Guardian	Refugees tell a different Berlin story	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2015/nov/28/refugees-tell-a-different-berlin-story">https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2015/nov/28/refugees-tell-a-different-berlin-story</a>
<b>Associated Press</b>	29- November	Guardian	Migrants attack Macedonian police as construction of Greek border fence begins	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/29/migrants-attack-macedonian-police-as-construction-of-greek-border-fence-begins">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/29/migrants-attack-macedonian-police-as-construction-of-greek-border-fence-begins</a>
<b>Kate Connolly</b>	29- November	Guardian	Amid stollen and glühwein, terrorism fear haunts Germany's Christmas markets	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/29/germany-christmas-markets-terrorist-attack-fears">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/29/germany-christmas-markets-terrorist-attack-fears</a>
<b>Justin Huggler</b>	28-July	Telegraph	German politician's car blown up in apparent attack over asylum-seekers	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/11768020/German-politicians-car-blown-up-in-apparent-attack-over-asylum-seekers.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/11768020/German-politicians-car-blown-up-in-apparent-attack-over-asylum-seekers.html</a>
<b>Danny Boyle and Rory Mulholland</b>	29-July	Telegraph	Calais migrants: Theresa May calls for 'urgent' security upgrade as 1,500 try to storm Channel Tunnel	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11769718/Calais-crisis-live.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11769718/Calais-crisis-live.html</a>
<b>Steven Woolfe</b>	29-July	Telegraph	We need to close down Calais until the French get a grip	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11705666/We-need-to-close-down-Calais-until-the-French-get-a-grip.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11705666/We-need-to-close-down-Calais-until-the-French-get-a-grip.html</a>
<b>Ben Farmer, Steven Swinford and David Barrett</b>	30-July	Telegraph	Army ready to act over Calais crisis	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11774634/Army-ready-to-act-over-Calais-crisis.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11774634/Army-ready-to-act-over-Calais-crisis.html</a>
<b>Danny Boyle and Leon Watson</b>	30-July	Telegraph	Calais migrant crisis: Jeremy Corbyn accuses Cameron of using 'incendiary language' - as it happened	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11772262/Calais-illegal-immigrants-crisis-live.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11772262/Calais-illegal-immigrants-crisis-live.html</a>

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<b>David Barrett and Victoria Ward</b>	30-July	Telegraph	Calais migrant crisis: Kent Police send for reinforcements	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11774524/Calais-migrant-crisis-Kent-Police-send-for-reinforcements.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11774524/Calais-migrant-crisis-Kent-Police-send-for-reinforcements.html</a>
<b>Rory Mulholland and Greg Walton</b>	30-July	Telegraph	Calais crisis: Migrant situation reaches fever pitch	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11774514/Calais-crisis-Migrant-situation-reaches-fever-pitch.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11774514/Calais-crisis-Migrant-situation-reaches-fever-pitch.html</a>
<b>Telegraph View</b>	30-July	Telegraph	France must face up to the Calais crisis	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11771121/France-must-face-up-to-the-Calais-crisis.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11771121/France-must-face-up-to-the-Calais-crisis.html</a>
<b>Charles Moore</b>	31-July	Telegraph	Britain needs immigrants, but not a 'swarm' of them	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/11776411/Britain-needs-immigrants-but-not-a-swarm-of-them.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/11776411/Britain-needs-immigrants-but-not-a-swarm-of-them.html</a>
<b>Danny Boyle</b>	31-July	Telegraph	Calais crisis: How does Britain deal with migrants arriving from France?	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11773030/Calais-crisis-How-does-Britain-deal-with-migrants-arriving-from-France.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11773030/Calais-crisis-How-does-Britain-deal-with-migrants-arriving-from-France.html</a>
<b>Danny Boyle, Rory Mulholland, Gregory Walton and Colin Freeman</b>	31-July	Telegraph	Calais migrants: David Cameron warns crisis to last all summer as striking French workers block port	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11774895/Calais-illegal-immigrants-crisis-Army-on-standby-live.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11774895/Calais-illegal-immigrants-crisis-Army-on-standby-live.html</a>
<b>Jason Buzi</b>	31-July	Telegraph	What should we do with all the refugees? Give them their own country	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11775692/What-should-we-do-with-all-the-refugees-Give-them-their-own-country.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11775692/What-should-we-do-with-all-the-refugees-Give-them-their-own-country.html</a>
<b>Sofia Barbarani</b>	31-July	Telegraph	How painting Saddam's former prison has changed the lives of Syria's refugee girls	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/11771591/Iraq-refugee-camp-Painting-has-changed-the-lives-of-Syrian-girls.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/11771591/Iraq-refugee-camp-Painting-has-changed-the-lives-of-Syrian-girls.html</a>
<b>Camilla Turner</b>	01-August	Telegraph	Calais migrants crisis: Labour calls on Cameron to demand compensation from France - as it happened, August 1, 2015	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11777663/Calais-deputy-mayor-calls-David-Cameron-racist-and-extremist-live.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11777663/Calais-deputy-mayor-calls-David-Cameron-racist-and-extremist-live.html</a>
<b>Christopher Booker</b>	01-August	Telegraph	The tragic mess that is 'freedom of movement'	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/11778387/The-tragic-mess-that-is-freedom-of-movement.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/11778387/The-tragic-mess-that-is-freedom-of-movement.html</a>
<b>Colin Freeman</b>	01-August	Telegraph	Police and fences hold them back, but Calais' migrants are determined to reach their British paradise	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11778284/Police-and-fences-hold-them-back-but-Calais-migrants-are-determined-to-reach-their-British-paradise.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11778284/Police-and-fences-hold-them-back-but-Calais-migrants-are-determined-to-reach-their-British-paradise.html</a>
<b>Tim Ross, David Barrett, Colin</b>	01-August	Telegraph	Calais crisis: 'This is a global migration crisis'	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/11778497/This-is-a-global-migration-crisis.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/11778497/This-is-a-global-migration-crisis.html</a>

<b>Freeman and Robert Mendick</b>				
<b>David Chazan, Gregory Walton and Rory Mulholland</b>	22- November	Telegraph	Brussels schools and metro ordered to close in wake of Paris attacks	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/12010739/Brussels-schools-and-metro-ordered-to-close-in-wake-of-Paris-attacks.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/12010739/Brussels-schools-and-metro-ordered-to-close-in-wake-of-Paris-attacks.html</a>
<b>Rob Crilly and Danny Boyle</b>	22- November	Telegraph	Brussels terror alert remains at highest level - as it happened on November 23, 2015	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/belgium/12011123/Brussels-terror-alert-remains-at-highest-level-as-it-happened-on-November-23-2015.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/belgium/12011123/Brussels-terror-alert-remains-at-highest-level-as-it-happened-on-November-23-2015.html</a>
<b>Justin Huggler</b>	23- November	Telegraph	Berlin turns Stasi headquarters into refugee shelter	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/12012075/Berlin-turns-Stasi-headquarters-into-refugee-shelter.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/12012075/Berlin-turns-Stasi-headquarters-into-refugee-shelter.html</a>
<b>Lauren Williams</b>	23- November	Telegraph	Last Jewish family in Aleppo flee for Israel	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/syria/12010575/Last-Jewish-family-in-Aleppo-flee-for-Israel.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/syria/12010575/Last-Jewish-family-in-Aleppo-flee-for-Israel.html</a>
<b>Louise Loveluck</b>	23- November	Telegraph	Turkey 'turning away all Syrians who try to cross border'	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/turkey/12012932/Turkey-turning-away-all-Syrians-who-try-to-cross-border.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/turkey/12012932/Turkey-turning-away-all-Syrians-who-try-to-cross-border.html</a>
<b>Reuters Press</b>	23- November	Telegraph	Pressure grows on Angela Merkel over refugee policy after affront by Bavarian ally	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/angela-merkel/12013079/Pressure-grows-on-Angela-Merkel-over-refugee-policy-after-affront-by-Bavarian-ally.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/angela-merkel/12013079/Pressure-grows-on-Angela-Merkel-over-refugee-policy-after-affront-by-Bavarian-ally.html</a>
<b>AFP</b>	24- November	Telegraph	Canada to 'turn away single male Syrian refugees'	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/canada/12013130/Canada-to-turn-away-single-male-Syrian-refugees.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/canada/12013130/Canada-to-turn-away-single-male-Syrian-refugees.html</a>
<b>Mark Molloy</b>	24- November	Telegraph	Syrian refugee 'pays back' German kindness with food for the homeless	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/12014475/Syrian-refugee-pays-back-German-kindness-with-food-for-the-homeless.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/12014475/Syrian-refugee-pays-back-German-kindness-with-food-for-the-homeless.html</a>
<b>Michael Wilkinson and Matthew Holehouse</b>	24- November	Telegraph	Paris attacks mastermind returned to scene - 24 November as it happened	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/belgium/12015510/Manhunt-for-Salah-Abdeslam-as-Brussels-on-high-alert-after-Paris-attacks-Tuesday-live.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/belgium/12015510/Manhunt-for-Salah-Abdeslam-as-Brussels-on-high-alert-after-Paris-attacks-Tuesday-live.html</a>
<b>Nick Squires</b>	24- November	Telegraph	Syrian girl, 4, drowns off Turkish coast after refugee boat capsizes	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/syria/12013810/Syrian-girl-4-drowns-off-Turkish-coast-after-refugee-boat-capsizes.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/syria/12013810/Syrian-girl-4-drowns-off-Turkish-coast-after-refugee-boat-capsizes.html</a>

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<b>David Barrett and Leon Watson</b>	26-November	Telegraph	Net migration hits new record high of 336k - as it happened	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/12017896/Government-braced-for-more-damaging-numbers-on-immigration-live.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/12017896/Government-braced-for-more-damaging-numbers-on-immigration-live.html</a>
<b>Justin Huggler</b>	26-November	Telegraph	Minister calls for EU limit on refugee numbers as over 950,000 arrive in Germany	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/12019052/Minister-calls-for-EU-limit-on-refugee-numbers-as-over-950000-arrive-in-Germany.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/12019052/Minister-calls-for-EU-limit-on-refugee-numbers-as-over-950000-arrive-in-Germany.html</a>
<b>Mark Molloy</b>	26-November	Telegraph	Syrian refugees join volunteers helping to feed homeless US war veterans	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/12019252/Islamic-Relief-USA-help-homeless-army-veterans.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/12019252/Islamic-Relief-USA-help-homeless-army-veterans.html</a>
<b>AFP</b>	27-November	Telegraph	Surviving relatives of drowned Kurdish toddler Aylan Kurdi 'to be admitted to Canada'	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/canada/12022019/Surviving-relatives-of-drowned-Kurdish-toddler-Aylan-Kurdi-to-be-admitted-to-Canada.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/canada/12022019/Surviving-relatives-of-drowned-Kurdish-toddler-Aylan-Kurdi-to-be-admitted-to-Canada.html</a>
<b>Colin Freeman</b>	28-November	Telegraph	Migrants clash with border police as Macedonia builds fence around border	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/12022804/Migrants-clash-with-border-police-as-Macedonia-builds-fence-around-border.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/12022804/Migrants-clash-with-border-police-as-Macedonia-builds-fence-around-border.html</a>
<b>Nick Allen</b>	28-November	Telegraph	Refugee debate stokes tensions in Hamtramck, America's Muslim capital	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/12022583/Refugee-debate-stokes-tensions-in-Hamtramck-Americas-Muslim-capital.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/12022583/Refugee-debate-stokes-tensions-in-Hamtramck-Americas-Muslim-capital.html</a>
<b>Nicola Harley</b>	28-November	Telegraph	Jungle' migrant camp plans for tiny rural village	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/12022759/Jungle-migrant-camp-plans-for-tiny-rural-village.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/12022759/Jungle-migrant-camp-plans-for-tiny-rural-village.html</a>
<b>Senay Boztas</b>	28-November	Telegraph	Refugees could be fined or lose residency for failing to uphold Dutch values	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/netherlands/12022802/Refugees-told-to-be-good-neighbours-and-speak-Dutch-if-they-want-to-stay-in-Netherlands.html">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/netherlands/12022802/Refugees-told-to-be-good-neighbours-and-speak-Dutch-if-they-want-to-stay-in-Netherlands.html</a>



## Appendix 2



## Appendix 3

