



**Parahyangan Catholic University
Faculty of Social and Political Science
International Relations Department**

Terakreditasi Unggul

SK BAN-PT No: 2579/SK/BAN-PT/AK-ISK/S/IV/2022

**Daily Mail Newspaper & Online in Representing Refugees
on 2015-2017 European Refugee Crisis: A Content Analysis**

Undergraduate Thesis

by

Alya Diva

6091801241

Bandung

2022



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Thesis Validation

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Hereby assert that this thesis is the product of my own work, and it has not been previously proposed by any other parties in order to attain an academic degree. Any ideas and information gained from other parties are officially cited in accordance with the valid scientific writing method.

I declare this statement with full responsibility, and I am willing to take any consequences given by the prevailing rules if this statement was found to be untrue.

Jakarta, June 13th, 2022



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ABSTRACT

Name : Alya Diva
Student ID : 6091801241
Title : Daily Mail Newspaper & Online in Representing Refugees on
2015-2017 European Refugee Crisis: A Content Analysis

The Refugee Crisis in Europe has become a part of the history of world mobility which has invited many actors to be involved in it, one of which is the Daily Mail as a media actor. The Daily Mail in this crisis became crucial considering that the media played their role in representing refugees to national and international readers. Through social categorization carried out with negative terminology in their journalism activities, the news produced by the Daily Mail affects the process of receiving information from its readers which then triggers the emergence of public opinion and attitudes that tend to reject and be hostile towards refugees. Although the role of the Daily Mail is theoretically considered to be 'minimal' in shaping public opinion and readers' negative attitudes towards refugees, the terminology used in the Daily Mail's journalism activities tends to be constant and aggressive. Thus, by using analytical content, this study aims to answer, "***How does Daily Mail's online and printed news have represented refugees to its readerships/audience on the European refugee crisis in 2015-2017?***". This study aims to analyze more deeply the reporting activities carried out by the Daily Mail in representing refugees to their readers. This study examines the content of the Daily Mail news which is narrated and uses negative terminology. Using three thinking concepts; media as a representative, social category, public opinion, and negative attitude, this study confirms that there is a role for the Daily Mail online and print in the emergence of public opinion and negative attitudes of readers towards refugees through reporting activities that use negative terminology.

Keywords: refugee crisis, Daily Mail, media, social categorization, public opinion

ABSTRAK

Nama : Alya Diva
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Judul : Koran dan Berita Online Daily Mail dalam Merepresentasikan
Pengungsi di Krisis Pengungsi Eropa 2015-2017: Analisis Konten

Krisis Pengungsi di Eropa telah menjadi salah satu bagian dari sejarah mobilitas dunia yang mengundang banyak aktor terlibat didalamnya, salah satunya adalah Daily Mail sebagai aktor media. Daily Mail di krisis tersebut menjadi krusial mengingat media melakukan perannya dalam merepresentasikan pengungsi kepada para pembaca nasional maupun internasional. Melalui kategorisasi sosial yang dilakukan dengan terminologi negatif dalam aktivitas jurnalismenya, pemberitaan yang dihasilkan oleh Daily Mail mempengaruhi proses penerimaan informasi para pembacanya yang kemudian memicu munculnya opini publik dan sikap yang cenderung menolak dan bermusuhan terhadap pengungsi. Meskipun peran dari Daily Mail secara teori dianggap sebagai ‘minimal’ dalam pembentukan opini publik dan sikap negatif para pembaca terhadap pengungsi, terminologi yang digunakan dalam aktivitas jurnalisme Daily Mail cenderung konstan dan agresif. Sehingga, dengan menggunakan konten analisis, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjawab, ***“Bagaimana Daily Mail online dan cetak telah merepresentasikan pengungsi kepada para pembacanya dalam Krisis Pengungsi di Eropa di kurun waktu 2015 sampai 2017?”***. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis lebih dalam aktivitas pemberitaan yang dilakukan oleh Daily Mail dalam merepresentasikan pengungsi kepada para pembacanya. Penelitian ini akan mengkaji konten pemberitaan Daily Mail yang bernarasi dan menggunakan terminologi negatif. Menggunakan tiga konsep pemikiran; media sebagai representative, kategori sosial, opini publik, serta negative attitude, penelitian ini menegaskan bahwa terdapat peran Daily Mail online maupun cetak dalam munculnya opini publik dan sikap negatif para pembaca terhadap pengungsi melalui aktivitas pemberitaan yang menggunakan terminologi negatif.

Kata kunci: krisis pengungsi, Daily Mail, media, kategorisasi sosial, opini publik

FOREWORD

Awareness of the relationship between media developments and elements of conflict continues to increase with events such as the one with the Daily Mail in the European Refugee Crisis. Given this phenomenon, it can be seen that there is an influence of the media on civil society in international affairs at a certain level. Analysing on the content of the Daily Mail reporting activity during European Refugee Crisis, titled “Daily Mail Newspaper & Online in Representing Refugees on 2015-2017 European Refugee Crisis: A Content Analysis,” this thesis was written to obtain the Bachelor of International Relations degree from Universitas Katolik Parahyangan.

Through this research, the author aimed to explore and explain the content utilized by the Daily Mail in representing refugees during the European Refugee Crisis towards its readerships. With the emergence of conflicts and technological developments, both the issue of refugees and media has been an issue that continues to develop in international relations and continues to show urgency to be discussed academically.

The author is proud to give her views and opinions in this academic work by the grace of God and with considerable effort and attention. Thank you to all who took the time and effort to read this thesis. The author is completely aware of the numerous defects that may be identified in this work, and would eagerly appreciate any constructive input and criticism in order to improve it further.

Jakarta, June 13th, 2022

Alya Diva

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List of Abbreviations

ERC	European Refugee Crisis
EU	European Union
IOM	International Organization for Migration
NHS	National Health Service
SIT	Social Identity Theory
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nation

Chapter 1 : INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Issue

The European refugee crisis in 2015 was one of the milestones in the history of migrants and refugees. A large number of people of different nationalities of migrants and refugees come to the EU countries in a short and successive time. According to the data of UN refugees, 1.3 million people applied for asylum on the continent in 2015, and nearly 5.2 million refugees and migrants arrived on European beaches by the end of 2016, after arduous journeys from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, and other nations ripped apart by conflict and persecution.¹ This figure shows a quite drastic increase since the highest in the 1990s.² The majority of mobility that caused a significant increase in numbers is refugees fleeing war and persecution to several countries in Europe.³

Furthermore, according to a seminal book by Habermas (1975) “Legitimation Crisis”, he defines a crisis as a rarely occurring event that can destabilize both the existing order and citizens’ long-standing beliefs. He uses the term “(European) refugee crisis” throughout the article to refer to two dimensions

¹ “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.>

² “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/.](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/)

³ “Operational Data Portal.” Situation Mediterranean Situation. Accessed June 7, 2022. <https://data.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean.>

of the crisis: (1) a humanitarian crisis of hundreds of thousands of people fleeing or migrating from war, oppression, or disastrous economic circumstances to EU member states from 2015 to 2017 and, (2) a crisis of European governance which was exacerbated by dealing with the humanitarian crisis.⁴

A report also stated that the year 2015 has been the “deadliest year on record for migrants and refugees crossing the Mediterranean, trying to reach Europe.”⁵ According to the IOM report, more than 3,770 migrants were reported to have died trying to cross the Mediterranean in 2015.⁶ From the series of tragedies in the crisis, the one that has attracted global attention is the Mediterranean boat disaster involving migrants crossing the Mediterranean from North Africa and 800 reportedly died due to the sinking overcrowded boat until April 2015.⁷ Furthermore, according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), until December 2015, the number of refugees and migrants who had arrived on the European coast reached more than 911.000 along with 3,550 missing on the way.⁸ With the large number of people coming, countries have to deal with unpreparedness.

However, the crisis does not stop at mobility itself, it continues. Adjusting and integrating to the locals is another crisis that must be overcome once the

⁴ Habermas, Jürgen. *Legitimation crisis*. Vol. 519. Beacon Press, 1975.

⁵ 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> (Accessed on 29 September 2021)

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ 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>.

refugees land in the destination countries. It is crucial for refugees to be able to integrate with the host countries since a harmonious coexistence is needed so there will be no social gap that will lead to hostility and even worse, conflict. Integration is also needed so that migrants and refugees receive protection, basic needs and live a decent life. Challenges in integration have often met since locals have seen refugees more of a threat than an opportunity. Difficulties in integration in the time of crisis often have been triggered by how the locals view refugees. Through assumptions and oversimplified categorizations, refugees are hindered from integration.

Assumptions and oversimplified categorization by locals have often triggered the information received on refugees and other types of migration. Using the definition of Ryan M. Stolier, and Jonathan B. Freeman, social categorization is “...*the process through which we group individuals based upon social information. The “Big Three” are sex, race, and age, but numerous other dimensions are categorized as well, such as social status, occupation, and even perceptually ambiguous categories such as sexual orientation.*”⁹ In the case of the European refugee crisis, the categorization is closely related to social status. One of the social status that is identical with refugees is refugee as a vulnerable group. This categorization can be understood through the Article 1 of the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. The article stated a refugee is any person who, “...*owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion,*

⁹ 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.

nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality..."¹⁰. Therefore, the statement implies a social categorization that showed how a refugee's situation of being "persecuted" made the justification for them to be prioritized. Nonetheless, with this type of prioritization, according to Nando Sigona, the validity of refugee and economic migrants "deservingness" is being classified. In other means, since based on categorization refugees are understood as the most vulnerable, refugees would get help first.

However, social categorization is varied, depending on the source of information that society has relied on. Considering that the public is unable to witness the crisis themselves, reporting activity of mass media has become a medium and source of information for readers and representatives of refugees. As one of the main sources of information, mass media has also become a representation of the subject being reported on; the refugees. As a source of information and representative, a specific etiquette on reporting activity of mass media on migrants and refugees has been ruled out in order to protect refugees from media misrepresentation. In the guidance notes of Editors' Code of Practice issued by The Press Complaints Commission (PCC) on 23 October 2003. The commission stated that "...editors should ensure that their journalists covering these issues are mindful of the problems that can occur and take care to avoid misleading or distorted terminology. By way of example, as an "asylum seeker" is someone currently

¹⁰ 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>

seeking refugee status or humanitarian protection, there can be no such thing in law as an "illegal asylum seeker".¹¹ Although the code is not legally binding, journalists are bound to the code.¹²

Furthermore, news media has also been considered to influence and stimulate integration in the case of refugee integration.¹³ Accurate information obtained by readers will create well informed and resourceful societies.¹⁴ In representing refugees, the media should also provide coverage that describes the actual situation of refugees. For example, as a vulnerable group, the media can provide more factual and effective knowledge to readers on the reasons why people flee countries if they have limited access to first-hand information.¹⁵ Therefore, through the promotion of encounters in the phenomenon of refugee integration triggers the unlocking of potentials that lead to the opening of more doors towards integration.

With the existence of refugee mobility that will continue to emerge as long as conflicts still occur in international affairs, the urgency of this topic to be discussed academically becomes quite important. In addition, apart from refugees, there are actors who can directly influence civil society, namely the media. This

¹¹ "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.

¹² "Moving Stories: How the Media Cover Migration - United Kingdom." Ethical Journalism Network. Accessed June 7, 2022. <https://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/united-kingdom>.

¹³ 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>.

¹⁴ "Raising Awareness to Promote Refugee Inclusion - Resettlement." Accessed June 6, 2022. <http://www.resettlement.eu/news/raising-awareness-promote-refugee-inclusion>.

¹⁵ "Unlocking the Potential of Refugees and Asylum Seekers: Intercultural ..." Accessed June 6, 2022. <https://rm.coe.int/090000168058f6b8>. Pg. 8

causes the involvement of civil society in the international relations phenomenon that needs to be classified and justified. However, considering this phenomenon is adverse towards the refugees, this thesis is not an attempt to normalize what has happened. By using the theory and analytical methods in this thesis, it is aimed that the background and process of the influence of news on the existence of public opinion and public attitudes can be understood constructively.

1.2 Problem Identification

1.2.1 Problem Identification

Indeed, social categorization is used to organize and structure; enabling an effective communication in complexity.¹⁶ Moreover, during the crisis, categorization is also a form of effort to create a legal framework to help refugees to regain their security and freedom; to construct a priority scale and how can the related stakeholder help them in the time of crisis.¹⁷ Nevertheless, in the process of reporting on refugees in the crisis, there are several media that have actively played their role as the source of information providing its readership with inaccurate news. Moreover, seeing that mass media has its own framing and agenda-setting, reporting activity has been utilized to communicate with its readers since it has the characteristic of providing and using. Since each media has its political

¹⁶ Augoustinos, Martha, and Cheryl Quinn. "Social categorization and attitudinal evaluations: Illegal immigrants, refugees, or asylum seekers?" (2003). Pg. 30

¹⁷ 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.

stands, the report will follow in accordance. According to an article by the UN titled “Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries”, there are several media that has been highlighted with the most inaccurate and sensationalized reporting on refugee which are The Sun¹⁸, La Repubblica, El Pais, Aftonbladet, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Sky News, Daily Mirror and the Daily Mail.¹⁹

However, from these mass media, one of the most eye-catching in the reporting of the European refugee crisis is the Daily Mail. As one of the mass media with most readership both nationally and internationally, the Daily Mail has a certain influence on its spread of information and portrayals on the refugee crisis. In reporting on refugees in the European refugee crisis in 2015-2017, the Daily Mail news often contains sensationalized and inaccurate news. For example, locals would think that undocumented refugees is correlated with the terms ‘illegal’ that implies criminality.²⁰ Therefore, society tends to have a negative attitude towards refugees; refusals and hostility.

Hence, mass media’s inaccurate and misleading reporting activity has hindered refugees from integrating and fulfilling basic needs, and yet they have been the most vulnerable in the crisis at the very beginning. In this case, the media as representative of refugees has triggered the public to

¹⁸ “Moving Stories: How the Media Cover Migration - United Kingdom.” Ethical Journalism Network. Accessed June 7, 2022. <https://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/united-kingdom>.

¹⁹ Berry, Garcia-Blanco, and Moore (2016), pg. 5.

²⁰ “Words Matter: Illegal vs Undocumented Migrants • Picum.” PICUM, November 25, 2021. <https://picum.org/words-matter/>.

portray refugees' identity in a negative perspective. Refugees have become more vulnerable with the quadruple threats; being politically weak, poor, being labelled, and hindered from integration.

1.2.2 Problem limitation

Based on data provided by Statista, it can be seen that from July to December 2015, its readerships have reached over 3.5 million individuals.²¹ The number of readerships has shown a significant influence of the Daily Mail as a non-state actor in the crises. Not only popular nationally, but the readership of the Daily Mail has also spread over several countries such as the United States, Australia, Canada and Germany.²² The Daily Mail is also one of several media that have the most coverage on the refugee crisis.²³ Therefore, the Daily Mail is chosen to be the actor chosen in this thesis. These factors has shown the urgency of the Daily Mail being one of the most influential media in the UK. Therefore, in the context of European Refugee Crisis, the Daily Mail is considered to be academically appropriate to be further discussed and analysed.

Meanwhile, in the context of samples used in the thesis, the reporting activity chosen is filtered by its most relevancy towards the topic. Through using the search engine tools in the internet, the samples-gathering was

²¹ 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/>.

²² "Dailymail.co.uk Traffic Analytics & Market Share." Similarweb. Accessed June 7, 2022. <https://www.similarweb.com/website/dailymail.co.uk/#geography>.

²³ 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).

prioritized to those which has the most ‘refugee’ correlations and most likely to show up first during the collecting process with the chosen time frame. This is considered to be the most suitable limitation due to the context of the topics being correlated with the readerships. The number of the reporting chosen has also considered the most sufficient based of the aggressiveness and the categorization of the coding process that later is shown in the thesis.

Moreover, the focus of the data will be centered in the UK. There have been numerous statistics and numbers studied of public opinions of locals towards refugees and migrants in general. One of many countries that have shown exciting statistics of refusal towards refugees is the United Kingdom. The UK is proven as one of the three countries that have a higher level of refusal of migrants compared to other European countries based on a cross-national survey, The European Social Survey (ESS).²⁴ Interestingly, the UK also said to have an “explicit” increase in acceptance around the year of the European refugee crisis but still making refugees and migrants in general play the role as one of the reasons why the majority of Britons voted for the UK to leave the EU.²⁵ Based on this phenomenon of locals’ refusal and hostility towards refugees and migrants in general, the narration on public opinion arises. According to American psychologist Danier Katz,

²⁴ 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>

²⁵ Ibid.

the concepts of attitude and public opinion are related.²⁶ Shaped public opinion or the public opinion process will stimulate the mobilization and channeling of individual responses to affect the group or national decision-making.²⁷ This formula then helped influence the public to form an attitude towards a phenomenon and made the UK the country with sufficient proof to be analyzed in this thesis.

Furthermore, the focus of this thesis is narrowed from 2015 until 2017. Arguably, in 2015, the number of asylum seekers that are seeking refugee status has reached its highest (1.3 million) since the fall of the Berlin Wall before the 1990s when the number of asylum seekers reached only 697.000 people.²⁸ Then, in 2017 the number of refugees coming to the EU member countries has fallen significantly to 680.000 people.²⁹ Other than that, in the same year, this phenomenon has caused a gradual and significant rising percentage of negative answers and opinions in surveys of the EU member countries citizens towards the refugees until 2017 when the number had dropped to 66% from 85-85%.³⁰

1.2.3 Research question

²⁶ D. Katz. (1966). Attitude formation and public opinion. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 367(1), pg. 150

²⁷ Floyd H. Allport. (1937). Toward a Science of Public Opinion, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 1, pp. 18

²⁸ 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

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ 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/>

Since the role of Daily Mail has played a role in representing refugees in the 2015 European Refugee Crisis, thus, the question that is likely to be answered is *“How does Daily Mail’s online and printed news have represents refugees to its readerships/audience on the European refugee crisis in 2015-2017?”*

1.3 Research Purposes

As the continuous and consistent number of refugees settles in developed countries, the thesis provides an explanation of how the phenomenon of public opinion affects the process of integration between the locals and the refugees. In addition, this thesis could be used as a reference of content analysis in the refugee phenomenon since study alike has not been done massively among scholars.

1.3.1. Practical Use of the Research

Potentially, this thesis can be utilized to understand the characteristics of media as a non-actor in international relations that has enabled its power to influence international society. Moreover, this thesis could contribute to the refugee integration study of how public opinion has played its role to influence the willingness of both the locals and refugees to integrate.

1.4 Literature review

To understand the relations between media, public opinion, and refugee phenomena, four pieces of literature are chosen and will be elaborated on as a reference to this thesis. With the increase of cases on each subject and variable

throughout time, out of many, this literature provides a thorough, systematic, and constructive understanding while still paying attention to its relevance to the existing phenomenon of the refugee crisis.

First, in relation to the European refugee crisis, a 2017 Council of Europe report “Media Coverage of the “refugee crisis”: A Cross-European Perspective” shows several facts that pinpoint the problematic coverage of the phenomenon. The report stated that one of many reasons that is used as a legitimization of the variety of coverage is the concept of freedom of expression that is protected by Article 10 of the European Convention of Human Rights, is complemented by Article 4 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and Article 20 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.³¹ These justifications have aided the press in authorizing equal rights to freedom of expression, free speech, and participation for all groups and individuals in society, especially minorities.³² Through its monitoring, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) has developed country-specific recommendations addressing situations where members of minority groups, such as refugees and migrants, may be denied equal rights due to discriminatory attitudes toward them, which are often fueled by negative narratives in the public debate.³³ Myria Georgiou and Rafal Zaborowski, as the writer of this report, have also stated that in the European mediated description of the crisis, there are three periods analyzed as important points; careful of tolerance, ecstatic humanitarianism, and fear and

³¹ M. Georgiou & R. Zaborowski. (2017). Media coverage of the “refugee crisis”: A cross-European perspective. *Council of Europe*, pg. 5

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

securitization.³⁴ One of the most known findings provided by the report implies that together with the rise of militarism, the peak of the “refugee/migration crisis” saw a gradual shift in media narratives – from emotional, humane narrative surrounding the refugees and national citizens to a relatively distant, emotionless framing.³⁵ This periodization used by Georgiou and Zaborowski shows that there is a phenomenon of sensationalization and dramatization that is being utilized gradually in the context of preceding and succeeding developments to understand the significance of the phenomenon profoundly.

Second, as a reference to the role of Daily Mail in the European refugee crisis, the report titled “Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries' provides a brief explanation of the UK press in general. However, in the report, it is stated that both The Sun and the Daily Mail are the two main mass media that have played in negative reporting on the European Refugee Crisis along with other mass media from other four countries. Furthermore, the report collected several quotations from the Daily Mail from 2014 to 2015 that implicated a negative message to its reader on refugees. Moreover, although Daily Mail as a right-wing media is less likely to list countries of origin in its reporting, the report shows that there are a significant number of stories on refugees from Africa, North Africa, and the Middle East.

Third, the role of the Daily Mail as a medium can be assessed based on the concept of media’s role in international relations argued by Oliver Boyd-Barrett and

³⁴ Ibid, pg. 7

³⁵ Ibid, pg. 11

Terhi Rantanen (2001). The power shift of the state as the most main actor in international relations has triggered non-state actors like the media to emerge. Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen stated that the media has enabled its power to influence and control local and foreign correspondents. In a sense, the circulated information and images provided by the media in the form of news between countries have arguably constructed relationships between people from the local level to the international level.³⁶ Therefore, the power of the media as a non-state actor is legitimate to be discussed as a crucial element in the phenomenon.

Fourth, to enhance the understanding of how media influences public opinion, one of the most common aspects of journalism that should be considered is agenda-setting, especially in the UK since news media have become people's primary source of information about foreign affairs. Foreign affairs' importance frequently rises and decreases in reaction to media attention.³⁷ The sheer volume of exposure is believed by early scholars to have caused what is known as the 'mass communication effect'. To some extent, first-level agenda-setting effects illustrate this phenomenon. However, as attribute agenda-setting demonstrates, McCombs emphasizes that paying more attention to the exact content of media messages allows us to have a better grasp of the mental images we have in our brains, as well as the attitudes and beliefs that are based on those images. The effect of communication medium on attitudes and views, the theoretical site where mass communication theory began in the 1940s and 1950s, is brought up by attribute

³⁶ Oliver Boyd-Barrett and Terhi Rantanen. (2001), *News Agency Foreign Correspondents* in Tunstall, J. (ed.) *Media Occupations and Professions*, Oxford University Press, pg. 127

³⁷ M. E. McCombs. (2014). *Setting the agenda: the mass media and public opinion. Second edition.* Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity, pg. 17

agenda-setting. This is a return to Carl Hovland's scientific rhetoric, in which communication properties are matched to changes in attitude and opinion.³⁸ Therefore, it can be understood that there is a firm line of relevance between agenda-setting, public opinion, and attitude.

Fifth, in order to have a comprehensive explanation of the social categorization of refugees, the article “Social categorization and attitudinal evaluations: Illegal immigrants, refugees or asylum seekers?” stated that categories are often seen as a symbol of reality itself rather than just simplified.³⁹ Through a hypothesis and study case in Australia, the article shows that the use of terms in describing and representing refugees has certain implications on the attitude of the public towards the refugees. Other than that, this article has also complimented the UN’s statement on refugee vulnerability by supporting how the term ‘persecution’ is traditionally associated with refugees.

Sixth, in conjunction with the mentioned event, it can be understood that people tend to have a certain attitude towards newcomers that led to a social psychology and sociology phenomenon that Henri Tajfel introduced in 1979– the concept of in-group (us) and out-group (them) that is explained in the social identity theory. In short, the theory discusses how group members of an in-group will always tend to seek negative aspects of an out-group to heighten their self-image. According to Tajfel and his associates in his book chapter entitled “An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict”, the intergroup phenomenon has caused in- and out-

³⁸ Ibid, pg. 73

³⁹ Berry, Garcia-Blanco, and Moore (2016), pg. 31.

group that led to social categorization and intergroup discrimination.⁴⁰ Through experiments, Tajfel and his associate proposed that the groups (e.g. social class, family, football team, etc.) to which people belonged were an important source of pride and self-esteem. Groups give us a sense of social identity: a sense of belonging to the social world. In other words, the world seems to be divided into “them” and “us” based on a process of social categorization and stereotyping through a normal cognitive process: the tendency to group things together. In doing so we tend to exaggerate: the differences between groups and the similarities of things in the same group.⁴¹

1.4.1 Research gap

The four pieces of literature mentioned above serve as support and enlightenment towards the discussion of this thesis. This literature will also play its role as the guide of arguments that will be presented. These pieces of literature provide the information needed to understand the existence of media in the phenomenon of public opinion along with its relevance to the agenda-setting of media. It can be comprehended that there is a shifting phenomenon in the public's attitude towards the refugee crisis not only inside the UK but also in all audiences of the respective media. However, after acknowledging the base understanding, this thesis continues to discuss the non-state actor and variables involved and how their involvement has

⁴⁰ 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), pg. 38

⁴¹ Berry, Garcia-Blanco, and Moore (2016), pg. 31.

formulated a construction of public opinion in the European refugee crisis. This discussion is profoundly needed since the existing early study has very rarely discussed a specific phenomenon on what media and how it influenced the public's opinion that led to resulting certain attitudes. These mentioned pieces of literature only discuss what has happened and what is the result of the agenda-setting presented by respective media. Thus, this thesis serves as an additional study to fill the gaps among these literature references mentioned above.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

In order to analyze the phenomenon, the theory that will be utilized in this thesis is **constructivism**. In understanding international affairs, through the theory of constructivism, Sorensen stated that 'human awareness or consciousness' had played its role in the 'system is constituted by ideas'.⁴² Sorensen also believes that there is a 'common understanding among people' that 'has been arranged by certain people at a particular time and place'.⁴³

Moreover, based the constructivist view, Jürgen Habermas's communicative action theory stated that there are symbols society in the sense of interaction that are mediated through action of communications such as language.⁴⁴

⁴² Sørensen, Georg, Robert H. Jackson, and Jørgen Møller. *Introduction to international relations: theories and approaches*. Oxford university press, 2022. Pg. 208

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Habermas, J. (1985). *The theory of communicative action: Volume 1: Reason and the rationalization of society* (Vol. 1). Beacon press. Pg. 16

Since the activity of media is produced through language that able to influence such interactions, the media is now no longer just an observer but an actor in the context of international relations. In addition to being a major source of information for the public on international relations issues, the media also serves as a witness to events and draws attention to specific incidents, which in turn sparks and ventilates debate that would have otherwise occurred among political elites behind closed doors.⁴⁵ Hence, the theory is most appropriate to support the content analysis of the media’s reporting activity that triggered the public opinion of its readers.

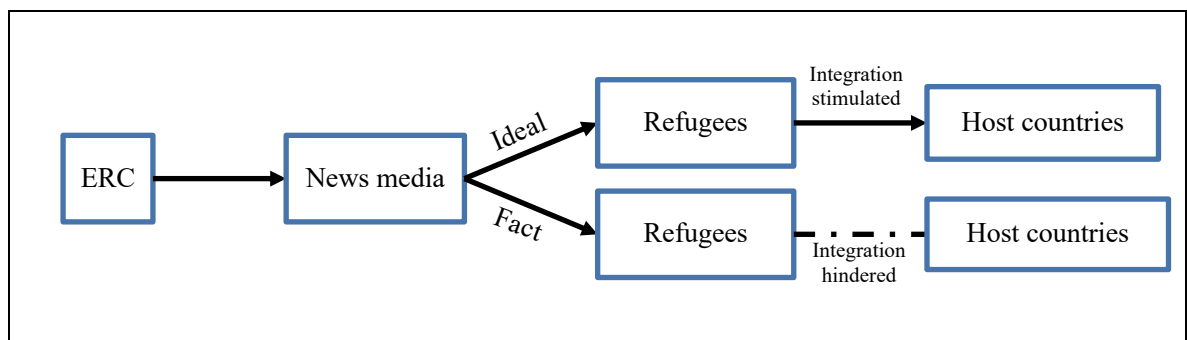


Figure 1.1 Theoretical framework

Before acknowledging a deeper and more detailed theoretical framework, to simplified, bellow provided a brief scheme on how the crisis is being influenced by the media. As shown on Figure 1.1, it can be seen that in the end of the thesis the ‘fact’ scheme is being indicated. Meanwhile, the ‘ideal’ scheme, based on the UN goals of integration is the one that is being expected. This scheme is aimed to set an understanding that, indeed, the phenomenon is conspicuous when the ideals and the fact that has happened is being compared.

⁴⁵ Hill, Christopher. 2003. *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*. Palgrave Macmillan: New York City. Pg. 274

In details, Table 1.1 below provides a summarized explanation. In other words, the simplified scheme acted as a theory of ideal and fact that is being expected from a media in reporting crisis. However, from the Table 1.1, it can also be understood that media has not been always follows the rule of ideals how they supposed to do a coverage on certain phenomenon. Instead, media in representing more likely to do the opposite.

Furthermore, as an implication, the theoretical framework that is being utilized is the model of elements of **media in socio-cultural** context by Paul Hodkinson that can be seen in Figure 1.2. Hodkinson explained that the media contained content about scenarios and dilemmas that had existed before and tended to be considered important in society.⁴⁶ With the existence of media that become shapers, mirrors and representers, the role of media in socio-cultural becomes significant and impactful towards future attitudes, identities, behaviour and social patterns.⁴⁷

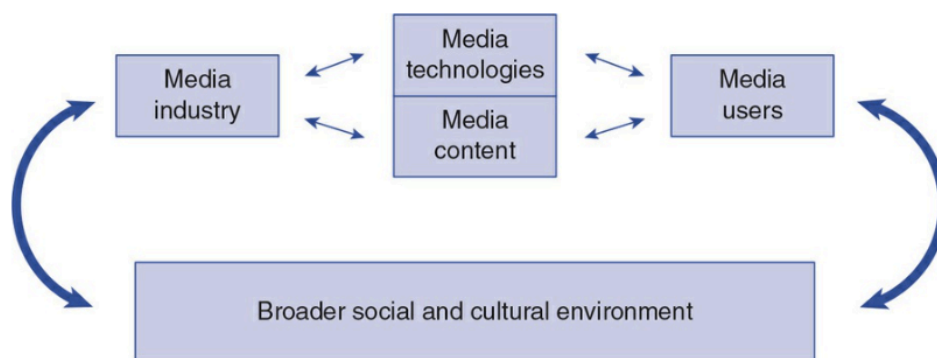


Figure 1.2 Simplified model of the elements of media in socio-cultural context of Paul Hodkinson

⁴⁶ Hodkinson, P. (2016). Media, culture and society: An introduction. Sage. P. 22

⁴⁷ Ibid, pg. 23

In explaining the elements and processes of media in socio-cultural, in his book, Hodkinson stated that there are such strong relations between media and broader social and cultural environment.⁴⁸ In referring the term media, Hodkinson defined the aspects into several; media industry, media technologies, media content, and media users.⁴⁹ Media technologies are considered to be the medium (technologies or hardware) through which content is transmitted.⁵⁰

Hodkinson emphasizes the existence of newspaper and digital broadcasting as the technologies.⁵¹ In the context of content, not only conventional form of articles, photographs has also considered to have played role as the medium itself in the media.⁵² In addition, the ability and limitations of the media in implementing is visible through the technology used and the significance as well as the impact it has on understanding other elements such as media users.⁵³⁵⁴

Meanwhile, in the understanding of Hodkinson, media industry is considered to be the most important analysis of the relationships between media and society since it shows the organisations that implicated the media's value, belief and idea.⁵⁵⁵⁶ Furthermore, the analysis on industry and organisations of the media also emphasize the role of sponsors towards the reporting activity, i.e content regulation.⁵⁷⁵⁸

Moreover, after the narration of media technologies and industry, media users also considered to be the other crucial element of media in socio-cultural. Media users or most likely to be known as 'audience research' consisted of an interpersonal relations between the audience itself; opinion leader and individuals

⁴⁸ Ibid, pg. 29

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid, pg. 35

⁵¹ Ibid, pg. 48

⁵² Ibid, pg. 41

⁵³ Ibid, pg. 57

⁵⁴ Ibid, pg. 58

⁵⁵ Ibid, pg. 81

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid, pg. 76

⁵⁸ Ibid, pg. 72

in in social contact with the opinion leader.⁵⁹⁶⁰ Hodkinson stated that there are a tendency of users to have exaggerated view towards a phenomenon that is being reported, i.e. crime, etc.⁶¹ This is what ultimately leads to analysis that tends to lead to behavioral studies of the users.⁶²

The understanding the influence of media in socio-cultural is a theory that tends to act as a conclusion that the role of the media is quite significant in the global information movement. In addition, the media has a strong potential to always influence various levels of national and international society with various socio-cultural backgrounds. Therefore, Paul Hodkinson's theory becomes a theory that is deemed appropriate to be part of the theoretical framework in this thesis.

Ideal	Cover information mindfully and avoid misleading or distorted terminology in deliver information	Promote well informed and resourceful locals (societies)	Represent refugee as vulnerable group
Fact	Deliver incorrect information and sensationalized news to the readers through misleading terminology (social	Represent refugee as public enemy (public opinion)	Encourage readers to refuse the existence of refugee (negative attitude in in-group favoritism and out-group

⁵⁹ Ibid, pg. 109

⁶⁰ Ibid, pg. 115

⁶¹ Ibid, pg. 112

⁶² Ibid, pg. 110

	categorization of social identity theory)		discrimination)
Impact	Integration hindered		

Table 1.1 Ideal and fact table on the Daily Mail's reporting activity during the ERC

In details, to gain an understanding of how the Daily Mail as a **representative** has influenced public opinion of its readerships, this thesis will first elaborate on media as representative using the theory of Stuart Hall (2005) on media representation. This theory will help to comprehend that media ideology has been playing its role in constructing reality through its reporting (framing and agenda-setting).⁶³ To complement Hall's theory, As a representation, the role of media in representing can be also understood through the theory of representation of Jerome Bruner (1991).⁶⁴ Bruner classified representation as enactive representation (based on the action), iconic representation (based on images), and symbolic representation (based on language) which had a great effect on cognitive learning theory. In this theory, Bruner also explained the element of categorization during the act of representation. Based upon his idea of **categorization**, he stated, "To perceive is to categorize, to conceptualize is to categorize, to learn is to form categories, to make decisions is to categorize."⁶⁵

Then, to set an extensive understanding of categorization, the theoretical framework will be followed by the social categorization of the social identity and

⁶³ Hall, Stuart. "The rediscovery of 'ideology': Return of the repressed in media studies." In *Culture, society and the media*, pp. 61-95. Routledge, 2005.

⁶⁴ Bruner, Jerome. "The narrative construction of reality." *Critical inquiry* 18, no. 1 (1991): 1-21.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

intergroup relations theory of Henri Tajfel (1986). However, to complement Tajfel's understanding of social categorization, this thesis is supported by other specific definitions of social categorization by Ryan M. Stoler and Jonathan B. Freeman. Stoler and Freeman stated that **social categorization** is "the process through which we group individuals based upon social information. The "Big Three" are sex, race, and age, but numerous other dimensions are categorized as well, such as social status, occupation, and even perceptually ambiguous categories such as sexual orientation."⁶⁶ Furthermore, to add a more specific and targeted understanding, the thesis also refers to Martha Augoustinos and Cheryl Quinn's (2003) arguments on a social cognitive model of social categorization of illegal immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers.⁶⁷

The social categorization that led to refusals is the idea that has complicated the integration between the refugees and the destination country, which in this case can be understood as the international system. Furthermore, in understanding the international phenomenon, constructivists also mentioned 'the social construction of reality'⁶⁸, which is correlated with the role of media in representing refugees through its framing and agenda-setting that provided construction of reality to its readerships. The beliefs, ideas, conceptions, and assumptions mentioned by Sorensen are also supported by Tannenwald's statement of the groups as actors in the international relations; organizations, policymakers, social groups, or society.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Stoler, Ryan M., and Jonathan B. Freeman. "A neural mechanism of social categorization." *Journal of Neuroscience* 37, no. 23 (2017): 5711-5721.

⁶⁷ Augoustinos and Quinn (2003)

⁶⁸ Ibid, pg. 211

⁶⁹ Tannenwald, Nina. "Ideas and explanation: Advancing the theoretical agenda." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 7, no. 2 (2005): 15

Since the role of representing of the media in international affairs is being utilized to do coverage on refugee, the story from the reporting then considered to be the most important element in the constructivist view- representing the identity.

In the crisis, refugees are categorized by their social status as a vulnerable group. Furthermore, the explanation is followed by how the role of the media of being a representative has enabled certain international public opinion of Daily Mail's readerships using the **public opinion theory** of Robert M. Entman (1989).⁷⁰ Entman emphasizes the role of media in affecting what people think during information processing. This explanation will complement the theory of public opinion of Walter Lippman (1922).⁷¹

Meanwhile, in order to get a better understanding of what happened inside the process of public opinion, this article will apply the concept of **in-group favoritism and out-group discrimination** concept of sociology in the analysis of Henri Tajfel (1979) as an international public attitude toward refugees. Therefore, through these approaches, the existence of the UK media in the influencing of public opinion during the European refugee crisis can be understood constructively.⁷²

⁷⁰Osée, 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.

⁷¹ Lippman, Walter. "Public opinion. NY." (1922).

⁷² Tajfel, Turner, Austin, & Worchel. (1979).

1.6 Research and Data Collection Method

1.6.1 Research Method

In order to construct the analysis and provide an explanation of the collected data, the qualitative methodology will be applied in the thesis. In specific, the utilized method is a summative content analysis that is commonly used in qualitative research. According to Hsiu-Fang Hsieh Sarah E. Shannon (2015) and Philipp Mayring (2014), content analysis is an analysis technique that can be defined as a framework of method that consists of a variety of approaches.⁷³⁷⁴ From the mentioned scholars, the content analysis approaches or strategies that will be used in the thesis are identifying and collecting all the necessary and relevant data, categorizing the aspects of the content, coding the content, counting the relevant words, and concluding the analysis to present the thesis result.⁷⁵⁷⁶ In this thesis, qualitative research methods are also utilized to serve as a procedure to answer the aimed research question and purposes in regards to the relations between media and the European refugee crisis. This method will provide a detailed and structured analysis on why and how Daily Mail as a non-state actor in international relations has been able to influence public opinion.

⁷³ F-H Hsieh, & S. E. Shannon. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9), pg. 1277–1288.

⁷⁴ Philipp Mayring. (2014). Qualitative content analysis: Theoretical background and procedures. *Advances in Mathematics Education*, pg. 365–380.

⁷⁵ Hsieh, Hsiu-Fang, and Sarah E. Shannon. "Three approaches to qualitative content analysis." *Qualitative health research* 15, no. 9 (2005): 1277-1288.

⁷⁶ Mayring, Philipp. "Qualitative content analysis: theoretical foundation, basic procedures and software solution." (2014): 143.

1.6.2 Data Collecting Method

To gather the data needed for the thesis, various works of literature such as books, journal articles, journals, surveys, news, and opinion articles from the related media along with other reliable and credible sources are used to create a constructive and systematic explanation of the topic at hand. Other than that, reliable official data from government and global or international organization websites on the internet are taken as a compliment to validate the analysis of the thesis.

1.7 Research structure

To provide constructive reading guidance, this thesis is structured into five main chapters as follows:

Chapter I - Introduction. This chapter presents a brief discussion of the background of the main issue, problem identification, problem limitation, research question, purpose of the research, literature review, research gap, theoretical framework, research methods, and data collecting techniques, along with the thesis structure.

Chapter 2 - Daily Mail and its Reporting on Refugees in the 2015 European Refugee Crisis. In order to understand the main issue, this chapter provided an in-depth description and explanation of the actor involved in the issue; Daily Mail. As the UK's most famous daily, Daily Mail has repeatedly produced arguably controversial and sensationalized news in its daily reporting. Furthermore,

as a subject in the media's reporting activity, the phenomenon of refugees is also elaborated on. This chapter serves as support for the discussion of the independent variable of the analysis.

Chapter 3 - The implication of Daily Mail's Reporting on the 2015 European Refugee Crisis toward its readerships. As a dependent variable, Daily Mail's readership in the 2015 European Refugee Crisis is understood through mapping readership data in the UK and other EU member countries. Furthermore, this chapter also constructively discusses the process of the Daily Mail reporting on refugee implications towards readerships' attitude toward the refugee.

Chapter 4 - Analysis. Utilizing the qualitative method, summative content analysis, this chapter constructively analyzes the issue by collecting the relevant data, categorizing the aspects of the content, coding the data, counting the relevant words, and concluding the outcome of the coding.

Chapter 5 - Conclusion. As the last chapter, this chapter provides an overall summary of the variable and the analysis.