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# The dismantling of the 'Jungle' of Calais in October 2016

A critical discourse analysis of the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian*

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## Abstract

In this research I explore how two newspapers from the United Kingdom (UK) covered the dismantling of the ‘Jungle’ of Calais that officially started on October 24, 2016. The articles, published between October 17, 2016 and November 5, 2016, were retrieved from the *Daily Mail* – a right-leaning newspaper – and *The Guardian* – a left-leaning newspaper. The main objective of this research was to show how the ideology of both newspapers influenced their positioning on the question but also to see how migrants were portrayed in the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian*.

This research is qualitative and applies Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The main CDA method used here is the frame analysis. Our framing method is based on the framing methods of Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) and Helbing (2014), that provided our method with six frames: conflict, human interest, economic consequences, responsibility, nationalistic and moral-universal.

The results show that the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* covered differently the dismantling of the ‘Jungle’ of Calais. Both newspapers were influenced by their respective ideologies: the *Daily Mail* had an apprehensive discourse towards immigration and used more often the economic consequences frame and nationalistic frame to criticize immigration and the situation in the Calais camps while *The Guardian* had a more open discourse towards immigration and used more often the human interest frame and the moral-universal frame to show empathy towards immigrants. The results also demonstrate that two main ‘images’ of migrants emerged in the articles: the ‘threatening men’ and the ‘vulnerable women and children’.

Those findings show the importance of ideology in discourse and that newspapers portray migrants in specific ways that can be harmful for migrants. In our research, this portrayal can especially affect asylum seekers stranded in Calais who are already in a vulnerable position. It is therefore important to be critical and deconstruct every kind of discourses, especially dominant discourses that target groups in a vulnerable position.

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# 1. Introduction

“This place is not called The Jungle; it’s The Forum”

(Zimako Jones, 2016 *in* Dean, 2016)

The word ‘jungle’ comes from the Pashto word ‘*dzjanga*’ meaning a small forest or a wooded area (Hicks & Mallet, 2019). ‘*Dzjanga*’ was first used in the 1970’s to refer to Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan and later on, when the first Afghan refugees arrived in Calais, the word spread out quickly to describe the migrant camps hosting thousands of individuals (Hicks & Mallet, 2019). ‘*Dzjanga*’ was rapidly picked-up in Western medias but instead of keeping its original meaning, ‘*Dzjanga*’ became ‘jungle’ and by doing so, Europeans linked the migrant camps to an ‘exotic’ and ‘worrying’ place (Agier, 2018).

Therefore, the ‘Jungle’ of Calais became a place that had to be demolished and finding a concrete solution to the stranded migrants of the camps was not the first priority. Thus, on October 24, 2016, the evacuation of the ‘Jungle’ of Calais began. On the three first days, more than 3,000 persons were displaced and relocated in migrant camps all over France (Agier, 2018). On the third day, the destruction of the houses and of public facilities of the migrant camps started, and by the end of the week, the French public authorities announced that the camp had been dismantled (Agier, 2018).

The dismantling of the ‘Jungle’ of Calais made international news. Happening one year after the arrival peak of asylum seekers in Europe, it became a symbol of what was called the refugee ‘crisis’. Immigration became an important topic of debate in the public space, dividing individuals concerning the impact of immigration in Europe. Hence, when newspapers announced the dismantling of the ‘Jungle’ of Calais, the discourse of the events varied widely. In the United Kingdom (UK), the discourse was polarized in the newspapers, especially concerning the migrants of the camps.

## 1.1. Research question, aim of the research and justification

### *Research question*

Our main research question is the following: *does the ideological position of the Daily Mail and The Guardian influence their positioning on the question of migrant camps?* This main question is followed by two sub-questions: *is the dismantling of the ‘Jungle’ of Calais of October 2016 addressed differently by the Daily Mail (right-leaning*

*newspaper) and The Guardian (left-leaning newspaper)? Which 'images' of migrants emerge from the Daily Mail and The Guardian?*

### *Aim of the research*

This research seeks to establish if the ideology of a newspaper – in our case the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* – has an influence on the immigration discourse. Discourse can be a powerful tool that influences and shapes the ideology and life of individuals (van Dijk in Zapata-Barrero & Yalaz, 2018) and ideologies can also legitimate forms of domination (van Dijk, 2006a). Therefore, this research also seeks to deconstruct powerful discourses in order to be more critical towards them. Using critical discourse analysis (CDA) as our main theoretical framework and frame analysis as our method, we will analyze a total of 153 online articles concerning the dismantling of the 'Jungle' of Calais published by the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* between October 17, 2016 and November 5, 2016.

### *Justification*

The reason why this research focuses on the dismantling of the 'Jungle' of Calais and not another migration-related event such as the arrival peak of asylum seekers in late 2015 in Europe is that the 'Jungle' of Calais represented the mismanagement of France, the UK but also Europe concerning migration. Regardless of the ideology, the 'Jungle' of Calais was seen as a 'failure' of Europe's migration policies and it was criticized with different arguments. We chose the UK as the country of analysis because of its role in the dismantling of the 'Jungle'. The vast majority of migrants in the camp wanted to reach British soil. Therefore, the UK was involved in the dismantling and the newspapers of the country paid a particular attention to the event. Finally, the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* were chosen for two reasons: firstly, their positioning: the *Daily Mail* is a right-leaning tabloid while *The Guardian* is a left-leaning broadsheet and thus, it is easier to differentiate their ideologies. And secondly, both newspapers are among the most read newspapers in the UK, making their discourse influential within the country but also internationally.

## **1.2. Plan**

In order to answer our research question, we will have a look at the contextualization of the 'Jungle' of Calais. We will then discuss our theoretical framework



by presenting the different approaches, concepts, theories and methods used in the research. We will describe our methodology and finally, we will present our results. In the conclusion, we will summarize our findings and discuss them.

### **1.3. Limitation of our research**

Our research presents two main limitations. Firstly, it is a qualitative research with a sample of 153 articles, meaning that we cannot generalize our findings. Therefore, the discourse of the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* concerning the dismantling of the 'Jungle' of Calais and immigration can only be generalized for our selected period: from October 17, 2016 to November 5, 2016. A second limitation is that our critical discourse analysis only focuses on the textual discourse of the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian*. Other non-textual discourse produced by the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* were not analysed, for example the use of pictures by both newspapers. Therefore, we do not have a 'complete' discourse analysis. In the same vein, we also limited our discourse analysis to a few analytical units. As explained by van Dijk in Wodak & Meyer (2001), there exist thousands of analytical units, strategies and dimensions to analyse discourse and in our research, we mostly focused on frame analysis that only covers a small part of a 'complete' discourse analysis. Therefore, our analysis is far from being 'complete' as we only used the methods and analytical units that were adapted to our research.

## **2. Contextualization**

This section looks back at different historical aspects that are important to better understand the context of the migrant camps in Calais. First of all, we will discuss the history of what has been collectively called the 'Jungle' of Calais. Then, we will focus on immigration in the UK and we will look at the political situation, the public opinion and different regulations and agreements that influenced the situation in the migrant camps of Calais. Finally, we will examine the two newspapers of our analysis: the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian*.

## 2.1. The 'Jungle' of Calais

### 2.1.1. Calais: a History linked to migration

In the Anglo-French politics, Calais has always been an important point for exchange and connection between the two countries (Ibrahim & Howarth, 2018). Being situated in the narrowest point of the English Channel, Calais' position is attractive for trading but also for migrants and refugees: "not only has Calais been a gateway to sanctuary in England (or vice versa), it has also been a space in which the refugee has been created through periodic expulsions since the 14<sup>th</sup> century" (Ibrahim & Howarth, 2018: 7).

In 1347, King Edward III had conquered the town and had expelled all existing residents to replace them with 'purs Engles' that were brought into Calais (Ibrahim & Howarth, 2018). For six generations, Calais was under the control of the King of England and it is only in 1558 that the French retook control of the town and decided to expel the Huguenots – French Protestants – that had worked for the English (Ibrahim & Howarth, 2018). This expulsion led many Huguenots to take refuge in England and the term 'réfugié' entered for the first time in the English language as 'refugee' in the 1680's, being used especially to refer to Huguenots (Ibrahim & Howarth, 2018).

During the following centuries, Calais continued to be seen as a "gateway to sanctuary Britain particularly during the wave of revolutions, nationalism and xenophobia that periodically convulsed Europe" (Ibrahim & Howarth, 2018: 7). Many refugees, especially during the Victorian era, were seduced by the popular belief that Britain was a country of religious and political toleration where refugees would not be subject to extradition (Ibrahim & Howarth, 2018: 7). But this started to change when the Ashkenazi Jews fled from Russia to Western Europe in the 1880's and created the first large-scale refugee movement of the modern era. A large number of the Ashkenazi Jews moved to the UK via Calais and at their arrival, they were met with a growing anti-semitism that culminated in 1905 with the adoption of the Aliens Act that restored the border controls but also for the first time instituted asylum as a legal concept where it differentiated between the legal refugee and the 'unwanted' refugee (Ibrahim & Howarth, 2018). The displacement of Ashkenazi Jews was one of the precursors that reshaped the European politics of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Ibrahim & Howarth, 2018). As it is still the case today, border control and asylum as a legal status affect the life of migrants. For Calais, this change in European politics also affected the city: it led to the development of migrant camps around the city.

### **2.1.2. Infrastructure, law and military conflict**

What was collectively called the 'Jungle' of Calais first began to appear in the 1990's through three processes that intersected: infrastructure, law, and military conflict (Hicks & Mallet, 2019). First of all, the opening of the Channel Tunnel in 1994 between Dover and Calais brought with it new border arrangements – e.g. the Channel Tunnel (International Arrangements) Order 1993 or the 1991 Sangatte Protocol (Hicks & Mallet, 2019). Those new border arrangements meant that the UK was able to have immigration and customs control at the entrance of the Channel Tunnel at Coquelles in Calais (Hicks & Mallet, 2019).

Secondly, in 1995, the Schengen Area was enacted, which eliminated official border crossings between signatory countries (Hicks & Mallet, 2019). It first started between Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg and the Netherlands and it quickly grew to 26 countries. But the UK never joined the Schengen Area, meaning that its border at Coquelles in Calais was not only with France but with a much bigger part of Europe where control had been eliminated (Hicks & Mallet, 2019).

Thirdly, in the late 1990's, a growing number of refugees fleeing the Kosovo War arrived in Calais in order to claim asylum in the UK (Hicks & Mallet, 2019). But the refugees were stopped from moving legally to the UK under the new border arrangements (Hicks & Mallet, 2019). After 9/11, new conflicts in the Middle East led to more refugees arriving in Calais. Therefore, "the dual role of Calais as the UK's outsourced border and as the 'final frontier of Schengen' (CFDA, 2008) led to the incremental blocking of 'third-country' subjects from entering the UK" (Hicks & Mallet, 2019: 4). As a consequence, migrants and refugees found themselves blocked in Calais where they were not capable of making asylum claims to the UK without using a route for an irregular crossing to the British mainland (Hicks & Mallet, 2019). Those three processes have thus facilitated the growth of the 'Jungle' of Calais.

### **2.1.3. The growth of the 'Jungle' of Calais**

One of the key moments in the development of the 'Jungle' of Calais was the opening of the Sangatte centre for migrants in April 1999 by the French Red Cross (Hicks & Mallet, 2019). In December 2002, the Sangatte centre was closed and demolished after experiencing enduring pressure from the UK government that was facing an increasing politicization of what was called the 'asylum crisis' (Blunkett, 2002 *in*

Hicks & Mallet, 2019). Afterwards, there were many informal camps that formed around Calais and there was an estimated 1,000 to 2,500 people living in those informal camps after the closure of Sangatte (Hicks & Mallet, 2019). During the following years, the authorities tried in vain to demolish all the informal camps but the migrants always managed to find other locations to settle (Hicks & Mallet, 2019).

In 2013-2014, the French and British authorities delivered more sustainable solutions by integrating non-governmental organizations such as Calais Migrant Solidarity that allocated houses for women and children in Calais (Hicks & Mallet, 2019). At the same time, clearance still continued (Ibrahim & Howarth, 2018) and at the beginning of 2015, a municipal policy in Calais required to continue clearing the informal camps while ‘tolerating’ a camp situated in La Lande, where the construction of the Jules Ferry centre was possible thanks to the ‘emergency funding’ grants of €3.8 million in 2014 and €5.2 million in 2015 of the European Commission (Hicks & Mallet, 2019). The ‘tolerated’ encampment at La Lande saw its population increase rapidly from February 2015 and as the population of the camp grew, so did the media coverage and the political rhetoric (Hicks & Mallet, 2019). In September 2015, the ‘Jungle’ of Calais was the shelter of approximately 5,000 people (Agier, 2016a). In January 2016, the French authorities decided to construct a securitized camp – a camp within a camp – by transforming 130 boat containers into a CAP (Centre d’Accueil Provisoire) that had the capacity to host 1,500 people (Agier, 2016b). In February 2016, the population of the camp had grown to approximately 7,000 people (Agier, 2016b) and in the same month, the French authorities decided to demolish the southern half of La Lande (Hicks & Mallet, 2019). But the northern section continued to grow and on September 1, 2016, Bernard Cazeneuve, the French Minister of Interior at the time, announced the dismantling of the northern half of La Lande (France24, 2016) and on October 24, the French authorities started the official dismantling and the residents were transferred to centres all around France (Hicks & Mallet, 2019).

#### **2.1.4. The migrants of the ‘Jungle’ of Calais**

For migrants, Calais only represents one of the steps in their migratory route that can last months or even years (Agier, 2018). Without any concrete welcoming policies, migrants find themselves in camps dispersed all over Europe such as in Rome, Paris, Idomeni, Patras or Calais (Agier, 2018). In the ‘Jungle’ of Calais, migrants came from many horizons but it was estimated that two thirds of the countries represented in the

camps in 2016 were Afghanistan and Sudan (Agier, 2018). In Sudan as in Afghanistan, people were escaping conflicts and violence and had no choice than to flee. But migrating is not an easy process. For example, Sudanese refugees who fled their country have to face many dangerous and traumatizing situations. Many of them faced violence and harsh conditions before reaching the European soil. For example, the migrants wanting to join Libya from Sudan had to wait in the ghettos of Khartoum (Agier, 2018). In Libya, migrants suffered violence the most: often kidnapped at their arrival, detained in centres of retention and spread throughout the country, migrants were exploited as a workforce (Agier, 2018). For women, the transit in Libya is even harder as they are victims of violence from the part of authorities and militaries who control the territory (Agier, 2018). After surviving the crossing of the Mediterranean Sea towards Italy – and most probably being identified by the Italian national authorities –, many of the Sudanese migrants decide to leave Italy for other countries in Europe such as the UK (Agier, 2018).

When arriving in the ‘Jungle’ of Calais, whether they are ‘refugees’, ‘migrants’ or ‘exiled’ individuals, the residents of the slum share a common experience and hope to settle in the UK and to find protection and better future prospects (Agier, 2018). The migrants will to move to the UK can be explained by family ties present in the country or because they believe they have a better chance of integrating than in other countries in Europe (Agier, 2018).

But the population in the ‘Jungle’ of Calais in 2016 was not representative of the population migrating in Europe at the same time. For example, only a minority of Syrian refugees in Europe move towards Calais and most of the Syrian refugees migrate to Germany or Scandinavian countries (Agier, 2018). Also, migrants from French-speaking Africa are almost absent from Calais. Thus, only a minority of person looking for refuge in Europe were stuck in Calais, which explains why in 2016, most of the residents of the ‘Jungle’ of Calais were from Afghanistan, Sudan or the Horn of Africa (Agier, 2018). But the ‘Jungle’ of Calais, even if a minority of the total number of refugees in Europe was living there, had an important political impact on the media coverage in Europe and around the world. Calais became a symbol of the ‘migration crisis’ of 2015 in the UK; the situation in Calais became the subject of many public and political debates concerning immigration.

## 2.2. United Kingdom and immigration

### 2.2.1. Immigration trends

Because we are focusing on the discourse analysis of two newspapers from the United Kingdom, it is important to understand the context of the country, especially concerning immigration. In the UK, immigration trends have changed since the 1990's: there has been a growth of immigrants to the UK in numerical terms and in political salience and at the same time, the inflows of immigrants have changed dramatically as they are coming from different regions (Blinder & Allen, 2016). Therefore, in the 1990's, a large number of asylum seekers fleeing conflict zones in Somalia and Iraq arrived in the UK (Blinder & Allen, 2016). In 2004, the number of individuals receiving asylum decreased, but at the same time, immigration to the UK continued to rise with the arrival of new migrants from the so-called Accession 8 nationals – Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Slovakia (Blinder & Allen, 2016). Finally, in the late 2000's, there was a large increase of international students in the UK (Blinder & Allen, 2016).

As reported by the UK Labour Force Survey (LFS), the immigrant population in the UK grew from 3.7 million individuals to 8.6 million between 2002 and 2015, and in 2015, immigrants represented 13.3% of UK total population (Alfano et al, 2016). Also, according to LFS, non-European immigrants represented 5.4 million persons in 2015, making it the majority group of the immigrant population (Alfano et al, 2016). In comparison, immigrants from the European Economic Area (EEA) countries represented 3.1 million immigrants in 2015 (Alfano et al, 2016).

Another interesting trend is that compared to other European countries, the immigrant population in the UK has a higher level of achieved tertiary education: “the share of highly educated among immigrants in the UK is substantially higher than in any other EU country: according to Eurostat data, in 2015 47% of immigrants in the age range 15-64 in the UK had achieved tertiary education, which contrasts starkly not only with Italy (12%) or Greece (15%), but also with countries such as Germany (19%), France (29%) and even Sweden (36%) and Switzerland (38%)“(Alfano et al, 2016: 4).

Finally, the percentage of foreign-born UK residents is far from being the highest in Europe and UK is also not among the countries with the highest growth of foreign-born people in 2015 (Alfano et al, 2016). Countries such as Germany, Austria, Switzerland or Sweden have a higher percentage of foreign-born in their country than the UK (Alfano & al, 2016). Therefore, immigration trends have changed in the past

decades in the UK. For the public opinion, immigration has also evolved, and in 2015, it became one of the most important subjects of discussion for UK nationals.

### **2.2.2. Public opinion and immigration**

The UK public opinion has always supported a diminution of immigration numbers – even when the numbers of immigrants arriving was low such as in the 1960's –, but as the number of migrants arrival increased, so did the idea that immigration was one of the most important problems faced by UK (Blinder & Allen, 2016). The public opinion in the UK is more concerned about immigration compared to the European average: “while 35% of UK citizens believe that immigration is one of the two most important issues facing their country, this is the case only for 23% on EU average” (Alfano & al, 2016: 3). Public opinion in the UK is also more in favour of fewer immigrants' arrival than in other European countries (German Marshall Fund, 2013 *in* Blinder & Allen, 2016). Also, another interesting point is that the UK public opinion focus on asylum seekers when thinking of immigrants: “A majority of the British public says that asylum seekers come to mind when they think of ‘immigrants’, while fewer than a third say that they think of students in the same context“(Blinder 2014 *in* Blinder & Allen, 2016: 7). Finally, when the UK public opinion was able to differentiate between legal and ‘illegal’ immigration, a vast majority said that they were more worried about ‘illegal’ immigration and that policies should focus on reducing mostly ‘illegal’ immigration (Blinder & Allen, 2016).

Immigration has been an important issue in many debates. In 2015/2016, immigration was even one of the main issues concerning the debates around Brexit: “that lack of economic argument in favour of Brexit, which should have been the key battleground in the run up to the referendum, led the debate to focus on one particular issue, immigration” (Alfano et al, 2016: 2). The slogan of the Leave campaign ‘Take back control’ was a great example of the sentiment by certain UK nationals that the country was ‘loosing’ its sovereignty. This idea of taking back control was mostly used to discuss about topics on immigration (Gietel-Basten, 2016). The discourse of politicians wanting to leave the European Union focused a lot on immigration, but the newspapers also made immigration one of the most important issue of the Brexit debate, increasing already existing tensions towards migrants: “tabloid stories of migrants (whether EU citizens or not; and whether true or not) having ‘lots of children’ and ‘jumping the queue’ for housing stoke these tensions“(Gietel-Basten, 2016: 674). The debate around Brexit

made migrants the new scapegoat. The Leave campaign offered a pessimistic vision of the future if staying with Europe and that “uncontrolled migration” would ruin UK’s future if the country does not ‘take back control” (Gietel-Basten, 2016). After the Brexit referendum, immigration stayed an important subject in public debate. Therefore, when the French authorities dismantled the ‘Jungle’ of Calais, it made major news in the UK where the fear of the ‘other’ could be found in newspapers and political discourses (Ibrahim & Howarth, 2016).

### **2.2.3. Immigration and politicians**

In the decade preceding the dismantling of the ‘Jungle’ of Calais, the UK political class was characterized by a mitigated discourse towards immigration. During the election campaign of 2010, David Cameron promised to reduce net immigration “from the hundreds of thousands to the tens of thousands” (Salt and Dobson, 2013 *in* Blinder & Allen, 2016: 7). When the Conservatives won the elections, the immigration policies were remarkably restrictive and hard-line (Partos & Bale, 2015). Mark Harper, who was Minister of State for Immigration from 2012 to 2014, found itself in a controversy during the advertising campaign of 2013 where his campaign vans had posters saying ‘go home’ that were targeted at irregular migrants (Partos & Bale, 2015). Harper had to resign in 2014 when it was revealed that he was employing an irregular migrant as a housekeeper. James Brokenshire, who succeeded Harper, condemned in his first ministerial speech “elites employing foreign nationals as nannies, cleaners and tradespeople, when British citizens were without jobs” (Partos & Bale, 2015). Theresa May, Home Secretary from 2010 to 2016, announced crackdown after crackdown hoping to meet the government’s target of reducing net immigration (Partos & Bale, 2015).

Therefore, during the Conservative years preceding the dismantling of the ‘Jungle’ of Calais, the discourse towards immigration was hostile. We observed a similar trend in the discourse of the public opinion which was seeing immigration as the biggest concern facing the UK. But not every politician agreed with the discourse of the government and some members of the UK Parliament challenged that discourse and even had an impact on the situation in Calais through the implementation of regulations and amendment.



### **2.3. Policies affecting the ‘Jungle’ of Calais**

In Calais, many policies impacted the camps and the life of migrants. In this section, we mention three policies that are important to understand the situation in Calais. Those policies were also mentioned in the articles that were sampled from the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian*. Therefore, it is worth explaining those policies in order to better understand our analysis.

#### **2.3.1. The Dublin Regulation**

“The Dublin Regulation or Regulation 343/2003 allocates the responsibility of Member States for the assessment of individual asylum applications within the EU. It allows Member States to transfer an asylum seeker to another Member State if this latter state is considered responsible according to one of the so-called Dublin criteria” (Brouwer, 2013). With the Dublin Regulation, asylum seekers were registered in the European fingerprint database that allowed authorities to identify asylum seekers (Reinisch, 2015). But as the number of migrants in southern Europe increased, the Mediterranean countries became reluctant to register the fingerprints of migrants because it would make them accountable for more asylum applications (Reinisch, 2015). With the pressure of southern European countries and the mediatization of the Sangatte camps in Calais, Dublin II – that followed the first Dublin Regulation – made it possible for a Member State to take responsibility of an asylum seeker, even if he was registered in another Member State (Reinisch, 2015). Thus, an asylum seeker who had family ties in another Member State could now join its family under Dublin II, even if the country was not its entry point in the EU (Reinisch, 2015). In the ‘Jungle’ of Calais, the Dublin Regulation became an important source of debate since the migrants in the camp were not registered in France as the majority had come through Italy or Greece.

#### **2.3.2. Le Touquet Treaty**

On February 4, 2003, France and Britain signed a treaty in the city of Le Touquet that provided for the “creation of control zones in commercial ports from which there is sea travel between the two states” (Bernard, 2004: 6). In those control zones, officials of Britain have the right to enforce their immigration law, meaning that the arrest, the detention and the expulsion of migrants in an irregular situation are permitted (Bernard, 2004). Le Touquet Treaty also mentions that the State of departure is “responsible for applications for asylum or other forms of international protection which are made at

immigration control or otherwise prior to departure” (Bernard, 2004: 6). Even though the initial intention of Le Touquet Treaty was to have immigration controls at Calais and Dunkerque – for the British – and Dover – for the French –, it can be implemented between any sea route that connects France and Britain (Bernard, 2004).

### **2.3.3. Dubs Amendment**

In early 2016, the Member of the UK Parliament Lord Dubs launched a campaign to pressure the UK government into helping unaccompanied children that are stuck in refugee camps across Europe by offering them a safe and legal route to the UK (McLaughlin, 2018). Therefore, in June 2016, the Dubs amendment, or Section 67 of the Immigration Act 2016 leave, was implemented into the UK legislation. Thus, the Dubs amendment states that: “1. The Secretary of State must, as soon as possible after the passing of this Act, make arrangements to relocate to the United Kingdom and support a specified number of unaccompanied refugee children from other countries in Europe. 2. The number of children to be resettled under subsection (1) shall be determined by the Government in consultation with local authorities. 3. The relocation of children under subsection (1) shall be in addition to the resettlement of children under the Vulnerable Persons Relocation Scheme” (Section 67 of the Immigration Act 2016 leave, 2016: 6). In the ‘Jungle’ of Calais, the Dubs amendment played a big role during the dismantling of the camps, especially in debates between politicians or in public discourses such as in newspapers.

## **2.4. The *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian***

### **2.4.1. The *Daily Mail***

The *Daily Mail* is a right-leaning tabloid founded in 1896 (Stonebraker, Nisar & Abdelhamid, 2015). Tabloid newspapers – often differentiated with broadsheet newspapers – are characterised by: “sensationalist news style and blurring of boundaries between private and public, politics and entertainment, as well as by a partisan political engagement, a celebrity-orientated and sexualised news agenda and the use of cheque-book journalism and paparazzi coverage” (Johansson, 2007 in Butsch, 2007: 83). After *The Sun*, the *Daily Mail* is the second highest selling daily tabloid newspaper in the UK with a circulation of 2,042,453 in 2009 (Ikon, 2016). The readerships of tabloid newspapers are different than the broadsheet newspapers.

Around 80% of the readers of tabloid newspapers belong to the working classes (Bell, 1991 *in* Ikon, 2016).

#### **2.4.2. The Guardian**

*The Guardian* is a left-leaning broadsheet founded in 1821 (Stonebraker et al, 2015). Compared to tabloid newspapers, broadsheet newspapers are “generally more likely to cover news about politics, economics, and foreign news (Bignell, 2002 *in* Ikon, 2016). *The Guardian*’s circulation is lower than the *Daily Mail*, with a daily circulation of 302,000 in 2009 (Ikon, 2009). Compared to tabloid newspapers, around 80% of the readers of broadsheet newspapers are part of the middle class (Bell, 1991 *in* Ikon, 2016). Therefore, for our analysis, we used two newspapers that are very different: tabloid vs. broadsheet, right-leaning vs. left-leaning and mostly working class readers vs. mostly middle class readers.

### **3. Theoretical Framework**

The following section presents the different approaches, concepts, theories and methods used in the thesis. We will start by presenting the approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) that served as a foundation for our methodology. Then, we will look at the concepts of ‘discourse’, ‘ideology’, ‘critique’ and ‘power’ that are all crucial concepts in our research. Afterwards, we will present the theory of agenda setting developed by McCombs and Shaw (1972). This will be followed by the intergroup threat theory developed by Stephan & Stephan (2000), and finally, we will explain the method of frame analysis that was used to develop our own method.

#### **3.1. Critical Discourse Analysis**

##### **3.1.1. Definition**

Before the 1970’s, sociolinguistic researchers were more focused on explaining how language varied or changed but there was limited research on questions of social hierarchy and power (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). It is only in the 1970’s that scholars started recognizing the function of language in shaping power relations in society (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). It is in this evolution of social sciences that CDA is going to grow in importance and at the end of the 1980’s, CDA became a well-established approach in social sciences (Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

Concerning the definition of CDA, there exists no single definition of CDA but all of them rely on similar themes and concepts. Thus, T. A. van Dijk defines CDA as a “type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (Tannen, Schiffrin & Hamilton, 1998: 352). Similarly, Norman Fairclough defines CDA as an academic discipline that contributes to elucidate how “discourse is related to other social elements (power, ideologies, institutions, etc.) and offering critique of discourse as a way into wider critique of social reality” (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018: 13). Finally, Ruth Wodak (2001: xxi) describes CDA as characterised by “the common interests in demystifying ideologies and power through the systematic and retroductable investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken or visual). Therefore, CDA is a critical approach that focuses on specific concepts such as power, ideology, domination and inequality.

CDA – compared to other approaches in social sciences – is aware of its role in society and rejects the idea of a ‘value-free’ science (Tannen, Schiffrin & Hamilton, 1998). As explained by T. A. van Dijk, CDA research “combines what perhaps somewhat pompously used to be called ‘solidarity with the oppressed’ with an attitude of opposition and dissent against those who abuse text and talk in order to establish, confirm or legitimate their abuse of power [...] CDA defends its own socio-political position” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 96).

### **3.1.2. CDA as a multidisciplinary approach**

As it is the case for a fixed definition of CDA, there are also no fixed methods, theories and categories in CDA (Wodak, 2001). There is no ‘magic method’ that you can simply apply while researching a social problem. CDA is a multidisciplinary approach with many directions (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). For T. A. van Dijk, CDA does not “provide a ready-made, how-to-do approach to social analysis, but emphasizes that for each study a thorough theoretical analysis of a social issue must be made, so as to be able to select which discourse and social structure to analyse and to relate” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 98). Another important point in CDA is that there exists thousands of analytical units, strategies, dimensions, etc. in order to analyse a discourse (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Therefore, having a ‘complete’ discourse analysis of even a short passage would ask months of works and hundreds of pages (Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

Thus, it is important to choose methods, theories, analytical units, etc. that are adapted to our research.

### **3.1.3. CDA in our research**

After looking at the many aspects of CDA, we can conclude that this approach is adapted to our research. Our discourse analysis focuses on the situation of migrants in Calais while the camps are being dismantled. We analyse the discourse of newspapers – in a situation of power – that describe the situation of the migrants in the camps, who are in a vulnerable position. We also compare the ideologies of the two newspapers where we deconstruct them in order to better understand their discourses and positioning on migrants and the dismantling of the camps. Thus, our research focuses on concepts that are recurrent in CDA such as discourse, power, ideology, etc. In the next section, we will elaborate more on some of those concepts.

## **3.2. Concepts**

### **3.2.1. Discourse**

In social sciences, there is no common definition of discourse. In our research, we focus on the definition of discourse provided by CDA. For T. A. van Dijk (1987: 8), discourse can be defined as a “complex unit of linguistic form, meaning, and action that might best be captured under the notion of a communicative event or communicative act”. This means that a conversation, a courtroom session of a trial, a classroom lesson, a meeting etc. are all examples of such complex communicative events (van Dijk, 1987). In our research, we focus on written discourse. The interactional nature of written discourse is less evident where the writer, the text and the reader are not involved in a spatiotemporally distinguishable situation (van Dijk, 1987). But writers construct meanings that are supposed to be understood by the readers, that can explicitly address the readers, cause reactions, etc. and therefore, in written communication “writers and readers are engaged in a form of sociocultural practice” (van Dijk, 1987: 9).

But discourse has also other properties. For example, as explained by T. A. van Dijk, discourse can embody a social relation like domination, power or resistance (Zapata-Barrero & Yalaz, 2018). This property of discourse can have an impact on society in general and can affect the situation of vulnerable groups. T. A. van Dijk explains the impact of discourse on immigration: “news reports, editorials, parliamentary debates, laws, or everyday conversations are among the many discourse genres that

may be about migration in general, and related phenomena, such as migrants (Them), autochthonous peoples (US) causes of migration, integration, xenophobia, discrimination, racism, immigration policies, and so on, in particular” (Zapata-Barrero & Yalaz, 2018: 230). Thus, discourse is more than just a communicative act since it can influence and shape the ideology and life of individuals.

### 3.2.2. Ideology

In CDA, ideology is an important concept to consider. T. A. van Dijk (2006a: 729) defines an ideology as the “foundation of the social representations shared by a social group”. Ideology also faces many assumptions. In *Ideology and discourse analysis* (2006b), T. A. van Dijk enumerates four recurring assumptions: the *first* assumption is that ideologies are a form of belief systems. But this implies that ideologies do not carry societal structures – e.g. political parties, churches – or ideological practices (van Dijk, 2006b). *Secondly*, ideologies cannot be private or personal. Therefore ideologies are socially shared by the members of a community of social actors (van Dijk, 2006b). *Thirdly*, ideologies are not any form of socially shared beliefs – e.g. social attitudes – but they are more fundamental. For example, a racist ideology may manage attitudes about immigration and in this way, ideologies have an abstract nature (van Dijk, 2006b). *Fourthly*, ideologies are gradually acquired and sometime they can evolve through life and therefore, they need to be sufficiently stable. “One does not become pacifist, feminist, racist or socialist overnight, nor does one change one’s basic ideological outlook in a few days” (van Dijk, 2006b: 116). It is by facing many experiences and discourses that there can be a change in the ideology (van Dijk, 2006b).

Ideologies also have an important social function. *First of all*, as we have seen above, they organize the social representations that are common to the members of ideological groups (van Dijk, 2006b). *Secondly*, ideologies are the ultimate foundation of the discourses and social practices “of the members of social groups as group members” (van Dijk, 2006b: 117). *Thirdly*, ideologies enable members to organize their common actions and interactions in order to achieve the goals of the group as a whole (van Dijk, 2006b). *Fourthly*, they “function as the part of the sociocognitive interface between social structures (conditions, etc.) of groups on the one hand, and their discourses and other social practices on the other hand” (van Dijk, 2006b: 117).

Another point that is essential to consider is that ideologies can legitimate domination, they can be constructed around the idea of resisting domination or they can

have other functions – e.g. guidelines of professional behaviour in academia (van Dijk, 2006b). Ideologies are usually linked with classes, social groups, communities, etc. and they represent their fundamental interests (van Dijk, 2006a). For dominant groups, ideology can act as a legitimization of power abuse (van Dijk, 2006a). For our research, it is thus crucial to understand and analyze the ideologies of *The Guardian* and the *Daily Mail* in order to see if their discourse legitimate – or not – domination.

Also, for T. A. van Dijk (2006a: 734), an ideology relies on what he calls the ideological square, which can be resumed in four points:

- Emphasize **Our** good things
- Emphasize **Their** bad things
- De-emphasize **Our** bad things
- De-emphasize **Their** good things.

Finally, concerning the mainstream right ideology and immigration, it is often characterized as being more critical of immigration and/or having anti-immigrant sentiments (Alonso & Fonseca, 2011). Therefore, we can expect the *Daily Mail* to have a similar ideology concerning migration. Regarding the mainstream left ideology and immigration, it is more often characterized as having universalist principles such as egalitarianism and solidarity, and thus, it is seen as more open and favourable to immigration (Alonso & Fonseca, 2011). Therefore, we can expect *The Guardian* to have a similar ideology regarding migration.

### 3.2.3. Critique

The concept of “critique” – that is intrinsic to CDA – can be comprehended differently. Some scholars follow the definition of the Frankfurt school, others to Marx’s concept or some to a notion of literary criticism (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). In summary, the concept of critique can be defined as “having distance to the data, embedding the data in the social, talking a political stance explicitly, and a focus on self-reflection as scholars doing research” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 9).

For Ruth Wodak (2001), it is possible to distinguish three interrelated concepts: critical, criticism and critique. First of all, the critical analysis of discourse can “imply to make the implicit explicit” (Wodak, 2001: xxiv). To elaborate a bit more, this means that the relationship between discourse, power and ideology should be made explicit and that they should not be taken for granted (Wodak, 2001). Secondly, criticism – or being

critical – in CDA means to be self-reflective and self-critical (Wodak, 2001). Thus, the researcher should not only be critical but also criticize itself. Thirdly, critical analysis is a practice that can lead to social change (Wodak, 2001). The research system – and therefore CDA – is dependent on social structures and researchers, philosophers, scientists, etc. are not external to the societal hierarchy but they are part of it (Wodak, 2001). Researchers occupy high positions in society and it is important for researchers to be aware that their “own work is driven by social, economic and political motives, like any other academic work, and that they are not in any superior position (Wodak, 2001: xxvi).

#### **3.2.4. Power**

Power is also a concept that is crucial to CDA since it mostly focuses on how those who have power use language and how it (re)produces social domination (Wodak, 2001). Typically, researchers are focusing on how there is power abuse by one group over others and how groups that are dominated try to resist this power abuse (Wodak, 2001). For T. A. van Dijk (1993), power includes control – by members of one group – over other groups. This control can be active (where a powerful group can restrict the freedom of actions of others) and it can be cognitive (where the powerful group can influence the minds of others) (van Dijk, 1993). For T. A. van Dijk (1993), the ‘modern’ form of power that is cognitive is also the most effective form of power. Cognitive power can influence the mind of individuals by persuasion, manipulation, dissimulation and other strategic ways (van Dijk, 1993). This form of power is where CDA comes in. For CDA researchers, it is important to analyze the discursive strategies that legitimate control (van Dijk, 1993).

Power is generally organized and institutionalized (van Dijk, 1993). When a group detains social dominance in society, it can be supported or “condoned by other group members, sanctioned by the courts, legitimated by laws, enforced by the police, and ideologically sustained and reproduced by the media or text-book” (van Dijk, 1993: 255). Thus, the two newspapers of our research – *The Guardian* and the *Daily Mail* – both detain a relatively high amount of cognitive power in the United Kingdom and studying their discourse is relevant.



### **3.3. Agenda setting**

The theory of agenda setting was developed by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1972. They argue that the mass media pays attention on certain issues and that they are continuously presenting objects advocating what individuals should know about, think about and have feelings about (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). McCombs and Shaw (1972: 176) resume very well the agenda setting theory in a few sentences: "In choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given issue, but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. In reflecting what candidates are saying during a campaign, the mass media may well determine the important issues – that is, the media may set the "agenda" of the campaign".

In their first article, McCombs and Shaw put a lot of emphasis on the relation between mass media and politicians, but agenda setting can also be influenced by the ideology of the newspaper. It is by emphasizing certain topics, by putting them on the lead page, by having large headlines for certain topics, etc. that the mass media sets the agenda for the public (McCombs, 2000). Agenda setting is also more than just paying extra attention to particular topics. The media also influences our comprehension and perspective on the topics in the news (McCombs, 2000). When mass media focus on a public issue, some aspects are emphasized and the issue is described in a particular way that suits the agenda of the news media (McCombs, 2000). Thus, the agenda setting of mass media influences public opinion and can have a negative impact on certain public issues such as immigration. As we will see in the next theory, mass media can construct a threat discourse on certain topics such as immigration.

### **3.4. Intergroup threat theory**

Intergroup threat theory was first developed by Walter Stephan and Cookie Stephan in 2000 where they suggested that anxiety can emerge between different groups in society. This anxiety between the in-group and out-group can transform into four types of threat: realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). In 2016, Seate and Mastro went further and applied the theory to mass media and immigration. They have demonstrated that being exposed to threatening characterization of racial/ethnic groups can affect the perception amid both out-group and in-group audiences, and as a consequence, this threatening

characterization can have negative repercussions for intergroup relations (Seate & Mastro, 2016).

In their research, Seate and Mastro (2016) enumerate three recurrent threats that we can find in mass media concerning racial and ethnic groups: the first threat is the *physical threat*. In mass media, racial and ethnic minorities are often under-represented but they are often over-represented in content where there is a negative intergroup implications as, for example, crime news reports (Seate & Mastro, 2016). “The news informs us that minorities are a physical threat, specifically to majority group members” (Seate & Mastro, 2016: 196). The second threat is *economic threat*. From an Intergroup threat perspective, an economic threat signifies that the wealth and financial security of a group is in danger – e.g. competition for jobs, burden for the social system, etc. (Seate & Mastro, 2016). As it is the case for the physical threat, ethnic and racial groups are often associated with economic threat where they are for example seeing as being costly for the welfare system (Seate & Mastro, 2016). Finally, the third threat is the *symbolic threat*. Thus, “symbolic threats refer to challenges to a social group’s system of meaning such as their language, values and religious customs” (Seate & Mastro, 2016: 196). This threat is common in popular media. For example, Conway et al. (2007) discovered that the Bill O’Reilly show in the United States of America continuously frames his news reports with segments about foreign citizens as a threat to US moral values and qualified undocumented migrants as dangerous for the US value systems such as liberty, democracy and safety (Seate & Mastro, 2016). In our research, Intergroup threat theory is thus a relevant theory since we focus on migrants who are often characterized negatively in mass media.

### **3.5. Frame Analysis**

Frames can be defined in many ways. In general, frames in media organize the world for the journalist who documents a social issue but also for the reader who depends on their reports (Gitlin, 1980). For Gitlin (1980: 7), media frames are defined as “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual”. Therefore, frames allow journalists to handle large quantity of information quickly and routinely (Gitlin, 1980). For Entman (1993: 52), to frame is to “select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation,

and/or treatment recommendation for the item described". Thus, frames define problems, they distinguish the forces producing the problem, they evaluate causal agents and their consequences, and finally, they provide and justify a 'remedy' for the problems and anticipate their possible effects (Entman, 1993).

Framing happens in various stages: First of all, there is the *frame-building* that refers to the "factors that influence the structural qualities of news frames" (de Vreese, 2005: 52). Those factors can be internal—e.g. editorials, news values, etc. – but also external to journalism (de Vreese, 2005). The second stage is *frame-setting*, that refers to "the interaction between media frames and individuals prior knowledge and predispositions" (de Vreese, 2005: 52). In this way, frames in the media can influence learning, understanding and evaluation of public issues (de Vreese, 2005). Finally, framing can lead to *individual consequences* and *societal consequences* (de Vreese, 2005). At the individual level, frames can transform the attitudes of the individual on an issue depending of the frames that were used (de Vreese, 2005). At a societal level, frames can shape social level processes such as collective actions, political socialization or decision making (de Vreese, 2005). The importance of frames in transforming the attitudes of individuals was demonstrated by the experience of Kahneman and Tversky (1984) where, by using different frames on a same story, the attitudes of the individuals changed drastically (Entman, 1993). Thus, "frames call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements, which might lead audiences to have different reactions" (Entman, 1993: 55).

Concerning the way of identifying frames in the news, it can be done by two different approaches. The first one is the *inductive approach*: frames appear from the material during the course of the analysis (de Vreese, 2005). But this approach has been criticized for being complicated to reproduce (de Vreese, 2005). Then, there is the *deductive approach*, where the researcher uses frames that are defined and operationalized before the investigation (de Vreese, 2005). Another point that is important to consider is to know what constitutes a frame in a news report. For Entman (1993: 52), the text "contains frames, which are manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgements". For Gamson and Modigliani (1989), identifying frames can be done by looking at five framing devices which are: "(1) metaphors, (2) exemplars, (3) catch-phrases, (4) depictions, and (5) visual images as framing devices" (de Vreese, 2005: 54). Thus, there exists many

ways of identifying frames. It is then essential for our method to justify how we identify frames in our news articles

## 4. Methodology

In the following section, we will focus on our methodology used for our research. First of all, we will describe our corpus. Then we will look at the framing method of Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) and Helbing (2014) that we relied on to construct our own method where both framing methods fall within the framework of CDA. Afterwards, we will explain the method we used for our research and finally, we will discuss our hypotheses.

### 4.1. Corpus

Our corpus is composed of 68 online articles from *The Guardian* and 83 online articles from the *Daily Mail*, which gives us a total of 151 articles. All the articles were retrieved between October 17, 2016 – one week before the dismantling of the migrant camps – and November 5 – two weeks after the start of the dismantling of the migrant camps. The articles were retrieved directly from the online archives of both newspapers by searching for the following keywords: “migrant”, “camps”, “jungle”, “Calais”, “dismantling”. Only the articles related to the migrant camps of Calais were retrieved. We suppressed from our sample all articles related to migration but with no link with the dismantling of the migrant camps in Calais. For *The Guardian*, 18 of the 68 articles are editorials and for the *Daily Mail*, nine out of the 86 are editorials.

Online articles were chosen instead of printed articles for two reasons. First of all, for a practical reason, it is complicated to have access to printed articles of *The Guardian* and the *Daily Mail*: it can be costly and it requests a lot of time. Secondly, online articles have a larger readership and therefore, they have a greater influence on society. For example, in 2018, *The Guardian* printed on average 230,000 daily newspapers but had a daily online reach average of 1,724,000 in the same year (Newsworks, 2018). This is similar for the *Daily Mail*, which printed on average 524,000 daily newspapers in 2018 but had a daily online reach average of 789,000 for the same year (Newsworks, 2018).

## **4.2. Semetko & Valkenburg framing method**

### **4.2.1. Summary of the research**

The research of Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) focused on 2,601 newspaper articles and 1,522 television news stories that were retrieved from May 1 to June 20, 1997. Their work focused on the “Eurotop” meetings held in Amsterdam where the heads of government of the EU countries were invited. The goal of their quantitative work was to see if their five frames – conflict, economic consequences, human interest, responsibility and morality -- varied between the different outlets (e.g. television vs the press, sensationalist vs broadsheet, etc.) and if the frames used by the media varied by topic (e.g. political issues, crime, etc.). Their findings were that “sober and serious newspapers and television news programs more often used the responsibility and conflict frames in the presentation of news, whereas sensationalist outlets more often used the human interest frame” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000: 93).

### **4.2.2. Explanation of the method**

As explained above, Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) developed five frames – that will be discussed in more detail in our method – in order to answer their research questions. To measure the degree to which some frames emerged in the news stories that mentioned politics, Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) elaborated a series of twenty questions with a yes or no answer. Each question was aimed to measure one of the frames developed by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000). For example, for the frame of responsibility, one of the questions was: “Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000: 100). For the frame of human interest, one of the questions was: “Does the story provide a human example or human face', on the issue? (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000: 100). For the frame of conflict, one of the questions was: “Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000: 100). For the frame of morality, one of the questions was: “Does the story contain any moral message?” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000: 100). And finally, for the economic frame, one of the questions was: “Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000: 100)<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> For the full list of questions, please see annex 1.

### **4.3. Helbing framing method**

#### **4.3.1. Summary of the research**

The research of Helbing (2014) focuses on the discourse of politicians on immigration during the period of 1996 to 2006 in Austria, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the UK. The reason for retrieving data on such a long period was to make sure that no specific event would distort the results (Helbing, 2014). All the data was retrieved from one quality newspaper for each country, e.g. *Le Monde* for France or *The Times* for the UK. By using seven inductive and deductive frames – nationalistic, multicultural, moral-universal, economic, labour and social security, security and pragmatic –, Helbing (2014) tries to see if the social and political environment has an influence on the choice of frames and if the ideological and practical constraints (left-right positions) play an important role. Helbing's results were that the "framing of immigration depends on the actors involved, and upon the circumstances governing the dispute. On the one hand, the actors' left-right positions and government involvement serve as relevant explanatory factors. And on the other hand, sub-issue specific opportunity structures prove important" (Helbing, 2014: 21). Helbing also finds out that nationalistic, economic and security frames are not the dominant frames as it could be suggested, but that the moral-universal frame is the one that is applied most often.

#### **4.3.2. Explanation of the method**

As explained above, Helbing (2014) used seven frames for its research (nationalistic frame and moral-universal frame will be explained in more detail in our method). Instead of focusing on questions for each frames, Helbing looked at core sentences<sup>2</sup> that can be attributed to each frame. Therefore, the core sentence method reduces each statement to a "common basic structure" (Helbing, 2014: 30). For example, for the nationalistic frame, some core sentences are: foreign infiltration, national identity, loss of traditions, avoid Islamisation, avoid flows of refugees and national sovereignty (Helbing, 2014). Then, to be able to compare the data across countries, Helbing categorized the national parties in six party groups: radical left, greens, social democrats, liberals, conservatives and populist right parties (Helbing, 2014).

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<sup>2</sup> To see the frames and the core sentences in more detail, please see annex 2.

#### 4.4. Our method

Our method is deductive. In a frame analysis of news, a deductive approach is defined as “predefining certain frames as content analytic variables to verify the extent to which these frames occur in the news” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000: 94). In the literature, there exist a great amount of news frames and therefore, as a researcher, it is necessary to justify the frames that are investigated. In our method, we have decided to combine frames from Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) and Helbing (2014). For Semetko & Valkenburg (2000), we have decided to investigate the conflict frame, the human interest frame, the economic consequence frame and the responsibility frame. The reason we chose those four frames is that they are frequently found in the news and that they are relevant to study issues related to migration (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). For Helbing (2014), we have decided to investigate the nationalistic frame and the moral-universal frame. The reason we chose those two frames in addition to our four frames from Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) is that our research question also focuses on the ideological position of *The Guardian* and the *Daily Mail*. As described by Helbing (2014), the nationalistic frame is more present in the discourse of the right and the far right while the moral-universal frame is more attributed to the discourse of the left. Therefore, using the nationalistic and moral-universal frame of Helbing (2014) will enable us to distinguish more easily the ideology of *The Guardian* and the *Daily Mail*.

Hence, our method consists of six frames. In order to investigate our frames, we will apply the framing measures of Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) that consist of a series of questions for each frame. In our method, we have thus used one question for each frame. Concerning the frame of conflict, human interest, economic consequence and responsibility, we have directly used a question from Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) and concerning the nationalistic and moral-universal frame, we have constructed our question by relying on the frame examples developed by Helbing (2014) (see annex 2 for a detailed description of the frame examples). The next section consists of a description and a question for each frame:

##### **Conflict frame:**

- Description: It “emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000: 95)
- Question: Does the article reflect disagreement between parties/individuals/groups?

**Human interest frame:**

- Description: “This frame brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem [...] Such a frame refers to an effort to personalize the news, dramatize or emotionalize the news, in order to capture and retain audience interest” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000: 95).
- Question: Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?

**Economic consequences frame:**

- Description: “This frame reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region, or country” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000: 96).
- Question: Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?

**Responsibility frame:**

- Description: “This frame presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to either the government or an individual or group” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000: 96).
- Question: Does the story suggest that some level of the government, an individual or a group is responsible for the issue?

**Nationalistic frame:**

- Description: Most often mobilized for the preservation of national boundaries and a culturally homogenous society, in order to uphold an exclusive national identity (Helbing, 2014).
- Question: Does the story emphasize on nationalistic themes, such as foreign infiltration, national identity, loss of traditions, avoiding Islamisation, avoiding flows of refugees or national sovereignty?

**Moral-Universal frame:**

- Description: “Moral-universal frames, is based on universal standards of justice, which can be accepted by everyone, regardless of a particular interest or cultural identity” (Helbing, 2014: 24).



- Question: Does the story emphasize on Universalist values and themes such as fairness, equality, human rights, freedom of opinion, rule of law or democracy?

#### 4.5. Hypotheses

For our research, we have two journals with different ideologies. Therefore, our first hypothesis is that the discourse of *The Guardian* and the *Daily Mail* concerning the dismantling of the migrant camps in Calais in October 2016 will be communicated differently, *The Guardian* giving a more humane image to the migrants in Calais and the *Daily Mail* having a more hostile discourse towards migrants.

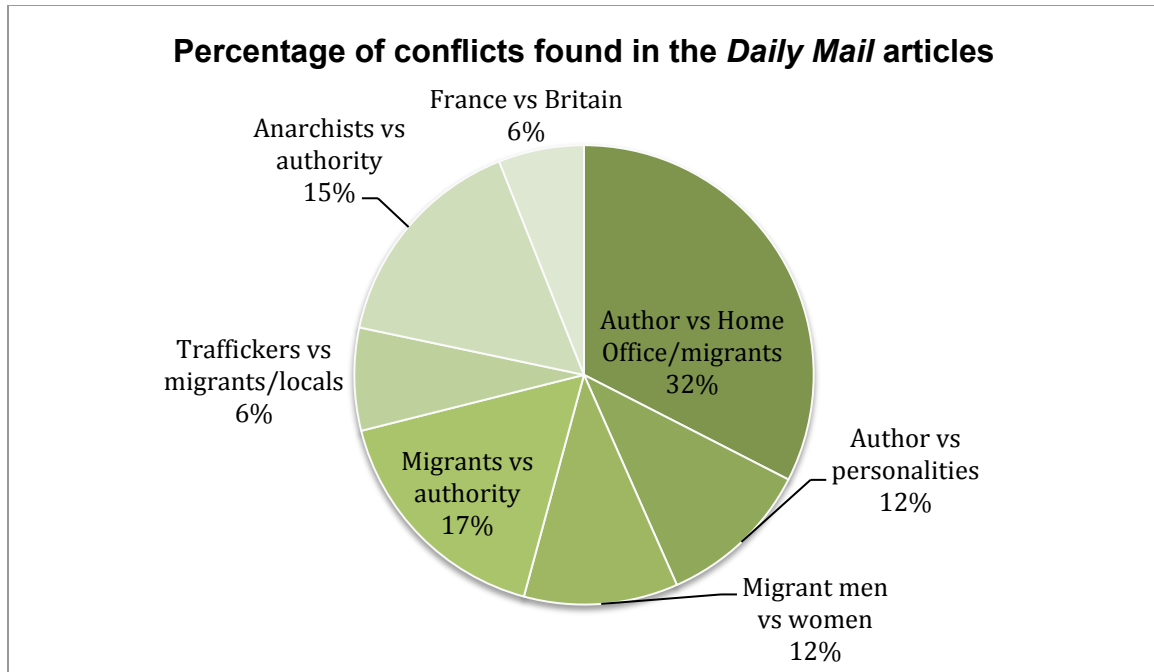
If the discourse of *The Guardian* and the *Daily Mail* differs on the migrant camps of Calais, then our second hypothesis is that they will frame the issues differently. Therefore, we will expect *The Guardian* to use more often the human interest frame, the responsibility frame and the moral-universal frame. Concerning the responsibility frame, we will expect *The Guardian* to blame the governments for the poor standards of the migrant camps. Regarding the *Daily Mail*, we expect the tabloid to use more often the conflict frame, the responsibility frame, the economic consequences frame, and the nationalistic frame. Regarding the responsibility frame, we expect the *Daily Mail* to blame migrants for the problems linked to the dismantling of the migrant camps in Calais.

## 5. Results

### 5.1 Conflict frame

#### The *Daily Mail*:

In our sample of 83 articles drawn from the *Daily Mail*, the conflict frame is the most used, with 60 articles (72.3%) having a conflict frame. We have found 7 conflicts in total and in some cases, up to 3 conflicts were used in the same article.



#### *Author vs Home Office/migrants*

The conflict that is the most framed in the *Daily Mail* is the author vs the Home Office/migrants (27 out of 83 articles). The subject of dispute is that the *Daily Mail* accused the Home Office of being too lenient/naïve concerning the age of the children brought through the Dubs Amendment. The newspaper argued that many of the ‘children’ brought to the UK were dishonest when they were over 18 and that the Home Office did not do enough checks to make sure that the asylum seekers were really children. For example, the following article title, “*They look older because war has toughened them up’: Home office claims Calais ‘child’ migrants have been aged by conflict as second wave arrive in the UK*” (Glanfield, 18/10/16), is a great example where the *Daily Mail* is ironical with the discourse of the Home Office. Later in the article, the newspaper cites multiple conservative politicians who disagree with the Home Office, such as David Davies who wrote: “*These don’t look like ‘children’ to me. I hope British hospitality is not being abused*” (Glanfield, 18/10/16). But the *Daily Mail* also accuses the migrants of being dishonest. For example, the following article title, “*Adults are pretending to be children’: Now even aid workers admit ‘Calais kids’ are LYING about their age*” (Stevens & Glanfield, 18/10/16) is a great example where migrants are portrayed as dishonest. The generalization “*Adults are pretending to be children*”, the word ‘lying’ in capital letter, the words ‘Calais kids’ in parentheses and finally, the main argument supported by aid workers – who are generally seen as defending migrants – is

a great example of how the *Daily Mail* constructs its discourse towards migrants who are brought through the Dubs amendment.

The *Daily Mail* also uses different ideological strategies. For example, when talking about migrants who are lying about their age, the newspaper uses a lexicon related to anxiety such as “*growing worries*”, “*more fear*”, “*dangers*”, etc. This negative lexicon emphasizes the negative-other representation and as the Intergroup threat theory could suggest, this negative lexicon accentuates intergroup anxiety where the migrant becomes a ‘threat’. Number game is another strategy used by the *Daily Mail* to support its argument. As explained by T. A. van Dijk (2006a: 738), “numbers and statistics are the primary means in our culture to persuasively display objectivity”. For the *Daily Mail*, statistics are used multiple times to criticize the efficiency of the Home Office: “*Since 2006 there have been 11,121 age disputes. Of those, 4,828 – or 43 per cent – were found to have been adults*” (Tonkin, 19/10/16). Finally, the use of examples is also another strategy used by the newspaper. For T. A. van Dijk (2006a: 737), “a powerful move in argumentation is to give concrete examples, often in the form of a vignette or short story, illustrating or making more plausible a general point defended by the speaker”. Thus, the *Daily Mail* rely on a few examples that they illustrate throughout the articles such as: “*one migrant in particular, wearing a blue hoodie with stubble on his chin, was rated by a facial recognition program as having the features of a 38-year-old*” (Martin, Drury & Greenhill, 18/10/16).

From all the conflicts, the author vs Home Office/migrants is the most talked about with almost a third – 32.5% – of the articles talking about this conflict. The blame is mostly put on the Home Office but the migrants are the one who are to be ‘feared’, especially young men. In one article, adult migrants posing as children constitute a threat for British citizens: “*Council chiefs have also warned of the risks of sex attacks in schools if adults posing as migrant children are allowed to enter Britain*” (Wright & Drury, 19/10/16). This argument is later reinforced by the use of an example: “*In one instance, an Afghan refugee who claimed to be just 12 was exposed to be lying after he assaulted a man looking after him. Following the attack, indecent images of children were allegedly found on his phone as well as records of visits to jihadi websites*” (Wright & Drury, 19/10/16). Comparisons with other countries are also used to reinforce the fear of young men: “*In Sweden, a care worker was murdered at a centre used to house 14 to 17-year-old asylum seekers. She had told her mother she was having to deal with ‘big powerful’ men in their 20s claiming to be children*” (Sergeant, 20/10/16). The fear of young men is

thus central in this conflict. As explained by R. Santos, Roque & S. Santos (2018: 459): "young men, and particularly those identified with a certain racial or cultural group or with the global South, are frequently represented in the media and in policy and political discourses as inherently problematic, associated with negative perceptions and threats to urban, national and international security".

### *Migrants vs authority*

The conflict migrants vs authority is the second most framed conflict in the *Daily Mail* articles which is being observed in 14 articles. In this conflict, the *Daily Mail* describes the riots that are happening in the camps by focusing more on the migrants than on the riot police. Migrants are thus described in negative words, often characterized as a dangerous group. One of the strategies used by the *Daily Mail* to portray migrants as dangerous is the adoption of a lexicon of violence and uncontrollability. As we can see in the next examples: "**Angry and frustrated migrants began smashing up the 'Jungle' in Calais**" (Fagge & Allen, 21/10/16), "**A 50-strong mob of frustrated young men threw missiles at the officers**" (Fagge & Davies, 22/10/16), "**Riot police were deployed to keep order among the young migrants pushing barriers at the makeshift camp while dozens jumped over railings**" (Thompson, Allen, Ledwith, 24/10/16), "**Police in riot gear formed a barricade as the frustrated migrants became agitated**" (Thompson, Allen, Ledwith, 24/10/16), migrants are seen as being dangerous and uncontrollable, and as we can see in the last example, there is even a need to control them by forming a barricade around them.

Another interesting point concerning the conflict of migrants vs authority is the use of a war lexicon. When reading about the conflict, there is a sentiment that the police is at war with migrants. The best example comes from the title of one of the articles: "**The battle of the Calais Jungle has begun: Police fire tear gas at mob of stone-throwing migrants**" (Fagge & Davies, 22/10/16). In this article, the *Daily Mail* considers the tensions between the police and the migrants as being literally a conflict. But this war lexicon is found in other articles. For example: "**hundreds of jeering migrants lined up, bellowing: 'Jungle no finish! Jungle no finish!' Two riot police officers were forced to seek shelter after being pelted with stones.**" (Murphy 23/10/16), "**It comes just hours after riot police came under attack from migrants with stones hurled at police and items set on fire**" (Keough, Cook & Fagge 23/10/16) or "**The vacant building's entrance and lobby**

was **damaged** in the **attack** which took place between Sunday night and Monday morning” (Keogh, Cook & Fagge, 24/10/16).

Finally, as we have seen in the conflict author vs Home Office/migrants, there is also a fear of young men portrayed as a physical threat. Thus, the *Daily Mail* mostly describes the migrants by saying “frustrated young men”, “groups of young men”, “young migrants”, etc. Also, this representation of young migrants as a physical threat can also be related to the intergroup threat theory where minorities – in this case migrants – are more often presented as a physical threat to the majority group member. In sentences such as “*Tensions flared this morning when **several hundred migrants – predominantly young men – tried to force their way into a registration centre***” (Thompson, Allen & Ledwith 24/10/16), we have the physical threat of the migrants and especially young male migrants.

#### *Anarchists vs authority*

The conflict anarchists vs authority is the third most framed conflict in the *Daily Mail* articles and was observed 13 times. The conflict concerns the British organization No Border and the police. In their articles, they qualify No Border as being “left-wing”, “anarchists” and “extremist”. As it is the case for the conflict migrants vs authority, the newspaper uses a war lexicon when talking about No Border: “*French riot police were last night preparing for **battle** against No Border activists based in Britain who are feared to have **infiltrated** the camp*” (Thompson, Allen & Ledwith 24/10/16), “*One activist, calling herself ‘River’, said: ‘Lots of us will be going down to Calais to block the evictions.’ She said that there would, very likely, be **fighting** with the police.*” (Reid, 25/10/16). Therefore, the conflict here is emphasizing more on the actions of No Border rather than the police where the *Daily Mail* describes them in negative words.

#### *Migrant men vs women*

The conflict migrant men vs women is the fourth most framed conflict in the *Daily Mail*, appearing in nine articles. In this conflict, male migrant are seen as a threat to women, especially as sexual predators. Therefore, four out of the ten articles are about a French journalist who was raped by three migrant men in the Calais camps, two out of the ten articles are about an Ethiopian female migrant who was raped by five male migrants in the Calais camps, one article is about a migrant women in Calais who explained that she was raped by multiple men in Italy, and finally, two articles collected

interviews of French citizens fearing that Calais male migrants will be a threat to local women.

While there is a need of media coverage concerning sexual violence, it is also important for newspapers to report it more objectively. In newspapers, physical violence and criminality committed by minorities are more often portrayed than when they are committed from the majority group (Seate & Mastro, 2016). Newspapers can also fall easily into generalizations. As explained by T. A. van Dijk (2006a: 737), negative generalization can “formulate prejudices about generalized negative characteristics of immigrants”. In the *Daily Mail*, they do generalizations when talking about young migrant men: “It [the ‘Jungle’ of Calais] became notorious for a range of crimes during the past few years, including rapes and other sexual assaults” (Allen & Thompson, 27/10/16).

Those generalizations about young migrant men as ‘sexual predators’ are also supported by the fears of French residents who receive Calais migrants into their locality: “*One angry resident had to be restrained during a confrontation at a public meeting held to discuss the new arrivals when he shouted: ‘What will you do when someone rapes our daughters?’* (Simons, 27/10/16), “*We are not against the arrival of migrants, but against the arrival of young men [...] what will they do? My 15-year-old daughter just went on a horse ride alone. After this, that sort of thing is over*” (Reid, 28/10/16). As explained by R. Santos et al (2018: 465), mass media can often depict “young male refugees as threats to the West’s culture and way of life, by portraying them as disrespecting women’s rights and the culture of secularism in Europe”.

#### *Author vs personalities*

The conflict ‘author vs personalities’ is framed in 9 articles of the *Daily Mail*. This conflict involves disputes concerning the migrant camps in Calais between the author and specific personalities. Five of the articles concern the singer Lily Allen and four of the articles concern the sports broadcaster Gary Lineker. In some cases, there is a whole article dedicated to the conflict while in other; only a paragraph mentions the conflict. Both of the conflicts criticize Lily Allen and Gary Lineker, calling them naïve for defending migrants in Calais. For Lily Allen, she is mostly criticized for having said that she was ashamed of Britain after visiting the camps in Calais and Gary Lineker is mostly criticized for a tweet where he denounced the racist and ‘utterly heartless’ treatment of refugees because some medias and politicians question the age of children coming through the Dubs amendment.

### *Traffickers vs migrants/local*

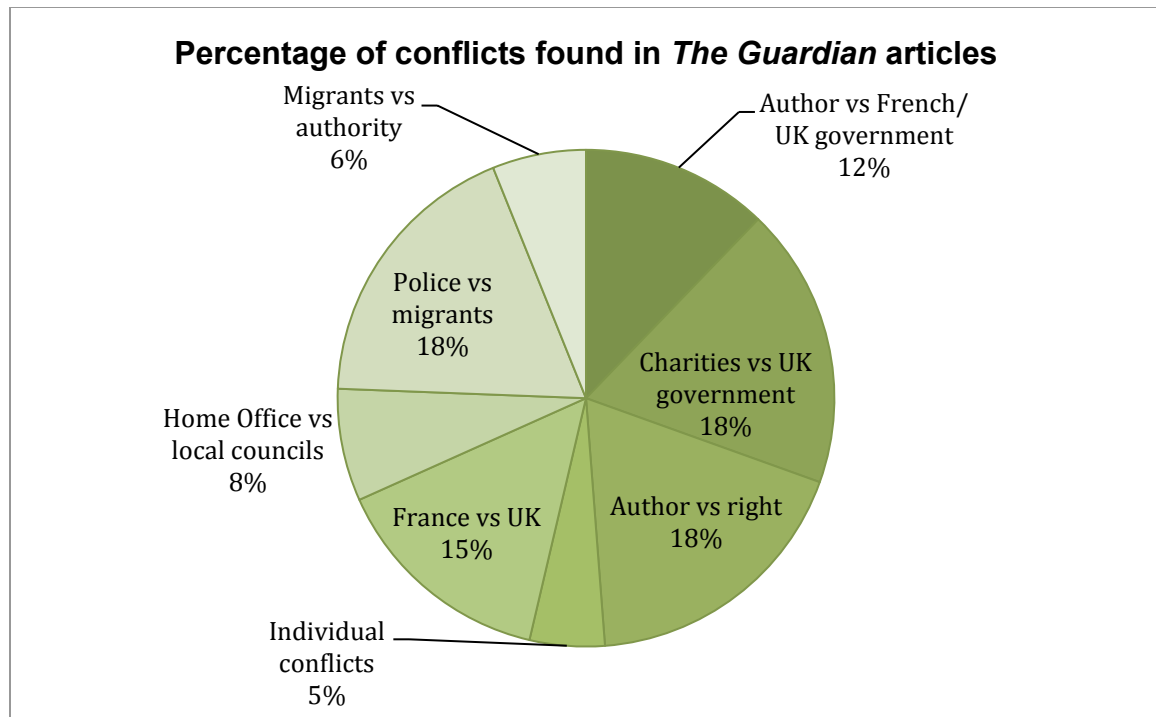
The conflict traffickers vs migrants/locals is framed 6 times in the *Daily Mail* articles. Here the conflict concerns traffickers attacking migrants in five of the articles and in one of the articles the traffickers attack locals. In all the articles, traffickers are described as dangerous such as: “*People traffickers have gone to extreme lengths in Calais, with reports of trucks being torched, petrol bombs thrown and trees being cut down to block roads before drivers are threatened with chainsaws and machetes*” (Curtis, 17/10/16) and in one case, the *Daily Mail* uses a sensationalist title when talking about traffickers: “*Sudanese asylum seeker is stabbed to death by ‘lynch mob’ of 50 ‘drunk’ Eritrean people smugglers near Calais Jungle after he tried to flee to the UK*” (Fagge, 20/10/16).

### *France vs Britain*

Finally, the conflict France vs Britain is framed 5 times in the *Daily Mail* articles. This conflict is between the French and British governments where the French government asks Britain to welcome more unaccompanied migrant children and where Theresa May responds by explaining that Britain has already welcomed a great number of unaccompanied migrant children. This conflict in the *Daily Mail* is the least discussed one, appearing only one time as the main theme of an article. The four other times, it is just mentioned in a paragraph.

### **The Guardian:**

In our sample of 68 articles from *The Guardian*, the conflict frame is the most used with 56 (82.4%) articles having a conflict frame. We found a total of 8 conflicts where, in some cases, up to three conflicts were used in the same article.



#### *Author vs right*

The conflict author vs right is framed in 15 articles, making it the most framed conflict with two other conflicts: police vs migrants and charities vs French/UK government. In the conflict author vs right, *The Guardian* criticizes the right that do not believe the age of the unaccompanied children migrants and asks for a dental check or x-rays. In 8 out of the 15 articles, *The Guardian* criticizes the right-wing tabloids: “*Right-wing tabloids first used punctuation and then pictures to pour scorn on the ages of the youngsters brought to London from Calais this week, or “children” (inverted commas included) as they are known in the Sun and Mail*” (Martinson, 19/10/16). In two articles, *The Guardian* also uses examples and evidentiality to reinforce its point. For T. A. van Dijk (2006a: 736), evidentiality makes the claim more “plausible when speakers present some evidence or proof for their knowledge or opinions [...] they are intended to provoke empathy, of course such evidence must be supplied by the victims themselves”. For example, in the next sentence, the newspaper uses evidentiality to support its claim concerning vulnerable children: “*British tabloids have raged with skepticism about the ages of the children and the motivations of their parents, but over the course of numerous trips over the past year I met dozens of children aged between 8 and 16, who had spent months living in total squalor, hoping to join relatives in the UK*” (Gentleman, 28/10/16).



But *The Guardian* does not only criticize right-wing newspapers, it also criticizes right-wing politicians – especially the Tories – three out of the 15 articles criticizing their arguments. The newspaper criticized especially the comments made by the Member of Parliament David Davies where he suggested that children should have their teeth x-rayed and British hospitality should stop being abused. One of the ways *The Guardian* criticized the discourse of the right-wing politicians was by using irony. For T. A. van Dijk (2006a), irony is a strategy that makes the accusation not as direct and can make it more effective such as in the next example: *“Davies, would-be Teeth-Checker General, argues that people in Britain want to help children, “but we don’t want to be taken for a free ride”. He surely missed a trick here. While checking their teeth, we could also see if they own gold fillings and remove them. Or is that going a little too far? Is that a little too reminiscent of the unmentionable? Of course it is and Britain is a kind, caring nation. Fair, gentle, decent. We pride ourselves on these values. We claim them even as the gutter overflows with sulphurous racism dressed up as realism”* (Moore, 20/10/16). Finally, in four out of the 15 articles, *The Guardian* criticizes both the right-wing tabloids and the right-wing politicians, and more generally the discourse of the right concerning undocumented children coming through the Dubs amendment.

### *Police vs migrants*

The conflict police vs migrants is framed in 15 articles. In this conflict, *The Guardian* describes the tensions and violence that exist between the police and migrants. Compared to the *Daily Mail* that focuses mostly on the actions of the migrants, *The Guardian* focuses a lot on the actions of the police. Therefore, one of the aspects that *The Guardian* focuses on in many articles is the consequences of the intervention of the police on the migrants: *“Daynes added that he hoped the police would act “proportionately” when the main stage of camp demolition begins, “as our medics regularly see refugees who’ve been injured, sometimes seriously, at their hands”* (Gentleman, 18/10/16), or: *“We saw all manner of minor traumas: burns from the endless fires in camp; bruising; stab-wounds and broken bones from fights either between residents of the camp, or between residents and the CRS, the French riot police”* (Falconer, 28/10/16) or finally: *“Volunteers collected accounts of tear-gassing of children and documented cases of children hit by rubber bullets shot by riot police”* (Gentleman, 28/10/16).

Therefore, riot police can be dangerous for migrants and this argument is reinforced by the lexicon of violence that is present in many articles: “A *protest held at the entrance to the camp by some of the refugees was **brutally dispersed** by police using **teargas** and **rubber bullets**” (Domokos, 19/10/16), or: “Police units emerged in **force** with riot **shields**, **teargas** and **taser guns** and began to **kettle** the group, **pressing** them into a side street in an industrial estate” (O’Carroll, Gentleman & Travis, 27/10/16).*

Finally, *The Guardian* also attenuates the actions of migrants by using the syntactic process of passivisation. Thus, passivisation is when a sentence is changed from an active form to a passive form. In that way, passivisation can “serve to attribute more or less blame to particular ‘actors in any story’” (Bax, 2018: 142). For example, in the title: “*Calais camp **hit** by riots as remaining refugees prepare to be removed*” (Gentleman, 1/11/16), the migrants are even absent from the title and their actions become passive. In the next sentence: “*The French interior ministry has warned that police officers “might be forced to intervene” if **faced** with resistance*” (Townsend, 23/10/16), the newspaper uses the same process in order to minimize the actions of migrants.

#### *Charities vs UK government*

The conflict Charities vs UK government is framed in 15 articles. In this conflict, *The Guardian* explains how the charities that are working in the camps in Calais disagree with the actions of the UK government. By using the discourse of charities that are often recognized international organizations, the newspaper uses the argumentation of authority. For T. A. van Dijk (2006a: 735), mentioning authorities – such as charities – can reinforce an argument since authorities are “generally recognized experts or moral leaders”.

Therefore, one of the arguments of the charities is that the UK government should bring more unaccompanied children. The charities condemn especially the Home Office. In one article, they even explain that “*lawyers for the charity Help Refugees have begun legal proceedings against the Home Office, arguing that ministers misapplied the Immigration Act under which the government was obliged to take some children into the UK*” (Elgot, 20/10/11). What the charities refer exactly to is section 67 of the Immigration Act, mostly known as the Dubs amendment.

A second argument of the charities is that by not respecting the Dubs amendment, UK government left the unaccompanied children in a vulnerable situation. For example the charities criticize how the UK government was not prepared for accommodating unaccompanied children and as a consequence, some child refugees had to remain in detention center when arriving in the UK. They also explain that children are left in a vulnerable situation in the camp as we can see from the interview of a UNICEF UK worker: *“The UK made a commitment to bring those children with a legal right to be here and agreed with the French authorities that the demolition must not begin until every child is safe. We’ve seen the home secretary achieve real progress by bringing some of the vulnerable children to the UK, but there are hundreds more in Calais still waiting to reach safety and we cannot lose them now”* (Travis & O’Carroll, 25/10/16).

#### *France vs UK*

The conflict France vs UK is framed 12 times in the articles. In this conflict, there are tensions between the French and the UK government concerning the dismantling of the Calais camps. Concerning the French side, *The Guardian* differentiates the discourse of the right-wing politicians in France who prefer to re-write the *Le Touquet Agreement* and move the UK border from Calais to Kent, and the left-wing politicians who are more cautious on this topic and prefer Britain to take more refugees. The French left-wing politicians also accuse the UK of using the bilateral agreement as a way of refusing to take more refugees.

In response, the UK rejects the suggestions of France by saying: *“This is a longstanding bilateral agreement that works for both sides. We would expect to see it continue”* (Asthana & Chrisafis, 21/10/16). The UK also criticizes the French government for wanting them to take every unaccompanied child refugees before the demolition of the camps, but the UK explains that this is impossible because the British officials have to do case-by-case examinations, which takes a lot of time.

*The Guardian* does not take an explicit position on the debate, but out of the 12 articles, only two give a voice to the UK government, one gives a voice to both governments, one gives a voice to the French right-wing politicians, one to French left and right-wing politicians, and finally, seven articles give a voice to left-wing politicians where even one article is written by Bernard Cazeneuve who was Minister of Interior at the time and a member of the French Socialist Party. Therefore, *The Guardian* gives

more voice to the French-socialist politicians, which we can suppose that they do feel closer to ideologically.

#### *Author vs French/UK government*

The conflict author vs French/UK government is framed in ten articles. For nine out of the ten articles, *The Guardian* accuses both French and UK governments of turning their back to migrant children. For example, when *The Guardian* talks about the low numbers of children brought to the UK, the newspaper responds by saying that: “*this imposing record of resolute inaction suggests that the authorities on both sides of the channel really just want the refugees to disappear, and don’t care too much about how this happens, so long as it is not embarrassing*” (*The Guardian*, 17/10/11).

Therefore, the situation of migrant children in Calais is the main conflict that *The Guardian* has with both governments. But in one article, they also criticize the UK for being too bureaucratic and thus, making it more difficult for children: “*Unaccompanied children rarely arrive in the UK with identity papers. This statelessness exacerbates their vulnerability. They are vulnerable to trafficking, child labour and sexual exploitation. Their statelessness also makes the process of accessing social protection systems almost impossible at times, and they become invisible in the shadows of our society*” (Stark, 21/10/11).

#### *Home Office vs local council*

The conflict Home Office vs local council is framed in six articles. In this conflict, the Home Office has asked local councils to welcome unaccompanied children. But “*38 councils out of 156 in England have so far refused to take part in resettling those who have arrived*” (O’Carroll & Davies, 24/10/16). On the opposite, some councils have criticized the Home Office for their management of the situation in Calais: “*Some local authorities have accused the Home Office of preventing them from bringing Dubs amendment children into the UK several months ago, a move which they say could have avoided some of the current chaos and confusion*” (Taylor, 28/10/16). Therefore, local councils are in dispute with the Home Office for different reasons.

#### *Migrants vs authority*

The conflict migrants vs authority is framed in five articles. In this conflict, migrants accuse the authorities of being unfair. In two articles, Sudanese migrants

accuse the authorities of prioritizing children coming from other countries than Sudan. In three articles, *The Guardian* gives the voice to migrants concerning the asylum system. The migrants then criticize the immigration authorities to be unfair with them. For example, one individual who was a migrant in Calais explains that the immigration centre didn't give him his real age: "After three or four hours they announced I was not 13 but 16-and-a-half [...] Now I know it is because the Home Office have to put you to school and in foster care and give you the legal rights of a child if you are under 16" (Passarlay & Khaleeli, 21/10/16). Compared to the *Daily Mail*, which has only reported the physical conflicts of migrants and authorities, *The Guardian* has also decided to talk about conflicts of injustice faced by migrants.

### *Individual conflicts*

The individual conflicts are framed four times in the articles. In one article, *The Guardian* framed the whole article on a conflict between Jeremy Corbyn – leader of the Labour Party – and Theresa May – Prime Minister. Corbyn accused May of "delaying fulfilling the government's commitment to bringing lone child refugees to the UK, including those who do not have family in the UK" (Elgot, 20/10/16). In another article, *The Guardian* framed an individual conflict between Barbara Winton – the daughter of Nicholas Winton who saved 669 children during the Second World War – and Amber Rudd – Home Secretary. Barbara Winton asks Amber Rudd to accelerate the transfer of child refugees who are becoming vulnerable. Finally, in two articles, *The Guardian* framed an individual conflict between Lord Alf Dubs – Labour politician saved by Nicholas Winton during the Second World War – and Amber Rudd. Alf Dubs asks Amber Rudd to also accelerate the transfer of child refugees. All the individual conflicts framed by *The Guardian* concerns the unaccompanied children that are left vulnerable in the camps of Calais.

## **5.2. Human interest frame**

### **The Daily Mail:**

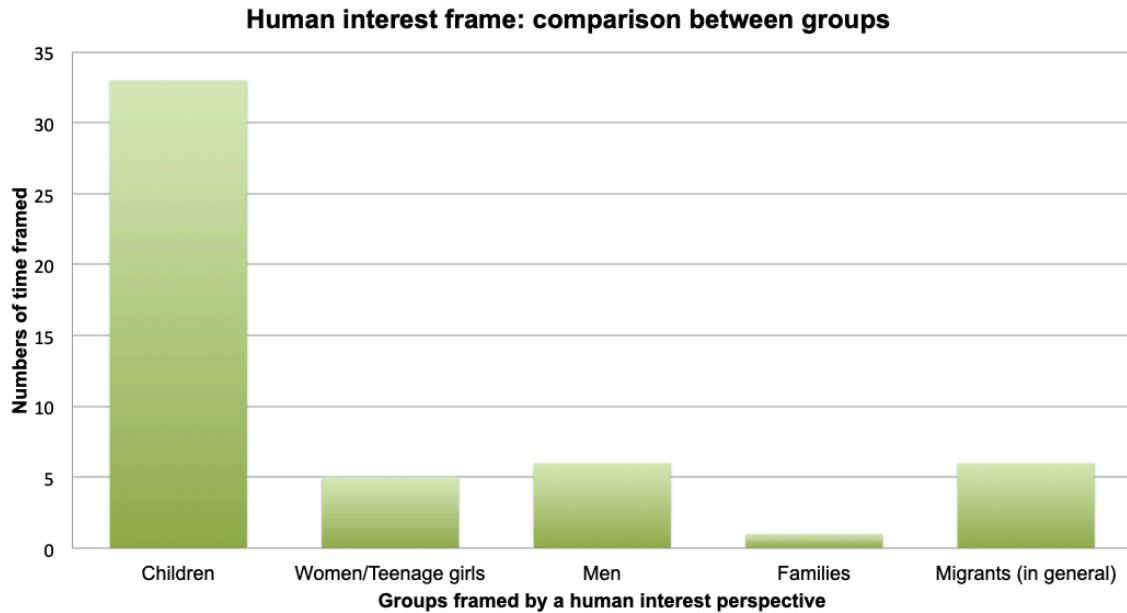
In our sample of 83 articles, the human interest frame is used eight times (9.6%). One of the first observations concerning the use of the human interest frame by the *Daily Mail* is that it only concerns migrant children – six of the eight articles – or migrant families with young children – two of the eight articles. The human interest frame is

mostly used as a tool to criticize the unaccompanied children that are brought to the UK where the *Daily Mail* is sceptical of their age. For example: “*Daniel Gadi, a nine-year-old boy, from Eritrea, in Africa, whose mother is dead, is also stuck in the camp. His father Abaye said he wants his son to be looked after by his late wife's sister in London, but was refused entry to Britain as he is not an unaccompanied child*” (Stevens, 19/10/16).

In two of the articles where the human interest frame is used, the *Daily Mail* makes a difference between the ‘genuine’ migrants and the ‘non-genuine’ migrants. This can be clearly seen in the two titles of the following articles: “*As 'child' migrants arrive in Britain a genuine 10-year-old is still stranded in the Jungle with no family to turn to*” (Keogh, 21/10/16), and: “*At last! Some GENUINE children leave Calais Jungle for Britain*” (Fagge, 21/10/16). Therefore, through the use of the human interest frame, the *Daily Mail* makes a distinction between the deserving migrants – the families and the young children – and the undeserving migrants that do not respect the law – young male migrants. In one of the articles, this difference can be clearly seen : the *Daily Mail* uses the human interest frame to describe a vulnerable family with young children and right after this description, it describes young migrants not respecting the law: “*Yesterday brave Aisha, 12, led her six-year-old brother Osman and sisters Sheemlia, nine and Haleema, 11, looking for help amid the chaos as their widowed mother looked after her 18-month-old brother Hassan [...] and dozens of young men yesterday made last-ditch attempts to get to the UK on board lorries as riot officers violently repelled their efforts*” (Keough, Cook & Fagge, 23/10/16). As explained by R. Santos et al (2018: 461): “women and children are the asylum seekers most frequently portrayed as the visible victims of war and thus the most credible, unsuspecting, non-threatening refugees”. In contrast, young men in the *Daily Mail* are not framed in a human interest perspective, and they are mostly framed as a threat and untrustworthy.

### **The Guardian:**

In contrast to the *Daily Mail*, the human interest frame was used more frequently in *The Guardian*, appearing in 39 (57.3%) articles out of our sample of 68 articles. In some articles, the human interest frame is used for different actors. As we can see in the bar graph below, the human interest frame is used for five groups:



As we can see from the graph, children are the most framed group (33 times in the articles). As we have seen in the conflicts, unaccompanied children are an important and recurrent theme. Therefore, the use of the human interest frame on children seeks to focus on the precarity of the camps that children have to live in: *“A thousand or so children are still stuck in Calais, in the freezing mud and surrounded by every kind of threat”* (Fraser, 20/10/16). *The Guardian* also makes reference to the past of the children by interviewing the children or presenting it in their own words: *“These youngsters have been bombed out of their homes and countries, they’ve come across the Mediterranean on a dinghy, they may have lost family members en route, they’ve marched across Europe, then they’ve been forgotten and neglected for at least a year in the mud of Calais”* (Townsend, Weaver & Sherwood, 21/10/16). *The Guardian* also mentions their mental health vulnerability: *“I know the children living there experienced horrific traumas both in their home countries and their journeys there,” she said. “Of the children who underwent psychiatric assessment, all of them presented with psychiatric symptoms, with approximately 90% meeting the criteria for a recognised psychiatric disorder, such as PTSD and depression”* (Doward, 05/11/16). Finally, through the human interest frame, *The Guardian* criticizes the discourse of the mainstream right by questioning some recurrent topos such as the topos of burden – immigrants are a burden on social expenditure – and the topos of profit – immigrants only come to profit from our country (Van Der Valk, 2003: 324): *“When your home is a bomb crater and you are forced to leave it because of war, you become a refugee. A nine-year-old Syrian child does not*

reach France unaccompanied because she wants access to the French job market, or better education, or a better healthcare service. She is a child running for her life” (Onozu, 22/10/16). *The Guardian* also criticizes the discourse of the right wing tabloids: “Riswan was a shy, softly-spoken teenager from Afghanistan [...] The next I saw of Riswan was in a set of photos splashed in a tabloid newspaper, under angry headlines questioning the young people’s age. When I met him, like most of the young people there, he didn’t want to be filmed or photographed. Yet here he was being used to whip up outrage that these young people were being allowed into Britain” (Domokos, 19/10/16).

*The Guardian* also used the human interest frame in six articles for men. One interesting point is that in three out of the six articles, *The Guardian* shows men as wanting to integrate in their host society: “Yusef, 35, a pharmacist from Sudan, who spent three months living rough in Calais, and hopes to claim asylum in France, said he had no idea where he would end up: “I will close my eyes and put my finger on the map.” But he was optimistic. “I want to **integrate** to start a new life, **contribute**. I trust France to keep me safe” (Chrisafis, O’Carroll & Davies, 24/10/16). Choosing to use citations of men who want to contribute and integrate to society could be a way for *The Guardian* to go against the ideas in mainstream media that men do not want to integrate or are “migrants disguised as refugees deluded by the possibility of benefits and protection” (R. Santos et al, 2018: 464).

Then, *The Guardian* used the human interest frame in six articles for migrants in general. When the frame is used to describe migrants in general, it is to emphasize the poor conditions that the migrants have to face in the camps. *The Guardian* used the human interest frame in five articles for women and teenage girls. Thus, women and teenage girls are framed as being the most vulnerable migrants in the camps. They are also described as being at risk for trafficking and sexual exploitation. Finally, in only one article the human interest frame was used for families. As for migrants in general, when the frame is used to describe families, it is to emphasize the poor conditions that the families have to face in the camps.

### **5.3. Economic consequences frame**

#### **The Daily Mail:**

The economic consequences frame is used in 18 articles (21.7%) of our *Daily Mail* sample. In four articles, the economic consequences frame is the main theme of the



article. In total, we have found five topos related to the economic consequences frame. The first topos is the topos of burden. As we have seen above, the topos of burden considers immigrants as a burden on social expenditure (Van Der Valk, 2003). Therefore, bringing migrants to the UK – especially the unaccompanied children through the Dubs amendment – is expensive for taxpayers: *“Their treatment as ‘children’ would have left councils and local taxpayers facing a care bill of tens of millions of pounds a year”* (Allen, Drury, Greenhill & Duncan, 22/10/16), or for example when the *Daily Mail* talks about the cost of each place in a foster home for the children coming under the Dubs amendment: *“The cost of each of these places to taxpayers is up to £41,600 a year — including pocket money, education and healthcare costs”* (Reid, 19/10/16).

A second topos is the topos of profit that is described as “immigrants only come to profit from our country” (Van Der Valk, 2003: 324). For this topos, the *Daily Mail* blames some migrants of wanting to come to the UK because it offers generous benefits. In one example, this topos is found in the title citing the Calais deputy mayor, Philippe Mignonet: *“Calais deputy mayor blames BRITAIN for Jungle camp chaos... because ‘migrants will always come to the UK for the benefits and are never expelled once they arrive”* (Thompson, 26/10/16).

A third topos is the topos of unemployment that is described as “immigrants cause unemployment” (Van Der Valk, 2003: 324). This topos is only used once when interviewing a French national whose village receives migrants from Calais: *‘When we heard that 50 migrants are coming, and will be given access to jobs and healthcare, it was difficult to understand.’ ‘It’s hard to find a job around here, and you have to wait two or three months to find a doctor. How can they think it’s rational to bring migrants to this place?’* (Simons, 27/10/16).

A fourth topos is the topos of advantage that is described as “immigrants are given more advantages than the locals” (Van Der Valk, 2003). For example: *“Many people living in Alex are struggling to understand why the council is spending taxpayers’ money on housing 50 migrants in the manor house at the same time as making major cuts in spending on public services”* (Simons, 27/10/16), or for example as in the following title: *“How ‘child’ migrants are straining the care system – and British children are paying the price”* (Sergeant, 20/10/16).

A fifth topos is the topos of abuse described as immigrants “are only abusing laws and rules” (Van Der Valk, 2003: 324). As we have seen in the conflict frame, The *Daily Mail* accuses some adult migrants to pass as children, and as a result, it becomes

costly for the UK in legal fees: “Mr. Simmonds said the warnings about adult asylum seekers pretending to be children had ‘fallen on deaf ears’ at the Home Office and the cost to taxpayers of disputes had risen as a result. Each judicial review of an age dispute costs councils about £50,000 in legal fees” (Wright & Drury, 19/10/16).

Finally, in one article, the *Daily Mail* frames migrants as having a positive impact on the economy: “I believe that immigration – especially of hardworking and skilled people – is vital for our economy, especially the National Health Service (Hanratty, 23/10/16). But this positive impact is mitigated for the *Daily Mail* since it concerns mostly migrants who are ‘hardworking’, who have ‘skills’. Therefore, for the *Daily Mail*, the positive impact of migration depends of the ‘type’ of migrant.

#### **The Guardian:**

Concerning *The Guardian*, only one economic consequences frame was found in our sample of 68 articles. In contrast to the *Daily Mail* that sees mostly migration as a financial cost, *The Guardian* sees it as positive for the economy. To do so, *The Guardian* uses the example of Sweden, which decided to welcome more refugees during the refugee influx of 2015: “Sweden’s economy is booming in part because of a growth in both refugees and migrants” (Abbott, 27/10/11).

### **5.4. Responsibility frame**

#### **The Daily Mail:**

The responsibility frame is found in 37 articles (44.6%) from our *Daily Mail* sample. In some articles, the *Daily Mail* blames more than one actor. In total, the newspaper blames three different actors: the UK government, the left and migrants.

#### *UK government as responsible*

In 23 articles, the responsibility is blamed on the UK government. One of the arguments of the *Daily Mail* is that if the migrant camps in Calais grew to such an extent, it is because the UK has soft immigration policies and that many migrants were attracted by those soft policies. This argument is justified by citing the Calais Mayor: “Calais mayor tells Britain to stop ‘provoking’ France with its soft immigration policies” (Allen, 26/10/16). Also, the *Daily Mail* uses the number game strategy to prove that the UK has soft immigration policies: “Britain is also far more generous in offering asylum to non-EU citizens. In 2014, 31 per cent of claims in the UK were approved, while in France, only

*15 per cent got the green light. Why this should be is not clear, but it is certainly the case that migrants appear to be less welcome in France than in Britain” (Reid, 28/10/16). A second argument of the Daily Mail is that the UK government – especially the Home Office – doesn’t do enough to check the age of unaccompanied minors coming to the UK: “The Home Office has come under fire for not carrying out routine tests such as dental checks to determine their age because they are deemed ‘too intrusive” (Stevens & Glanfield, 18/10/16). For the Daily Mail, because of this lack of inspection, many adult migrants are able to enter the UK by passing as children. The newspaper justify this point by using a citation of a migrant, which can be seen as a credible source of information: “Abdalla, a Sudanese migrant in Calais, told The Times: ‘Of course people lie about their age here, probably a majority do’, adding: ‘If that stops children from getting to Britain, it’s a real problem” (Robinson, Drury & Greenhill, 21/10/16).*

#### *Left as responsible*

For the *Daily Mail*, the left has its part of responsibility mainly on two points: the first point – found in five articles – is that the left is hypocrite and spread misinformation. Therefore, Labour politicians, the BBC and *The Guardian* are the ones concerned by this point. The *Daily Mail* blames the two news outlets of hiding the truth concerning the unaccompanied children because they don’t show their faces: *“As for the others, the BBC pixelated many of their faces so that viewers could not judge their ages – while The Guardian also kept its readers in the dark by failing to print photographs. But the Mail believes readers and taxpayers should be allowed to judge for themselves whether Britain’s hospitality and welfare system are being abused” (Daily Mail, 20/10/16).* In one of the article title, the *Daily Mail* accuses directly the left of spreading misinformation: *“How the Left crushes truth to fit its agenda” (Daily Mail, 22/10/16).* The second point – found in 12 articles – is that No Borders – qualified as an extreme left-wing organization by the *Daily Mail* – is responsible for the chaos in the migrant camps of Calais: *“there are Left-wing activist groups in Calais who are planning to help migrants resist the demolition of the camp. It will only end in violence” (Tonkin, 19/10/16) or: “British anarchists were blamed for the massive fire that destroyed a large part of the Jungle. Steve Barbet, a spokesman for the regional authorities, said one migrant was hospitalized. About 100 migrants were evacuated” (Allen & Thompson, 27/10/16).*

### *Migrants as responsible:*

Finally, for the *Daily Mail*, migrants are also responsible for what is happening in Calais. One of the points found in 12 articles and mentioned by the *Daily Mail* is that adult migrants who pass as children are responsible for leaving 'genuine children' in a vulnerable situation in the Calais camps. This point is supported by the statements of charity workers: *"as the transfers began volunteers working in the Jungle camp raised concerns that those most in need would be left behind because adults are taking their places [...] those at the front of the queue are not the most needy and vulnerable, they are the adults pretending to be children"* (Robinson & Greenhill, 20/10/16). A second point that the *Daily Mail* brings forward is that migrants are responsible for causing chaos in the camps. Therefore, in two articles, the *Daily Mail* uses interviews of migrants explaining that they have set fires in the camp: *"Migrants and officials alike said the fires in the camp were set deliberately, while gas cylinders previously used for cooking had exploded and caused the blazes to spread"* (Allen, 27/10/16).

### **The Guardian:**

The responsibility frame is found in 33 articles (48.5%) from *The Guardian* sample. In some articles, the newspaper blames more than one actor. In total, it blames four different actors: France, the UK, Europe and the right.

### *France and UK responsibility*

France and the UK are the actors that are the most framed by responsibility, appearing in 28 articles. Thus, for *The Guardian*, France and the UK are responsible for the Calais crisis and for the migrants – and mostly – unaccompanied children left in Calais. Therefore, if they are responsible, it is because both countries are not respecting the rights and laws protecting migrants: *"Legally, minors in the camp are the responsibility of the French government"* (O'Carroll, 29/10/16), or: *"UK and France accused of breaching human rights as children forced to sleep in makeshift conditions for second night"* (O'Carroll, Gentlemen & Travis, 27/10/16).

*The Guardian* blames both countries because they lack commitment to help migrants in the camps when both of them have the means to help the migrants: *"Britain is the sixth biggest economy in the world – at least for the moment – and it is absurd to suggest that we could not absorb more than 300 children"* (*The Guardian*, 17/10/16). The UK is also blamed for not respecting the Dubs amendment: *"Five month since the*

*Dubs amendment to the Immigration Act, none of the qualifying children have been brought to the UK* (Elgot, 20/10/16). Finally, France is also targeted as being responsible for the poor situation in the Calais camps: *“François Hollande, the French president, admitted that conditions in the camps were unacceptable, while at the same time refusing either to improve them or to afford it the “refugee camp” status that would enable aid agencies to operate there fully*” (Falconer, 28/10/16), or: *“Conditions were worse than in camps set up in disaster and war zones because of the absence of any mainstream charity or official French involvement in providing food or shelter for its 10,000-plus inhabitants”* (Gentleman, 28/10/16).

### *Right as responsible*

The right is framed eight times by the responsibility frame. For *The Guardian*, the discourse of the right – right-wing tabloids and Tory politicians – is responsible for the creation of a hatred discourse towards migrants. For example, when talking about the discourse of the right, *The Guardian* explains that right-wing tabloids and Tory MPs are responsible for creating a discourse of vigilance towards migrants: *“While thousands of people have been festering in the camps about to be demolished, the public is being told we have overextended our “famous hospitality” by letting in these boys. We don’t want to be a soft touch”* (Moore, 20/10/16). But *The Guardian* also blames the right-wing tabloids and right-wing politicians for dehumanizing migrants: *“The discourse around migration ebbs and flows. They are “vermin” or “cockroaches”. These people have no place. The great anthropologist Mary Douglas defined dirt as “matter out of place”, and so these people with no place become dirt themselves. No longer human to us: simply threatening and other”* (Moore, 20/10/16).

Finally, *The Guardian* blames the reaction of the right-wing tabloids that doubted about the age of the unaccompanied children by saying that they risk to suffer from the consequences of this type of discourse: *“The incendiary language used to describe these individual young people, as well as deliberate questioning of their true ages without due care to their safety or lawful processes, has the very real potential to expose these children to abuse, racism and hate crimes whilst in the UK”* (Mason & Aitkenhead, 21/10/16).

*Europe as responsible:*

Europe is framed in three articles to be responsible for the creation of 'squalid shanty towns' such as the migrant camps in Calais: *"The existence of these squalid shanty towns is a symptom of Europe's failure to manage the refugee reception crisis, as well as migration more broadly; closing them does nothing for the underlying problem"* (Margaroni, 25/10/16), or: *"If Europe is failing in its obligations to help refugees then it has a choice, either to declare that it is not our problem and erect razor-wire fences and police the barriers, or ensure and maintain safe havens, through military action if necessary, within or close to the countries of origin"* (Collins, 28/10/16).

## **5.5. Nationalistic frame**

### **The Daily Mail**

The nationalistic frame is used in five articles (6%) out of our sample of 83 articles. Three main themes are found concerning the nationalistic frame. First of all, in one article, the *Daily Mail* explains that the situation in Calais illustrates the lack of sovereignty of the UK and follows with: *"I speak as a man who believes that controlled migration is good for this country. Yet it is also essential that Britain controls its borders"* (Hanratty, 23/10/16).

A second nationalistic theme found in two articles is the idea of having 'our people first': *"Britain is truly great when it puts its own people at the front of the line"* (Hopkins, 19/10/16), or: *"How about we look after OUR own before other countries?"* (Tonkin, 19/10/16).

Finally, the third nationalistic theme is found in four articles. Therefore, the *Daily Mail* considers migrants as being culturally different and/or dangerous – especially for women – as evidenced by the use of the pronoun 'we' that reinforces the difference between *us* (nationals) vs *them* (migrants): *"Asked what was the worst thing about Calais, one of our most recent 'child' arrivals said queuing. Queuing for jeans, queuing for food, queuing for new shoes. Get used to it, sunshine. **We** are British. **We** love a queue. And if someone told us **we** could queue for free handouts of clothes and food, **we'd** happily stand there for days. **We'd** probably bring picnic chairs and umbrellas and make an adventure out of it. **We** aren't used to getting something for nothing, you see. **We** aren't used to being fast-tracked past the queue. **We** understand **we** have to wait our turn, work for what **we** want"* (Hopkins, 19/10/16). But for the *Daily Mail*, migrants are the most culturally different in their attitudes towards women. As we have seen above, male

migrants – mostly Arab or Muslim – are seen in mass media as a “particular threat to women’s rights, namely by subscribing to a different culture perceived as inherently sexist and violent towards women” (R. Santos et al, 2018: 465). Therefore, for the *Daily Mail*, male migrants do not respect women: *“Once again, women and children appear to be last in the line where migrants are involved. That is not the British way. Our culture does not see women as second class”* (Hopkins, 19/10/16). Male migrants are also seen as dangerous for women nationals. To prove its point, the newspaper relies on an example: *“In Dusseldorf last year, two migrants, who said they were 15 and 17, sexually assaulted a 12-year-old girl and threatened to cut the throat of a six-year-old witness. Police admit they have no idea of their real age”* (Sergeant, 20/10/16). Finally, the *Daily Mail* also relies on the interviews of a British and French national who fears male migrants: *“They can be quite frightening at times,” she said. ‘They are aggressive and have an attitude problem. Many have no respect for women because of their culture”* (Sergeant, 20/10/16), and: *“Veronique Durin, 52, her carer, added: ‘I’m single and I’m afraid for my security when the migrants come. They are all from the Calais jungle and many of them are aggressive. I’m afraid they will damage my car or harm me”* (Simons, 27/10/16).

### **The Guardian:**

For *The Guardian*, no nationalistic frames were used in our sample of 68 articles.

## **5.6. Moral-universal frame**

### **The Daily Mail:**

The moral-universal frame is used in three articles (3.6%) of our sample from the *Daily Mail*. The moral-universal duty for the *Daily Mail* is justified for many reasons: “in the name of humanity”, “as a nation” or by being one of the richest countries on earth. But the *Daily Mail* always questions this moral duty. It differentiates between the ‘genuine’ and ‘insincere’ migrant, between the ‘good’ and the ‘bad’ migrant: *“Yes, we must show pity - **but** is it being abused?”* (Reid, 19/10/16), or: *“Of course, as one of the world’s richest countries, we must show compassion to **genuine** child refugees and orphans”* (Reid, 19/10/16), or: *“In the name of humanity, we believed an exception should be made for the helpless young who had nowhere else to turn. Today, we stick firmly by our belief that those in **genuine** need deserve our help”* (*Daily Mail*, 20/10/16), or: *“We as a nation should allow **genuine** unaccompanied minors in the Jungle in Calais*

to enter provided they really are unaccompanied and they have relatives with a right to remain in the UK. Huge care should also be taken before we return young women who have failed in their immigration applications to countries where they may be at risk of genital mutilation (Hanratty, 23/10/16), and finally: “Surely it is our duty to help **genuine** refugees displaced by war” (Hanratty, 23/10/16). Thus, the moral-universal frame always comes as a response to the controversy that some adults are passing as unaccompanied children and abusing the British immigration policies. Hence, the *Daily Mail* is willing to help young refugees, but only if they are ‘genuine’ unaccompanied minors.

### **The Guardian:**

In *The Guardian*, the moral-universal frame is used in 18 articles (26.5%). For this newspaper, there is a moral duty from all of us concerning the migrants left in the camps of Calais: “No one should be living in the squalid, inhumane and dangerous conditions of the Calais camp. For people – and especially children – to be stuck in a place like this in northern Europe should shame **us all**” (Cooper, 24/10/16), or: “The disappearance of any of those children in the coming days would be a moral failure for **us all**” (Travis, 30/10/16).

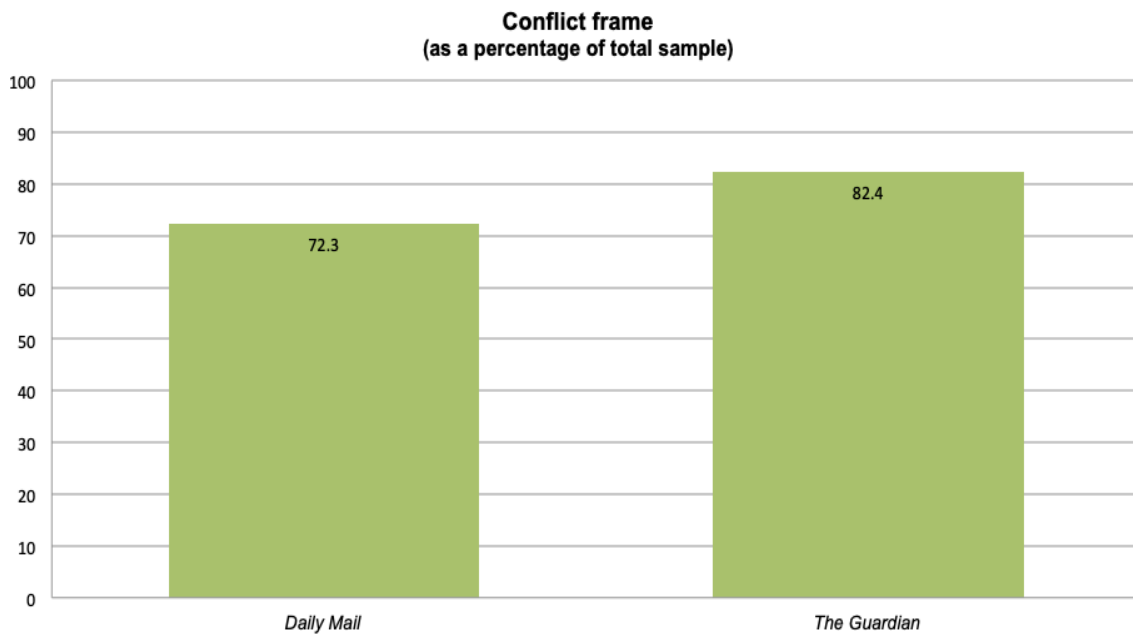
*The Guardian* also relies on different forms of authority to strengthen its argument. As we have seen earlier, mentioning authorities – expert or moral leaders – in a discourse reinforces the argument of the discussant (T. A. van Dijk, 2006a). Therefore, *The Guardian* mentions the religious authority: “The church at least recognises our moral obligation to these people as the French and British government turn away” (Moore, 17/10/16). *The Guardian* also relies on political authorities – of the left – that support their argument, by publishing for example a complete article of Bernard Cazeneuve: “The UK must fulfil its moral duty to Calais’s unaccompanied children” (Cazeneuve, 17/10/16) or by citing François Hollande: “Do your moral duty over Calais children, Hollande tells UK” (Doward, O’Carroll & Taylor, 29/10/16). Finally, the type of authority that is the most frequently mentioned to justify the moral duty is the legal authority: “Under EU laws, a child seeking asylum who has a parent or a sibling in another European country can be fast-tracked to join them in that country” (O’Carroll & Fishwick, 17/10/16), or: “The next step must be to pressure the government to live up to its obligations under Dubs as well as Dublin” (*The Guardian*, 17/10/16), or: “Children have rights to food, family, shelter and protection under the Convention on the Rights of the



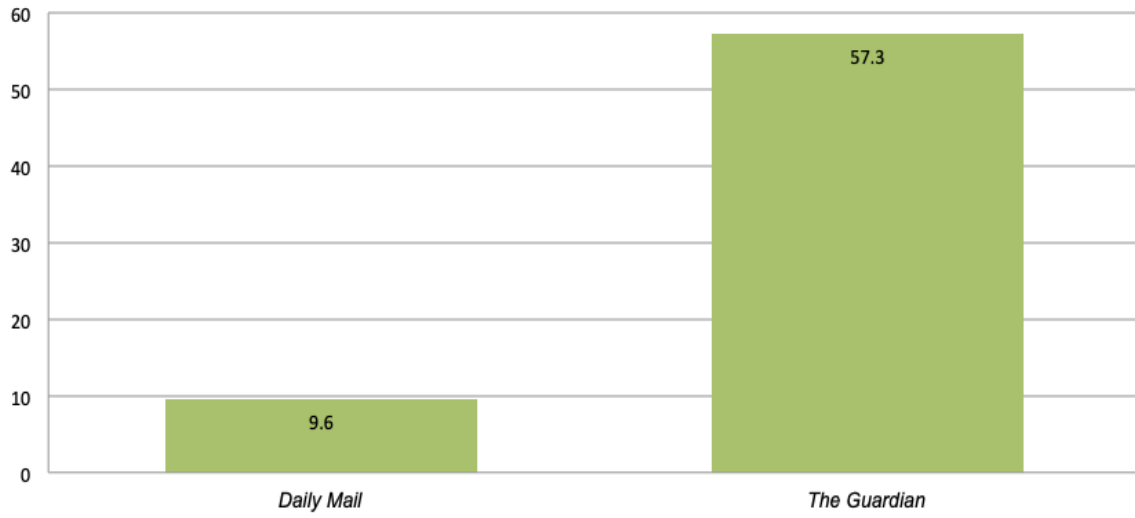
*Child* – a UN treaty declaring that all children are “entitled to special care and assistance”. Britain and France are signatories to this. They are flouting the law” (O’Carroll, Gentleman & Travis, 27/10/16), and finally: “Many of the children who remain in Calais have a legal right to come to the UK” (Taylor, 28/10/16).

### 5.7. Daily Mail vs The Guardian

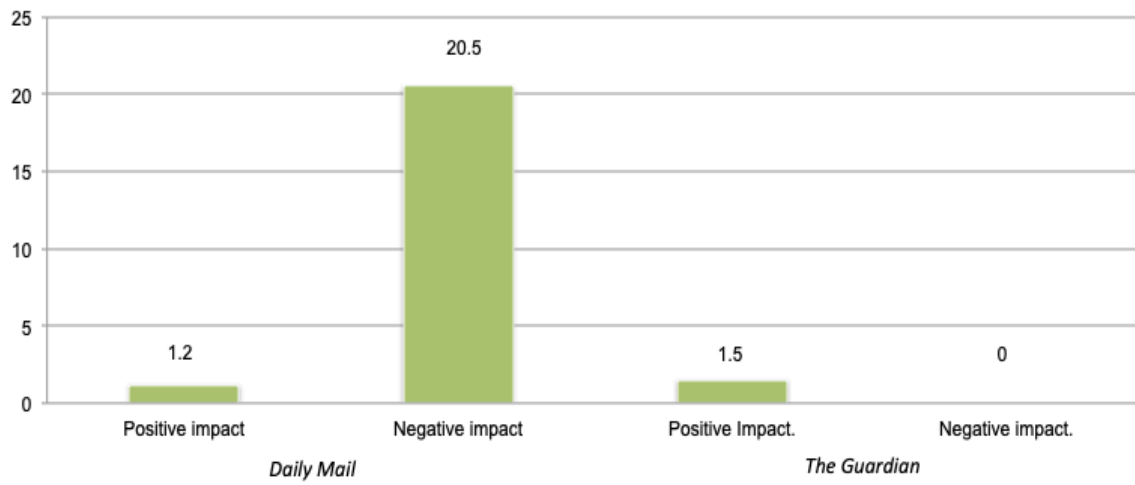
In this section, we do a chart comparison between the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* concerning the frames. By doing so, we will better understand how often each frame is used by both newspapers.



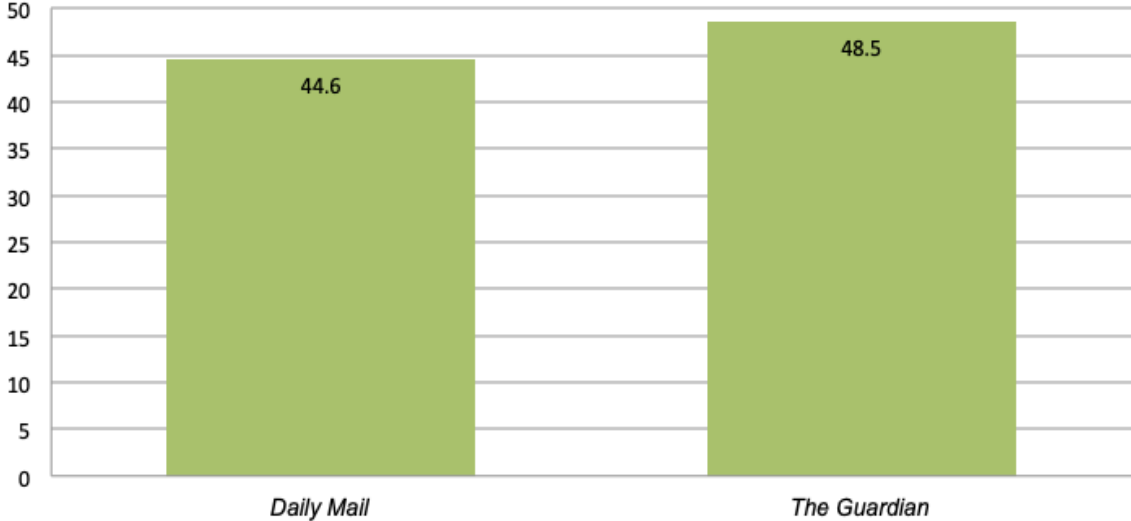
**Human interest frame**  
(as a percentage of total sample)



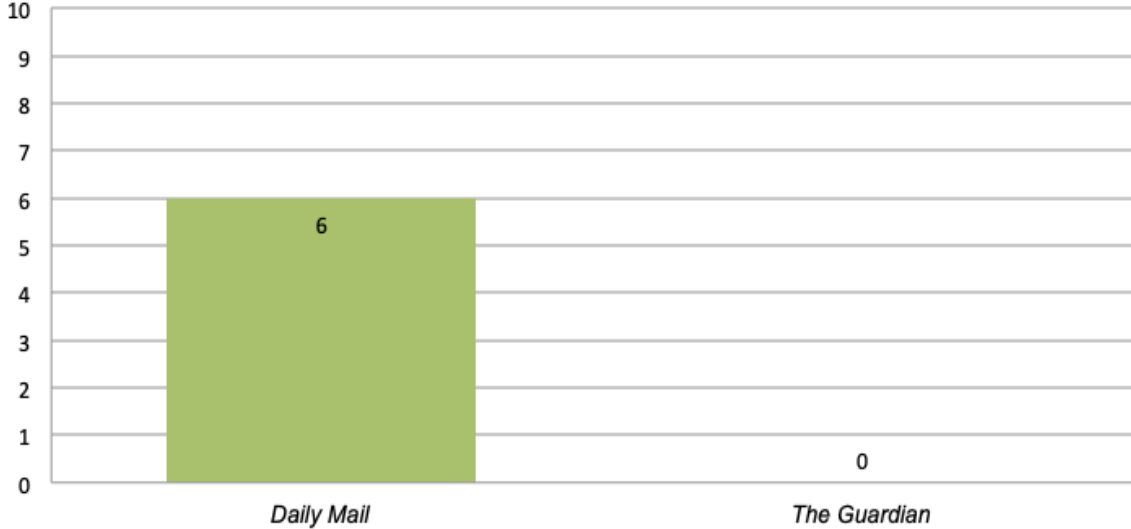
**Economic consequences**  
(as a percentage of total sample)

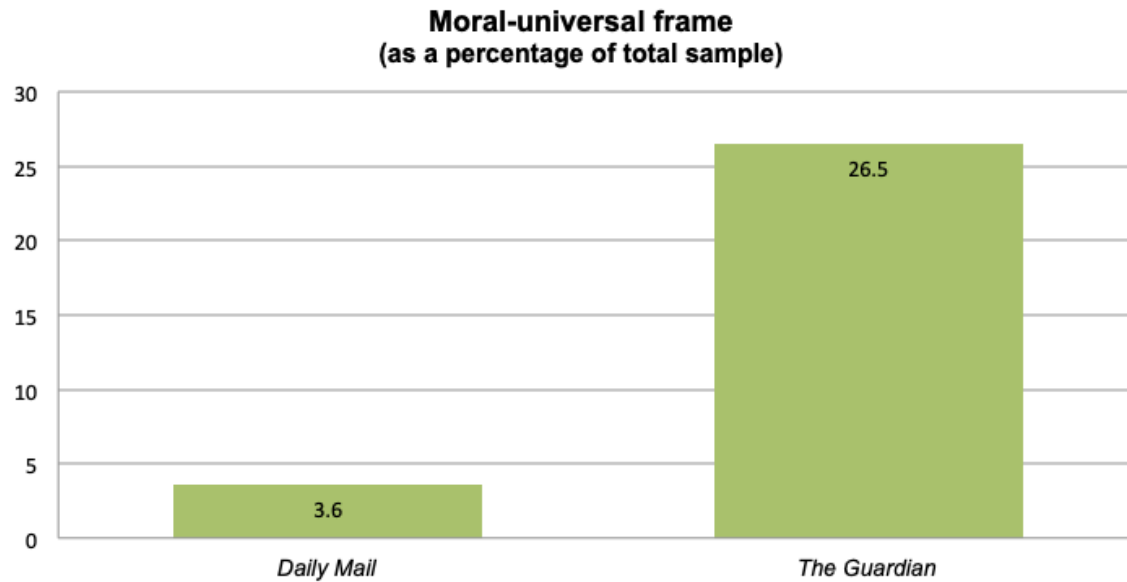


**Responsibility frame  
(as a percentage of total sample)**



**Nationalistic frame  
(as a percentage of total sample)**





## 6. Conclusion and discussion

Our results have shown us that the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* have communicated differently about the dismantling of the migrant camps in Calais in October 2016 where the *Daily Mail* gave a more hostile discourse towards migrants and *The Guardian* gave a more humane image to the migrants in Calais. Therefore our first hypothesis is accepted. Our results have also shown that *The Guardian* has used more often the human interest frame and the moral-universal frame while the *Daily Mail* has used more often the economic consequences frame and the nationalistic frame. Finally, both newspapers have used repeatedly the responsibility frame. But compared to what we suggested in our second hypothesis, the *Daily Mail* did not only blamed migrants for the problems linked to the dismantling of the ‘Jungle’ of Calais but it also blamed the UK government for having ‘soft’ immigration policies and the Left for spreading misinformation. This is also the case for *The Guardian*, which, as we had suggested, blamed the governments for the poor standards of the migrant camps but in our sample, the newspaper also blamed the right wing tabloids and politicians for producing a negative discourse on migrants in Calais. *The Guardian* also blamed Europe for being responsible for the creation of squalid camps in Europe such as Calais. One point that we did not expect in our hypothesis was that both newspapers blamed the opposite ideology for the problems faced in the migrant camps of Calais. This point demonstrates well how the ideologies of the two newspapers are in contrast with each other. Finally,

we were expecting in our second hypothesis the *Daily Mail* to use more often the conflict frame than *The Guardian*. But as we have seen in the results, the conflict frame was the one most often used by both newspapers. The difference between the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* was their mention of different conflicts.

Our main research question seeks to understand if the ideological position of the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* influenced their opinion on the question of migrant camps. In our theoretical framework, we have seen that the mainstream right ideology is more characterized as being critical of immigration and/or having anti-immigrant sentiments and the mainstream left ideology is more characterized as having universalist principles and being more open and favourable to immigration (Alonso & Fonseca, 2011). In our results, we have seen that the *Daily Mail* is more critical of immigration. The tabloid newspaper used the nationalistic frame in five articles to criticize migrants in Calais and it used the economic consequences frame in 17 articles to explain how the Calais camps represent a high cost for 'British taxpayers' and have economic consequences on the country. Even in the use of the moral-universal frame or human interest frame, the *Daily Mail* differentiated between the 'genuine' migrants and the 'illegal' and 'untrustworthy' migrants. In contrast, *The Guardian* had a more open discourse towards immigration. The broadsheet newspaper used very often the human interest frame and, to a certain degree, the moral interest frame. Compared to the *Daily Mail* that differentiated between the 'genuine' migrant and the 'untrustworthy' migrant, *The Guardian* didn't make negative differences between migrants. Therefore, the ideology of the *Daily Mail* (right-leaning ideology) and of *The Guardian* (left-leaning ideology) influenced their positioning on the question of migrant camps.

Our first sub-question – *is the dismantling of the 'Jungle' of Calais of October 2016 addressed differently by the Daily Mail and The Guardian?* – has been answered above as the conflicts concerning the dismantling of the migrant camps seen by the *Daily Mail* were not the same as the ones perceived by *The Guardian*. We have also seen that they don't put the blame on the same stakeholders. Finally, they see migrants differently, the *Daily Mail* being more critical and suspicious of the migrants in Calais while *The Guardian* shows more empathy for the migrants stranded in Calais. Therefore, we can say that the dismantling of the 'Jungle' of Calais of October 2016 has been communicated differently.

For our second sub-question – *which 'images' of migrants emerge from the Daily Mail and The Guardian* –, we found in the newspapers mostly two dominant portrayals of

migrants: the ‘threatening men’ in the *Daily Mail* and the ‘vulnerable women and children’ in the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian*. Whether it is in the conflict frame or in the nationalistic frame, the *Daily Mail* expressed its fear of the migrant male as a threat – sexual predators for children and women, risk of being a terrorist, violent behaviour, threat to ‘Western’ culture, threat to women’s rights, etc. The second portrayal – ‘vulnerable women and children’ – was mostly present in the human interest frame and in the moral-universal frame of both newspapers. Therefore, the stories and description of vulnerable children stuck in Calais who faced rough and long journeys to arrive in the migrant camps dominated those two frames. Women and children were also described as exposed to violence, especially coming from migrant men. Compared to male migrants, women and children were described as non-threatening migrants.

The portrayal of migrants as ‘threatening men’ and ‘vulnerable women and children’ reflects a narrow and stereotyped vision of the migrant population. The image of a ‘threatening men’ can especially reinforce the anti-immigration sentiment already present in the UK – and in the rest of Europe. Such a discourse has to be deconstructed and it is important for approaches such as CDA to be used not only in research but also outside of research. Anti-immigration sentiment is strong in the Western world and most of the arguments justifying this sentiment are not based on facts or scientific data but mostly on fear that can easily be found in mainstream media, especially in sensationalist media such as in right-wing tabloids and political discourses. Letting those discourses spread into society divide individuals and marginalize certain groups. Populist discourses such as anti-immigration discourses cannot be stopped easily. Therefore, it is crucial that individuals learn how to be critical – e.g. by teaching students how to adopt a critical point of view. Today, especially with the spread of misinformation online, it is easy to fall into the trap of sensationalist and populist discourse and thus, we have to learn how to be critical.

### **6.1. Further researches**

Our research only focused on the analysis of the textual discourse of the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian*. But discourse extends beyond what is written. The pictures found in both newspapers concerning the dismantling of the ‘Jungle’ of Calais are worth analyzing. We often remember the pictures of an article while we can more easily forget parts of the textual discourse. Both newspapers used – or didn’t use – pictures in a

strategic way and further analyses on the subject would be interesting in order to better understand the discourse of the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian*.

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## Annexes

### Annex 1: Full list of questions (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000)

**Table 1. Varimax-Rotated Factor Solution for the 20 Framing Items**

Framing items	Factors				
	1 Attr. of resp.	2 Human interest	3 Conflict	4 Morality	5 Econ. cons.
<b>Attribution of responsibility</b>					
Does the story suggest that some level of gov't has the ability to alleviate the problem?	<b>.80</b>	-.11	.10	-.04	.10
Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?	<b>.74</b>	-.22	.12	.01	.10
Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue?	<b>.69</b>	.04	-.02	.00	.09
Does the story suggest that an ind. (or group of people in society) is resp. for the issue-problem? <sup>1</sup>	<b>.67</b>	-.22	-.07	.04	.04
Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?	<b>.43</b>	.14	.26	.01	.02
<b>Human interest frame</b>					
Does the story provide a human example or "human face" on the issue?	-.01	<b>.76</b>	.06	.04	-.04
Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?	-.08	<b>.69</b>	.04	.11	-.03
Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?	-.08	<b>.64</b>	.06	-.02	-.00
Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?	-.17	<b>.61</b>	-.02	-.00	-.00
Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?	.04	<b>.60</b>	-.06	.07	-.11
<b>Conflict frame</b>					
Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?	.10	.02	<b>.88</b>	-.02	.01
Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?	.01	.10	<b>.81</b>	.03	.02
Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?	.19	-.04	<b>.77</b>	-.04	.06
Does the story refer to winners and losers?	-.02	.01	<b>.29</b>	.06	-.02
<b>Morality frame</b>					
Does the story contain any moral message?	-.01	-.02	.02	<b>.91</b>	-.01
Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets?	-.02	.09	.05	<b>.86</b>	-.03
Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?	.01	.07	.04	<b>.68</b>	-.03
<b>Economic frame</b>					
Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?	-.01	-.01	.03	-.02	<b>.81</b>
Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?	-.11	-.03	-.03	-.01	<b>.73</b>
Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?	.23	-.11	.03	-.03	<b>.74</b>

<sup>1</sup> Item was inversely coded.

Annex 2: Helbing's frames and core sentences (2014)

Table 1. Frames.

Types by Habermas	Identity		Moral-universal	Utilitarian			
Frame Categories	Nationalistic	Multicultural	Moral-universal	Economic	Labour and social security	Security Pragmatic	
Examples	Foreign infiltration National identity Loss of traditions Avoid Islamisation Avoid flows of refugees National sovereignty	Integration through tolerance Advantages of cultural diversity Tolerance between religious groups European identity	Fairness Equality Discrimination of groups Human rights Freedom of opinion Geneva convention Rule of law Democracy	Attract high-skilled immigrants Productivity International competition	Unemployment rates Salary dumping Poverty Welfare state Congestion social security system	Terrorism Youth criminality Internal security Political stability Organised crime	In our interest Capacity to act Legal security Response to globalisation Reputation Legality

### Annex 3: List of articles for the Daily Mail and The Guardian

#### The Daily Mail:

1. Linning & Curtis, 17/10/16, "*The first Calais 'children' arrive in Britain: Migrants who claim to be aged 14 to 17 are reunited with their families in the UK as French prepare to demolish Jungle camp*"  
<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3843900/First-migrant-children-arrive-UK-Calais-French-prepare-raze-Jungle-camp-ground.html>
2. Curtis, 17/10/16, "*Get out of the Jungle before we force you out: Calais police post warning notices saying demolition of the migrant camp may happen as soon as Wednesday*"  
<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3845004/Get-Jungle-force-Calais-police-post-warning-notices-saying-demolition-migrant-camp-happen-soon-Wednesday.html>
3. Glanfield, 18/10/16, "*They look older because war has toughened them up': Home Office claims Calais 'child' migrants have been aged by conflict as second wave arrive in the UK*"  
<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3847262/They-look-older-war-toughened-Home-Office-claims-Calais-child-migrants-aged-conflict-REFUSE-carry-intrusive-checks.html>
4. Allen & Newton, 18/10/16, "*Female Afghan interpreter working with a TV crew 'is raped by three armed migrants' hours after Sky News team are injured and have camera stolen at the Jungle camp*"  
<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3847368/Female-Afghan-interpreter-working-TV-crew-raped-three-armed-migrants-Jungle-hours-bulldozers-destroy-Calais-camp.html>
5. Stevens & Glanfield, 18/10/16, "*Adults are pretending to be children': Now even aid workers admit 'Calais kids' are LYING about their age as vulnerable nine-year-old African boy is refused UK entry in 'shambolic' selection process*"  
<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3847114/Adults-pretending-children-aid-workers-admit-Calais-kids-LYING-age-vulnerable-nine-year-old-refused-UK-entry-shambolic-selection-process.html>
6. Greenhill, Gysin & Sinmaz, 18/10/16, "*So what age checks ARE they doing? Home Office won't perform 'intrusive' dental tests on Calais migrant 'children' - although its own previous figures show two-thirds are lying*"  
<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3850564/Home-Office-admits-figures-two-three-child-refugees-lying-age-actually-adults.html>
7. Newton, 18/10/16, "*The last day in the Jungle: Migrants are given free suitcases to pack up their belongings as they leave before the makeshift camp is bulldozed*"  
<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3848084/The-day-Jungle-Migrants-given-free-suitcases-pack-belongings-leave-makeshift-camp-bulldozed.html>
8. Martin, Drury & Greenhill, 18/10/16, "*Mature beyond their years: More fears over real age of 'child migrants' coming from Calais as facial recognition analysis shows one may be as old as THIRTY-EIGHT*"  
<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3849646/Mature-years-fears-real-age-child-migrants-arriving-Calais.html>
9. Reid, 18/10/16, "*Yes, we must show pity - but is it being abused? SUE REID on the sorry saga of the migrant 'children' from Calais*"  
<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3849710/Yes-pity-abused-SUE-REID-sorry-saga-migrant-children-Calais.html>

10. Stevens, 19/10/16, *EXCLUSIVE - 'Please let me come to England': Ten-year-old stranded alone in Calais Jungle begs British official for help but is DENIED entry because he has no family in UK*

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3850474/Please-let-come-England-Ten-year-old-stranded-Calais-Jungle-begs-British-official-help-DENIED-entry-no-family-UK.html>

11. Greenhill, Gysin & Sinmaz, 19/10/16, *"Give 'child migrants' age tests, says Straw: Ex-home secretary leads calls for checks...as Home Office minister says 400 may come here"*

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3850564/Home-Office-admits-figures-two-three-child-refugees-lying-age-actually-adults.html>

12. Tonkin, 19/10/16, *"Another all-male coachload of 'child' migrants arrives in Britain - but officials WON'T say how many there are and WON'T do dental checks to prove they're really children"*

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3850840/Third-batch-child-migrants-begin-journey-Calais-Jungle-UK-Home-Office-admit-two-thirds-past-children-lied-age-officials.html>

13. Hopkins, 19/10/16, *"Who are they kidding? War is hell but it doesn't turn anyone into Benjamin Button"*

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3851230/KATIE-HOPKINS-kidding-War-hell-doesn-t-turn-Benjamin-Button.html>

14. Tonkin, 19/10/16, *"Still ashamed of Britain, Lily? Boy, 13, who broke singer's heart when she met him in the Jungle arrives to start his new life in UK - but fears remain over how many others are REALLY children"*

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3851380/Boy-13-broke-singer-Lily-Allen-s-heart-met-Calais-Jungle-arrives-start-new-life-UK.html>

15. Tonkin, 19/10/16, *"Gary Lineker sparks Twitter row after blasting the 'utterly heartless' treatment of child migrants arriving from Calais"*

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3852104/Gary-Lineker-sparks-Twitter-row-blasting-utterly-heartless-treatment-child-migrants-arriving-Calais.html>

16. Awford, 20/10/16, *"Still trying to break through: Moment migrants in the Calais Jungle rush the fence standing between them and the ferry terminal as dusk falls"*

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3853612/Calais-Jungle-migrants-try-rush-fence.html>

17. Wright & Drury, 20/10/16, *"How old are they really? Damning verdict of face recognition software on 'child' migrants as town hall chief say they'll take away benefits from any who fail age tests"*

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3853816/Verdict-face-recognition-software-child-migrants.html>

18. Hardcastle, 20/10/16, *"EPHRAIM HARDCASTLE: 'Is that an old folks home or a new shelter for child refugees?'"*

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3853846/EPHRAIM-HARDCASTLE-old-folks-home-new-shelter-child-refugees.html>

19. Sergeant, 20/10/16, *"How 'child' migrants are straining the care system - and British children are paying the price"*

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3853830/How-child-migrants-straining-care-British-children-paying-price.html>

20. DAILY MAIL COMMENT, 20/10/16, *"Is proof of age really too much to ask?"*

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3853924/DAILY-MAIL-COMMENT-proof-age-really-ask.html>

21. Robinson & Greenhill, 20/10/16, "*Row as charity FALSELY claims the '38-year-old child asylum seeker' is an interpreter as more migrants arrive today hiding their faces under blankets*"  
<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3854888/Charity-FALSELY-claims-38-year-old-child-asylum-seeker-actually-interpreter-one-migrant-Calais-confesses-course-majority-lie-age-UK.html>

22. Robinson, 20/10/16, "*Of course the majority lie about their age to get into the UK: Calais migrant confesses to scams as it's revealed UK charity workers trawl the Jungle with megaphones to rounding up 'children'*"  
<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3855322/Now-migrants-arriving-London-hide-faces-BLANKETS-rounded-Calais-charity-workers-megaphones-asking-children-want-UK.html>

23. Fagge, 20/10/16, "*Sudanese asylum seeker is stabbed to death by 'lynch mob' of 50 'drunk' Eritrean people smugglers near Calais Jungle after he tried to flee to the UK*"  
<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3855022/Sudanese-asylum-seeker-stabbed-death-lynch-mob-50-drunk-Eritrean-people-smugglers-near-Calais-Jungle-tried-flee-UK.html>

24. Drury, Groves & Greenhill, 20/10/16, "*Are dental checks for 'child' migrants unethical? No, they're already being done by the Home Office*"  
<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3857394/Are-dental-checks-child-migrants-unethical-No-Home-Office.html>

25. Keogh, 21/10/16, "*As 'child' migrants arrive in Britain a genuine 10-year-old is still stranded in the Jungle with no family to turn to*"  
<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3857654/As-child-migrants-arrive-Britain-genuine-10-year-old-stranded-Jungle-no-family-turn-to.html>

26. Keogh, 21/10/16, "*Charity apologises for falsely claiming the '38-year-old child asylum seeker' is an interpreter - as a girl migrant FINALLY arrives from Calais*"  
<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3857654/As-child-migrants-arrive-Britain-genuine-10-year-old-stranded-Jungle-no-family-turn-to.html>

27. Ward, 21/10/16, "*France must stop managing migrants for the British: Presidential favourite Alain Juppé will demand the UK's border is moved from Calais to Kent*"  
<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3858332/France-stop-managing-migrants-British-Presidential-favourite-Alain-Juppé-demand-UK-s-border-moved-Calais-Kent.html>

28. Robinson, 21/10/16, "*First they built the Great Wall of Calais... Now it's time for the Creased Curtain of Croydon! Giant screen put up outside migrant reception centre to shield new arrivals from the cameras*"  
<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3858392/First-child-migrants-proved-ADULT-fingerprints-appeared-database-used-check-criminals-entering-Britain.html>

29. Dathan, 21/10/16, "*We're being taken for fools! Furious MPs demand ministers 'get a grip' as they admit there's nothing stopping adult refugees who falsely claim to be children being put in British schools*"  
<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3859164/We-taken-fools-Furious-MPs-demand-ministers-grip-admit-s-stopping-adult-refugees-falsely-claimed-children-British-schools.html>

30. Fagge, 21/10/16, "*At last! Some GENUINE children leave Calais Jungle for Britain: Boy, 13, and teenager with polio whose father was butchered by the Taliban take SELFIES before boarding bus to the UK*"  
<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3859728/At-GENUINE-children-finally-leave-Calais-Jungle-Britain-Boy-13-teenager-polio-father-butchered-Taliban-SELFIES-boarding-bus-UK.html>



31. Fagge & Allen, 21/10/16, *“French authorities draft in 1,200 armed police to oversee the destruction of the Jungle in Calais as migrants start smashing up the camp before it is pulled down on Monday”*

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3860500/French-authorities-draft-1-200-armed-police-oversee-destruction-Jungle-Calais-migrants-start-smashing-camp-pulled-Monday.html>

32. DAILY MAIL COMMENT, 22/10/16 *“How the Left crushes truth to fit its agenda”*

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3861212/DAILY-MAIL-COMMENT-Left-crushes-truth-fit-agenda.html>

33. Allen, Drury, Greenhill & Duncan, 22/10/16, *“5,000 'child' migrants are adults: Half of those challenged over their age in the past decade found to be over 18 as Home Office 'tells officials to only challenge those who look over 25”*

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3861228/5-000-child-migrants-adults-Half-challenged-age-past-decade-18.html>

34. Duncan, 22/10/16, *“Home Office is telling officials they should only challenge age of 'child' migrants if they look over 25”*

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3861746/Home-Office-telling-officials-challenge-age-child-migrants-look-25.html>

35. Fagge, 22/10/16, *“The battle of the Calais Jungle has begun: Police fire tear gas at mob of stone-throwing migrants as officials prepare to begin demolition - while another coachload of 'children' arrives in Britain”*

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3862226/With-belongings-bin-bags-shopping-trolleys-thousands-migrants-set-spread-Northern-France-forced-leave-Calais-Jungle-bulldozed.html>

36. Powell, 22/10/16, *“Hidden from view: 100 new 'Calais kids' arrive in the UK as part of the biggest influx of refugees since the Government started bringing over youngsters from the Jungle camp”*

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3863170/Calais-kids-arrive-Britain-hidden-view-15ft-fence.html>

37. Murphy, 22/10/16, *“Pictured for the first time: The Home Office Jungle shack where young hopefuls queue to have their ages checked to come to the UK... so where ARE all the children?”*

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3863168/Calais-Jungle-Home-Office-base-child-refugees-kids.html>

38. Hitchens, 23/10/16, *“Why are these 'child refugees' fleeing France? The bad coffee?”*

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3863466/PETER-HITCHENS-child-refugees-fleeing-France-bad-coffee.html>

39. Hanratty, 23/10/16, *“We can't keep them out... we can't send them home: The damning verdict of an asylum judge who has spent 16 years sifting 'cheats and chancers' from the deserving”*

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3863434/We-t-t-send-home-damning-verdict-asylum-judge-spent-16-years-sifting-cheats-chancers-deserving.html>

40. Keough, Cook & Fagge, 23/10/16, *“The end of the exodus: Calais Jungle clearance on verge of stopping after authorities 'run out of buses' with migrants told to go back to the camp and try again tomorrow”*

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3864084/Left-wing-British-anarchists-planning-trouble-against-Calais-police-French-authorities-prepare-raze-Jungle-ground.html>

41. Chan, 23/10/16, *“Home Office REJECTED expert help to determine age of refugees coming to the UK from the Calais Jungle”*

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3864214/Home-Office-REJECTED-expert-help-determine-age-refugees-coming-UK-Calais-Jungle.html>

42. Martin, 23/10/16, "*Neediest kids arrive at last: Another coachload of young migrants arrive in Britain ahead of demolition of Calais Jungle camp*"

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3865108/Another-coachload-young-migrants-arrive-Britain.html>

43. Tapsfield, 24/10/16, "*Transfer of child refugees from Calais to the UK is 'paused' while French authorities dismantle Jungle camp*"

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3866394/Transfer-child-refugees-Calais-UK-paused-French-authorities-dismantle-Jungle-camp.html>

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