The English Channel crossings in British press: A comparative analysis of framing in The Sun and The Guardian

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Abstract

In November 2018, a number of migrants escaping from the refugee camps located in Northern France arrived on boats at the coast of Southern England. Despite, the relatively low figures in comparison to other forced displacements, British newspapers reacted to the crossings in an unprecedented way. Headlines labelling the events as 'crisis' or 'wave of migrants' were numerous. Naturally, framing of information was at play in the coverage of these events However, the question remained whether or not this was ubiquitous in the whole British press system. Therefore, this study tackled this phenomenon by investigating how the crossings were framed by *The Sun* and T*he Guardian*, two major newspapers among the tabloid and quality press, respectively. By means of inductive qualitative discourse analysis, a number of findings were obtained. *The Sun* framed the events in a remarkably negative manner, while *The Guardian* represented them considerably more sympathetically. These findings further expand an extensive body of research on the relationship between framing theory and the news coverage of controversial issues such as immigration

Introduction

In recent history, the English Channel, unlike other maritime areas in Southern Europe, has rarely been a place where migrant crossings take place by means of boats. Nonetheless, numbers of migrant attempting to cross from the northern French coastal town of Calais to the southern English port of Dover have risen over the past four years due to a global escalation in forced displacement (Migration Data Portal, in Jacobs, 2019). Admittedly, migrants have been far more likely to attempt to enter the UK by smuggling themselves in the trucks that regularly cross the Channel on ferries or rail**.** Nonetheless, since the winter of 2018, the English Channel has become a particularly transited location for migration.

On the 13th of November 2018, 17 Middle Eastern migrants crossed the English Channel in a dinghy arriving at the port of Dover, where they were detained by Border Force officials (Kent Live, 2018). Several watercraft kept attempting to arrive at the Southern coast of England almost on a daily basis, closing off the month with 108 registered arrivals, 40 of them arriving on their own and 68 of them being intercepted in the British waters and brought to UK soil (Home Office, 2019). As reported by the press, most of the refugees were of Syrian and Iranian nationality and were escaping from the poor conditions present in the camps located in northern France (Sky News, 2019).

In December, a similar fashion was observed in which migrants were intercepted by British authorities several times a week. British press, although not dormant to this issue throughout the previous weeks, reacted to it with intense coverage in the upcoming days and voiced Home Secretary's statement declaring the events a 'major incident'. Although it was reported that the number of arrivals were significantly lower than the migration figures of other European regions[1], the British media did not voice the events as such. Rather, the crossings were portrayed as an increasing and unstoppable influx of immigrants. As it could be observed, expressions such as 'migrant crisis' or 'wave of migrants' were commonplace in the headlines leading the news that reported these events in particular (Express, 2018; Daily Mail, 2018)

All in all, due to these crossings, the British society was faced with the issue of migration via maritime routes, a reality that, unlike other nearby countries, had not been affecting Britain in recent times. Furthermore, the events in question took place in the midst of a particularly convulsive

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[1]According to the Sky News (2019), 539 people attempted to travel by boat from Northern France to the coast of Britain in 2018, 434 of which correspond to the last three months of 2018. Out of these 539, 227 were intercepted by French authorities and brought back to French soil before arriving at British shores. The numbers, in comparison to the migration figures of other European regions, are, nonetheless, self-explanatory: 110,833 people crossed the eastern and western routes of the Mediterranean Sea in the course of the same year.

political and social period. The historic decision taken by the British people in June 2016 to leave the EU resulted in a negotiation period to find agreement on the terms of Britain's exit, which was still taking place in the winter of 2018. As findings from previous research suggest, "public concerns over immigration, and its perceived effects, on the country and on communities, were central to explaining the 2016 vote for Brexit" (Goodwin & Milazzo, 2017, p. 3).

The Role of Mass Media in the Construction of Social Events

Mass media are an inseparable part of our everyday lives and have long been the element that most individuals resort to when they are in need of obtaining updated information of what is happening in their surroundings. Given this, it is not difficult to ascertain where mass media's power lies. Thanks to its function as a key source of information for the audiences, the media plays a crucial role in the formation and shaping of preferences and beliefs regarding public life.

In his seminal book on political communication *Constructing the Political Spectacle* (1988), Edelman proposes a conceptualization of the representation of social events based on the notion of spectacle. This representation, he argues, is "primarily constituted by news reporting in which the press continuously constructs and reconstruct social problems, crises, enemies, and leaders' thus creating subsequent threats and reassurances" (p. 35). Admittedly, the United Kingdom is not exempt from this agenda-setting dynamic. As it has been argued, British public are constantly being told stories about immigration by media where "narrative and counter narratives are constantly mobilized", which subsequently influence public debate (Smith & Deacon, 2018).

In terms of immigration, extensive research has been performed on the effects of media in shaping public opinion with regard to this topic. For instance, McLaren et al., (2018) found that when British newspaper increased their coverage of themes such as the effect of immigration on the economy or on the education systems over a time period, the public concern about these issues increased. This pattern, all in all, was not equally present in all types of newspapers: right-leaning publications had a significantly greater influence on their readers than left-leaning ones. Moreover, in terms of news genres, first hand news reports have a particularly relevant role in the relationship between media's representation of social events and public opinion. This is due to the idea their function as main source of information about actuals events and their implicit condition of being objective accounts of reality.

Framing

In the context of mass-media communication, the concept of framing has been discussed extensively within the social sciences, both as a methodology and as a theory, in order to explain the pro-

cess by which journalists adopt angles to narrate a news story. Entman (1993) states that: 'to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such as away as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation'. This process, thus, is built around two main concepts: 'salience' and 'selection'. In a more general sense, framing provides a context in which the audience can make sense of the information that they are confronted with and meaningfully structure the world. However, it is worth noting that framing is not a process that appears spontaneously in human life. Rather, it is part of a broader cultural context, and as a result, it is collectively constructed. In this regard, a range of factors have been pointed out to explain the influence behind the framing of an issue or an event, namely: societal norms and values, organisational constraints, pressure from interest groups, journalistic routines, and the journalist's ideological orientations (Scheufele, 1999).

Operationalisation of Frame Analysis in Media Texts

One of the common notions closely related to the concept of framing is 'theme'. A theme is 'an idea that connects different semantic elements of a story — descriptions of an action, sources — into a coherent whole' (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 6). In other words, they comprise codes constructed by a series of rules and conventions. As pointed out by Pan and Kosicki (1993), their relevance lies on its capacity to be "recognizable, experienced, and arranged into different elements of a discourse" (p. 6). Yet, they can too be subject to journalistic manipulation.

In this regard, scholars have turned their attention to the classification of frames on the basis of the themes they portray (e.g. De Vreese, 2005; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). This 'typology' of frames divides them into two main types: issue-specific frames and generic frames. The former type are frames that "are pertinent only to specific topics or events" (p. 4); whilst the latter type are frames that go beyond thematic limitations and can be found in 'different topics, time-frames and cultural contexts' (p. 4). For instance, examples of widely investigated generic frames are Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) extension of Neuman's et al's (1992) five-frame categorization: 'conflict', 'human interest', 'attribution of responsibility', 'morality' and 'economics'. For instance, the frame 'economic' emphasizes the economic consequences that an issue will have on an individual, group, institution or country (De Vreese, 2005). In terms of immigration news, this frame has been found to consistently appear in the media coverage of this issue (e.g. Madsen, 2019; Kovar, 2019). Common examples of this are allusions to the economic burden posed by the benefit schemes granted to migrants or the presumable replacement of low-skilled national workers for cheaper foreign labour.

With regard to issue-specific frames, the illegal frame is usually regarded as one of the most prevalent frames in immigration news. Primarily developed by Lakoff and Ferguson (2006) in their study of the immigration debate in the US, the frame is based on the representation of immigration as a legal problem. As a result, constructions such as 'illegal aliens', 'illegal immigrants' or 'illegals' become labels used to refer to migrants. However, as Lakoff and Ferguson (2006) indicate, although they are portrayed as such, these labels are far from being neutral as they link immigrants to criminality.

Previous Research on British Media's Framing of Immigration

British press can be generally classified along a range of distinctions such as frequency of publication (dailies vs Sunday editions), coverage (nationals vs regionals), political stance (conservative vs liberal). However, journalistic style and its two main groups (tabloid vs broadsheet) are perhaps the most popular distinction within the British press system (Baker, 2008).

The terms broadsheet and tabloid, which are often used interchangeably with quality and popular press respectively, stem from the format that these publications are known to be printed in — the former being printed on larger paper than the latter. The differences, however, go beyond the mere format. Traditionally, broadsheet newspapers are known to rely on a thorough investigative approach substantiated by a sober tone, fewer pictures, lengthier texts and smaller headlines (Preston, 2004 in Bastos, 2016). On the other hand, tabloid publications tend to focus on shorter sensationalist articles with larger headlines and images (Rowe, 2011 in Bastos, 2016). In terms of content, broadsheets place particular emphasis on domestic and international politics, culture and economics; whereas tabloids are generally known for covering 'life style' themes such as sports or celebrities (Bastos, 2016). Lastly, in terms of their readership's demographics, broadsheets' audience tends to be older and better informed than that of tabloids (Andersen, 2003). All in all, it is worth mentioning that scholars have pointed out to an increasing blurring of the lines that separate tabloid and quality press (e.g. Lefkowitz, 2016; Bastos, 2016). This phenomenon, known as tabloidization, implies that quality press has begun to adopt the language of tabloids and have approached news-making from a more sensation-seeking angle (Leftkowitz, 2016).

In this regard, thematic framing has been a popular arena in earlier research investigating the framing of immigration news in tabloid and broadsheet newspapers. As it was suggested in a previous study investigating the British press' coverage of migration into the country throughout 2014 and 2015, although themes such as the discussion of trafficking and migration numbers were evenly present across the press, the British tabloid press included a greater number of threat themes than

other newspapers (Berry et. al, 2015). Among these themes, the authors found repeated references to the threat that immigrants posed on welfare and cultural heritage and links to the size of migrant flows. Additionally, Berry et. al's (2015) findings suggest that quality paper *The Guardian* had a considerably larger inclusion of humanitarian framing than the rest of the British media outlet which included an extensive use of sympathetic illustrations of their difficult circumstances. In another study investigating the economic narratives present in the coverage of immigration, right-leaning newspaper *The Telegraph,* was found to frame the arrival of immigrants as a factor that negatively impacts the British labour market, linking it to an increase of unemployment among nationals (Caviedes, 2015). This type of frame, as the authors indicated, was surprisingly less present in the rest of the quality press and tabloids.

Further, earlier research has found that the labels used to refer to migrants are revealing devices in the coverage of immigration in the British press. More specifically, negative labels were found to be prevalent in the British press, particularly, in tabloid newspapers (e.g. Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Allen & Blinder, 2016). In this regard, Allen and Blinder (2016) found in their study of the use of modifiers in the coverage of immigration by British tabloids and broadsheets that the word 'ilegal', in order to refer to the noun 'immigrants', occurred considerably more often than any other collocate in both types of newspapers. However, tabloids made use of this term more regularly than their counterparts — 66 and 50 times in every 1000 articles, respectively. As previously discussed, this linguistic framing constructs immigration in a way that it appears inextricably linked to the notion of (i)legality and, in turn, depicts immigrants as law-perpetrators. Similarly, it was found that 'failed' was the modifier that occurred most often with the noun 'asylum seeker' in both types of titles, with 28 and 8 times in tabloids and broadsheets respectively. As suggested in this study, these findings further reinforce the linkage between immigrants and illegality, portraying asylum seekers as individuals associated with 'detention, deportation and criminality' (Allen & Blinder, 2016).

Moving away from the aforementioned elements, the use of sources is, too, regarded as a vital discursive device in the portrayal of immigration in the press, as they define who 'has the power to define issues' (Berry et al., 2015). Earlier research on this matter has suggested that differences exist between the different outlets within the British press landscape. (Berry et al, 2015; Philo et al., 2013). For instance, in a previous study, *The Guardian* was found to include more refugee voices in their coverage of immigration than other publications such as *The Daily Mail* or *The Sun* (Berry et al., 2015). These voices, as it was suggested, were often quoted in an extensive manner within

stories that portrayed migrants in a sympathetic light, generally informing on their reasons to flee their countries or the experiences that they had had to endure in order to arrive to the EU. Similarly, the quoting of refugee advocacy groups and NGOs was most present in *The Guardian,* with nearly three times as many mentions to these groups than *The Daily Mail* and *The Sun.* On the other hand, quotes of domestic politicians were considerably more present in the aforementioned tabloids' coverage than that of the quality press. Among the multiple British political parties, Conservative MPs were covered the most in the tabloids' news, where a strong opposition to pro-immigration policies was manifested. In relation to this, a similar pattern was found in a study investigating the framing of immigration across UK's major newspapers during the month of June 2011 (Philo et al., 2013). Out of the 146 reported statements, only five of these were from asylum seekers or refuges, two of which were found in *The Guardian* and the remaining three in *The Daily Mail* — these five mentions configured 3.4 per cent of the total.

Present Study

All in all, although the relationship between immigration and media framing has been thoroughly studied, no attention has been paid to how the Channel Crossings have been framed by the British media. Likewise, potential differences between media outlets with regard to this issue have also remained under-investigated in academia. Besides the gap within academia that this study attempts to fill, the value of this research, too, lies on the societal relevance that these events have had for the United Kingdom. Thus, this investigation presents an opportunity to study how framing has been used by both the quality and the tabloid British press in the coverage of the relevant migration movements in question. For this, hard news articles from two publications will be investigated, *The Guardian* and *The Sun,* each of them being major newspapers within the quality and the tabloid press respectively.

As previously mentioned, besides being major examples of the tabloid and quality press, T*he Guardian* and *The Sun* are, too, placed at each sides of the political spectrum. Admittedly, it is important to stress that most British newspapers do not attempt to hide their bias as they are known to reveal their stance on issues through aspects such as language choice or editorials. On the one hand, *The Sun* is Britain's most read newspaper, having, as of January 2021, a daily circulation of approximately 1.20 million copies (Press Gazzete, 2020). A Labour-supporting broadsheet paper in the 1960s, it adopted a hard right free market tabloid editorial profile by the 1980s due to its acquisition by Rupert Murdoch's Newspaper International Group (Berry et al., 2015). In addition to this, it has reduced the coverage of hard news and political issues and instead has focused on celebrity,

scandal and crime in recent years. Likewise, as previously mentioned, earlier research has shown that its coverage of immigration news tends to be characterized by a negative framing of immigration (e.g.Berry et al., 2015). On the other hand, *The Guardian* is Britain's most read left-leaning quality newspaper, having a circulation of 108,000 copies per day (Press Gazzete, 2020). However, its online presence is particularly significant as its website's daily reach is of more than 2.2 million users (Statista, 2020). In terms of its coverage of immigration, as previously discussed, it has been found that it employs a more sympathetic coverage of immigration, voicing refugees' accounts and advocating for pro-immigration policies (e.g. Berry et al., 2015; e.g. Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008). Given the aforementioned differences between these two newspapers, it is expected that the events around which this study centers were framed significantly distinctly on the two publications. In order to investigate this, the following research questions have been formulated:

RQ1: How were the English Channel crossings framed by *The Guardian* and *The Sun*?

RQ2: How do the frames present in *The Guardian* and *The Sun* relate to the British quality press and tabloid press?

The first question aims to uncover the underlying framing at work in the coverage of the English Channel crossings. The second question intends to contextualize these frames according to the ideological and stylistic profiles of *The Guardian* and *The Sun.* The answer to the first research question will be presented in the results section of this paper. Due to the fact that the second research questions requires a more interpretive answer, it will be placed in the discussion section.

Method

Data Collection

For this study, a focus was put on hard news articles related to the English Channel crossings published in broadsheet *The Guardian* and tabloid *The Sun.* The time frame selected for this spanned from the 15th of November 2018 until the 10th of January 2019. This 3-month period was selected as it configured the first three months of the crossings in question. This allows for a detailed investigation of the events that would not otherwise be likely to be efficiently realized adopting a longer time frame. Relevant articles were retrieved from newspaper database Nexis UK, using the query 'channel crossings', 'crossings', 'migrant!', 'migration', 'refugee!', 'asylum seeker!', 'immigration', 'immigrant!'. Further, the agreed number of articles per newspaper was ten. Every selected item oughted to contain more than 200 words in order to ensure that the texts featured enough material for the search of frame packages. Lastly, the final articles that formed the sample were selected by reading their headlines and leads.

Procedure

This study's model of analysis was based on a qualitative discourse analysis. The qualitative, analytic nature of this model allows for an examination of the phenomena 'in a holistic manner' that quantitative enquiry cannot provide (Du Plooy, 1997, in Linström & Marais, 2012). As previously indicated, the discourse analysis was conducted in two phases: a textual analysis phase and a contextual analysis phase.

Phase 1: Textual analysis. In order to find answer to the first research question, the qualitative framing analysis was executed by following an inductive approach (e.g., van Gorp & van der Goot, 2012; Linström & Marais, 2012). This approach is based on the premise that frames are discovered as the analysis progresses.

Step 1. Firstly, once all the articles had been selected, the researcher engaged multiple times with the texts in order to familiarize her/himself with the data. This engagement consisted of readings in which the researcher did not face the texts with the intention of finding a desired frame, but rather engaged with them in order to make sense of the data in general

Step 2. Secondly, two articles — one from each newspaper — with a blatant presence of framing were coded for a pilot analysis in which the researcher searched for the presence of framing packages. This discursive structure, created by Gamson and Modigliani (1989) and further developed by Van Gorp (2005), consists of three elements: a core frame, framing devices, and reasoning devices.

Framing devices can be defined as 'manifest elements in a message that function as demonstrable indicators of the frame and that contribute to the narrative and rhetorical structure of a message' (Van Gorp and van der Groot, 2012, p.13). The selection of the framing devices was based on previous literature on framing. Table 1 provides an overview of the selected framing devices.

As shown in Table 1, the framing devices were divided into two groups, rhetorical and grammatical devices, and technical devices. The former category consisted of rhetorical and grammatical devices, which comprised visual devices (Van Gorp, & Van der Goot, 2012) — metaphors, depictions, images —, lexical choice (Kitzinger, 2007) — extensively used words, thematically charged words —, quantifications (Pan & Kosicki, 2009) — reporting numbers to assist a certain interpretation —, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of judgement (Linström & Marais, 2012).

Category	Devices
Rhetorical and grammatical devices	Visual devices (Van Gorp, & Van der Goot, 2012), lexical choice (Kitzinger, 2007), quantifications (Pan & Kosicki, 2009), sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of judgement (Linström & Marais, 2012)
Technical devices	Heading (Linström & Marais, 2012), concluding paragraph (Linström & Marais, 2012), quotee and quote's content (Linström & Marais, 2012)

Reasoning devices, which can be defined as the devices that "form a causal reasoning between two concepts that are associated with a particular culturally embedded frame" (Van Grop and van der Groot, 2012, p.13) They are justifications and reasons for the text' overall position on the matter it narrates. In most cases, one arrives at the reasoning devices through the interpretation of framing devices (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Nonetheless, unlike the latter, the former do not necessarily have to be manifested explicitly in the text. Following the same fashion, the researcher, too, wrote these devices down in a Word document. Table 2 provides an overview of the reasoning devices.

Table 2.   Overview of reasoning devices

Category	Devices
Reasoning devices	Problem definition, causal responsibility, solution, responsibility for solution and moral basis (Van Gorp & Van der Goot, 2012)

Core frames are the result of linking the framing and reasoning devices. These core frame are the implicit the cultural phenomena that define the whole package.

Step 3. Thirdly, the researcher began the analysis of the remaining articles by identifying the framing devices. As these framing devices began to appear, the researcher noted them in a Word document.

Step 4. Fourthly, the researcher continued the analysis by identifying the reasoning devices. Similarly, as they began to appear, the research noted them in a Word document.

Step 5. Once framing and reasoning devices were identified and noted, the aim was to decided upon the core frames. As Van Grop and van der Goot (2012, p. 14) indicate, the essential feature of this step is that the study of these devices will lead the researcher to find patterns that will eventually configure the core frames.

Step 6. Finally, the researcher analyzed the whole corpus and compared the frame packages that had appeared in the two data sets. The objective of this final step was to patterns in the way each publication portrayed the crossings.

Phase 2: Contextual analysis. Once the frame packages present in the two data sets had been identified, an analysis of the findings was offered based on the ideological and stylistic of *The Sun* and *The Guardian*. This was executed by following an explorative approach (see Ritchie & Lewis, 2003) in an attempt to find possible reasons behind the appearance of certain frames in the two publications. Given the highly qualitative nature of this study, the knowledge of the researcher from the context presented in the introduction was essential.

Reliability Check

In order to ensure the coding, frame definition and contextual analysis would meet reliability standards, a reliability check was carried out. This was implemented by a second coder who was trained in inductive frame analysis. This check consisted of three data sessions that were taken before and during the analysis in order to discuss possible disagreements between the different coders. In the first session, the second coder was sent two articles, one from each publication. Additionally, a pilot analysis of a different article was attached in order for them to familiarize with the chosen model of analysis. In the second session, the frame packages found by the coder were discussed. Overall, this session led to an overall agreement of the reasoning and framing devices. Nonetheless, some disagreements were found in terms of the labels used to define the core frames. For instance, while the first coder labelled one of the frames as 'humanitarian frame', the second coder opted for using the expression 'more needs to be done for migrants'. Once all findings were discussed, it was agreed to use the first coder's label as it was deemed to be more concise. The third session took place after all of the texts were coded. During this session, the two coders discussed the significance of the findings with regard to the broader context of British tabloid and quality press. All in all, there was an overall agreement on the relation between the majority of the findings and those of the previously discussed in the literature review.

Example Analysis

In order to ensure the transparency and replicability of this investigation, an example analysis has been included in Appendix. This includes one article from The Guardian (data set and a complete outline of the core frame, reasoning devices and framing devices that configure the frame package.

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Results

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The first research question asked how the English Channel crossings were framed by broadsheet *The Guardian* and tabloid *The Sun.* The section aims to answer this research question by focusing on each publication separately. Firstly, the frames's definition and distribution over the corpora will be discussed. Secondly, an overview of the reasoning and framing devices will be provided[2]. Lastly, any article that was not attributed a frame package will be discussed separately.

The Guardian

Humanitarian frame

In The Guardian's corpus, one frame package was identified: *humanitarian* frame. This frame was found in nine out of the ten articles. Table 3 provides an overview of the reasoning and framing devices that constituted the frame package.

This frame package was constructed around the portrayal of migrants, and their actions and circumstances in a sympathetic light. This was put into effect by the allusion to the risk involved in the crossings made by migrants, the vulnerability of their situations and the acknowledgment of the dire circumstances, both in their own home countries and at the refugee camps from which they were trying to escape. As a result, these allusions can be interpreted as a legitimization of their actions. Furthermore, although with some exceptions, there was an overall assumption that a potential solution oughted to be based on some form of institutional support to migrants.

Reasoning devices

As Table 3 indicates, in terms of problem definition, most articles focused on the fact that migrants were risking their lives by attempting these crossings, with one article specifically focusing on children migrants (25/12/2018). Another article, instead, focused on the fact that a number of migrant children were left unaccompanied after having crossed the English channel (29/12/2018). The causes behind the crossings provided in the articles were varied, however, all articles referred to at least one the following factors: smuggling gangs, lack of support from British authorities, increased security at the Channel Tunnel, poor living conditions at refugee camps in Northern France and French police's aggressive tactics against migrants.

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[2] The tables included in this section provide an overview of the reasoning and framing devices. Full analysis and detailed tables including all devices can be provided upon request.

Table 3.   Reasoning and framing devices for *humanitarian frame*

Reasoning devices				
Problem definition	Causal responsibility	Solution	Responsibility for solution	Moral basis
· migrants/children are risking their lives by attempting to cross the English Channel by boat in order to arrive at British shores · increasing number of unaccompanied migrant children found after having crossed the English Channel by boat	· smuggling gangs · poor living conditions in camps · lack of support from authorities ·tougher security · police violence	· cooperation between French and British authorities ·more institutional support to migrants · improvement of asylum seeking channels ·more humane treatment	· British authorities · French authorities · The UK as Western nation	· prevention of deaths · improvement of living conditions of migrants

Framing devices			
Grammatical and rhetorical devices			
Imagery	Quantifications	Lexical choice	Sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of judgement
The UK has a duty to reach out the hand of humanity, support and friendship to people who are in danger and seeking a place of safety; people are out on the water	Unintesified quantifications where numbers of arrivals are reported with no aim to link figures to negative notions.	vulnerable migrants, desperate people, refugees difficult conditions, fleeing, at risk,	· campaigners and charities warned of increasing desperation among those attempting to make the journey

Technical devices		
Headings	Concluding paragraph	Quotes
	Concluding paragraph is used to further reinforce the humanitarian frame	Labour Party members, NGO activists, Border Force officials, Government

In terms of offered solutions, the articles too varied in their suggestions. While most articles broadly referred to the imperative need to provide institutional support to migrants, some other articles in-

cluded specific measures such as the improvement of asylum seeking channels (28/12/2018; 29/12/2018). In contrast to this, the suggested responsibility for solution across the articles was more homogenous. More specifically, the British government— either on its own or in combination with French authorities — was signaled as the figure responsible for effectuating the proposed solutions. Lastly, one article (28/12/2018) featured a more broad description of this figure alluding to the United Kingdom's duty as a Western nation. Lastly, at least one of the following moral bases were found in most articles: the prevention of deaths and the improvement of migrant's living conditions.

Rhetorical and grammatical devices

The previously described reasoning devices were sustained by a series of rhetorical and grammatical devices. In visual terms, the reasoning devices were mediated by imagery that illustrated the migrants' experiences and circumstances in a sympathetic light. For instance, one article (28/12/2018) featured a quote from then-leader of the Labour Party Jeremy Corbyn in which he alluded to the aforementioned UK's responsibility to intercede in the crossings:

"The UK has a duty to reach out the hand of humanity, support and friendship to people who are in danger and seeking a place of safety"

In this excerpt, there was an attempt to illustrate the migrants' vulnerability while simultaneously appealing to the country's duty to intercede in the crisis. In addition, the last device "in danger and seeking a place of safety" served as a legitimization of the migrants' actions, as it provides the exact reasons why they made the crossings.

This element of legitimization was present in most of the visual devices found in the articles. In line with this, there existed several imagery illustrating the camps' poor living conditions from which migrants were escaping. An example of this is the description found in one article (28/12/2018), where it was stated that "migrants are living in disused states and woods".

Additionally, quantifications were in line with the overall sympathetic portrayals present within the frame. More specifically, these quantifications consisted of reporting of the number of arrivals or the nationality and age of the migrants devoid of any evaluative or intensified language. An example of this can be found in the following enumeration:

'Two more inflatable boats carrying 12 men from Syria and Iran were intercepted on Friday, adding to the 82 migrants detained trying to cross the Channel since Christmas Day."

In terms of lexical choice, a wide range of framing devices were found. Firstly, the most used noun to refer to migrants in all articles was indeed the label "migrant". However, there was,

too, a considerable presence of the noun "people" across most articles. Moreover, the label 'refugee' was found in two articles (28/12/2018; 29/12/2018). Further, there was a continuous presence of verbs that alluded to the previously described sense of vulnerability such as "the migrants were forced", "the migrants are fleeing" or "the migrants are at risk". Following a similar fashion, several adjectives were found to be used in order to refer to the risk involved in the crossings, such as 'dangerous', 'perilous' or 'difficult'.

Technical devices

In terms of concluding paragraphs and sentences, a clear pattern can be delineated: all the pertaining articles besides article 6 concluded with a paragraph or sentence used to further reinforce the humanitarian core frame they are constructed around. This was enacted by the use of a quote, either by a Labour Party politician or by a NGO. An example of the former can be found at the end of article 5, when shadow home secretary criticizes the immigration minister's idea of refraining vessels to avoid a push factor:

"Actually, the push factor is how desperate these people are. If you even begin to justify allowing people to drown in the sea by talking about pull factors, it's quite immoral".

In relation to this, the use of quotes in The Guardian revealed a similar pattern. While members of the government and Border Force officials were indeed featured across most articles, the use of quotes from Labour Party policitians and, particularly, NGO spokespeople were noticeably more present. The quotes' content, in most cases, was a reinforcement of the humanitarian frame presen in the nine articles, with repeated calls for more institutional support or reminders of the vulnerability of migrants.

No frame

As previously stated, one article (07/01/2018) did not feature any framing. The article simply reported the arrival of eight migrants to the coast of Kent in an inflatable dinghy and the procedure followed by the authorities once the men were intercepted. Although the fact that the migrants were arriving at British shores on small boats could be identified as the problem definition across the article, no causal responsibility, solution, responsibility for solution nor moral basis were found.

In terms of framing devices, there was an almost complete absence of revealing elements. An exemption to this is use of the description "rigid-hulled dinghy" which illustrates the poor state in which the boat was found. This device may be interpreted as a form of signaling to the vulnerability of the migrants. However, since it was the only element with rhetorical value, it is not sufficient for it to deploy a frame on its own.

The Sun

In this data set, two frame packages were found: *urgent need for security increase* and *smuggling gangs' responsibility.* The former was found in seven articles while the latter in two.

Urgent need for security increase

This frame package was constructed around the notion that the prevention of the crossings oughted to be based on an increase in coastal security. Consequently, the arrival of migrants, which are represented in a significantly negative manner, are portrayed as a result of this very lack of border security. Table 4 provides an overview of the reasoning and framing devices for this frame package.

     Reasoning devices

As shown in Table 4, most articles defined the same problem: Border Force is not being capable of deterring migrants from attempting to cross the English Channel on boats and arrive at British shores. The suggested cause is lone in all articles, being insufficient coastal security. However, it is worth noting that while a lack of Border Force patrolling boats is defined as as the cause of the arrivals, one article provided, too, pointed out to the role of smuggling gangs (31/12/2018). In terms of solutions, all articles suggested at least one of the following: the deployment of Royal Navy vessels, to bring back the Border Force cutters that were providing patrolling services in the Mediterranean Sea, and to increase cooperation between French and British authorities. Further, Home Secretary Sajid Javid was presented in all articles as the responsible figure for implementing the proposed solutions. Lastly, two moral bases were found: the preservation of Britain's security and stability, and the cease of illegal arrivals.

     Rhetorical and grammatical devices

Firstly, in terms of imagery, all pertaining articles included multiple visual framing devices alluding to the core frame of "urgent need for security increase". For instance, in the following sentence found in two articles (27/12/2018; 28/12/2018), the three following visual devices were found:

"Ministers here were warned about huge gaps in border security two months ago in a damning report which claimed over-stretched staff cannot stop illegal migrants sneaking into Britain".

Here, the three visual devices reinforced the notion that more coastal security is needed, although signaling to different aspects. While 'huge gaps in border security' illustrated the presumable state of the country's border security, the description 'over-stretched staff' was portrayed as the reason behind this apparent lack of security. Accordingly, "illegal migrants sneaking into Britain" appeared as the consequence of the existence of these gaps. Moreover, this last imagery helped picture a scene in which there is no control over migrants coming into the country.

Table 4.　　　Reasoning and framing devices for *urgent need for security increase frame*

Reasoning devices				
Problem definition	Causal responsibility	Solution	Responsibility for solution	Moral basis
Border Force's incapability of deterring migrants from attempting to illegally cross the English Channel on boats	· insufficient coastal security · smuggling gangs	· deployment of Royal Navy vessels · to bring back Border Force cutters from the Mediterranean Sea ·increase cooperation	Home Secretary Sajid Javid	· preservation of Britain's security and stability · cease of illegal arrivals

Framing devices			
Grammatical and rhetorical devices			
Imagery	Quantifications	Lexical choice	Sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of judgement
Illegal migrants sneaking into Britain, mounting chaos, huge gaps in security, over-stretched staff, wave of migrants	Use of enumerations and figure reports to appeal to increase in arrivals	Illegals, illegal migrants, opportunistic migrants, suspected migrants, growing demands, crisis, catastrophe,	The Commons Home Affairs Select Committee last year warned the Border Force has a "worryingly low" number of ships to patrol the UK's vast 7,000 mile-long shoreline

Technical devices		
Headings	Concluding paragraph	Quotes
Demands for security increase	Concluding paragraph is used to further reinforce the core frame	Conservative MPs, government, Border Force officials

Further, imagery alluding to the violent condition of migrants were found in several articles. For instance, the following visual device was used to illustrate a presumable clash between Border officials and migrants:

"Border Force employees were being run ragged at ports across the south-coast by migrants often armed with "better intelligence" than those out to stop them".

Here, besides the depiction of migrants as violent individuals, Border Force officials were represented as victims, thus, further justifying the need for an increase in security in order to help the struggling agents. Similarly, the imagery "wave of migrants" was used in order to illustrate the allegedly high number of arrivals in one of the articles (30/12/2018). In addition, multiple imagery

was found to allude to a sense of alarm and instability, such as "raising a security alarm" or "mounting chaos",

Secondly, in terms of quantifications, it was found that multiple reports of the number of migrants arrivals were constructed as to indicate the figures are significantly high. An example of this is the following statement found in article 6 (The Sun, 2018):

"Meanwhile, 12 men from Syria and Iran were picked up in two more inflatable boats - taking the total to 92 in just four days since Christmas Day, and to 220 since November"

As it can be seen, the clarification placed in the second half of the statement, although subtly, appeals to the notion that the number of migrants that arrived in the reported time frame is concerning.

Thirdly, lexical choice was found to be a recurrently used framing device that delineated several themes which reinforced the core frame. For instance, while the label 'migrant' was indeed the most common word in all of the articles for referring to migrants and the crossings, the use of the word 'illegal' was too a recurrent choice. Either used as a noun as 'illegals' or as an adjective as 'illegal crossings' and 'illegal immigrants'. Additionally, following a similar rationale, the description 'suspected migrants' was heavily used in article 8. This association of the migrants with illegality may be interpreted as a delegitimization of their actions whilst it can simultaneously function as a justification of the need for increasing coastal security. In a similar attempt to negatively represent the migrants, the description 'opportunistic migrants' was found to be used in two articles (27/12/2018; 28/12/2018)

As well as the aforementioned negative descriptions of the migrants, multiple lexical choices across the pertaining articles seemed to be used as to allude to an escalating situation. This can be seen in the use of adjectives such as 'rising', 'increasing' or 'growing'. Further, nouns such as 'crisis' or 'catastrophe', were found to replicate a similar idea. Consequently, these framing devices further reinforced the core frame by depicting the events as an ever increasing situation that needed immediate response.

Technical devices

In terms of technical devices, several patterns were found in the articles featuring the core frame in question.Firstly, in terms of concluding paragraphs and sentences, the pattern previously found The Guardian's corpus was identified here too. Out of the seven, four were found to conclude with a paragraph or sentence used to further reinforce the need for an increase in security. However, contrarily to The Guardian's pattern, the articles did not feature a concluding quote from a Labour Party

member or a NGO representative. Instead, the concluding paragraphs were quotes from Tory/independent MPs or Border Force officers.

Lastly, the use of quotes across the pertaining articles revealed a second pattern. More specifically, quotes from Conservative MPs, Border Force officials and governmental figures were dominant across all articles. In terms of content, the quotes were found to feature elements that further reinforced the core frame either by alluding to the instability of the situation or the threat posed by the migrants or by demanding an immediate increase in coastal security.

Smuggling gangs' responsibility frame

This frame package was constructed around the idea that smuggling gangs were the only responsible figure behind the migrant crossings. As a result, the smuggling gangs were portrayed as heartless, criminal organizations whose lucrative business is based on charging migrants for arranging the crossings. Subsequently, contrarily to the previous frame, migrants are here presented as victims of these criminal networks. Table 5 provides an overview of the reasoning and framing devices for this frame package.

Table 5. Reasoning and framing devices for smuggling gangs' responsibility frame

Reasoning devices				
Problem definition	Causal responsibility	Solution	Responsibility for solution	Moral basis
Smuggling gangs who lure migrants and charge them for arranging the crossings	· Smuggling gangs · Tech companies	· Urgent joint efforts to detain the people traffickers · More intervention by tech companies	· British and French authorities · Tech companies	· Preservation of Britain's security and stability · Cease of illegal arrivals
Framing devices				
Grammatical and rhetorical devices				
Imagery	Quantifications	Lexical choice	Sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of judgement	
people traffickers lure migrants to their deaths, forced into slavery, profits of war	None	gun-toting mobsters, gangsters, desperate migrants, sickening trade, victims, refugee	People traffickers are also whacking even higher prices on the perilous journeys before the UK leaves the EU in March.	
Technical devices				
Headings	Concluding paragraph		Quotes	

Demands for security increase	Concluding paragraph is used to further reinforce the core frame	Home Office, Border Force officials, NGO activist, refugees

Reasoning devices

Firstly, both articles presented a problem which revolves around the fact that smuggling gangs were luring migrants and profiting off them by charging them significant sums of money for arranging the life-threatening crossings. Secondly, while one attributed all responsibility to smuggling gangs, the other, although portrayed them as the main responsible figure, considered too the tech companies had a significant share of responsibility for the crossings, as their inaction was regarded as a strong factor in the spread of these networks. Thirdly, two solutions were delineated: urgent cooperation between authorities at both ends of the Channel and the tech companies' intervention on the social media used by smuggling gangs to contact migrants. Logically, the two proposed responsible figures were British and French authorities and tech companies. Lastly, the moral bases were the prevention of human deaths and the prevention of human trafficking.

Rhetorical and grammatical devices

Firstly, in terms of imagery, several of the devices found in the two articles were used as illustrations to reinforce the image of the malign nature of the smuggling gangs. Examples of this are phrases such as "smugglers are luring migrants into their death", "migrants are forced into slavery" or "smugglers are leaving their customers stranded". These imagery, besides accentuating the negative representation of smugglers, served as a portrayal of the migrants as victims of the immoral smuggling business.

Secondly, although no quantifications in line with the core frame were found, multiple lexical choice revealed patterns of reinforcement of the frame. For instance, multiple descriptions of the people smugglers showed a connection with criminality. Examples of this are labels such as 'gun-toting mobsters', 'gangsters" or "crooks". Likewise, a similar function was found in the use of 'sickening trade' in order to describe the people smuggling business. In addition to this, the use of the verb "to lure", which can be interpreted as a further reinforcement of the negative representation of the traffickers, was consistently present across one of the two articles (30/12/2018). Similarly to the aforementioned imagery, multiple lexical choices served as reinforcements of the vulnerability and oppression inflicted to the migrants. This can be seen in labels such as 'victims' or 'refugees'.

Technical devices

In terms of technical deivces, the two articles featured the exact same pattern found in *The* Sun's previous frame package. In other words, both articles included thematically reinforcing concluding

paragraphs. This can be seen in the last paragraph of one of the articles (24/11/2018), which featured the following quote from Tory MP Charlie Elphicke:

"The Home Office need to urgently step up efforts with the French to catch the crooks responsible. Lives will be lost if this trafficking network is not stopped in its tracks."

Moreover, given there was no extensive use of quotes, no pattern could be delineated with regard to this.

No frame

As previously indicated, one article (26/12/2018) did not feature a coherent frame. This is due to the fact that, given the almost total absence of framing devices, no reasoning device was elucidated clearly enough. Although it featured a problem definition —migrants arriving at British shores — and causal responsibility — smuggling gangs — no solution, responsibility for solution nor moral basis were provided.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study has attempted to investigate how the English Channel crossings that took place in 2018 were framed by *The Sun* and *The Guardian,* two major representatives of the British quality and tabloid press respectively. For this, two research questions were formulated: "how were the English Channel crossings framed by *The Guardian* and *The Sun?"* and "how do the frames present in these two publications relate to the British quality press and tabloid press?" In order to answer these two questions, a qualitative inductive discourse analysis was carried out.

With regard to the first question, it was found that the two newspapers framed the events in significantly different ways. On one hand, *The Guardian* consistently featured a sympathetic portrayal of both the crossings and migrants. In general terms, the only frame at work, the *humanitarian* frame, was based an overall acknowledgment of the vulnerability and desperation that the migrants were experiencing. This was effectuated by substantial reporting of the tumultuous social and political contexts found in their respective home countries, the dire living conditions found at the refugee camps as well as the risk involved in the crossings. In turn, their actions were at all times legitimized. As a result, the crossings were delineated as logical causalities of a broader humanitarian rcrisis rather than as isolated events.

Admittedly, while still acknowledging the risk involved in the crossings and, in some cases, the fact that numbers were on the rise during November and December 2018, no sense of instability nor incapability of dealing with the issue was imprinted in any of the articles featured in *The Guardian*. The scarce allusions to the aforementioned notions were only featured in quotes from go-

vernmental and Border Force figures. Furthermore, the crossings were deployed as a problem that concerned the United Kingdom as a country. In turn, the government was attributed some degree of responsibility for the events in all articles, mainly due to the idea that more institutional support could have been delivered to migrants prior to the start of the crossings. Consequently, this led to attributing the United Kingdom a more active role in the prevention of future crossings.

On the other hand, *The Sun,* due to its *need for security increase* frame, offered a significantly more negative portrayal of both the crossings and the migrants in most of its articles — with the exception of the two articles pertaining to the 'smuggling gangs' frame. In these seven articles, the migrants' actions as well as their intentions were recurrently put into question. Likewise, the factors leading to the crossings were seldom mentioned. Furthermore, allusions to their irregular condition, although at times formulated through non-sensical constructions — 'illegal migrants' or 'suspected immigrants', for instance— were commonplace in the articles pertaining to the *need for security increase* frame. It is worth noting that these negative portrayals were found in both content written under the journalists' own voice and in quotes from Conservative politicians, the government and Border Force representatives. Unlike *The Guardian*, a sense of threat to security breach and national instability was latent in the majority of *The Sun*'s articles, both in the content featuring the journalists' own voice and in the quotes used. Lastly, no accountability for the events was attributed to the nation nor its government in any of the articles. In general terms, the UK is presented as a blameless country which is victim of the arrival of a unmeasurably high number of arrivals. As a result of this, the role attributed to the country in the prevention of the crossings was particularly passive and defensive. As a side note, this pattern was also present in the article featuring a markedly sympathetic portrayal of migrants. Here, the focus was put intensely on smuggling gangs and tech companies as the responsible figures for the events.

With respect to the second research question, the aforementioned differences in the framing of the crossings show patterns that are intimately related to those of previous research on the types of press both publications are part of. For instance, *The Guardian*'s sympathetic portrayal of migrants uncovered in this study seems to be in line with Berry et al's (2015) findings, which indicated the publication's significant inclusion of humanitarian illustrations of the difficult circumstances of migrants. Likewise, Berry et al's (2015) findings on tabloid press's tendency to frame immigration as a threat seem eminently present in the articles pertaining to *The Sun*'s *need for security increase* frame. Additionally, previous research appears to support other elements of The Sun's main frame. For instance, the uncovered extensive use of words such as 'illegal' to refer to migrants resonate remarkably with previous research on the use of negative labels in British tabloid press (Ga-

brielatos & Baker, 2008; Allen & Blinder, 2016). Furthermore, *The Sun*'s illegal framing seems to be in line with Lakoff and Ferguson's (2006) indications of the right-wing press's recurrent attempts to link immigration with criminality. Lastly, findings with regard the use of technical devices seem to be, in some regards, supported by those of previous research. For instance, *The Guardia*n's recurrent featuring of NGOs spokespeople and refugee advocacy groups as quoted figures found in almost all articles is remarkably matched by previous research on the newspaper's coverage of immigration (Berry et al., 2015). Likewise, Philo et al.'s (2013) previous findings with regard to tabloids' preference for quoting Conservative politicians in immigrations appear to be aligned with this study's discoveries. Nonetheless, some of this study's findings seem to contradict those of previous research. More specifically, the larger presence of refugee voices in *The Guardian*'s quotes found by Philo et al. (2013) has not appeared in the corpus. Instead, the findings point out to *The Sun* as the only newspaper that voiced the refugees' experiences. It is worth noting that, given the fact that the total number was two, it can be assumed these findings in particular cannot be generalized.

All in all, the current study has attempted to fill that existed in academic with regard to these events. Although extensive had been devoted to the study of the framing of immigration, the English Channel crossings had not yet been investigated under the lens of framing analysis. Furthermore, this investigation could also serve to further the insights of how the British quality and tabloid press frame controversial issues such as immigration. Admittedly, the findings reveal that the coverage of immigration can be a much contested topic, manifold in its representations and often object to ideological influences.

Nonetheless, this research is not exempt from limitations. Firstly, it is imperative to address the limited number of articles that have been investigated. Although the qualitative, analytical nature of this study has provided valuable insights unlikely to be obtained through more quantitative methods, the generalizability of the findings can be compromised. In order to tackle this, future research should combine the two methods for optimal results. Secondly, due to time constraints, only the first three months of the crossings have been investigated. Therefore, it is recommended that further research studies the development of the framing of the crossings over a longer period of time.

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Church of England urges compassion for Channel migrants - The Guardian - 29/12/2018

The Church of England has urged greater compassion in the migration debate as new figures revealed an influx of lone child refugees among the boatloads of people crossing the Channel.

As Sajid Javid faced calls by Tory MPs to deploy the Royal Navy to stop migrants reaching the UK, the Right Rev Trevor Willmott, bishop of Dover, said the home secretary needed to remember that those attempting the perilous crossing were people in need.

"It is crucial that we all remember that we are dealing with human beings here," said the bishop, speaking with the backing of the church. "Across the nation, we have been celebrating the season of hope and goodwill as we remember Christ's birth – let's not forget so soon that every person is precious."

On Sunday, six Iranian men were found on a Kent beach after crossing the Channel from France. The group were handed over to immigration authorities after arriving in Kingsdown, near Deal.

Javid, who has cut short his family holiday to deal with the situation, escalated the government's response after 12 Channel crossings were made by 89 migrants in four days. Since the start of November, 221 migrants are known to have attempted to cross the Channel to England.

The rising number of boat crossings has prompted an increase in the number of unaccompanied child refugees to levels not recorded since the migrant camp in Calais was dismantled in October 2016, say local charities.

One specialist facility that cares for unaccompanied minors, the Millbank Centre in Ashford, Kent, said it was caring for more than twice the usual level of occupants.

Razia Shariff, chief executive officer of Kent Refugee Action Network, said there were between 40 to 50 minors, largely Iranian and Iraqi, being housed at its centre, compared with its usual level of just below 20.

"It [had] gradually petered down from 2015-16 to a standard level, but in the last two months it's just gone up again," said Shariff.

The charity Refugee Council, which runs a reception centre for lone child refugees in Dover, Kent, said that the number of unaccompanied minors had risen significantly last month.

The centre, a safe space for child refugees at Britain's busiest passenger port, recorded 21 unaccompanied children arriving in Kent in one week in mid-November, although the weekly total has subsequently fallen. In total, 31 lone child refugees arrived in Kent during November and another 13 children have so far been looked after at the Dover facility during December.

On Saturday, immigration minister Caroline Nokes travelled to the port and met its Conservative MP, Charlie Elphicke, who has called on the authorities to "get a grip" and called for more patrol boats in the Channel.

Javid has called the rise in arrivals a "major incident". Yet, during the Dover visit, Nokes and Elphicke appeared to disagree on a way forward. The minister waved away demands for more patrol vessels stating: "It is feasible that, were we to put out additional craft, they might act as a magnet – encouraging people to make a perilous crossing."

Elphicke, though, was undeterred, saying: "I can't actually understand why people would say these border cutters do a good job in the Mediterranean, but would do a bad job in the English Channel."

The UN's migration agency yesterday called on the government to pursue a proportionate response to the arrivals, stressing that, in global terms, the numbers attempting to cross the Channel remained very small.

Leonard Doyle, spokesperson for the International Organisation for Migration, said: "People seem to criticise migration because it's easy to do and it's easy to stir up passions but, actually, these are really small numbers if you compare them to what other European countries are going through."

Others urged the government to adopt a more "humane" approach. Liberal Democrat home affairs spokesperson Ed Davey said it was important to "ensure safe routes to sanctuary in Britain for those forced out of their homes, whether by war in Syria or persecution in Iran".

Sarah Jones, Labour MP and member of the home affairs committee, said a broader approach was required. "If we could do something to tackle the fact that more people are on the move across the globe than at any time in our history, we might actually stop this human tragedy," she said.

The recent rise in child refugees reaching southern England follows Home Office data showing that during the third quarter of the year, July to September, 799 UK asylum applications were made by unaccompanied children compared with 573 the previous quarter.

The 799 figure is the second highest quarter total recorded during the past five years, second only to the period following the 2016 destruction of the migrant camp in Calais, when 1,176 child refugees arrived in the UK.

Experts believe the rise in boat crossings is a response to aggressive tactics by French police that include routinely destroying makeshift refugee camps.

Maurice Wren, head of the Refugee Council, said: "The fact that people are boarding flimsy boats to cross one of the world's busiest and most dangerous shipping lanes highlights the sense of fear and hopelessness that is gripping so many of the people stuck in northern France.

"Recent reports suggest that armed police are forcibly clearing and levelling the makeshift camps along the French coast, with the entirely predictable consequence that desperate people are again turning to smugglers who they see as offering their only hope of reaching safety."

He said the UK government needed to begin offering "more legal and dependable routes" for child refugees stranded in Europe.

· **core frame:** humanitarian frame

· **reasoning devices**

- **problem definition**: the numbers migrants, many of whom are unattended children, attempting to cross the English Channel on boats in order to arrive at British shores has increased

- **causal responsibility**: aggressive tactics by French police that include routinely destroying makeshift refugee camps

- **solution**: urgent action for more humane treatment of migrants: improvement of asylum seeking schemes

- **responsibility for solution**: The UK government

- **moral basis**: the improvement of migrants living conditions (no reference to prevention of deaths)

· **framing devices**

  · **rhetorical and grammatical devices**

    · **imagery:**

      · child refugees stranded in Europe —> Illustrates the vulnerable situation in which child refugees are left

    · **quantifications**

      · panied children arriving in Kent in one week in mid-November, although the weekly total has subsequently fallen. In total, 31 lone child refugees arrived in Kent during November and another 13 children have so far been looked after at the Dover facility during December.

      · The 799 figure is the second highest quarter total recorded during the past five years, second only to the period following the 2016 destruction of the migrant camp in Calais, when 1,176 child refugees arrived in the UK.

    · **lexical choice**

      · child refugees: Child migrants are referred as 'refugees'. By doing this, the journalist signals the legitimate right these children have to stay in the country.

      ·sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of judgement:

      · One specialist facility that cares for unaccompanied minors, the Millbank Centre in Ashford, Kent, said it was caring for more than twice the usual level of occupants.

      —> This sentence further reinforces the idea that the issue needs urgent action.

      · Experts believe the rise in boat crossings is a response to aggressive tactics by French police that include routinely destroying makeshift refugee camps. —> This

sentence puts in perspective the causes that have made migrants attempt these cros sings, and therefore, somewhat legitimizes their actions.

· The UN's migration agency yesterday called on the government to pursue a pro portionate response to the arrivals, stressing that, in global terms, the numbers at tempting to cross the Channel remained very small. —> The use of the UN as a sour ce of information serves as a validation of the need of a humane response from the government.

· **technical devices**

· **heading**: Church of England urges compassion for Channel migrants —> Although the article does not exclusively revolve around the Church of England's response, the heading already indicates that a fair treatment needs to be delivered to migrants.

· **concluding statements and paragraphs:** He said the UK government needed to begin offering "more legal and dependable routes" for child refugees stranded in Europe. —> This concluding sentence further reinforces the humanitarian frame under which the article has been written by offering a potential solution to these events. The government is directly ad dressed as the responsible agent.

· **sources**

· **quotee**

1. Right Rev Trevor Willmott, Bishop of Dover

2. Razia Shariff, Kent Refugee Action

3. Charles Elphicke, Dover MP

4. Leonard Doyle, spokesperson for the International Organization for Migration

5. Sarah Jones, Labour MP

6. Maurice Wren, Refugee Council

· **quote's content**

1. Statement reminding the need of fair treatment of migrants.

2. Statement informing on the increase of unaccompanied minors being displaced to care centers in the last two months.

3. Statement questioning why additional patrol vessels cannot be brought in to police the Channel.

4. Statement calling into question the governmental and public reception of the number of migrants arrived at British shores, which are not as significant in com parison to what other countries are receiving.

5. Acknowledgement of the notion that there exists a worrying migration move ment and that action needs to be taken to stop this tragedy.

6. Description of the extreme procedures that French police are carrying out at refu gee camps.

Appendix B

You fill in the questions by clicking on the square next to the chosen answer □

After clicking, a cross will appear in this square ⊠

1. Is a health care institution involved in the research?

Explanation: A health care institution is involved if one of the following (A/B/C) is the case:

A. One or more employees of a health care institution is/are involved in the research as prin- ciple or in the carrying out or execution of the research.

B. The research takes place within the walls of the health care institution and should, follo- wing the nature of the research, generally not be carried out outside the institution.

C. Patients / clients of the health care institution participate in the research (in the form of tre- atment).

⊠ No → continue with questionnaire

□ Yes → Did a Dutch Medical Institutional Review Board (MIRB) decide that the Wet Medisch Onderzoek (Medical Research Involving Human Subjects Act) is not applicable?

□ Yes → continue with questionnaire

□ No → This application should be reviewed by a Medical Institutional Review Board, for example, the Dutch CMO Regio Arnhem Nijmegen → end of checklist

2. Do grant providers wish the protocol to be assessed by a recognised MIRB?

⊠ No → continue with questionnaire

□ Yes → This application should be reviewed by a Medical Institutional Review Board, for example, the Dutch CMO Regio Arnhem Nijmegen → end of checklist

3. Does the research include <u>medical-scientific research</u> that might carry risks for the participant?

☒ No → continue with questionnaire

    ☐ Yes → This application should be reviewed by a Medical Institutional Review Board, for example, the Dutch <u>CMO Regio Arnhem Nijmegen</u> → end of checklist

Standard research method

4. Does this research fall under one of the stated <u>standard research methods</u> of the Faculty of Arts or the Faculty of Philosophy, Theology and Religious Studies?

    ☐ Yes → …. → continue with questionnaire

    ☒ No → assessment necessary, end of checklist

Participants

5. Is the participant population a healthy one?

    ☐ Yes → continue with questionnaire

    ☐ No → assessment necessary, end of checklist → <u>go to assessment procedure</u>

6. Will the research be conducted amongst minors (<16 years of age) or amongst (legally) incapable persons?

    ☐ Yes → assessment necessary, end of checklist → <u>go to assessment procedure</u>

    ☐ No → continue with questionnaire

Method

7. Is a method used that makes it possible to produce a coincidental finding that the participant should be informed of?

    ☐ Yes → assessment necessary, end of checklist → <u>go to assessment procedure</u>

□ No → continue with questionnaire

8. Will participants undergo treatment or are they asked to perform certain behaviours that can lead to discomfort?

    □ Yes → assessment necessary, end of checklist → <u>go to assessment procedure</u>

    □ No → continue with questionnaire

9. Are the estimated risks connected to the research minimal?

    □ No → assessment necessary, end of checklist → <u>go to assessment procedure</u>

    □ Yes → continue with questionnaire

10. Are the participants offered a different compensation than the usual one?

    □ Yes → assessment necessary, end of checklist → <u>go to assessment procedure</u>

    □ No → continue with questionnaire

11. Should <u>deception</u> take place, does the procedure meet the standard requirements?

    □ No → assessment necessary, end of checklist → <u>go to assessment procedure</u>

    □ Yes → continue with questionnaire

12. Are the standard regulations regarding <u>anonymity and privacy</u> met?

    □ No → assessment necessary, end of checklist → <u>go to assessment procedure</u>

    □ Yes → continue with questionnaire

Conducting the research

13. Will the research be carried out at an external location (such as a school, hospital)?

    □ No → continue with questionnaire

    □ Yes→ Do you have/will you receive written permission from this institution?

☐ No → assessment necessary, end of checklist → <u>go to assessment procedure</u>

☐ Yes → continue with questionnaire

14. Is there a contact person to whom participants can turn to with questions regarding the research and are they informed of this?

☐ No → assessment necessary, end of checklist → <u>go to assessment procedure</u>

☐ Yes → continue with questionnaire

15. Is it clear for participants where they can file complaints with regard to participating in the research and how these complaints will be dealt with?

☐ No→ assessment necessary, end of checklist → <u>go to assessment procedure</u>

☐ Yes → continue with questionnaire

16. Are the participants free to participate in the research, and to stop at any given point, whenever and for whatever reason they should wish to do so?

☐ No→ assessment necessary, end of checklist → <u>go to assessment procedure</u>

☐ Yes → continue with questionnaire

17. Before participating, are participants informed by means of an information document about the aim, nature and risks and objections of the study? (zie <u>explanation on informed consent</u> and <u>sample documents)</u>.

☐ No→ assessment necessary, end of checklist → <u>go to assessment procedure</u>

☐ Yes → continue with questionnaire

18. Do participants and/or their representatives sign a consent form? (zie <u>explanation on informed consent</u> and <u>sample documents</u>.

☐ No→ assessment necessary, end of checklist → <u>go to assessment procedure</u>

☐ Yes → checklist finished

If you want to record the results of this checklist, please save the completed file.

If you need approval from the EACH due to the requirement of a publisher or research grant provider, you will have to follow the formal assessment procedure of the EACH.