Chapter 5 : CONCLUSION

This thesis primary aim sets out to explore and emphasize brought greater understanding on **how *Daily Mail's online and printed news does have represents refugees to its readerships/audience on the European refugee crisis in 2015-2017.*** Through the reporting activity of the Daily Mail during the ERC on refugees, it can be comprehended that media has not solely done coverage on 'reality' without its own values and belief or what usually transforms in framing and agenda-setting. Although there are the ideal frameworks for media to actively participate in the world of information, the background of the media is hard can be disregarded from its routine reporting activity. Since media like the Daily Mail has been known worldwide for years, the existence of its readerships is also impossible to be ignored. As a media that has a large readership, it can be seen in this regard, that the tool that the Daily Mail uses is an interesting article that provides a negative representation of refugees during the ERC.

There are two key points that can be understood from the analysis of the Daily Mail's reporting activity during the ERC on refugees. First, although ideally, the categorization was meant to become a parameter to prioritize the most **vulnerable social group** during the ERC in order to get help during the crisis, the Daily Mail has utilized it to trigger **stereotyping and labeling** that led to activated hostility in the readerships towards refugees. For example, the use of animal association in describing the refugee situation and other negative labeling has

triggered the tendency of the readership to view refugees as rather something that needs to be excluded from society.

Second, instead of playing its **role as a representative of refugees** in order to deliver the understanding of how vulnerable refugee is, the Daily Mail represent refugee as a public enemy in its reporting. In the reporting, through a variation of labeling, negative terminology, and the association of refugees with animals have proven that the Daily Mail has misused social categorization and failed to present the urgency to the readership that asylum seekers and refugees are a vulnerable social group of people that are looking for protection since they flee from the persecution.

From these two points, it can be understood that there is indeed a tendency of the Daily Mail to sensationalize its reporting on refugees during the ERC through the misused of **social categorization**.

However, it is also a necessity to understand the cognitive and discursive process of the hostile attitude of the readership as well after social categorization through **agenda-setting and framing** as the tools of triggers are being recognized. Then, through the Daily Mail's reporting; agenda-setting, and framing, the public tends to conclude their view on refugees and created such a wave of **public opinion**.

The negative portrayal stimulates the tendency of the Daily Mail's readerships to conclude that refugees are a public problem or public enemies and themself, as well as their nation, are prone to experience harmful events during the ERC as. Subsequently, the conclusion leads to an activation of the **negative**

attitudes; hostility, and refusals towards the refugees during the ERC or commonly known as **out-group discrimination**.

Consequently, due to the hostility and refusals of the public toward the refugee during the ERC, the goals of **integration are hindered** and unlikely to be accomplished efficiently. With refugees struggling to prove themselves, news media like the Daily Mail tend to continuously report sensationalized news that agitated more gap between the two groups; natives in host countries and refugees themselves.

Although the overall analysis of the reporting activity of the Daily Mail has shown a direct link between social categorization, public opinion, and negative attitude in its readerships, the thesis only provides one in many alternative explanations on how the three factors have linked to each other. However, the samples of the content analysis provided are intended to strengthen the understanding of the theoretical framework used in order to understand the phenomenon. Furthermore, it is regarded as likely for further research to analyze more side of alternatives explanation of the relation between the Daily Mail and its readerships.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Castles, S. (1998). *The age of migration: International population movements in the* modern world. Macmillan International Higher Education. P. 2

Duffy, Bobby, and Laura Rowden. "You are what you read." *London: MORI* (2005).

Graber, D. A. 1. (1997). *Mass media and American politics.* 5th ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press

Habermas, J. (1985). *The theory of communicative action: Volume 1: Reason and the rationalization of society* (Vol. 1). Beacon press.

Hill, Christopher. 2003. The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy. Palgrave Macmillan: New York City

Hodkinson, P. (2016). Media, culture and society: An introduction. Sage

M. E. McCombs. (2014). Setting the agenda: the mass media and public opinion. *Second edition.* Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity.

Orgad, Shani. *Media representation and the global imagination*. John Wiley & Sons, 2014.

Potter, Jonathan, and Margaret Wetherell. *Discourse and social psychology: Beyond attitudes and behaviour*. Sage, 1987.

Sørensen, Georg, Robert H. Jackson, and Jørgen Møller. *Introduction to international relations: theories and approaches*. Oxford university press, 2022.

Stone DA (2002) Policy Paradox: The Art of Political Decision-Making. New York: Norton

Wendt, A. (1999). *Social theory of international politics* (Vol. 67). Cambridge University Press.

Journal Articles

Akkerman, Tjitske. "Friend or Foe? Right-Wing Populism and the Popular Press in Britain and the Netherlands." *Journalism* 12, no. 8 (2011): 931–45. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884911415972.

Albalawi, Y., & Sixsmith, J. (2015). Agenda setting for health promotion: exploring an adapted model for the social media era. *JMIR public health and surveillance*, *1*(2), e5014.

Augoustinos, Martha, and Cheryl Quinn. "Social categorization and attitudinal evaluations: Illegal immigrants, refugees, or asylum seekers?." (2003). Pg. 30

Berry, Mike, Inaki Garcia-Blanco, and Kerry Moore. "Press coverage of the refugee and migrant crisis in the EU: A content analysis of five European countries." (2016).

Breeze, Ruth. ""Enemies of the people": Populist performances in the Daily Mail reporting of the Article 50 case." (2018).

Bruner, Jerome. "The narrative construction of reality." Critical inquiry 18, no. 1 (1991): 1-21.

D. Katz. (1966). Attitude formation and public opinion. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 367(1),

Deschamps, J. C. (1984). The social psychology of inter group relations and categorical differentiation.

Entman, R. M. (1989). How the media affect what people think: An information processing approach. *The journal of Politics*, *51*(2), 347-370.

F-H Hsieh, & S. E. Shannon. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9), pg. 1277–1288.

Feldman, Stanley. "Structure and consistency in public opinion: The role of core beliefs and values." *American Journal of political science* (1988): 416

Floyd H. Allport. (1937). Toward a Science of Public Opinion, *Public Opinion Quarterly,* 1,

H. Crawley & D. Skleparis. (2017). Refugees, migrants, neither, both: Categorical fetishism and the politics of bounding in Europe's 'migration crisis.' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *44*(1), 48–64.

H. Tajfel, J. C. Turner, W. G. Austin, W. G., & S. Worchel. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. *Organizational identity: A reader,* 56(65.

Habermas, Jürgen. *Legitimation crisis*. Vol. 519. Beacon Press, 1975.

Hall, Stuart. "The rediscovery of 'ideology': Return of the repressed in media studies." In *Culture, society and the media*, pp. 61-95. Routledge, 2005.

Hall, Stuart. "The spectacle of the other." *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* 7 (1997).

Hsieh, Hsiu-Fang, and Sarah E. Shannon. "Three approaches to qualitative content analysis." *Qualitative health research* 15, no. 9 (2005): 1277-1288.

Hutchison, P., Abrams, D., & Christian, J. (2007). The social psychology of exclusion. *Multidisciplinary handbook of social exclusion research*, 36.

Lee, Michelle J. "Media Influence on Humanitarian Interventions: Analysis of the Rohingya Refugee Crisis and International Media Coverage." *Journal of International Humanitarian Action* 6, no. 1 (2021). https://doi.org/10.1186/s41018-021-00108-5.

Lewis, J. M. W., Williams, A., Franklin, R. A., Thomas, J., & Mosdell, N. A. (2008). The quality and independence of British journalism.

M. Georgiou & R. Zaborowski. (2017). Media coverage of the "refugee crisis": A cross-European perspective. *Council of Europe.*

MacGregor, P., Balcytiene, A., Fortunati, L., Nuust, V., O'Sullivan, J., Roussou, N., ... & Sarrica, M. (2011). A cross-regional comparison of selected European newspaper journalists and their evolving attitudes towards the internet- including a single-country focus on the UK. *Journalism*, *12*(5), 627-646

Mayring, Philipp. "Qualitative content analysis: theoretical foundation, basic procedures and software solution." (2014): 143.

Oliver Boyt-Barret and Terhi Rantanen. (2001), News Agency Foreign Correspondents in Tunstall, J. (ed.) *Media Occupations and Professions*, Oxford University Press.

Osée, U. , Bijoux, B. , Didier, S. and François, E. (2019) Individuals and International Public Opinion as an Actor in International Relations. *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, **7**, 478-490. doi: 10.4236/jss.2019.73039.

Philipp Mayring. (2014). Qualitative content analysis: Theoretical background and procedures. *Advances in Mathematics Education*, pg. 365–380.

Shanahan, E. A., McBeth, M. K., & Hathaway, P. L. (2011). Narrative policy framework: The influence of media policy narratives on public opinion. *Politics & Policy*, *39*(3), 378.

Silverman, Jon, and Lisa Thomas. "'I feel your pain': Terrorism, the media and the politics of response." *Crime, media, culture* 8, no. 3 (2012): 293.

Stockemer, D., Niemann, A., Unger, D., & Speyer, J. (2020). The "refugee crisis," immigration attitudes, and euroscepticism. *International Migration Review*, *54*(3), 883-912.

Stolier, Ryan M., and Jonathan B. Freeman. "A neural mechanism of social categorization." *Journal of Neuroscience* 37, no. 23 (2017): 5711-5721.

Stolier, Ryan M., and Jonathan B. Freeman. "The neuroscience of social vision." In *Neuroimaging personality, social cognition, and character*, pp. 139-157. Academic Press, 2016.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (2004). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In *Political psychology* (pp. 276-293). Psychology Press. P. 14

Tannenwald, Nina. "Ideas and explanation: Advancing the theoretical agenda." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 7, no. 2 (2005): 15

News Articles

"Daily Mail Website Has Highest Proportion of Overseas Users." The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, January 22, 2008. https://www.theguardian.com/media/2008/jan/22/dailymail.digitalmedia?gu src=rss&feed=media.

"Dailymail.co.uk Traffic Analytics & Market Share." Similarweb. Accessed June 7, 2022. https://www.similarweb.com/website/dailymail.co.uk/#geography.

BBC. (2016, February 3). *Portsmouth to remain asylum hub despite council plea*. BBC News. Retrieved July 7, 2022, from https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-hampshire-35478741

Bloomgarden-Smoke, Kara. "How 'Journalism Crack' Conquered the Internet." Observer. Observer, May 14, 2018. https://observer.com/2014/03/mailonline/.

Brendan Carlin for The Mail on Sunday. (2015, August 2). *Calais illegal immigrants entering UK get free hotel rooms and £35 cash a week*. Daily Mail Online. Retrieved July 7, 2022, from https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3182519/Welcome-soft-touch-UK-Outrage-immigrants-illegally-entering-UK-free-hotel-rooms-cooked-meals-35-cash-week-days-arrival.html

Buchanan, Rose Troup (18 November 2015). "Daily Mail criticised by social media users for cartoon on refugees". *The Independent*. Retrieved 7 June 2022.

Christensen, Nic. "News.com.au Regains Top Spot as Most Read Website, Mail Online Now in Eighth Position." Mumbrella, February 16, 2014. http://mumbrella.com.au/news-com-au-regains-top-spot-read-website-mail-online-now-eighth-position-206878.

Daily Mail online. Associated Newspapers. Accessed June 7, 2022. https://creative.dailymail.co.uk/us-advertising-opportunities/audience-research.html.

Fothergill, Joel (19 September 2014). "Newspaper ABCs: Digital figures for August 2014". *Media Week*. Retrieved 7 June 2022..

Grenoble, Ryan. "This Daily Mail Anti-Refugee Cartoon Is Straight out of Nazi Germany." HuffPost. HuffPost, November 18, 2015. https://www.huffpost.com/entry/daily-mail-nazi-refugee-rat-cartoon_n_564b526ee4b06037734ae115.

Haas, Hein de. "Eight Myths about Migration and Refugees Explained." DER SPIEGEL. DER SPIEGEL, March 21, 2017. https://www.spiegel.de/international/world/eight-myths-about-migration-and-refugees-explained-a-1138053.html.

Lane), (I. C., & Tarling), (I. F. J. (2016, September 16). *Most right and left wing places in UK revealed but where does your area stand?* mirror. Retrieved July 7, 2022, from https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/left-and-right-wing-8850583

Mackey, Robert (17 November 2015). "Anger Over Daily Mail Cartoon Equating Refugees to Rats". *The New York Times*. Retrieved 7 June 2022.

MailOnline, Lydia Willgress for. "Canadian Couple Samantha Jackson and Farzin Yousefian Cancel Lavish Wedding to Sponsor Syrian Refugees." Daily Mail Online. Associated Newspapers, November 20, 2015. https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3327198/Couple-hold-wedding-reception-Toronto-bar-canceling-lavish-ceremony-sponsor-Syrian-refugee-family-instead-seeing-pictures-little-Aylan-Kurdi-s-lifeless-body.html.

Mailonline, Sam Tonkin For. "Zambian Student Who Came to the UK When She Was Six Has Won High Court Battle to Be Granted a Student Loan ." Daily Mail Online. Associated Newspapers, July 29, 2015. https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3179037/Zambian-student-came-UK-six-won-high-court-battle-granted-student-loan.html.

Mance, Henry (17 September 2014). "DMGT suffers further software headaches". Financial Times. Mance, Henry (24 September 2014). "MailOnline and the next page for the 'sidebar of shame'". Financial Times. Accessed June 7, 2022.

Mance, Henry (24 September 2014). "MailOnline and the next page for the 'sidebar of shame'". *Financial Times*. Retrieved 7 June 2022.

Mark, Michelle (17 November 2015). "Amid Syrian Refugee Crisis, 'Racist' Daily Mail Cartoon Prompts Anger on Social Media". *International Business Times*. Archived from the original on 18 November 2015. Retrieved 7 June 2022.

McKernan, Bathan (17 November 2015). "The Daily Mail has been accused of xenophobia after publishing a cartoon that depicts refugees as rats". *i100.co.uk (The Independent)*. Archived from the original on 19 November 2015. Retrieved 7 June 2022.

Sweney, Mark (27 January 2014). "Mail Online to switch to .com domain name". *The Guardian*. Accessed June 7, 2022.

Official Documents & Websites

"Editors' Code of Practice Committee: Guidance Notes." EDITORS' CODE OF PRACTICE COMMITTEE | GUIDANCE NOTES. Accessed June 7, 2022. https://www.editorscode.org.uk/guidance_notes_7.php.

"EUROPE'S REFUGEES: REFOCUSING ON INTEGRATION." McKinsey & Company. Accessed June 8, 2022. https://www.mckinsey.com/about-us/media.

"Inclusion of Non-EU Migrants." Inclusion of non-EU migrants - Employment, Social Affairs & Inclusion - European Commission. Accessed June 8, 2022. https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=1274&langId=en.

"Moving Stories: How the Media Cover Migration - United Kingdom." Ethical Journalism Network. Accessed June 7, 2022. https://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/united-kingdom.

"Operational Data Portal." Situation Mediterranean Situation. Accessed June 7, 2022. https://data.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean.

"Raising Awareness to Promote Refugee Inclusion - Resettlement." Accessed June 6, 2022. http://www.resettlement.eu/news/raising-awareness-promote-refugee-inclusion.

"UNHCR - The UN Refugee Agency." Accessed June 7, 2022. https://www.unhcr.org/cy/wp-content/uploads/sites/41/2018/02/integration_discussion_paper_July_2014_EN.pdf.

"Unlocking the Potential of Refugees and Asylum Seekers: Intercultural ..." Accessed June 6, 2022. https://rm.coe.int/090000168058f6b8.

"Words Matter: Illegal vs Undocumented Migrants • Picum." PICUM, November 25, 2021. https://picum.org/words-matter/.

Daily Mail online. Associated Newspapers. Accessed June 7, 2022. https://creative.dailymail.co.uk/us-advertising-opportunities/audience-research.html

European Commission (n.d.). Asylum statistics. *Statistics Explained.* Retrieved November 4, 2021, from https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Asylum_statistics

History of British newspapers. History of Newspapers by the NMA. (n.d.). Retrieved July 6, 2022, from http://www.newsmediauk.org/history-of-british-newspapers

IOM. (2015) "Over 3,770 Migrants Have Died Trying to Cross the Mediterranean to Europe in 2015: International Organization for Migration." Retrieved from https://www.iom.int/news/over-3770-migrants-have-died-trying-cross-mediterranean-europe-2015 (Accesed on 29 September 2021)

Messing, V., & Bence, S. (2016). "Still divided but more open, Mapping European attitudes towards migration." *Budapest: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.* https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/?action=media.download&uuid=42E2EC1E-F1FA-AEAA-2EB5F33752962623 (Accessed on 29 September 2021)

Migration Observatory. (n.d). (2021). Public Opinion toward Immigration: *Overall Attitudes and Level of Concern.* Retrieved November 4, 2021, from

https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/uk-public-opinion-toward-immigration-overall-attitudes-and-level-of-concern/

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. "2015: The Year of Europe's Refugee Crisis." UNHCR. Accessed June 7, 2022. https://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/2015/12/56ec1ebde/2015-year-europes-refugee-crisis.html.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (n.d.). The 1951 refugee convention. Retrieved November 4, 2021, from https://www.unhcr.org/1951-refugee-convention.html

University, Santa Clara. "Words Matter: Illegal Immigrant, Undocumented Immigrant, or Unauthorized Immigrant?" Markkula Center for Applied Ethics. Accessed June 7, 2022. https://www.scu.edu/ethics/focus-areas/immigration-ethics/immigration-ethics-resources/immigration-ethics-blog/words-matter-illegal-immigrant-undocumented-immigrant-or-unauthorized-immigrant/.

V. Messing, & S. Bence. (2016). Still divided but more open. *Mapping European attitudes towards migration.* Budapest: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, pg. 22. Retrieved September 29, 2021, from https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/?action=media.download&uuid=42E2EC1E-F1FA-AEAA-2EB5F33752962623

Statistics & Surveys

"Asylum." GOV.UK. Accessed June 7, 2022. https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/immigration-statistics-october-to-december-2015/asylum#:~:text=1.-,Key%20facts.

"Most Read Online Newspapers in the World: Mail Online, New York Times and the Guardian." Comscore, Inc. Accessed June 7, 2022. https://www.comscore.com/esl/Prensa-y-Eventos/Infographics/Most-Read-Online-Newspapers-in-the-World-Mail-Online-New-York-Times-and-The-Guardian.

"News Consumption in the UK: 2016 - Ofcom." Accessed June 7, 2022. https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0016/103570/news-consumption-uk-2016.pdf.

"Number of Asylum Seekers in Europe Surges to Record 1.3 Million in 2015." Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project. Pew Research Center, August 1, 2016. https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2016/08/02/number-of-refugees-to-europe-surges-to-record-1-3-million-in-2015/pgm_2016-08-02_europe-asylum-01/.

"Refugee Crisis in Europe: Aid, Statistics and News: USA FOR UNHCR." Refugee Crisis in Europe: Aid, Statistics and News | USA for UNHCR. Accessed June 7, 2022. https://www.unrefugees.org/emergencies/refugee-crisis-in-europe/#:~:text=By%20the%20end%20of%202016,apart%20by%20war%20and%20persecution.&text=In%202018%2C%20more%20than%20138%2C000,than%202%2C000%20of%20them%20drowned.

"Special Eurobarometer 469 Report Integration of Immigrants in the ..." Accessed June 7, 2022. https://www.europeanmigrationlaw.eu/documents/EuroBarometer-IntegrationOfMigrantsintheEU.pdf. P. 57

"U.K. Traditional Media Brands Attract Online Audiences from around the World." Comscore, Inc. Accessed June 7, 2022. https://www.comscore.com/Insights/Press-Releases/2008/01/UK-Media-Brands-Attract-World-Wide-Attention-Online.

Journalism, Matthew SmithHead of Data. "How Left or Right-Wing Are the UK's Newspapers?" YouGov, March 7, 2017. https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/articles-reports/2017/03/07/how-left-or-right-wing-are-uks-newspapers.

Watson, Amy. "The Daily Mail Newspaper Readership in the UK 2003-2016." Statista, January 12, 2021. https://www.statista.com/statistics/288083/readership-trend-of-the-daily-mail-newspaper-uk/.

Watson, Amy. "The Daily Mail Newspaper Readership in the UK 2003-2016." Statista, January 12, 2021. https://www.statista.com/statistics/288083/readership-trend-of-the-daily-mail-newspaper-uk/#:~:text=In%20the%20period%20from%20July,over%2015%20years%20per%20issue.