

“BREXIT BEST FOR TACKLING MIGRANTS”

A Critical Discourse Analysis on the Discursive Representation of Refugees, Asylum-seekers, Immigrants and Migrants in The Guardian and The Daily Mail in the Run Up to the 2016 Brexit Referendum



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The photograph on the front page (Hauswedell, 2017) depicts people that took the perilous boat journey from the African to the European continent. Despite the extreme dangers and distress that come with these journeys, people risk their lives in their attempts to reach Europe. The overcrowded boats often capsize resulting in many people losing their lives.

Abstract

The current study investigates the discursive representation of refugees, asylum-seekers, immigrants and migrants (RASIM) in 120 articles published by The Guardian and The Daily Mail in the run up to the 2016 Brexit referendum. Through this referendum, Britons were to decide whether or not the UK should continue its membership of the European Union. The political campaigns that preceded the referendum evoked debates surrounding immigration. The Leave campaign argued that exiting the EU would allow the UK to take back control over its borders and protect the country against incoming migrants, hereby appealing to the concerns over immigration prevalent amongst the British public. Considering the devastating consequences anti-immigration attitudes and policies have for people that seek a safe place to reside, the question of how these attitudes come about is of particular concern. It has often been suggested that the representation of social groups in the media plays a significant role in the public attitudes towards those groups (e.g. Héricourt & Spielvogel, 2014; van Klingeren et al., 2015). In the run up to the Brexit referendum, British news media extensively covered topics related to immigration, hereby providing representations of RASIM. This study examined these representations through a Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1989) that focused on the textual, discursive and social dimensions of the discourse under study. The different ideological stances that The Guardian and The Daily Mail took with regards to the Brexit provided the opportunity to examine the representations and link them to the sociocultural context in which they were generated. It was found that The Guardian represented RASIM as a heterogenic group while providing more detailed information on people's personal stories. It also employed strategies that to a certain extent led to the victimization of RASIM. The Daily Mail, on the other hand, represented RASIM as a more homogenic group. It put RASIM's legitimacy to question and contributed to the collective criminalization of RASIM. Overall, The Daily Mail's representation created a more negative image of RASIM. This may have evoked more negative stances towards immigration among the public, which may have indirectly contributed to the fact that the UK eventually voted Leave on the referendum. Both newspapers' representations were exemplary of the way in which dominant Western discourses have the power represent minority groups as Others, and to reinforce already existing narratives, hereby carrying out ownership over the discursive construction of RASIM. A limitation of this study is that it did not investigate the causal relationship between people's news consumption of representations of RASIM and their attitudes towards RASIM. Therefore, for future research, the further investigation of this relationship through cognitive/psycholinguistic approaches was suggested.

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1 Introduction

The International Organization for Migration (IOM), an organization that keeps track of the deaths of people migrating towards an international destination, estimates that since 2014, more than 48,231¹ people have died on their journeys (*Missing Migrants Project*, 2016). Yet, EU policies remain aimed at curbing incoming migration (*New Pact on Migration and Asylum*, 2020), hereby undermining the protection of human rights that the European democracies of today claim to esteem so highly. By militarizing its borders, the EU forces people to take unauthorized migration routes. As a result, people continue to die and face torture, rape and other abuses in Libya in their attempts to reach European grounds (Abderrezak, 2020). Western societies have seemingly become dissonated from these realities. This became painfully evident from recent developments in the UK, during which people seeking refuge arrived on British beaches in dinghies (Salih et al., 2020; Syal, 2021). In response, violent and racist anti-immigrations protests arose throughout the UK (Skopeliti, 2021). In addition, attacks on people arriving at British beaches took place, during which asylum-seekers were not only physically but also verbally abused with phrases such as “F*ck off back to your country” (Taylor, 2020). Moreover, far-right networks were spreading names and addresses of hotels housing asylum-seekers in order for people to go to the locations and intimidate and threaten asylum-seekers.

Considering the detrimental political and societal consequences that anti-immigration sentiments have for people on the move, the question of how these attitudes came to be is of particular concern. How have we become distanced from the realities of displaced people, and how does the lack of ability to empathize and identify with them come about? Research suggests that the way in which people on the move are represented in media outlets plays a significant role (e.g. Blinder & Allen, 2018; Héricourt & Spielvogel, 2014). During the 2016 Brexit referendum, the Leave campaign advocated for an independent United Kingdom that, through leaving the European Union, could take back control over its borders and protect itself from the influences of immigration (Goodwin & Milazzo, 2017). In the run up to the referendum, the UK press extensively covered the topic of immigration, which likely had an effect on the public’s stance towards it, hereby also affecting people’s vote on the referendum. In this regard, it is important to uncover the ways in which refugees, asylum-seekers, immigrants and migrants (henceforth RASIM²) were represented, and how this may have influenced people’s attitudes toward them. For that reason, the purpose of the current research is to examine how RASIM have been discursively represented in the run

¹ The figures that the IOM keeps record of remain undercounts due to the difficulties faced in collecting data.

² For practical reasons, the acronym RASIM will be used in this thesis to refer to people on the move. I recognize, however, that such categorizations that reduce people’s identities to the sole fact that they have a migration or refugee background may in itself be problematic, which is exactly what this study is set out to explore.

up to the 2016 Brexit referendum. In order to explore how these representation relate to the social structures in which they were generated, this study also contains a comparative element. It will investigate how the representation of RASIM in two newspapers with different ideological stances (The Guardian and The Daily Mail) compare to another.

This paper has been divided into seven chapters and will begin by describing the context in which the Brexit referendum came to be in chapter two. It will then go on to lay out the theoretical framework. Next, chapter 4 will explain and justify the methodological decisions that were made, after which the results of the analysis will be presented in chapter five. In chapter six, the results will then be related to the theoretical considerations and contextual factors. Lastly, chapter seven will conclude with answers to the research questions while also indicating possible limitations and providing suggestions for future research.

2 Context

This chapter will firstly provide information on the developments surrounding the Brexit referendum. Secondly, the terminology used to refer to displaced people will be discussed, as well the social relevance and the aim of the current research.

2.1 Brexit

On June 23, 2016, inhabitants of the United Kingdom (UK) voted in a referendum in order to decide whether the UK should continue to be member of the European Union (EU) or whether the country should discontinue its membership. The now infamous term 'Brexit' has been coined to refer to the event of leaving the EU. Important reasons for the Brexit referendum taking place include the pressure that then prime-minister David Cameron experienced from some members of his own Conservative Party, and from the rising anti-EU UK Independence Party (UKIP) ("EU Referendum Timeline," 2016).

In 2010, Cameron had already promised to greatly reduce the amount of immigrants entering the UK. However, critics argued that this would be impossible due to the free movement rights prevalent in the EU (Dennison & Goodwin, 2015). As a consequence, anti-immigration appeals often evoked discussion about the UK's EU membership too. In 2012, some British politicians made explicit calls for a referendum on Brexit (Haigh, 2018). In 2015, The Conservatives won the election by gathering 36.9% of the vote share and UKIP, with party leader Nigel Farage at its front, won 3.8 million votes (12.6%), hereby experiencing one of their greatest breakthroughs since the party's establishment (Haigh, 2018). UKIP came to be one of the major forces behind the referendum and ultimately, on the 20th of February 2016 Cameron announced that the British public would decide on whether the UK was to leave the EU on the 23rd of June 2016.

The Remain camp argued that the European Union had brought peace in a historically conflicted continent. In addition, they claimed that the single EU market and free movement rules have been beneficial for everyone, and that this would all be put at risk when leaving the EU. Although immigration was not as significant as in the Leave campaign, it was a recurrent theme in the in the Remain campaign too (Asthana, 2016). Since there was a variety of political parties supportive of the Remain campaign, there was also a variety of attitudes towards immigration within this campaign. Being in favor of remaining part of the EU was not inherent to being lenient on immigration or pro-immigration. Cameron for instance, who had expressed his support towards the remain camp, argued for stricter immigration policies in a 'reformed European Union' (BBC News, 2016).

The Leave camp considered the EU to have too much of an influence on the UK. Arguments included membership being too costly and the EU being undemocratic. Their most important argument was that leaving the EU would help curb immigration. In part, this

was a strategy to appease voters as concerns over immigration were prevalent in the British society. Farage appealed to those concerns by fueling the anxiety over immigration. He often pointed out that migrants pose a threat to the national security. Another important factor in the Leave campaign was the idea that immigration degrades the British identity. In an interview with *Leading Britain's Conversation*, Farage mentioned that due to immigration “you see whole sections of your towns, cities, change culturally beyond recognition . . . you begin to ask yourself what has happened to the identity of our country” (LBC, 2015). This perceived loss of identity is an argument that has historically been prevalent throughout the duration of the UK’s modern immigration policy. One instance that demonstrates this viewpoint is an anti-migrant poster that Farage unveiled shortly before the referendum. The poster (see figure 1) depicted a queue of non-white individuals and was sub-headed with the text “We must break free of the EU and take back control of our borders.” (Stewart & Mason, 2016).

Figure 1. *Farage’s anti-immigration poster.*



Huffpost. (2016). *Farage’s anti-immigration poster* [Photograph]. Retrieved from https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/nigel-farages-eu-has-failed-us-all-poster-slammed-as-disgusting-by-nicola-sturgeon_uk_576288coe4b08b9e3abdc483

2.2 RASIM

With the Brexit referendum in the pipeline, the topic of immigration not only received more attention in the political debate. Immigration, and the people that were migrating, also gained more media coverage. There are different terms that have been used to refer to people on the move. The Leave campaign frequently referred to *migrants*. This term was used to refer to people who had left their home countries and had entered or were attempting to

enter the UK in order to reside there. While doing so, the campaign did not distinguish between refugees, asylum-seekers, migrants and immigrants (Garrett, 2019). For these terms, Baker et al. (2008) coined the acronym RASIM. These are also the terms that the media use most frequently to refer to people entering a country (Baker et al., 2008). The terms differ in their meanings. According to Amnesty International, a *refugee* is someone fleeing their home country because they are in danger due to serious human rights violations and persecution (Refugees, Asylum-Seekers and Migrants, n.d.). Similarly, an *asylum-seeker* is someone who left their home country and seeks protection from serious human rights violations and persecution in another country. The difference with a *refugee* is that they have not received the official recognition as a refugee yet, and they are pending a decision on their asylum claim (Refugees, Asylum-Seekers and Migrants, n.d.). Despite of the fact that scholars have defined *migrant* and *immigrant* in various ways, legally there is no internationally recognized common definition (Refugees, Asylum-Seekers and Migrants, n.d.). Amnesty International therefore defines *migrants* as people who leave their countries of origin but who are not *refugees* or *asylum-seekers*. They may leave their home countries for different reasons, including lack of job or study opportunity, family reunion, poverty, political unrest, gang violence or other circumstances (Refugees, Asylum-Seekers and Migrants, n.d.).

In this research, RASIM will be used in order to refer to these different terms all in once. As will be further elaborated on in chapter three, the way in which mainstream media represent RASIM, influences people's attitudes towards RASIM. Taking into consideration that public attitudes toward immigration were determinant for the outcome of the Brexit referendum (Arnorsson & Zoega, 2018; Viskanic, 2017), the media are likely to have played an important role too. In this way, media representations have social consequences, as will be discussed hereafter.

2.3 Social Relevance

On June 23, the majority of the British public voted Leave, with the hope of being able to 'take back control' over its borders. As the Brexit demonstrated, public sentiments interplay with and influence political actions that are taken. The political consequences include the creation of more barriers for those seeking a safe place to reside. In addition, racist, anti-immigration protests took place throughout Europe and go hand in hand with a rise of right-wing identity politics centered around anti-immigrant viewpoints that Europe saw in recent years (Lazaridis et al., 2016; Zienkowski & Breeze, 2019). These anti-immigration outings continue to exist and have possible detrimental effects on the well-being of newcomers who already find themselves in vulnerable positions. As these attitudes are likely to be influenced by the news media, it becomes all the more important to uncover how different media outlets represent RASIM.

2.4 Research Aim

As explained previously, it is important to study the way in which news media represent RASIM, and the developments surrounding the Brexit referendum form a particularly relevant context to do so. In the European political climate in which right-wing anti-immigration parties have been gaining political legitimacy, it is especially relevant to study how different newspapers represent RASIM. Studying the representation in two different UK newspapers with different places on the political spectrum, ideological stances and conceptualizations of the context in which the Brexit referendum took place, will help to gain a better understanding how representations of certain groups of people relate to the sociocultural contexts in which they are constructed. For that reason, the current research aims to uncover how RASIM have been discursively represented in The Guardian and The Daily Mail in the run up to the 2016 Brexit referendum.

In order to fulfill the purpose of this research, the following question will be answered:

RQ: How have The Guardian and The Daily Mail discursively represented RASIM in the run up to the Brexit referendum and how do these representations compare to one another?

3 Theoretical Framework

This chapter will set out the theoretical framework on which this research is based. First, the effects of media representations will be discussed. Secondly, the concept of representation will be explained. Next, this chapter will discuss how the Other is discursively constructed in such representation, as well as how the constructed social identities function with regards to intergroup relations. Lastly, it will elaborate on discourse and critical discourse analysis particularly.

3.1 The Effect of Media Representations

As indicated in the previous chapter, representations in the media are linked to public attitudes. Previous studies (Crawley, 2005; Threadgold, 2009) found that media texts play an important role in the formation of the public opinion. More specifically, how the media represent certain social groups, has an influence on the public attitudes toward those groups. Héricourt & Spielvogel (2014) and van Klingeren et al. (2015) found a correlation between media consumption and attitudes toward immigration particularly. In this way, negative representations of RASIM in the media contribute to anti-immigration sentiments (e.g. Bleich et al., 2015; Blinder & Allen, 2018; Coninck et al., 2018). Greenslade (2005) states that of all media channels, especially newspapers have a great effect on the public's stance towards minority groups. One way in which newspapers may form the public stance is demonstrated by Innes' study (2010) on the construction of asylum seekers in British media narratives. She found that framing asylum-seekers as the threatening Other fuels the idea that the national (British) cultural identity is to be protected from this threat. Other studies (e.g. Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017; Mazzocchetti et al., 2019) have highlighted another dominant trend in the media that revolves around the victimization of refugees. Although such representations of refugees as victims may a priori be more positive than refugees as threats, they may also limit the extent to which they are viewed as full-fledged human beings with agency (Mazzocchetti et al., 2019). The next paragraphs will further explore the theoretical considerations that underlie such representations of the Other.

3.2 Representation

Since the current research studies the representation of a social group through text, it is important to understand the theory that forms the basis of such a so-called imagological approach. Imagological approaches aim to critically study cultural or national representations and stereotypes (ten Thije, 2016). Representations identify, thematize, focus and shape individuals or social groups through semiotic means (Coupland, 2001, as cited in ten Thije, 2016). Imagology highlights that by representing a certain group, a text does not solely refer to this group. Instead, textual references contribute to and form the *image* that

people have of a group. Here, image refers to the way in which representations, in for instance media texts, create ‘mental silhouettes’ of the group that they represent (Beller & Leerssen, 2007).

The tendency to attribute certain characteristics to a society, race or ‘nation’ is historically omnipresent (Leerssen, 2007). Leerssen (2007) points out that people naturally tend to demarcate all cultures other than their own based on the perceived differences, hereby ‘Othering’ them and their people. These rather ethnocentric tendencies contributed to the idea that nations have their own characteristics. One example of such a national characterizations found in a literary work is the outing “The French are freedom loving individualists” (Leerssen, 2007, pp. 27–28). Through this example, Leerssen importantly distinguishes between what he refers to as *imaginated* and not *imagined*. The representation of the French as ‘freedom loving individualists’ is *imagined* because it assigns characterizations and attributes that are not testable statements of fact. In contrast, stating that “France is a republic” is not *imagined* as it is a factual statement (Leerssen, 2007, p. 27). Imagology is concerned with the critical study of such national characterizations and their essentialist and deterministic nature.

3.3 The Discursive Construction of the Other

Imagological approaches focus on representations as textual strategies and as discourse; on how representations are *discursively* constructed (Leerssen, 2007). Herewith, attention is aimed at the discursive strategies that can be undertaken to construct a group’s identity (Wodak et al., 2009). While doing so it is important to take into consideration the subjectivity of the discourse under study; how a nation or culture is represented (the *spected*) is influenced by the representing text (the *spectant*) and its context. Such a text that represents and characterizes the Other, is a hetero-image, while a text that represents its own, domestic identity is an auto-image. The way in which the representation of the Other and the representation of the Self relate to one another is of importance, as it is often through the demarcation of the Other that the Self is constructed (Wodak et al., 2009). Although Leerssen’s theory (2007) is originally concerned with national characterizations, he also points out that ‘foreignness’ may be demarcated through non-ethnic categories, such as religion, too (Leerssen, 2016). For instance, a discourse may refer to the Others as ‘Muslims’. The intention may not be to point out that the Self is Christian rather than Muslim (many Western auto-images do not depict the Self as Christian), but rather to reflect that the Self is not Muslim. In this way, the discursive construction of ‘Muslims’ is merely a way of constructing the Self as not Muslim and thus, the Other as different than the Self and as incompatible with the Self’s domestic moral or social values. Farage’s anti-immigrant poster (see figure 1) that particularly depicted non-white individuals is an example of a visual

representation that fuels the imagining of the ‘migrant’ as the Other as it is implied that the Other is not white, while the Self is. Such narratives are ever-present within media discourses on immigration (Hall, 1997; Leerssen, 2007).

3.4 Social Identity and Intergroup Relations

As explicated above, by representing the Other, the Other’s identity is discursively constructed. Representations thus not only influence people’s perceptions of a group, they also contribute to the construction of the group’s identity. Group identity is closely related to people’s individual identity; based on how a group’s identity is represented, one may feel that they belong to this group, and thus identify with the group. On the other hand, individuals may also feel that a group’s identity is different from their own identity, leading to a lack of identification with the group. Tajfel (1972) argues that these feelings of belonging and not belonging to certain groups determine a person’s social identity; he defines social identity as an “individual’s knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership” (Tajfel, 1972, p. 292). In other words, social identity is an individual’s sense of who they are based on their group membership(s).

People can be categorized into groups based on different identity markers, such as nationality, language, physical characteristics, gender, religion or occupation (Song, 2009). Once a group has been identified, an individual can categorize oneself as belonging to it. This process of categorizing one’s *in-group* (‘us’) with regard to an *out-group* (‘them’), is referred to as social categorization (Tajfel & Turner, 1985). According to the social identity theory, social categorization is necessary to make sense of the complexity of the social world. Because social categorization leads to the formation of in-groups and out-groups, it plays an important role in intergroup relations. Once people have self-identified as being part of a certain group, social comparison can take place (Tajfel & Turner, 1985). Naturally, people have the tendency to describe their in-group in more positive terms than an out-group (Tajfel, 1974). Also, perceptions of people’s in-groups are more differentiated than the perceptions of the out-group (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). In addition, the behavior of the in-group tend to be explained in relation to context-related historic, social, political and economic factors, while the behavior of the out-group is explained in terms of characteristics inherent and essential to the group more often (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).

Such a positive in-group bias is an important antecedent of prejudice and discrimination against out-groups (Tajfel, 1974). These discriminatory tendencies may be explained by the fact that because individuals personally identify with their in-group, they have a certain emotional attachment to the group. For that reason, a more positive evaluation of the in-group also leads to a more positive self-evaluation (Tajfel & Turner, 1985). This

positive evaluation of the in-group can be achieved through the negative evaluation of the out-group. Turner (1975) explains that this relationship between the in-group and out-group can be seen as a competition for positive identity, in which categorizations of the out-group are “strategically framed to maximize self-evaluations” (Islam, 2014, p. 1782). This understanding of intergroup relations as a competition for identity may also explain why immigration has been associated with a perceived loss of identity.

In sum, the social identity theory states that negative treatment and evaluation of the out-group is used as a means to secure or promote the Self. This is in line with Leerssen’s claims (2007) on how the characterization of the Other directly relates to the construction of the Self.

3.5 Discourse

Since identities of social groups constructed through discourse to a large extent, this study entails a discourse analysis. Discourse analyses are aimed at gaining insight into social practices and societal structures through the analysis of text (Fairclough, 2003). In deciding how to analyze discourse in a way that best fulfills the purposes of the current research, it is important to first define discourse.

Various definitions of the concept discourse exist, yet what they have in common is that they understand language as a tool to present social realities. Fairclough (1992, 2001) states that language in itself is a form of social practice and is therefore related to other social elements. According to Rigney (2007) discourse refers to the ways in which we discuss the world; it is “the set of themes, concepts and values that certain individuals have in common when they talk (or write) about the world” (Rigney, 2007, p. 313).

An assumption that is important within the field of discourse analysis and that is also made in the current study is that language is ideological and can therefore exercise power (Fairclough, 1992). Language not only describes but also shapes reality, or rather how reality is perceived. For that reason discourse can reproduce or reinforce ideologies. Ideologies are “representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation” (Fairclough, 2010, p. 9). This is also in line with Said’s theory (1978) which brought to light the ways in which the West was able to create a dominant discourse to perpetuate its superior position.

3.6 Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse analyses aim to investigate the relationship between texts and their social context (Fairclough, 1989). There are multiple ways in which one can analyze discourse, and researchers have taken a variety of approaches. Critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA)

is one of those approaches and was developed by Norman Fairclough. CDA is concerned with the role that language plays in mediating ideology. Ideology is viewed as a modality of power (Fairclough, 1989), which is why it is also assumed that language may maintain or reinforce unequal power relations. Hereby CDA focuses on how power is exercised through language and often deals with social wrongs that result from these exercises of power.

Within CDA, language is viewed as a social practice that is inherently dialectically related to other social aspects. This means that language and the social aspects it relates to, such as social identities and cultural values, are different, but not entirely separate elements (Fairclough, 2010). Therefore, studying a text linguistically is an important part of discourse analysis, but discourse analysis should go beyond solely the textual analysis. In this view, Fairclough (1992) created a three-dimensional model for CDA. This model contains a textual, a discursive and a social dimension. Hereby CDA transcends the purely textual analysis by considering the discursive and social practices too. It aims to uncover how these three dimensions relate to one another. In correspondence with the three dimensions, Fairclough proposes three stages to analyze a discourse. These will be further elaborated on the paragraphs hereafter.

3.6.1 Textual Dimension

The first dimension that Fairclough defines is the textual dimension, which focuses on the written text of a discourse. This is important, because by choosing certain words over others, attitudes are expressed (Fairclough, 1992). In this way, language is not neutral and the words chosen depend on how the producers of the text view reality (Fairclough, 2003). In this way, the words that are chosen to refer to social actors in a text, represent attitudes towards those social actors. For this reason, Reisigl & Wodak (2001) point out the importance of investigating how a text presents people's identities linguistically. This is known as the referential strategies that a text employs.

Besides referential strategies, there are other ways of reporting that may have an effect on the way in which readers conceive social actors. Gabrielatos & Baker (2008) point out that collocates play an important role in the discursive construction of social actors too. Collocations are the words and ideas that are most frequently associated with another word (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008). This is important because collocational choices have an influence on the associations that readers may have with social actors. For instance, if a discourse frequently pairs the words *illegal* and *migrant*, one may become conditioned to think of *illegal* when reading *migrant* and vice versa (Stubbs, 1996). Gabrielatos & Baker (2008) add that when reading a text, readers most likely do not necessarily remember all the verbatim collocations, but rather the ideas that they communicate. In this way, readers may

come to accept ideas and arguments generated by collocational patterns without engaging critically with them.

The current study will therefore investigate the referential strategies employed by the newspapers to report on RASIM, while also looking at the lexical words and phrases that fall into the categories used to group collocates of RASIM as identified by Gabrielatos & Baker (2008). The sub-question that will be answered through the textual analysis is the following:

SQ1: How do the Guardian and the Daily Mail linguistically refer to RASIM in the run up to the Brexit referendum?

While Fairclough (1992) highlights the importance of doing a textual analysis, he also stresses that it cannot be viewed separate from the other two dimensions that will be explained hereafter.

3.6.2 Discursive Dimension

The discursive dimension of a discourse concerns the discursive practices that influence the way in which we view a subject (Fairclough, 1992). These discursive practices relate to the ways in which a text draws upon different discourses, genres and styles (Fairclough, 2010). This relates to the concept of intertextuality. Intertextuality refers to how texts transform, reproduce and adapt already existing texts in order to create new ones (Fairclough, 1992). This concept is especially relevant for media texts, because they may utilize different genres in order to create new meanings through recontextualization (Fairclough, 1995). To demonstrate, Greenberg & Hier (2001) point out that newsmakers can structure a text in such a way that certain individuals and groups can articulate their viewpoints and version of reality to the reader. This is done by selecting some viewpoints over others, hereby deliberately legitimizing certain viewpoints over others (Cottle, 2000). Newsmakers thus not only have the power to determine “who is permitted to speak”, but also play a role in the perceived credibility and legitimacy of the speakers (Greenberg & Hier, 2001).

Therefore, Fairclough (1992) suggests to analyze the way in which discourses draw on other discourse. In order to do so, the sub-question that will be answered on the discursive level is the following:

SQ2: Which points of view do the Guardian and The Daily Mail represent regarding RASIM in the run up to the Brexit referendum?

3.6.3 Social Dimension

In order for a discourse analysis to be effective, the textual and discursive analyses need to be framed within an analysis on a ‘macro’-level (Fairclough, 2003). The ‘macro’-level is concerned with the social structures and standards of a social community. In addition, the social dimension is focused on how power relations work across these social practices and structures (Fairclough, 2003).

In the current study, the most important social structure in which the texts are embedded are the newspapers in which they were published. Also, given that the articles were published in the run-up to the Brexit referendum, the wider societal context should be considered as well. The sub-question that will be answered to correspond with the social dimension is the following:

SQ3: How do the representations of RASIM relate to their sociocultural context?

3.7 Research Questions and Academic Relevance

To sum up, the research questions that will be aimed to answer in the current study are the following:

RQ: How have the Guardian and The Daily Mail discursively represented RASIM in the run up to the Brexit referendum and how do these representations compare to one another?

SQ1: How do the Guardian and The Daily Mail linguistically refer to RASIM in the run up to the Brexit referendum?

SQ2: Which points of view do the Guardian and The Daily Mail represent regarding RASIM in the run up to the Brexit referendum?

SQ3: How do the representations of RASIM in the run up to the Brexit referendum relate to their sociocultural context?

Answering these research questions can help to gain a deeper understanding of how theories on the representation of the Other take effect in practice. Although an extensive body of research findings on the representation of minority groups already exists, the current study distinguishes itself because it investigates the representation of a social group in the context of a political campaign in which this group was a central topic of discussion. This may help to develop a better understanding of how political debates and media discourses interrelate. In this way, this study adds to the current literature, as previous CDA’s have mostly focused on either political or media discourse separately (e.g. Mohammadi & Javadi, 2017; Onay-Coker, 2019; O’Regan & Riordan, 2018; Persada & Syahrudin, 2018).

In addition, the current approach is unique in the sense that it combined corpus linguistics with CDA. The incorporation of corpus linguistics into CDA helps to strengthen the theoretical bases of both approaches (Fairclough, 2010; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008). Baker et al. (2008) further highlight that this combined approach allows for not only the establishment of certain linguistic patterns, but also the explanation and interpretation of those patterns. As some of the patterns that underlie the process of Othering operate in similar ways across various macro-contexts (Chovanec & Molek-Kozakowska, 2017), the findings may also generate relevant implications that transcend this specific context, in this way adding to the existing theories on the representation of the Other.

4 Methodology

This chapter will explain how the corpus was generated, and how the articles selected were analyzed.

4.1 Corpus

4.1.1 Data Collection

Newspapers

The newspapers selected for this comparative CDA are The Guardian (London) and The Daily Mail (London). These newspapers were selected because they fulfill requirements crucial for the purpose of this research. Firstly, they took different stances with regards to the Brexit referendum. The Daily Mail endorsed the Leave campaign (Zappettini, 2021), while The Guardian backed the Remain campaign (Levy et al., 2016). As pointed out in the theoretical framework, the linguistic choices made in news coverage reflect attitudes and may also influence readers' attitudes. As the newspapers took different stances towards the Brexit referendum, this may also have been reflected in the ways in which they have reported on the topic of immigration and the way in which they represented RASIM. In addition, they represent different ideological standings, which was another important criterium for their selection, as CDA dictates that discourses mediate ideologies through language. As the newspapers constitute a substantial part of the social context in which the news articles are published and received, choosing two fundamentally different newspapers may help to gain a better understanding of how representations relate to the context in which they were generated. More information on the newspapers will be provided in in chapter five.

Search query

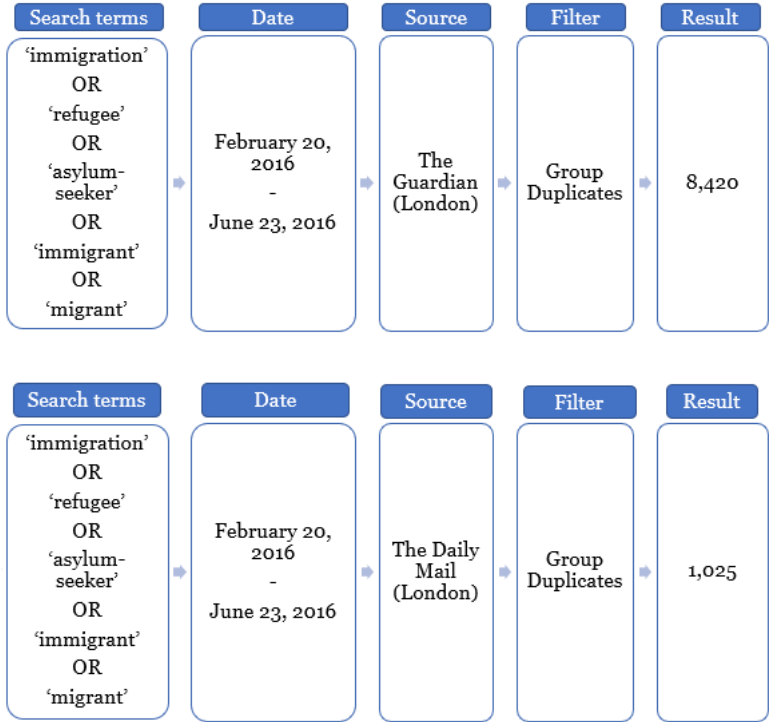
The online database Nexis Uni was used to access the articles published in The Daily Mail and The Guardian. On February 20, 2016 it was announced that the Brexit referendum would take place. The referendum was held on June 23, 2016. In between this period, all the news coverage that the British public consumed may have influenced their attitudes towards RASIM and their stance on the Brexit referendum. Therefore, the publishing date of the search query was set to between February 20, 2016 and June 23, 2016.

The RASIM framework, previously discussed in chapter two, will be utilized to search for articles reporting on people on the move. Within the articles selected, however, the textual analysis will identify which of the terms within the RASIM framework are used to refer to those people. Next to the RASIM terms, the search term 'immigration' was included. This was done in order to assure that an article that did not use one of the RASIM terms at least once, but did refer to people on the move, was included too. Articles that were selected because they mentioned 'immigration', but not once referred to people on the move, were

excluded in case they were selected. This resulted in the following query: immigration OR refugee OR asylum-seeker OR immigrant OR migrant³.

As demonstrated in figure 2, these search procedure led to a total of 8,420 articles for the Guardian and 1,025 articles for The Daily Mail.

Figure 2. Flow chart search procedure.



4.1.2 Data Selection

The time frame (February 20 – June 23) comprises 123 days. Assuming that the average British news reader does not read the news every day (Owen, 2017), 60 (123 ÷ 2 ≈ 60) random samples were compiled from each corpus. In this way, the corpora are representative for the news that British readers are confronted with approximately once every two days.

Firstly, the articles were arranged in Nexis Uni based on the date, from oldest to newest, making all the articles correspond with a number between 1 and 8,420 for The Guardian and a number between 1 and 1,025 for The Daily Mail. Then, the systematic sampling technique (Dörnyei, 2007) was used with February 20 as the starting point. This sampling technique assured that the articles selected had more or less equal increments, which increases the probability that the articles are representative for the selected time period and for the average reader’s news consumption. Microsoft Excel was used to generate

³ The search terms ‘refugee’, ‘asylum-seeker’, ‘immigrant’ and ‘migrant’ also generate hits when plural forms are prevalent in a given article.

random numbers that corresponded with an article. As Table 1 shows, this technique led to the generation of two corpora. Corpus 1 (The Guardian) amounted to 40,307 words in total, while corpus 2 (The Daily Mail) consists of 21,981.

Table 1. *Corpora.*

	Newspaper	Articles	Words
Corpus 1	The Guardian	60	40,307
Corpus 2	The Daily Mail	60	21,981

This difference in size is explained by the fact that The Daily Mail is a tabloid newspaper while The Guardian is a broadsheet newspaper, meaning that the articles published in The Guardian are typically longer than the articles published in The Daily Mail. The fact that corpus 1 consisted of almost double the amount of words of corpus 2 will be taken into consideration in the analysis as the results will be interpreted in relative terms for each newspaper, and then compared. Appendices A and B contain a listing of the titles, authors, dates and word counts of the articles selected for each corpus.

4.2 Analysis

4.2.1 Textual Analysis

In order to determine how RASIM have been represented textually, the textual analysis focused on two aspects; the social actors (RASIM) and collocates of RASIM.

4.2.1.1 Social Actor Analysis

In order to study how RASIM are being referred to lexically, a social actor analysis (van Leeuwen, 2008) has been performed. This method helps to reveal how social actors are represented in a discourse. Van Leeuwen (2008) found that linguistic references to individuals can be categorized into **functionalization** and **identification**. Through functionalization, social actors are referred to in terms of what they do (i.e. their occupation or their role in society), while identification is a referential strategy that is based on what people are.

Within the identification category, a distinction between **classification**, **relational identification**, **physical identification**, **aggregation** and **nomination** can be made. **Classification** refers to people in terms of a social class, such as age, gender, nationality, ethnicity or religion. A sample analysis on the corpus under study revealed that the inclusion of references to linguistic backgrounds is relevant too. Therefore, these references will be added to the classification category. The second sub-category within the identification category, is **relational identification**. This sub-category consists of references that define people in terms of their relation to another person, such as *his brother*, or *their children*.

Children may sometimes fall into the classification (age) category, while at other times it may be a form of relational identification. This is dependent upon the context, which is why the words *baby*, *child* and *children* were placed into the category of classification if they were used to specifically point to the fact that these people were young. On the other hand, when these words were used to emphasize that they were someone's child, they were put in the relational identification category. A third sub-category of identification is **physical identification**. This occurs when people are being referred to through their appearance. Next, the **aggregation** sub-category refers to social actors using numbers or lexical quantifications, such as *thousands of* refugees. The last sub-category is **nomination**. When nomination is employed, people are being referred to with their actual names.

4.2.1.2 Collocates of RASIM

In addition to the social actor analysis, a number of categories were created in order to include lexical references to RASIM's situations. These categories were adopted and adapted from Gabrielatos & Baker's (2008) CDA-informed categories used in grouping collocates of RASIM. Based on their 140-million-word corpus of UK newspapers articles published between 1996 and 2005, Gabrielatos & Baker (2008) found so-called "consistent collocates" (c-collocates) of RASIM. After a concordance analysis, the most common collocates were divided them into categories. These categories provide insight into the core strategies of the linguistic means employed to represent RASIM. In addition, they "provide strong indications of the stance adopted in their representation" (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008, p. 20), as they also map frequent topics that the newspapers adopt in their discursive construction of RASIM.

Gabrielatos & Baker (2008) identified eight different categories. Based on the current study's corpus, six similar categories were identified and taken into consideration. These categories are **plight**, **pilgrimage**, **entry**, **reception**, **legality** and **residence**. Firstly, **plight** mainly co-occurs with *refugees*, and is concerned with the reasons why people were forced to leave their home countries. Examples from the corpus include *war*, *oppression* and *violence*. Secondly, **pilgrimage** entails all the lexical references to the journeys that people make and what they face during their journeys. It includes both nouns (e.g. *journey*, *injure*, *death*) and verbs (*fleeing*, *traveling*, *drowning*, *dying*). Thirdly, the category **entry** consists of verbs (e.g. *come*, *enter*) and nouns (e.g. *stream*, *flood*) used to denote the way in which RASIM enter a country of destination. Next, **reception** is concerned with verbs that describe the way in which the receiving country acts towards RASIM. That includes verbs and phrases such as *welcome*, *hold backs* and *provide financial benefits*. The fifth category is **legality**, which refers to either direct or indirect ways in which RASIM's legal statuses are indicated. This is done through words such as *bogus*, *illegal*, *detained* and *smuggled*. Lastly, the

category residence includes all the references made to the RASIM's living conditions. Corpus examples include *camp*, *detention center* and *The Calais Jungle*.

For each article, the lexical words and phrases that provided information on one of the abovementioned categories were taken note of.

4.2.2 Discursive Analysis

As the discursive dimension focuses on the ways in which a discourse draws upon, reproduces and reiterates other discourses (Fairclough, 1992), all the speakers that were directly quoted and paraphrased in the articles were taken note of. The speakers were then grouped into categories. This will provide insight into who is given a voice in the news coverage on RASIM, which plays an important role in the discursive construction of RASIM. The categories that were formed resembled the categories that Cooper et al. (2021) found in their study on how UK news media represented asylum seekers across national boundaries. The categories are the following; **European politician**, **non-European politician**, **NGO**, **RASIM**, **creative industry**, **expert**, **ordinary citizen** (non-RASIM) and **other**.

The **European** and **non-European politician** categories also included former politicians, politicians' advisors or spokespersons, government officials and 'Vote Leave/Remain campaigners'. The **NGO** category included all non-governmental organizations and their employees/volunteers. Every time that a refugee, asylum-seeker, immigrant or migrant was given a voice, the quote/paraphrase was labelled with **RASIM**. The next category is made up by individuals active in a **creative industry**, such as musicians, directors, photographers and graphic designers. The **expert** category pertains to those individuals that were assigned an expert role in the article, whereby their points of view were legitimized. They were quoted or paraphrased because they were presumed to have expert knowledge on the topic at stake. The category **ordinary citizens** contains the individuals that are not refugees, asylum-seekers, immigrants or migrants and that were not being presented as someone with expert knowledge on the topic discussed. Examples include *undecided voters*, *Miss Bernhardsson*, *a nurse* and *a twitter user*. Lastly, all the quoted sources that do not fit within one of the abovementioned categories were labelled as **other**. Here, examples include *the local fire brigade*, *sources* and *the state-run National News Agency*.

4.2.3 Social analysis

Within the social dimension, the social structures and standards through which power relations operate should be rendered attention (Fairclough, 2003). In the current research,

the most important structure through which language and ideology may be utilized as a power tool are the newspapers. Therefore, in chapter five, a review of both newspapers and their standpoints will be provided in order to be able to relate the textual and discursive results in the structures in which they were created in chapter six. There, the wider sociocultural context as described in chapter two will be taken into consideration as well.

5 Results

In this chapter, the results from the textual, discursive and social analysis will be presented.

5.1 Textual Analysis

The textual analysis consisted of a social actor analysis and an examination of the collocates of RASIM. The results of these analyses will be presented in this paragraph. To provide examples, quotes from The Guardian corpus will be presented in **blue text fields** and examples from The Daily Mail corpus will be presented in **orange text fields**.

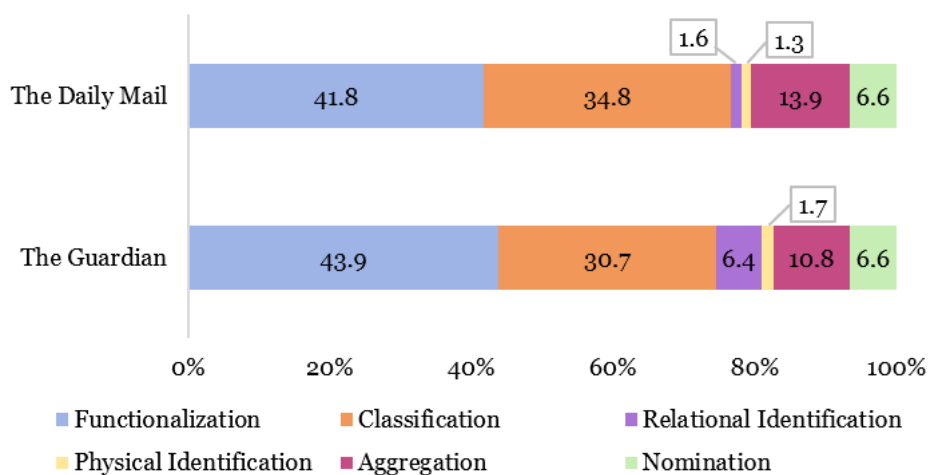
5.1.1 Social Actor Analysis

All the lexical words and phrases that were found within the social actor analysis for The Guardian and The Daily Mail can be found in Appendix C and D respectively. Table 1 provides an overview of the number of lexical words/phrases that were found for each category in both newspapers. Due to the difference in size of the corpora of the two newspapers, the table also provides percentages. These are visually represented in figure 3. For instance, in 43.9% of the instances in which The Guardian textually referred to RASIM, it did so through functionalization. The Daily Mail did so in 44.4% of the cases.

Table 1. Results social actor analysis.

	The Guardian	The Daily Mail	The Guardian	The Daily Mail
Functionalization	408	234	43.9%	41.8%
Classification	285	195	30.7%	34.8%
Relational Identification	59	9	6.4%	1.6%
Physical Identification	16	7	1.7%	1.3%
Aggregation	100	78	10.8%	13.9%
Nomination	61	37	6.6%	6.6%
Total	929	560	100%	100%

Figure 3. Results social actor analysis.



The results of the social actor analysis will now be discussed per category. While doing so, a comparison between the two newspapers will be made.

Functionalization

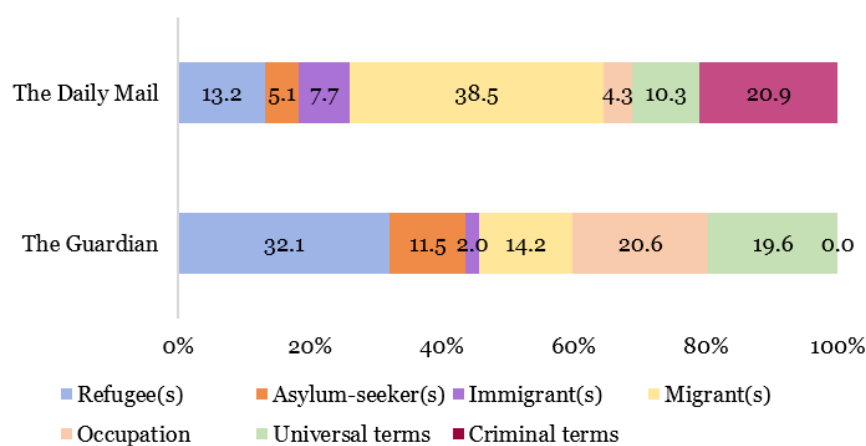
The first category of the social actor analysis is functionalization. Within this category, different ways of referring to the individuals under study appeared. These were grouped into sub-categories that can be seen in table 2. Firstly, the different terms that are part of the RASIM-framework, being *refugee*, *asylum-seeker*, *immigrant* and *migrant*, were distinguished. Another way in which social actors were often referred to, was in terms of their occupation. This category included words such as *construction worker*, *hip-hop artist*, *engineer* and *architecture student*. The words in the next category were labelled as ‘universal terms’. The term ‘universal’ was used to group those terms that did not identify individuals based on their refugee or migrant background like the RASIM-terms do. This category includes terms such as *people*, *humans*, *persons*, *individuals*, *residents* and *citizens*. The last sub-category was labelled criminal terms. The words within this category were used to refer to the social actors in terms of the criminal activities that they had, or had allegedly, undertaken. Examples include *criminals*, *suspects*, *offenders*, *terrorists* and *inmates*.

Figure 4 visually represents the results from the functionalization category of the social actor analysis. In both newspapers, the RASIM-terms were used most often to refer to the social actors. The most frequent term in the Guardian was *refugee(s)*, while The Daily Mail referred to *migrants* most often. Another notable result is that The Guardian referred to individuals in terms of their occupation in many instances (20.6%), while The Daily Mail did so sparingly (4.3%) and when it did, it often referred to *workers* (see appendix D). In contrast, The Guardian often specified people’s occupation (e.g. *hairdresser*, *freelance journalist*, *poet*) (see appendix D). Furthermore, the Guardian used universal terms (e.g. *people*, *passengers*, *civilians*) more often than The Daily Mail did. Lastly, The Daily Mail referred to RASIM with criminal terms in approximately one fifth of the instances in which it functionalized an individual. Interestingly, The Guardian never used criminal terms to refer to RASIM.

Table 2. Sub-categories functionalization.

	The Guardian	The Daily Mail	The Guardian	The Daily Mail
Refugee(s)	131	31	32.1%	13.2%
Asylum-seeker(s)	47	12	11.5%	5.1%
Immigrant(s)	8	18	2.0%	7.7%
Migrant(s)	58	90	14.2%	38.5%
Occupation	84	10	20.6%	4.3%
Universal terms	80	24	19.6%	10.3%
Criminal terms	0	49	0.0%	20.9%
Total	408	234	100%	100%

Figure 4. Sub-categories functionalization.



Classification

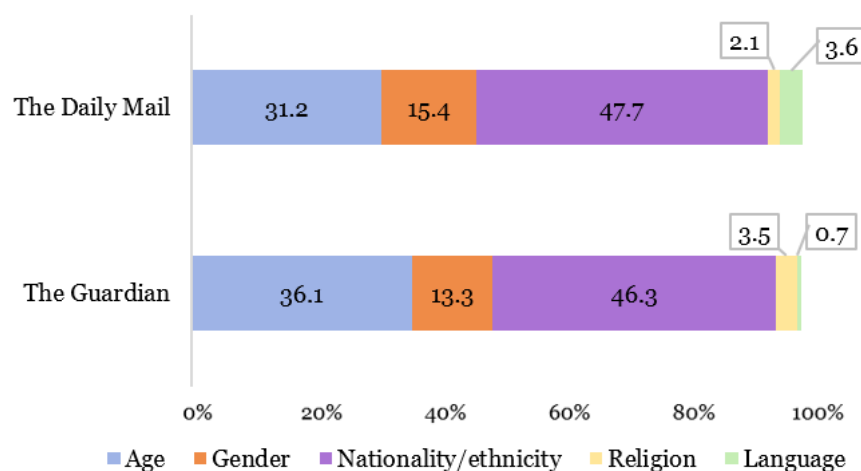
Based on the analysis, five sub-categories were created within the classification category, being age, gender, nationality/ethnicity, religion and language. The reason why nationality and ethnicity were grouped together is that in the three instances in which a reference to ethnicity was made (*indigenous* (2x), *Kurds*), their country of residence was also indicated (*Antarctica*, *Iran*).

As shown in table 3, both the Guardian and The Daily Mail referred to nationality/ethnicity most often, to age second most often and to gender third most often.

Table 3. *Sub-categories classification.*

	The Guardian	The Daily Mail	The Guardian	The Daily Mail
Age	103	61	36.1%	31.2%
Gender	38	30	13.3%	15.4%
Nationality/ethnicity	132	93	46.3%	47.7%
Religion	10	4	3.5%	2.1%
Language	2	7	0.7%	3.6%
Total	285	195	100%	100%

Figure 5. *Sub-categories classification.*



From all the nationalities that were referenced, The Guardian mentioned individuals from Syria most (69 times), while The Daily Mail referred to individuals from Albania the most (20 times) (see appendices C & D). Religion did not have significant presence in either newspaper, yet it is worth noting that the Guardian distinguished between different Islamic branches (*Alawites, Shia(s) (3x), Sunni*), while The Daily Mail referred to *Christians* and *Islamists*. With regards to age and gender, it was found that The Guardian referred to minors more than to adults, and to women more than to men. On the contrary, The Daily Mail referred to children approximately as often as it referred to adults, and referred to men more than to women.

Furthermore, when analyzing The Daily Mail’s corpus, it became evident that classification was employed to raise questions about individuals’ legitimacy and about whether they were truly part of the group they were classified as. This is demonstrated in the examples below.

“bogus **Christians** are able to learn and recite passages of Bible trivia’ to secure asylum”
 (“CHRISTIAN CONVERTS TESTED ON BIBLE,” 2016).

“Despite not fleeing war or humanitarian disaster, **Albanians** have in the past claimed that they fear minority persecution, for instance for being **Kosovar**, or insist they are gay and would be in danger of homophobic reprisals at home.” (Drury, 2016).

Lastly, The Daily Mail highlighted RASIM that did not have English as their first language multiple times (see example below).

“Pupils born in Britain are being held back by a huge rise in others **whose first language is from East Europe**, say experts.” (Harding, 2016).

Relational identification

As was demonstrated in table 1, the Guardian relatively used relational identification to refer to individuals more often than The Daily Mail. Appendix C and D show which words were chosen to refer to individuals in terms of their relation to another person. While The Guardian referred to family/families 19 times, The Daily Mail never used the word family. Examples of how the newspapers used relational identification can be seen below.

“He had felt compelled to leave Syria with his **wife** and two-year-old **son** for many reasons, but his call to join military service was the final impetus before his **family's** departure.” (Scammel & Kirchgaessner, 2016).

“As a result, many Syrians send their **children** to work to make ends meet.” (Kingsley, 2016).

“Branding the union a sham, a Swiss court ruled the 71-year-old could not wed her Tunisian **lover**, concluding the pair wanted to marry for immigration reasons.” (Kent Smith, 2016).

“But it has become a popular choice among migrant **parents**.” (Grant, 2016).

Physical identification

The only way in which the Guardian physically identified individuals was with the word pregnant (16 times). Interestingly, the only times that The Daily Mail used physical identification, was when describing what suspect's appearance (7 times).

“The current policy already states that **pregnant** women should only be detained in exceptional circumstances but in reality **pregnant** women are routinely detained and often remain in detention for long periods of time.” (Travis, 2016).

“In the 32-second airport clip, the wanted man - his identity hidden **underneath a black hat and glasses** - can be seen walking calmly through the airport.” (Duffin, 2016).

Aggregation

Aggregation was the third most prevalent category in both newspapers. In some cases, numbers were used to refer to specific small group of people. However, people were mostly aggregated to point towards the large size of a group. Examples of aggregation from both newspapers are provided below.

“Britain is powerless to boot out **thousands of** illegal immigrants, a minister admitted last night.” (Drury, 2016a)

“Niger last night demanded that the EU hand over £790million to help **stop tens of thousands of** African migrants heading for Europe.” (Stevens, 2016)

“Instead, that number, whether it is **in the hundreds or thousands**, will be determined by talks between the government and local authorities.” (Travis, 2016b)

“A spokesman for the Büdingen fire brigade said two vans carrying about **16** refugees had already stopped at the site of the crash by the time emergency services arrived.” (Oltermann, 2016a)

Nomination

Both newspapers referred to RASIM using their names in 6.6% of the total instances in which it referred to RASIM. When The Guardian used nomination to refer to individuals, they were often also given a voice, or some background information on their life stories was provided (see examples below).

“When **Nadiya Mamo** stepped into a room on the fourth floor of the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, memories came flooding back. “I could smell the streets of Aleppo, I remembered the colour of the light in my room at dusk,” said the 46-year-old Syrian.” (Oltermann, 2016).

“Outside, waiting for a bus to take him back to his asylum seekers' home, **Kifork**, a Damascan hairdresser, pointed out an unfortunate translation error on the programme.” (Connolly, 2016).

In the Daily Mail however, nomination was predominantly used to refer to individuals that were suspects or criminals; 31 out of the 37 times that The Daily Mail referred to RASIM using proper nouns, they were also referred to as suspects or alleged criminals.

“Prosecutors revealed **Salah Abdeslam** - who was finally captured after four months on the run - has confessed he intended to be part of the Islamic State suicide bomber unit that struck the stadium last November.” (Allen, 2016).

“Senior legal sources in Tirana said that among those who have been sought for extradition from the UK in recent years are **Kadri Hoxha**, 56, and **Avni Metra**, 53, both former residents of Burrel.” (Wright, 2016).

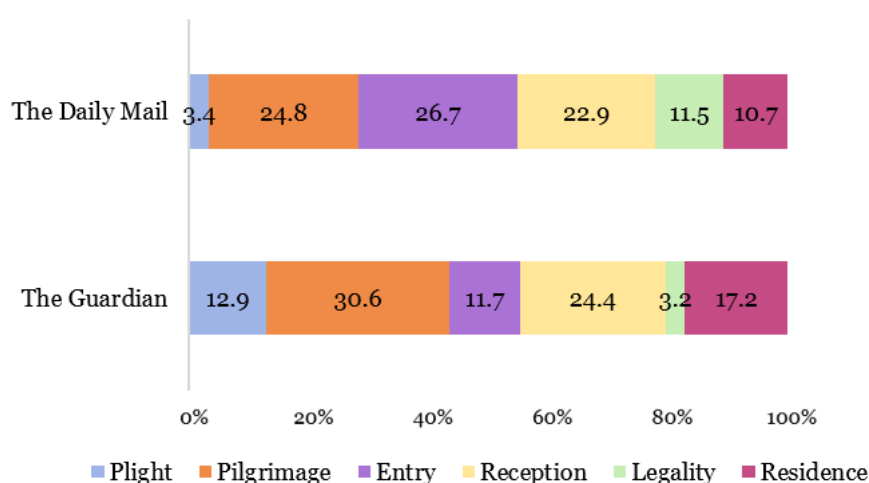
5.1.2 Collocates of RASIM

All the lexical words and phrases that were found in the categories used in grouping collocates of RASIM for The Guardian and The Daily Mail can be found in appendix E and F respectively. Table 4 and figure 6 provide an overview of how often the newspapers made reference to RASIM’s plight, pilgrimage, entry, reception, legality and residence.

Table 4. Categories for collocates of RASIM.

	The Guardian	The Daily Mail	The Guardian	The Daily Mail
Plight	52	9	12.9%	3.4%
Pilgrimage	123	65	30.6%	24.8%
Entry	47	70	11.7%	26.7%
Reception	98	60	24.4%	22.9%
Legality	13	30	3.2%	11.5%
Residence	69	28	17.2%	10.7%
Total	402	262	100%	100%

Figure 6. Categories for collocates of RASIM.



As figure 6 shows, The Daily Mail relatively paid very little attention to plight. It made more references towards RASIM’s pilgrimage, entry into the country of destination and reception. Within the pilgrimage category, a distinction between the journey itself and what people faced during their journeys was made (see appendix E & F). The Daily Mail referred to what RASIM faced during their journeys (e.g. *danger*, *death*, *drowned*) 14 out of the 65 times that it referred to pilgrimage. The Guardian relatively paid more attention to what people go through during their journeys, by referring to such challenges 50 out of 123 times (see examples below).

“At least five people **drowned** when the boat capsized” (Kingsley, 2016b).

“It says children are being subjected to **sexual violence** by traffickers who promise passage to the UK” (McVeigh, 2016).

Within the reception category, The Daily Mail relatively rendered much attention to government-funded benefits that RASIM received, as seen in the examples below.

“The Poles also fought against the proposal to stop migrant workers in Britain **receiving generous Child Benefit** for families in their homeland.” (Beckford & Delgado, 2016)

“In Britain, refugees are placed in asylum accommodation and can receive payments as soon as a claim is lodged. Each person **receives £36.95** for essentials such as food, clothing and toiletries. Asylum seekers are also **entitled to free NHS care, housing and education for any children.**” (Drury, 2016)

While the Guardian mentioned such benefits occasionally as well (e.g. *entitled to jobseeker’s allowance, get unemployment benefit*) it also paid attention to the ways in which RASIM were restricted access to benefits (e.g. *curb in-work benefits, restrict access to in-work benefits, cannot access government services, including health and education*).

Furthermore, The Daily Mail used more words to describe RASIM’s entry into countries of destination than The Guardian did. The Daily Mail used words such as *sneak into, slip into, and smuggle into*. Words that occurred in the entry category for both newspapers, were words embodying the water metaphor (see examples below).

“**a wave of** 200 more migrants came here all at once” (Reid, 2016).

“predictions of **a flood** of immigrants coming from Romania and Bulgaria” (Doughty, 2016).

“the chaos threatens to intensify migration **flows** and unleash terrorism on Europe.” (“The Guardian View on Libya”, 2016).

Van der Valk (2003) argues that water is used as a symbol for losing control over immigration and indicates that there are too many people entering a country.

Lastly, it is worth noting that The Daily Mail broached the topic of legality more often than The Guardian did. It did so specifically by using the word *illegal(s)* 21 times, whereas The Guardian only referred to *immigrants in the country illegally* once.

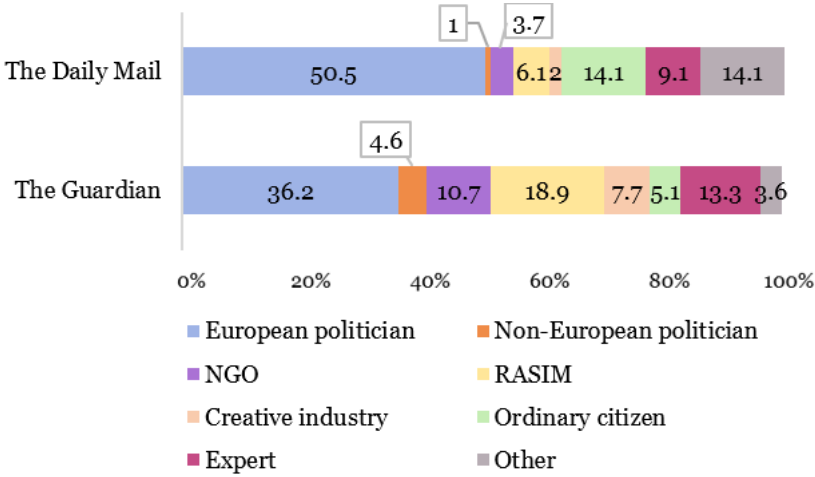
5.2 Discursive Analysis

The discursive analysis showed that in their news coverage on RASIM, the newspapers extensively gave voice to other speakers too. In total, The Daily Mail did so 99 times and The Guardian 196 times. All the quotes and paraphrases along with the speakers and the category they were assigned to can be found in appendix G (The Guardian) and H (The Daily Mail). Table 5 and figure 7 show which speakers were given voice to according to the categories as discussed in chapter 4.

Table 5. Results discursive analysis.

	The Guardian	The Daily Mail	The Guardian	The Daily Mail
European politician	71	50	36.2%	50.5%
Non-European politician	9	1	4.6%	1.0%
NGO	21	3	10.7%	3.7%
RASIM	37	6	18.9%	6.1%
Creative industry	15	2	7.7%	2.0%
Ordinary citizen	10	14	5.1%	14.1%
Expert	26	9	13.3%	9.1%
Other	7	14	3.6%	14.1%
Total	196	99	100%	100%

Figure 7. Results discursive analysis.



In both newspapers, the most common source used was European politician. Interestingly, non-European politicians were hardly given a platform. If they were, they were, without exception, from either the USA, Australia or Canada. Thus, the politicians that were quoted or paraphrased were not from the non-Western countries that RASIM most frequently originate from. Furthermore, RASIM’s voices were more dominant in The Guardian. NGO’s and individuals from the creative industry also made a more prominent appearance in The Guardian than in The Daily Mail. Ordinary citizens on the other hand, were used as a source more frequently by The Daily Mail.

During the analysis it was also noted that quoting and paraphrasing was not only used as a technique to elevate other voices, but also to express critiques towards them. The Daily Mail for instance, was critical towards speakers that were in favor of remaining in the EU (see example below).

“After becoming a laughing stock by admitting that wages would rise and the number of migrants would fall if we vote Leave, **pro-EU cheerleader Lord (Stuart) Rose** boasted about his business record. He said: I have worked in Europe. I have lived in Europe, imported from Europe, exported to Europe, hired people in Europe, and have fired people in Europe. I know Europe pretty well.’ However, he loved the Continent so much that when he was boss of Marks & Spencer, he closed all 38 of its stores in Europe.” (Pierce, 2016).

The Guardian also used quoting in order to express critiques, like in the example below.

"With that," said **Donald Tusk, president of the European Council**, with all the confidence of a magician at a circus, "we will close the western Balkans route." It is a hubristic claim - but one that nevertheless reflects the new hardline agenda that much of Europe's top brass hopes to push through during the migration summit between European and Turkish leaders. (Kingsley, 2016a).

5.3 Social Analysis

The methodology chapter provided some information on the selection of the two different newspapers. The current paragraph contains more information on the newspapers, hereby providing more insight into the contextual setting in which the analyzed articles were produced. This will also help to connect the textual and discursive findings to the wider sociocultural context in chapter 6.

The Guardian and The Daily Mail are both national newspapers that are published daily. They do, however, differ on various aspects. The Guardian is considered to be a quality newspaper, also referred to as a broadsheet newspaper (Zappettini, 2021). The stories published in broadsheet newspapers are usually longer, and provide more background information on the issues covered than a tabloid newspaper. The Daily Mail is a tabloid, thus meaning that the articles are typically shorter. Also, tabloid newspapers tend to provide more sensationalist news coverage (Rogers, 2020). A study by YouGov established that Britons evaluate The Daily Mail as the most right-wing newspaper in the UK, while The Guardian is considered to be the most left-wing newspaper (Smith, 2017). This is reflected in the ideological stances that the newspapers take, such their stances towards Brexit. The Daily Mail endorsed the Leave campaign, while The Guardian favored remaining in the European Union (Levy et al., 2016; Zappettini, 2021).

Both The Guardian and The Daily Mail are among the most read UK newspapers. However, during the first half of 2016, The Daily Mail's average issue readership was higher. It had an average of 3,290,000 readers (Watson, 2021a), while the Guardian had 860,000 readers (Watson, 2021b). Also, The Daily Mail reached 6.3% of individuals over 15 years of age in the UK, while The Guardian reached 1.6% (Watson, 2021c).

6 Discussion

In this chapter, the results from the analyses will be discussed and related to the contextual and theoretical frameworks.

6.1 Legitimacy

The articles were published at a time in which there was much at stake for the British public. They were to decide whether or not to remain part of the European Union, which automatically raised questions related to identification; what is the UK and who is allowed to live there? The latter was an especially important question in the run up to the Brexit referendum, as a common belief was that leaving the EU would give Britons more control over migration and thus over who would be able to enter the country. Essentially, this boils down to an issue of legitimacy; do people on the move have proper reasons to be where they are, and should they be accepted. People's views on such questions are influenced by how news media represent RASIM (Héricourt & Spielvogel, 2014; van Klingeren et al., 2015). The results from the current study provided some relevant insights on how RASIM have been discursively represented, for instance in terms of legitimacy.

The Daily Mail often questioned RASIM's legitimacy, for example by categorizing people into a certain social group in order to then raise questions about whether people were truly part of this group, or whether they were pretending to be part of this group to get a better chance of receiving asylum. The Daily Mail also referred to RASIM in terms of legality, or rather illegality, more often. This was done not only through referential strategies in which RASIM were referred to as *illegal(s)*, but also indirectly through collocates such as *sneaking into* or *slipping into*. When RASIM are being represented as illegal frequently, the readers may naturally come to associate RASIM with illegality (Stubbs, 1996). The fact that The Daily Mail represented RASIM as illegal while The Guardian did not, may be related to the fact that The Daily Mail is a tabloid newspaper, which often provides sensationalist news coverage in order to appeal to its audience's interests. The Guardian, as a broadsheet newspaper, is more concerned with inviting readers to engage with background stories, in this case for instance the reasons why they fled.

6.2 Positioning of the Other

Through discursively representing RASIM, the newspapers have created certain images of them. This was done by assigning certain characterizations and attributes to them (Leerssen, 2007). An important finding was that The Guardian differentiated between group members more when assigning characterizations to the group. It for instance mentioned different branches of Islam that people were following, and mentioned a much greater variety of occupations that RASIM had than The Daily Mail did. In this way, The Guardian represented

RASIM as a more heterogenic group, while The Daily Mail's representation created the image of a more homogenic group. The Daily Mail sparingly provided detailed information on people's identities. When more information was provided, it was often when they had already been identified in a negative manner (e.g. *suspects*). This may steer readers' attitudes towards RASIM to more negative (Stubbs, 1996). This inhibits readers' ability to identify with or relate themselves to the individuals represented. By providing less information on people's personal background and referring to them in terms of what they all have in common, such as the fact that they are migrants, portrays them as a rather homogenous group (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). In contrast, by referring to ordinary people (rather than criminalized individuals) with their names more, providing more information on their life stories and adding more nuance to their representations, The Guardian made it easier for readers to identify with them. This is the case because if readers feel that they share a certain group membership with an individual (such as *Christian, teacher* or *mother*), their ability to identify with the individual increases (Tajfel, 1972). This provides more room for empathy and understanding.

Another difference in the way in which the Other was constructed, was the fact that the Guardian has paid more attention to the vulnerable positions that RASIM find themselves in through the textual and discursive strategies it employed. For example, it quoted NGO's concerned with RASIM's well-being more often, and it referred to *families, (pregnant) women* and *children* more often than The Daily Mail did. Also, it rendered more coverage to the reasons why people had been forced to flee their home countries, and to some of the horrific circumstances people faced while they were on the move. By doing so, the representation in The Guardian leans towards the construction of a victimized Other, which may also indicate their inferior position vis-à-vis the UK.

The Daily Mail on the other hand, referred to *men* more often, and used more criminal terms to refer to RASIM. This is also known as the collective problematization or 'criminalization' of RASIM (Greenberg & Hier, 2001). Also, The Daily Mail referred to individuals from Eastern Europe most (while The Guardian referred to Syrians most), frequently while putting to question their legitimacy. According to Innes (2010) such representations create the image of RASIM as a potential threat to the British society. Another way in which The Daily Mail fueled this idea was by highlighting that RASIM received government-funded benefits or that migrant children did not speak English, hereby representing RASIM as a threat to both the welfare system and the British cultural identity.

6.3 Positioning of the Self

Interestingly, these representations of the Other also serve to position the Self (Leerssen, 2007; Wodak et al., 2009). By representing the Other as a vulnerable group, The Guardian

places the Self into a position of privilege. By saying that ‘they’ are subject to human right violations in their home countries, it is implicated that ‘we’ are not. This may fuel the understanding that the UK was in a position to help, but may also lead to feelings of superiority and one-upmanship. In contrast, The Daily Mail has to a certain extent represented the Other as potentially dangerous, illegitimate and untrustworthy, hereby indicating that the Self is fair, legitimate and trustworthy. In doing so, the British society rather than the RASIM was considered vulnerable, and susceptible to the effects of immigration. Such depictions support the narrative that was also prevalent in the Leave campaign, in which immigration was posed as a threat to the British cultural identity. This is an example of how The Daily Mail’s news coverage was interrelated to the societal context in which it operated, and how it had the power to reinforce already existing (dominant) ideas.

Although The Guardian created a more diversified image of RASIM and gave voice to RASIM more often than The Daily Mail did, the non-European viewpoints represented remained limited. Both newspaper put the Self in an expert position to speak on RASIM and to establish a certain image of them. This fuels the understanding of RASIM as an out-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1985), whose viewpoints and experiences are considered less relevant and important. In both newspapers, it is predominantly the Self that speaks about the Other. We speak about them, not with them. We decide things for them, but we do not listen to them. In this way, RASIM tend to become discursively constructed solely as the topic of a debate, which to a certain extent dehumanizes them. This highlights the unequal power relations that both Fairclough (2010) and Said (1978) speak of, in which the Western media have ownership over the discursive construction of minority groups, in this case refugees, asylum-seekers, migrants and immigrants.

6.4 A Dominant European Discourse

The findings discussed above show that newsmakers have the power to reflect certain ideologies, hereby influencing the image that readers have of RASIM as the Others. With this, the current study supports the findings of previous imagological studies on the representation of minority groups as the Others (Chovanec & Molek-Kozakowska, 2017; Innes, 2010).

Also, the findings highlight the relatedness between the political debate and media discourse; at times, the newspapers reproduced narratives dominant in the political campaigns surrounding Brexit. This adds to the current research findings, that often studied political and media discourses separately (e.g. Mohammadi & Javadi, 2017; Onay-Coker, 2019; O’Regan & Riordan, 2018; Persada & Syahrudin, 2018). Such social structures in which the political and the media debate reinforce one another, may help to sustain dominant discourses. As Dasgupta (2019) pointed out, such a dominant discourse in which the

European democracy has become entangled, easily drifts us towards essentialist and nationalist tendencies and away from empathy and compassion, which has also influenced the EU's (anti-)immigration policies. The interconnectedness between text, discourse and social context (Fairclough, 1989) became especially evident in the context of the Brexit referendum, in which the public's exposure to discourse likely had an effect on the outcome of the referendum. On June 23, the majority of the British public voted Leave, with the hope of being able to 'take back control' over its borders. The fact that readership of The Daily Mail and other tabloid newspapers was larger than The Guardian and other quality newspapers in the run up to the referendum, may have contributed to an overall more negative attitude towards RASIM amongst the British public. To what extent this effect truly holds true, needs to be further established in future research.

7 Conclusion

In this final chapter the research questions will be answered. Also, limitations and suggestions for future research will be made.

7.1 The Representation of RASIM

This research has shown that the referential and discursive strategies employed by the newspapers determine how the Other is constructed. The Guardian employed linguistic strategies that represented RASIM as a heterogenic group, with more attention for people's personal stories. This may invite the reader to empathize with people on the move more. To a certain extent however, it also led to the victimization of RASIM. The Daily Mail represented RASIM as a more homogenic group, and overall, in a more negative light. It did so by questioning their legitimacy and by contributing to the collective criminalization of RASIM. Although there were differences in the points of view represented by the newspapers, the findings highlight that both newspapers write about RASIM as an out-group from an in-group perspective. It was also found that the media discourse at times reinforced the narratives prevalent in the political campaign surrounding the Brexit referendum. Lastly, the newspapers' ideological standpoints had an influence on the way which RASIM were represented. As The Daily Mail endorsed the Leave campaign, it took a more negative stance towards immigration which was reflected in the way in which RASIM were represented. As the Guardian favored remaining in the EU, it did not have such a contextual motivation to represent RASIM in a negative light. As suggested previously, the newspapers may to a certain extent also have anticipated the viewpoints of their audiences in their representations.

7.2 Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

This study generated interesting results regarding the way in which RASIM were discursively constructed in the newspapers under study. Also, it provided some suggestions on how this may influence audience receptions. Here, an important limitation is that some of the causal assumptions made may be too reductionist as the study did not include the assessment of thinking patterns of actual readers of The Guardian and The Daily Mail. The exact effects that the representations of the Other have on the way in which readers conceptualize and take an attitude towards the Other remain uncertain. For that reason, suggestions for future research include cognitive or psycholinguistic approaches on the links between media representations of the Other and readers' attitudes. It would be interesting to investigate how exactly media representations relate to people's thinking processes and which factors play a role in it.

Also, given the findings presented previously, this research suggests that displaced people be involved in their representations more. Representing their points of view more and

giving them a platform to speak on their own experiences (auto-image), may help to alter some of the negative other-representations prevalent and to challenge the unequal power structures.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Corpus 1 – The Guardian

Corpus 1: The Guardian

Article	Title	Author	Date	Word count
1	Brexit: for once it's not about the economy, stupid; Increasingly hysterical claims are being made by both the pro- and anti-EU camps, but the reality is that nothing much will change	Patrick Collinson	February 20, 2016	648 words
2	Germany among EU countries keen to copy UK child benefit peg; Austria, Denmark and the Netherlands also interested in plan to index payments to living costs in country where children live	Philip Oltermann	February 23, 2016	537 words
3	Calais Jungle: prefecture officials begin telling residents to leave; Following legal go-ahead for demolition of camp, charity volunteers reassure people they do not need to move out immediately	Peter Walker	February 26, 2016	745 words
4	Berlin museums' refugee guides scheme fosters meeting of minds; Syrian and Iraqi refugees to provide tours for emigrants to make cultural connections between Germany and their own	Philip Oltermann	February, 29, 2016	730 words
5	Refugees welcome: top German orchestras hold solidarity concert; Berlin Philharmonic, Konzerthaus and Staatskapelle orchestras play for Syrians and other migrants	Kate Connolly	March 3, 2016	1187 words
6	Britain's tech sector overwhelmingly opposed to Brexit; Almost nine in 10 of those polled were against Britain leaving the EU, with a further one in 10 undecided	Alex Hern	March 4, 2016	784 words
7	Donald Tusk's migration magic trick undermined by flawed logic; Turkey's compliance is not a foregone conclusion, and it is unlikely that the Balkans can be sealed off from Greece	Patrick Kingsley	March 7, 2016	532 words
8	Detaining women refugees is imprisonment, plain and simple; Britain's treatment of vulnerable women who have fled persecution should be a source of shame.	Lola Okolosie	March 9, 2016	947 words
9	Students urge Malcolm Turnbull to end immigration detention of children; Pupils send 'strong message' to prime minister over the 'horrific trauma' of detention on Nauru and Manus Island	Melissa Davey	March, 10, 2016	666 words
10	How one German region is bucking the rightwing trend by going green; Victory in Baden-Württemberg promises to revitalise Europe's oldest and biggest environmentalist party	Philip Oltermann	March 17, 2016	714 words
11	EU deal with Turkey to send migrants and refugees back - Q&A; Agreement means all those arriving in Greece from Sunday can expect to be returned to Turkey	Patrick Kingsley	March 18, 2016	540 words
12	Migrants in Turkey still sailing for Greece as new rules come in; But in Izmir, many Syrians give up on Europe and return to Istanbul after EU deal	Patrick Kingsley	March 21, 2016	936 words
13	Syrians rescue German far-right candidate from car crash wreckage; Extremist NPD party thanks asylum seekers in Hesse, who gave first aid to Stefan Jagsch, for their 'humane deed'	Philip Oltermann	March 22, 2016	299 words
14	Blue Eyes - the terrifying TV show that tracks the rise of the far-right in Europe; It's as claustrophobic as Homeland and as tightly wound as The Wire - but in today's climate, with the refugee crisis and the rise in nationalist extremism, this new Swedish series feels like a nightmarish documentary	Aisha Gani	March 24, 2016	863 words

15	Obama rejects 'attempt to stigmatize Muslims' in US after Brussels attacks; US president's weekly address a stern contrast to Cruz and Trump comments about patrolling neighborhoods and calls to clamp down on immigration	Martin Pengelly	March 26, 2016	458 words
16	At least 196 asylum seekers granted community detention after protests; Advocates report rush of people at centre of Let Them Stay protests freed in recent days, potentially giving them access to sanctuary promised by churches	Helen Davidson	April 1, 2016	616 words
17	Teenage refugee killed in lorry crash while attempting to reach family in UK; Mohammed Hussain, 18, becomes first casualty of crisis in Britain this year while fleeing Dunkirk camp en route to Manchester	Mark Townsend	April 2, 2016	575 words
18	Australian reporter and TV crew detained while filming story in Beirut; Tara Brown and Nine Network staff were filming story about two Australian children taken to Lebanon by their father	Amanda Meade	April 7, 2016	366 words
19	Take in more Syrians and help reunite refugee families, human rights official urges UK; Britain could accept more than 20,000 Syrian refugees and should stop detaining migrants for years, says Council of Europe commissioner	Owen Bowcott	April 11, 2016	524 words
20	Plan to tackle sexual violence during wars 'at risk without William Hague'; No clear plan to implement high-profile campaign championed by former foreign secretary, says Lords report	Patrick Wintour	April 12, 2016	975 words
21	Anna Wintour apologises for 'migrant chic' comments; Editor-in-chief of American Vogue used phrase to describe a Kanye West fashion show in New York	Kevin Rawlinson	April 15, 2016	316 words
22	Theresa May imposes 72-hour limit on detention of pregnant asylum seekers; Campaigners disappointed home secretary has decided against outright ban of practice despite House of Lords vote	Alan Travis	April 18, 2016	510 words
23	EU has lost favour with citizens, commission president warns; The EU has interfered too much in people's lives, says Jean-Claude Juncker, and Europe's citizens are losing faith in it	Jon Henley	April 19, 2016	443 words
24	What it takes to be a migrant entrepreneur; Language and cultural barriers are the first hurdles when starting a business in a foreign country, but networking is key	Rafael Dos Santos	April 24, 2016	804 words
25	Welcome to your virtual cell: could you survive solitary confinement?; Based on former prisoners' testimonies, our virtual reality prison, 6x9, replicates the experience in disturbing detail	Caroline Davies	April 27, 2016	1029 words
26	Obama administration warns of 'climate refugees' due to rapid Arctic warming; US Interior Secretary Sally Jewell has painted a stark picture of communities displaced by rising Arctic temperatures that are 'washing away' towns	Oliver Milman	April 29, 2016	494 words
27	Trump polling over Cruz in Indiana as Sanders vows to fight - campaign live; Staff fights for dignity in Trump's Vegas hotel: 'You don't talk to the boss' Bernie Sanders vows a contested convention despite 'tough road' ahead Cruz rails against Trump-Clinton 'cartel' in final push ahead of Indiana	Tom McCarthy	May 2, 2016	968 words
28	Child refugees: Cameron retreat avoids Tory revolt and numbers game; By signing up to Lord Dubs' plan, the PM may help deter traffickers and recharge a UK fostering scheme	Alan Travis	May 4, 2016	632 words
29	Dutton risked safety of asylum seeker sent to PNG for abortion, court finds; Justice Mordecai Bromberg finds the immigration minister has a duty to provide the woman, identified only as S99, with a safe and legal termination	Melissa Davey	May 6, 2016	810 words
30	EU referendum: Europeans in Britain fear Brexit vote; European citizens living and working in the UK are uncertain what a vote to leave would mean for their future	James Walsh	May 9, 2016	722 words
31	George Christensen tries to put pressure on Labor over Syrian refugee settlement; Government confirms LNP backbencher has been given an assurance that no refugees	Gabrielle Chan	May 11, 2016	590 words

	will be resettled in his electorate, while Labor candidate challenged to make same commitment			
32	Trump ignores UK critics and claims country has 'a massive Muslim problem'; Republican frontrunner welcomes controversial British commentator's support amid record-breaking campaign to bar him from the UK	Joanna Walters	May 11, 2016	505 words
33	Mosul: the city that will define not just Iraq's war, but its future; The Iraqi army and the Kurdish Peshmerga find themselves locked in a power struggle before they can even begin to oust Isis	Martin Chulov	May 11, 2016	972 words
34	Brexit would lead to shortage of construction staff, says Barratt boss; David Thomas, chief executive of the UK's largest homebuilder, says an EU exit would impair industry's ability to build houses	Julia Kollewe	May 12, 2016	817 words
35	Why is Britain silent on the extrajudicial killing of Palestinians?; Israel's strategy amounts to psychological and violent terror - yet it remains uncensored by the global community	Manuel Hassassian	May 16, 2016	742 words
36	The Guardian view on Libya: a nation's tragedy, a continent's problem; Europe must not close its eyes to the fate of one of Africa's best-resourced countries. The bloody chaos there could all too easily find its way to the continent's shores	Unknown	May 18, 2016	585 words
37	Three out of four Syrians believe a political solution can end the war; Rare polling shows that 60% believe the influence of the jihadis of Islamic State has decreased in the last six months	Ian Black	May 19, 2016	586 words
38	Far-right candidate narrowly defeated in Austrian presidential election; Alexander Van der Bellen, a former Green party leader running as independent, beats the Freedom party's Norbert Hofer	Kate Connolly & Jon Henley	May 23, 2016	519 words
39	Italian navy saves 550 refugees as smugglers' trawler capsizes in Med; Praise for sailors' swift action as dramatic photographs show overloaded boat turning over as naval vessel approaches	Patrick Kingsley	May 25, 2016	894 words
40	'Here it is a big dream': Syrians taken in by Vatican begin new life in Rome; Trastevere becomes temporary home for 12 Syrian asylum seekers after Pope Francis offers sanctuary after Lesbos visit	Stephanie Kirchgaessner & Rosie Scammell	May 27, 2016	782 words
41	Davos 2016: Gordon Brown warns of 'lost generation' of Syrian children; Former PM and UN envoy for education tells world economic forum that money must be found for 2 million children from war zone to go to school	Larry Elliott	May 27, 2016	436 words
42	Protesters clash with police outside Donald Trump rally in San Diego; Trump denies California is experiencing a drought as hundreds of riot police are deployed to deal with demonstrators	Nicky Woolf & Rory Carroll	May 28, 2016	385 words
43	All EU states oppose David Cameron's freeze on migrant benefits; PM under pressure to back down on plan to stop non-British EU citizens from claiming in-work benefits for four years	Ian Traynor	May 31, 2016	358 words
44	Will there be migrant camps in Kent if Britain leaves the EU?; David Cameron has suggested camps similar to the Calais Jungle would appear in south-east England after Brexit	Alan Travis	May 31, 2016	858 words
45	Poland gets official warning from EU over constitutional court changes; Alterations giving government more powers pose systemic risk to the rule of law, European commission says	Jennifer Rankin & Alex Duval	June 1, 2016	801 words
46	Iain Duncan Smith accuses PM of lying over EU immigration; Cameron's claim about negotiating EU deal over jobseeker's allowance is 'clear attempt to deceive', says former Tory leader	Rowena Mason	June 3, 2016	791 words
47	Rumi film will challenge Muslim stereotypes, says Gladiator writer; David Franzoni, who wrote script for 2000 film starring Russell Crowe, to pen biopic on 13th-century Muslim poet and scholar	Kareem Shaheen	June 6, 2016	813 words

48	The best way to win an EU debate? Say absolutely nothing; If the ITV debate involving Boris Johnson and Nicola Sturgeon showed anything it was that the first side to announce that it had said everything there is to be said will Hoover up the 15% of undecideds	John Crace	June 9, 2016	559 words
49	Vulnerable and exploited: 7 things we learned about migrant labour in palm oil; Many leave dire situations to work in oil palm plantations hoping for a better future, but they are vulnerable to deception and poor working conditions How can we support migrant workers in the palm oil supply chain?	Hannah Gould	June 10, 2016	960 words
50	Traffickers exploiting young refugees in French camps, says Unicef; Report says children have been subjected to sexual violence, and open letter calls on UK to act more quickly	Karen McVeigh	June 13, 2016	618 words
51	David Cameron to look at 'migrant impact' fund for stretched areas; Prime minister tells Jeremy Corbyn he will work with Labour to address voter concerns and help pressed communities	Rowena Mason	June 15, 2016	611 words
52	Turkish border guards kill eight Syrian refugees - reports; Three children, four women and one man shot dead while trying to escape northern Syria, according to monitors	Patrick Kingsley	June 19, 2016	568 words
53	MIA says she won't play Afropunk festival after Black Lives Matter comments; Rapper faced boycott of London event following comments made to the Evening Standard, saying 'I've been told to stay in my lane'	Unknown	June 21, 2016	324 words
54	Exclusive: Portishead release Abba SOS video in tribute to Jo Cox; In a tribute to Jo Cox, the Bristol trip hop band have released a video for their downbeat cover of Abba's pop classic	Unknown	June 22, 2016	87 words
55	The digested referendum campaign: Immigration! Economy! Immigration!; Brave little Boris has had plenty to say - much of it delusional - in the contest David Cameron never wanted	John Crace	June 23, 2016	870 words
56	Voting begins in EU referendum as polls say result too close to call; Both campaigns have urged a big turnout although bad weather in south-east England could affect numbers	Claire Phipps	June 23, 2016	692 words
57	Syrian National Orchestra: 'When there is violence, you have to make music'; With war ravaging their homeland, the Syrian National Orchestra have been scattered across the globe. But five years since the violence erupted, the group are reuniting for a cathartic tour - and opening Glastonbury	Homa Khaleeli	June 23, 2016	1586 words
58	Turnbull and Shorten toss barbs at each other over leadership abilities; The prime minister says the opposition leader, Bill Shorten, is 'owned' by the unions, and Shorten says Malcolm Turnbull is trying to 'disown' conservatives	Lenore Taylor	June 23, 2016	836 words
59	Brexit or not, is it time for me to become an Italian?; I have lived in Italy for 35 years as a UK citizen but the EU referendum is forcing me to clarify my identity - along with a million other Britons in mainland Europe	Tim Parks	June 23, 2016	705 words
60	Will Obama's immigration setback turn short-term pain into long-term gain?; The suspension of Obama's executive orders to shield millions of undocumented migrants is bad for his legacy, but may further galvanise a party already united against Trump Will Obama's immigration setback turn short-term pain into long-term gain?; The suspension of Obama's executive orders to shield millions of undocumented migrants is bad for his legacy, but may further galvanise a party already united against Trump	Dan Roberts	June 23, 2016	445 words
Total				40,307 words

Appendix B: Corpus 2 – The Daily Mail

Corpus 2: The Daily Mail

Article	Title	Author	Date	Word count
1	GERMAN REGION BANS MOROCCAN MIGRANTS	Unknown	February 20, 2016	213 words
2	HOW THEY'VE TRIED TO BLOCK THE PM'S DEAL	Unknown	February 20, 2016	86 words
3	PM MADE TO DANCE	Martin Beckford & Martin Delgado	February 21, 2016	189 words
4	EU MIGRANTS WILL GET MORE CHILD BENEFIT	Unknown	February 23, 2016	118 words
5	TOP TORIES SAY CAMERON'S EU DEAL WILL NOT CUT MIGRATION	Jason Groves & Daniel Martin	February 26, 2016	665 words
6	THOUSANDS HOUSED ON FERRIES	Unknown	February 27, 2016	181 words
7	ENGLISH CHILDREN NEGLECTED' AS MIGRANT PUPIL NUMBERS SOAR	Eleanor Harding	February 29, 2016	270 words
8	FEMALE VIGILANTES ON PATROL IN POOL AFTER SEX ATTACKS	Unknown	March 1, 2016	271 words
9	UK ANARCHISTS FAN VIOLENCE	Unknown	March 3, 2016	194 words
10	SURRENDER ON ILLEGAL MIGRANTS	Ian Drury	March 5, 2016	635 words
11	AUSTRIA: MY GANG ORDEAL	Unknown	March 5, 2016	112 words
12	THE ANDREW PIERCE COLUMN	Andrew Pierce	March 7, 2016	623 words
13	'SEX ATTACKERS' CAUGHT ON VICTIMS' PHONES	Allan Hall	March 9, 2016	203 words
14	OBAMA'S FOUR-LETTER BLAST OVER PM'S LIBYA FAILURES	Jason Groves	March 11, 2016	594 words
15	ARCHBISHOP: IT ISN'T RACIST TO FEAR MIGRATION	James Slack	March 11, 2016	750 words
16	MACEDONIA FURY AT MERKEL	Unknown	March 12, 2016	215 words
17	MIGRATION COVER-UP FEARS GROWING	James Slack & Jack Doyle	March 14, 2016	541 words
18	NEWBORN BABY WASHED OVER A PUDDLE IN SQUALID CAMP	Mario Ledwith	March 14, 2016	240 words
19	MERKEL: I'LL KEEP LETTING IN MIGRANTS DESPITE POLL DEFEAT	Jack Doyle & Allan Hall	March 15, 2016	607 words
20	UN FLIES IN ANGELINA FOR SYRIA DEAL PLEA	Unknown	March 16, 2016	151 words
21	PARIS JIHADIST: I WAS TOO AFRAID TO BLOW MYSELF UP	Peter Allen	March 20, 2016	416 words
22	SECURITY AND THE EU	Unknown	March 24, 2016	593 words
23	£90M TO BBC ARM BEHIND SOMALI RADIO DRAMA THAT GAVE TIPS FOR ILLEGAL MIGRANTS	Jaber Mohamed	March 27, 2016	476 words
24	MAN IN WHITE IS STILL ON THE RUN	Claire Duffin	March 29, 2016	531 words
25	STRIKE A LIGHT! THE CIGAR'S THE STAR OF THIS GLOOMFEST	Unknown	April 1, 2016	382 words
26	MIGRANT CRISIS TO BE TACKLED ...	Unknown	April 6, 2016	296 words
27	BORDER POLICE ATTACKED WITH OWN TEAR GAS	Unknown	April 11, 2016	253 words
28	AUSTRIA TIGHTENS BORDER	Unknown	April 13, 2016	97 words
29	MERKEL IN FREE SPEECH STORM OVER COMEDIAN'S TURKEY JOKE	John Stevens	April 16, 2016	294 words
30	WE'D RATHER F LATS WERE USED TO FILM PORN MOVIES THAN FOR MIGRANTS, SAY FURIOUS RESIDENTS	Ben Wilkinson	April 19, 2016	424 words
31	YOUR ADVICE ON EU ISN'T WANTED, IDS TELLS OBAMA	James Slack	April 22, 2016	513 words
32	ROYAL NAVY COULD BE SENT TO HELP LIBYANS CURB THE PEOPLE SMUGGLERS	Larisa Brown	April 26, 2016	396 words
33	MIGRANTS RIOT ON LESBOS AS THEY FACE BEING SENT BACK TO TURKEY	Unknown	April 28, 2016	215 words

34	THE PRIMARY WHERE ALL 200 CHILDREN WERE BORN OVERSEAS	Graham Grant	May 3, 2016	418 words
35	NIGER WANTS £790M TO HALT INFLUX	John Stevens	May 5, 2016	318 words
36	A HUMANE RESPONSE TO CHILD REFUGEE CRISIS	Unknown	May 5, 2016	594 words
37	28 KILLED AIRSTRIKE AT SYRIA REFUGEE CAMP	Izzy Ferris	May 6, 2016	282 words
38	BOJO ON DAVE AND HOW PM CHANGED HIS TUNE	Unknown	May 10, 2016	153 words
39	POLL: BREXIT BEST FOR TACKLING MIGRANTS	James Slack	May 11, 2016	331 words
40	ITALY NOW NO.1 REFUGEE ROUTE INTO EUROPE AFTER GREEK ARRIVALS DROP	John Stevens	May 14, 2016	368 words
41	HOW THE BBC COOKED UP A CYNICAL STORM	Unknown	May 18, 2016	577 words
42	MIGRANTS' NEW ROUTE TO UK - VIA GERMANY	Ian Drury	May 21, 2016	381 words
43	GREAT-GRAN CAN'T WED MIGRANT TOY BOY	Emily Kent Smith	May 23, 2016	154 words
44	STRING OF ALBANIAN MURDERERS HIDING FROM JUSTICE IN UK	Stephen Wright	May 23, 2016	559 words
45	HOW ROMANIANS AND BULGARIANS FUELLED THE INFLUX	Steve Doughty	May 27, 2016	455 words
46	TERROR LINKS TO MIGRANTS REVEALED IN SECRET REPORT	Martin Beckford	May 29, 2016	254 words
47	PM IS TOO RICH TO CARE ABOUT IMMIGRATION'	Unknown	May 30, 2016	169 words
48	AUSTRALIA'S SYSTEM THAT GETS RESULTS	Unknown	June 1, 2016	249 words
49	NOW RESCUED ALBANIANS CLAIM ASYLUM	Ian Drury	June 2, 2016	303 words
50	BONANZA FOR THE PEOPLE-SMUGGLERS AS 20,000 MIGRANTS WAIT FOR BOATS ALONG 450 MILES OF FRENCH COAST	Sue Reid	June 4, 2016	1305 words
51	CHRISTIAN CONVERTS TESTED ON BIBLE	Unknown	June 6, 2016	120 words
52	EURO COURT TELLS FRANCE: YOU CAN'T DETAIN ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS	Ian Drury	June 8, 2016	589 words
53	HOW WE EXPOSED ANOTHER ALBANIAN KILLER IN OUR MIDST	Unknown	June 9, 2016	212 words
54	THREE IRANIANS PICKED UP IN CHANNEL AFTER CALLING 999	Simon Murphy	June 12, 2016	356 words
55	LABOUR'S LEADERS IN DENIAL ON MIGRATION	Jack Doyle	June 13, 2016	315 words
56	NOW LAGARDE TAKES A VEILED SWIPE AT LEAVE CAMPAIGNERS	James Salmon	June 18, 2016	391 words
57	VOTE REMAIN STORMS TO SHOCK 3-POINT LEAD IN LAST-MINUTE SURGE	Simon Walters	June 19, 2016	380 words
58	WAR OF WORDS OVER FARAGE'S BREXIT POSTER	James Slack	June 20, 2016	435 words
59	MIGRANTS IN RUSH FOR UK PASSPORTS	Unknown	June 22, 2016	97 words
60	NAILED: FOUR BIG EU LIES	Jason Groves & James Slack	June 23, 2016	872 words
Total				21,981 words

Appendix C: Social Actor Analysis The Guardian

Functionalization

Refugee(s) (131x) - migrant(s) (58x) - asylum seeker(s) (47x) - immigrants (8x) - emigrants - newcomers

People (51x) - citizens (7x) - residents (5x) - passengers (3x) – survivors (2x) - the displaced (2x) – civilians – clients - displaced people - displaced persons - EU citizens – humans - people seeking asylum – person- victims - vulnerable people

Workers (14x) - guest workers (2x) - (orchestral) musicians (6x) - entrepreneur (5x) - guides (4x) - (architecture) student(s) (3x) - conductor (3x) - singer (3x) - construction workers (3x) - performers (3x) - (hip-hop) artist (2x) - hairdresser (2x) – administrator -architects - atomic scientist -bricklayers – carpenters - cultural curator - cybersecurity specialists - data scientists- economics graduate - general labourers - graphic designer - guest star – guide – joiners - makeup artist - members of the SNOAM - museum guides - organisers - philosophy teacher – plasterers -poet - primary school teacher - product managers -property and business owners – rapper - senior developers - skilled tradespeople – subcontractors - Sufi teacher - talent from overseas - teacher - violinist - freelance journalist - postgraduate student

Classification

(unaccompanied) child(ren) (54x) - adult(s) (6x) - young (6x) - teenage(r) (5x) - (unaccompanied) minor(s) (3x) - 18 (3x) - baby/babies (2x) - 30-year old (2x) - 11 - 11-year old - 12-year-old -19 – 22 - 24-year-old - 29-year old - 31-year old - 37 - 40 - 46-year old - 55-year old – elderly - from ages between two and 12 - in his 30s - in their early 20s - little kids - one 22-year old - school-age - the oldest - twenty-five-year-old - two-year old

Relational Identification

Family/families (19x) - child(ren) (15x) - friends (5x) - wife (3x)- father (2x) - parents (2x) - son (2x)- spouses (2x)- brother- colleagues- couples- cousin- daughter- family members- member of the group- mother- partners

Physical Identification

Pregnant (16x)

Aggregation

Four women (2x) - three children (2x) - two Syrians (2x) - 1 million refugees - 1,300 people - 1,400 refugee children - 1.1 million arrivals - 12 Syrian asylum seekers - 12,000 Syrian refugees - 14,000 subcontractors - 15 migrants - 150 children - 150 refugee children - 150% above normal levels - 16 refugees - 17 Syrians - 18 guides - 19 refugees - 196 asylum seekers - 196 of the 267 asylum seekers - 2 million children - 2,200 refugee newcomers - 2.5 million - 2.5 million Syrian refugees - 2.7 million - 2.7 million Syrians - 20 million of them refugees - 20,000 Syrian refugees - 20,000 people from Syria - 23,000 of a total of 105,000 refugees - 25% - 250,000 Albanians - 28 survivors - 28,738 - 3 million or so EU citizens - 3,455 people - 3,500 refugees - 3.5 million workers - 30,000 people - 30,000 people - 300 of the most vulnerable refugee children - 325,000 school-age Syrians - 37 babies - 39,000 - 4 million undocumented migrants - 47,000 - 48,141 asylum seekers - 5,000 - 50 Syrian musicians - 500 people - 54 children - 550 lives - 550 refugees - 576 people - 60 Syrian refugees - 60 million displaced people - 600 people - 65 million refugees - 67 asylum seekers - 67 people - 7,600 Syrian migrants - 75% of Syrians - 800 people - 800 to 1,000 people - 99 pregnant women - around 3 million - between 60,000 and 80,000 refugees - dozens of Syrians - eight Syrian refugees - half of the 267 asylum seekers - hundreds of children - hundreds of thousands - hundreds of thousands of foreigners - hundreds of thousands of refugees - in the hundreds or thousands - increasing numbers - large numbers of people - millions of undocumented migrants - more than 12,000 - more than 40,000 refugees - more than 500 people - more than 7,000 - more than 80% of those detained - more than 850,000 people - nearly 12% of the 2.1 million construction workers - one of hundreds - Poland : 30,120 Romania : 24,842 Lithuania : 7,569 India : 7,704 Bulgaria : 5,443 Latvia : 3,830 South Africa: 1,316 Hungary: 1,448 Australia: 937 - six adults - six children - tens of thousands of refugees and migrants - thousands of Europeans - thousands of migrants - three families - three out of four - twelve Syrian asylum seekers - two adult children - unspecified number of

Nomination

Aladdin Haddad (both) - Asha (first name) - Diab (first name) - Eslam Jawaad (both names) - Etienne Dunant (both names) - Fahed (first name) (3x) - Frayha (last name) (4x) - Gizem Ozkaynak (both names) - Hasan (first name) (3x) - Hussain (last name) (2x) - Ibrahim Mbalo (both names) - Issam (first name) - Issam Rafea (both names) - Julie Lamoureux (both names) - Kifork (first name) (3x) - Kolthoum (last name) (3x) - Lamoureux (last name) - Lou Del Bello (both names) - Maher Mahmood (both names) - Mahmood (last name) (4x) - Mamo (last name) - Marie Lemaire (both names) - Marie Van Der Velde (both names) - Mbalo (last name) - Mohammed Hussain (both names) (2x) - Mounir Troudi (both names) - Muhannad Mohamad (both names) - Munir Bu Kolthoum (both names) (2x) - Nadiya Mamo (both names) - Noorddeen (first name) (2x) - Noorddeen Al Mansouri (both) - Noura Mint Seymali (both names) - Patrizia -Piccardo (both names) - Rafea (last name) (2x) - Raneem Barakat (both names) - Razan Nassreddine (both names) - Shahnaz (first name) (2x) - Sidra (first name) - Sousan Eskandar (both names) - Talin (first name) - Youssef Frayha (both names)

Appendix D: Social Actor Analysis The Daily Mail

Functionalization

Migrant(s) (83x) - refugee(s) (31x) - immigrant(s) (18x) - asylum seeker(s) (12x) - EU migrant(s) (7x) - asylum claimants

People (14x) - citizens (3x), individual(s) (2x) - displaced people - EU citizens - inhabitants - occupants - others

Workers (4x), migrant workers (3x), domestic help, engineer, forklift truck driver

Suspect(s) (6x) - killer(s) (4x) - suicide bomber(s) (4x) - terrorist(s) (4x) - criminals (3x) - gangs (3x) - jihadist(s) (3x) - murderers (3x) - attacker(s) (2x) - extremist(s) (2x) - jihadis (2x) - offenders (2x) - radical fighters (2x) - bomber - brussels bombers – inmates - Islamic State terrorist - sex attackers - the mastermind behind the Paris terror attacks – thieves - thug

Classification

Child(ren) (23x) - young (7x) - youngsters (4x), - pupil(s) (2x) - youths (2x) - 41 (2x) - 17-year-old - 18, 21-year old – 24 - 24-year-old - 26-year-old - 27-year-old - 28-year-old – 29 – 31 – 53 – 56 - as young as five – baby - in their 20s or 30s - in their late 50s and 40s - newborn baby - nine-year old - of 16 and 17 – schoolchildren - under 16

Men (15x) - man (5x) - boy(s) (3x) - women (3x) - girl(s) (2x) – woman -male

Albanian(s) (18x) - Syrian(s) (9x) - Iranian(s) (7x) - Moroccan(s) (6x) - foreigners (4x) - African(s) (3x) - North African (3x) - Poles (3x) - Afghan (2x) - Bulgarian(s) (2x) - EU (2x) - EU nationals (2x) - from Syria (2x) - Iraqi(s) (2x) - non-Austrian(s) (2x) - Romanian(s) (2x) - Somali(s) (2x) - born in Albania - born overseas - Eritreans, Egyptians and Nigerians – foreign - from Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan and Myanmar - from Albania - from Albania and Kosovo - from Eastern European countries including Poland - from Iraq - from Morocco - from Slovakia - from Slovakia, Romania, or Asian families- - from Uganda - from other West African nations - from Romania and Bulgaria - from the North African country -from the North African region – Ghanaian - Kosovar(s) - Kurds from Iran - no British-born - of Mexico – Pakistanis - Tunisian

Bogus' Christians - Christian converts (2x) - Islamists

Non-native speakers - speaking their own language- those speaking Romanian - whose first language is Polish - whose first language is from East Europe - with Romanian as their mother tongue - without English as their main language

Relational Identification

Parents (2x) - child(ren) - father - friends - siblings - toy boy - lover - wife

Physical Identification

One-legged (2x) - hidden underneath a black hat and glasses - in the hat - men in black - wearing a hat and dressed in white - wearing a smart white shirt and light jacket

Aggregation

Thousands (of) (8x) - 300 migrants (2x) - 1.1 million migrants - 1.19 million schoolchildren - 1.25 million asylum seekers - 1.3 million extra EU citizens - 10,000 foreign criminals - 100,000 a year - 11,200 migrants - 12,000 occupants - 130,000 - 14,000 migrants - 150 - 150 Albanian migrants - 150 Albanians - 150,000 - 163,000 asylum claimants - 18 Albanian migrants - 18 migrants - 190,000 - 2,000 people - 2,700 - 20 million migrants - 20,000 Syrian refugees - 20,000 migrants - 20,000 people - 200 Iranian, Afghan and Iraqi migrants - 200 children - 200 more migrants - 200 youngsters - 200,000 - 21,425 in 2004 to just 12,056 - 26 Iranians and Iraqis - 26,000 - 3,000- 3,000 refugees - 30 - 31 Pakistanis - 330,000 - 38,400 - 450,000 people - 49 asylum seekers - 500 million EU nationals - 60,000 to 80,000 - 65,000 arrivals - 70 per cent of Albanians - 76 suspects - 8,370 people - 80 per cent of the Moroccan migrants - 801 people - 90 people - a million foreigners - a million migrants - a quarter of the country's population - between 1,500 and 2,000 - eight migrants - hundreds - hundreds of thousands - millions of foreigners - one million registered refugees - nearly 400 per cent from 51,955 to 190,506 - from 1,387 to 16,616 - soaring immigration numbers - tens of thousands - three million migrants - from 26,932 to 90,505 - two children - two million EU citizens - two-thirds of migrants - tens of thousands of African migrants

Nomination

Abdeslam (last name) (5x) - Ali (first name) - Avni Metra (both names) - Babayan (first name) - Barci (last name) (6x) - Fayal C (first name + first letter last name) - Faycal Cheffou (both names) - Hamed Farzaneh (both names) - Ibrahim El-Bakraoui (both names) (2x) - Jimmy Korbi (both names) - Kadri Hoxha (both names) - Miss Affum (last name) (2x) - Mr Cheffou (last name) (5x) - Muchtar Ahman (both names) - Najim Laachraoui (both names) - Priti Patel (both names) - Salah Abdeslam (both names) - Saliman Barci (both names) (2x) - Selina Affum (both names) - Seyyed Khalik Khalili (both names) - Sulaf (first name)

Appendix E: Collocational Analysis The Guardian

Plight	Call to join military service - climate change - conflict (4x) – dangers - diminishing ice – disruption - escalating Arctic temperatures – fighting - food insecurity – invasions – kidnapping - living under threat - modern-day slavery - need for medical care - oil spills - persecution (3x) - post-traumatic stress disorder - poverty (2x) - rapid Arctic warming - repressive regimes - rising Arctic temperatures - rising sea levels - seven-day detention by Islamic State - sexual violence (2x) - shipwreck - thinning ice – torture (2x) - violence (5x) – (civil) war (12x)
Pilgrimage	<p>The pilgrimage:</p> <p>Crossing (2x) - dangerous crossing – displacement – flight - illegal crossing - journey (4x) – march - movement (2x) – path - perilous crossing - route (10x) - smuggling route</p> <p>Cross (2x) - be en route to - be on the move - claim asylum (7x) - escape (6x) flee (9x) - fly (2x) - make the journey (2x) - make their way - move (2x) - seek a living - seek asylum (4x) - seek protection - seek sanctuary - take the boats - travel (4x) - try to reach (2x)</p> <p>What people face while they are on the move:</p> <p>Abuse (2x) – death - deception and false promises - exploitation and discrimination – hallucinations - harsh conditions - horrific trauma (2x) – kidnappings - logistical problems - medical and legal risk - panic attacks - poor working conditions - risk of deportation - risks (2x) - sexual violence (2x) - squalid conditions - threat of deportation - tragedy - trauma - exploitation</p> <p>Be moved - be raped - be raped while in detention - be trapped (2x) - being hit by shrapnel - claimed lives - die (2x) – displaced - drown (2x) - forced to commit crimes (2x) - forced to participate in child labour -forced to work - get stuck - killed (4x) – relocated - sexually exploited - shot - shot dead - survive</p>
Entry	<p>Arrive (10x) - come (to/in) (6x) – enter (2x) - find refuge - get to - land (2x) - make it to - reach (4x) - settle (3x) - strand</p> <p>A wave of - arrival (6x) - entry (3x) - flow (3x) - influx - risky attempt - settlement</p>
Reception	Address their cases - asked to leave - be given hope - be settled (2x) - being held (5x) - being prevented from continuing their journey - bring to (2x) - cannot access government services, including health and education - care for - curb in-work benefits - deport(ed) (4x) - detain - entitled to jobseeker’s allowance - examining their claims - flying her to - forcibly ejected - freed - get sanctuary (2x) - get unemployment benefit - give work permits - given sanctuary (2x) - giving them access to sanctuary (2x) - granted community detention (2x) - help (2x) - help reunite - house (3x) - lacking the resources to house or process them - offer sanctuary - offer shelter - placed - process - protect (2x) - provide protection - provide sanctuary - re-accepting – reaccept – receive - refused permission - released (5x) - removed - rescue(d) (2x) - resettle - restrict access to in-work benefits - return (4x) - save (2x) - send home - sent back (3x) - sent to (2x) - support (3x) - take back (2x) - take in (2x) - work alongside

	Allocation of - attacks on refugee homes - attempt to deport - attempts by Border Force officers to detain - boat turnbacks - deportation (3x) - detention (3x) - empathy - humane resettlement - openness - refusal to let in - warm welcome - populist resentments against
Legality	Detained (4x) - detainees (2x) – imprisoned - in detention - locked (up) (2x) - - in the country illegally - people without papers - without a visa
Residence	A cage - a flatshare - asylum centres - asylum seekers' home - Calais Jungle (3x) - camp(s) (18x) - caravans - centre - community detention (3x) - detention centre(s) (7x) - detention system - Home Office funded accommodation - immigration removal centres (2x) - makeshift homes - Middle East camps - migrant encampments - migrants camps (3x) - offshore detention - refugee camp(s) (5x) - refugee centre - refugee homes -refugee shelter - self-built wooden shacks – sheds - shipping container shelters - temporary new home – tents - the Calais camps - the Jungle (3x) - the community (4x)

Appendix F: Collocational Analysis The Daily Mail

Plight	Death - destruction - fighting - oppression - persecution - the plight - war (3x)
Pilgrimage	<p>The pilgrimage:</p> <p>Boat crossing - crossing - emigration to - floodgates - illegal journey - journey - migration - movements - perilous journey (3x) - route(s) (7x) - sea voyage</p> <p>Claim asylum (10x) - en route to - flee (5x) - heading for - make the journey (3x) - migrate (3x) - seek sanctuary - sneaking to reach - storm across - travel (2x) - try their luck - try to get across - trying to break through - trying to smuggle themselves on to</p> <p>What people face when they are on the move:</p> <p>Dangers - deaths - hypothermia - lung conditions - sickness</p> <p>Drowned - hurt - injured (2x) - killed - sleep in the open - sleeping rough - suffering breath difficulties - wounded</p>
Entry	<p>Arrive (8x) - come (into) (5x) - cross (into) (8x) - enter (10x) - flood (into) (3x) - overwhelm - pour into - reach (4x) - slip into - smuggle into- sneak into (5x) - strand</p> <p>A flood - arrival(s) (8x) - entry - flow(s) (4x) - influx (4x) - spike (2x) - the stream - wave</p>
Reception	<p>Attract - be eligible for tax credits or benefits - being refused permission to stay - boot out - control - deport(ed) (10x) - deportation - deter - enjoyed nearly £2,000 a month in benefits - entitled to free NHS care, housing and education for any children - get more child benefit - give safe haven - given the right to work freely - halt - held in - help (2x) – injure - intake of - kick out (3) - limit - open door migrants - receive payments - receive welfare payments - receiving benefits - receiving generous Child Benefit - reject - release - rescued (5x) - return(ed) (4x) - sent back (7x) - stop(ped) (2x) - teach - to restrict the employment rights</p>
Legality	<p>Arrested - clandestine - convicted of the murders - illegal(s) (21x) - sought for extradition - wanted - detained - registered - unlawful - with a visa to enter the Schengen passport-free travel area</p>
Residence	<p>Camped - housed on ferries</p> <p>Asylum centres - camp(s) (11x) - filthy living conditions - indescribable swampland - jungle camp - refugee camp (4x) - temporary shelter - the jungle - a property under surveillance in Belgium's terrorist hotbed - centre - detention centre - flat</p>

Appendix G: Discursive Analysis The Guardian

Speaker	Quote/paraphrase	Type of source
Neil Kinnock, a former EU commissioner	If Britain leaves the EU, the impact will be "seismic" Brexit would be "a jump off the edge of the cliff... in which our economic stability is hugely put at risk".	European politician
Experts	warn that they may end up achieving the opposite.	Expert
Marcus Weinberg, a Christian Democrat spokesman on family affairs.	"Following the council's resolution, adjusting child benefits to living costs in recipients' home country will also be possible in Germany from 2020," "That isn't just appropriate, it's also fair."	European politician
The German chancellor, Angela Merkel,	said she could "very well imagine us implementing similar measures in Germany".	European politician
Experts	warn that history shows that what may look like a relief for the welfare state could in fact increase the burden	Expert
Stefan Luft, a migration researcher at Bremen University	"It's hard to make a prediction about whether these curbs will trigger the same effect this time,". "But history shows that politically popular measures can have unintended consequences."	Expert
Jonathan Portes, senior fellow at the UK's Economic and Social Research Council.	"At the very least, it's likely that the savings countries like Britain and Germany make will be considerably lower than they think,"	European politician
Clare Moseley, of British volunteer group Care4Calais	"They said different things to different people," she said. "It's a form of psychological pressure, especially as the backgrounds of many of these people mean they tend to believe what authorities threaten."	NGO
Clare Moseley, of British volunteer group Care4Calais	volunteers from various groups, aided by French students, had been touring the tents, telling people they did not need to move out immediately.	NGO
France's interior minister, Bernard Cazeneuve,	said authorities would not do anything too hastily. "It has never been our intention to send in bulldozers to destroy the camp,"	European politician
Afghan man in his 30s ('declining to give his name')	"I spent two years getting here, and I've been here for three months now," "I've tried lots of times to get to England. Why would I stop now? Where do I go? I have family in England. It's the only place I want to go."	RASIM
Nadiya Mamo	"I could smell the streets of Aleppo, I remembered the colour of the light in my room at dusk," "And I remembered how the city that used to be my home turned into living hell within just 48 hours. I think I am only now beginning to understand what that means."	RASIM
Stefan Weber, the director of the Museum for Islamic Art	"When people are just waiting around with nothing to do, they can fall into a hole. They feel useless and worthless," "But when you give people an important job to do, you also give them a certain status in your society."	
guide Razan Nassreddine, a	"The first question we usually get asked is: how did all this end up in Germany?"	RASIM

cultural curator from Damascus		
Stefan Weber, the director of the Museum for Islamic Art	"Some objects have a complicated history,"	Expert
Aladdin Haddad, an architecture student from Aleppo	"This is my civilisation," "It's great to see my heritage here in the heart of Germany."	RASIM
One man	"Is that Sunni?"	RASIM
An elderly woman	"They didn't have Sunnis and Shias back then,"	RASIM
Another	"Yes, they did," But let's not talk about religion here, we just want to look at the objects."	RASIM
One member of the group	"Syria hasn't always been the way it is now," "We used to be tolerant."	RASIM
Stefan Weber, the director of the Museum for Islamic Art	German schoolkids fall asleep when it comes to the history of the 30 years' war," "But we found that Syrians were often gripped. German history shows them that destruction is not the end of history - new life can come out of the rubble."	Creative industry
One veteran music critic	"We can allow some bending of the usual concertgoing rules. This evening's different".	Expert
Iván Fischer, the Konzerthaus orchestra's chief conductor	It was a chance to celebrate. "We're experiencing a wonderful transformation - a new, tolerant Europe is developing before our very eyes," said.	Creative industry
Iván Fischer, the Konzerthaus orchestra's chief conductor	described the evening as a "show of solidarity with the refugees".	Creative industry
The signatories, including Barenboim and the Nobel laureate Herta Müller	having "changed our country," saying thanks to her, "people are no longer scared of Germany", in reference to the atrocities of the Nazi era	Ordinary citizen
55-year-old Noordeen Al Mansouri	"after all, without her we wouldn't be here now",	RASIM
The philosophy teacher	"I listen to this music and I find peace myself, and if I close my eyes I can imagine I am back in Damascus listening to another Beethoven concert during peacetime,"	RASIM
Shahnaz, a primary school teacher	"It is very optimistic music." "We need this optimism after seeing what is happening to our brothers and sisters stuck on the Greek-Macedonian border"	RASIM
Talin, 35, a makeup artist from Aleppo	said she had heard Mozart this evening for the first time, and had been mesmerised by Barenboim's ability to "both play the piano and conduct at the same time".	RASIM
Talin's son, Kifork, 18, a hairdresser	"My mum's usual preference is for Enrique Iglesias, and mine is for Julio, but we're in Germany now, so we're happy to try out the stuff the Germans like."	RASIM

	"But as soon as I get a new one, I think I might download some Beethoven. That was my favourite."	
Rattle [conductor]	"This is an exceptional opportunity for Germany and Europe to welcome an exceptional people. By playing for them, we are demonstrating our love and support and are very happy to communicate with these new Europeans."	Creative industry
Diab, a 30-year-old economics graduate from Damascus	"It was amazing; the energy of the string players in the Beethoven struck me most, and filled me with calm," "But I did find myself thinking, I wish that the German authorities could put as much effort into pushing my asylum application along as they did performing the seventh symphony,"	RASIM
Kifork	"It's clearly time more Germans learned Arabic,"	RASIM
Russ Shaw, the founder of Tech London Advocates	"London has established a global reputation as the digital capital of Europe. There is significant concern within the digital community that Brexit would undermine this position and threaten relationships with the European market." "Attracting international companies to the capital has been one of the great success stories of London's digital economy. Brexit could see global businesses locating in emerging digital hubs in Berlin, Paris and Stockholm rather than London."	Expert
Transferwise's co-founder, Taavet Hinrikus	, said that even with EU membership, "the biggest constriction to growth is hiring people", and warned that if the Leave camp won, "it would make sense for us to relocate to Europe".	Expert
Jeff Peel, the managing director of Quadriga Consulting,	"I wouldn't ascribe to all the arguments that the leave camp has," he says. "For instance, I think immigration is hugely important. We need to attract talent from all over the world to come to Britain." But, he argues, "it's entirely up to the UK to decide the types of people that it needs. The fact is that with the open border policy that we have within the EU, the people who are attracted are attracted to relatively low-paid employment. We're not actually attracting hordes of highly skilled Europeans with lots of money to spend." "UK tech startups employ two or three people in Hoxton. The bulk of employment in Britain's tech sector is often provided by companies that aren't even located in the EU: look at Microsoft, for example, or Fujitsu."	Expert
Russ Shaw, the founder of Tech London Advocates	cautions that the small firms who make up the majority of those in the sector often don't have the time or resources to campaign effectively "Something like half a million new businesses were started last year. I think anybody who engages in business, because of the internet being a global tool, knows that they need to access markets on a global bases. And so I think that rather than this being the elites versus the ordinary folk, I look at this more as being the past versus the future."	Expert
Donald Tusk, president of the European Council	"With that, " "we will close the western Balkans route."	European politician
David Cameron	Brexit could result in Britain facing an "influx of 50,000 asylum seekers"	European politician

the Greens senator Janet Rice	"I'll be able to take your message back to Canberra with me," "I'm not part of the government and I can't tell the government what to do, unfortunately. But the people who can tell the government what to do are all of you and you can send a very strong message that these children should be allowed to be free."	European politician
Student Sienna Galioto	"We are the first school in Australia to do this and we hope many others will follow our example." "They have the right to have a home or shelter and an adult to take care and support them," she said. "They deserve an education and medical attention. They are also entitled to have a voice and be heard, to have freedom and live a happy, healthy, safe life. "Most of all, every child has a right to protection from any violence and the right to seek asylum in another country if you are being persecuted in your own."	Ordinary citizen
The school's principal, Joanne Doherty	"It was an incredibly heartfelt assembly," Doherty said. "We welcome difference and embrace diversity here, and we want students to leave school knowing that they can make a difference. This entire project was student-led." "I did read someone having a go at us on Senator Rice's Facebook page, saying something about schools being used to politicise things, but I haven't heard anything negative, not one thing, from the school community itself. "These children have made something happen and they should have a great sense of pride in that."	Ordinary citizen
A parent present at the assembly, Lisa Leening,	, described it as "incredibly moving". "It was so empowering for the students and they were stoked to have their voices heard," she said. "I think people underestimate the empathy of children. What they see in the media really affects them. Even my five-year-old can't understand why people are being imprisoned for not doing anything wrong."	Ordinary citizen
Kretschmann	has said that he spent every day "praying" for Merkel since there was "no one in sight" who could lead Europe out of its current impasse if she were topple	European politician
The Green mayor of Tübingen, Boris Palmer	called for an end to "unchecked immigration" and "Pippi-Longstocking politics".	European politician
Syrian student Frayha	"Will I stay there?" wondered the Syrian student, staring into his steaming tea. "Or will they send me back?" "I have to go," Frayha said. "I don't care about the rules. I know I sound like a teenager, but I have to think like a teenager - otherwise I will never go. If they send me back, they send me back."	RASIM
Police	police said that by dawn yesterday at least a dozen boats had landed on the shores of Lesbos, the island on the frontline of Europe's biggest migration crisis since the second world war	Other

	Police said the incident, including the first shots fired in anger since Friday's deal, highlighted how difficult the agreement would be to enforce in practice.	
Giorgos Kyritsis, a spokesman for Athens' migration coordination centre	"Obviously this agreement can't be implemented in 24 hours," said Giorgos Kyritsis, a spokesman for Athens' migration coordination centre. "There is a lot of tension among refugees," added Kyritsis. "What worries us most is that clashes may take places along ethnic lines."	Expert
One volunteer	"The situation is extremely explosive," said one volunteer. "We're running out of tents and food."	
Abu Hamid (smuggler)	"Today is a normal day," said Abu Hamid, sipping a tea outside the cheap hotel he block-books for his customers. "Nothing's changed. The smuggling will continue. There will always be people going."	Expert
The second smuggler	"People over the past period of course were scared about going - because they don't want to get stuck in Greece," the second smuggler said. "But they will go again. It's either Italy again, or Bulgaria by land. The only real solution is to get rid of Bashar al-Assad [the Syrian dictator] and to dissolve his security services. Until then people will keep going - I will go myself in a couple of months."	Expert
Fahed	"Anybody who gets caught now will get sent back - so we're going back," said Fahed. "It's time to forget about Europe."	RASIM
The local fire brigade	According to the local fire brigade, two Syrians pulled the seriously injured Jagsch from the wreckage and administered first aid treatment before an ambulance arrived at the scene. A spokesman for the Büdingen fire brigade said two vans carrying about 16 refugees had already stopped at the site of the crash by the time emergency services arrived.	Other
Jean Christoph Fiedler, the NPD's leader in the Hesse region	Jean Christoph Fiedler, the NPD's leader in the Hesse region, told the Frankfurter Rundschau newspaper that the Syrians had "likely performed a very good, humane deed". According to Fiedler, Jagsch was still in a local hospital as of 22 March and "doing well, considering the circumstances".	European politician
Two Syrians	Two Syrians informed the firefighters that Jagsch had still been wearing his seatbelt when they came upon the wreckage, and that he had been fully conscious during his rescue.	RASIM
Alex Haridi (series director)	and, says Haridi, it was almost too real "People thought it was based on what they had read in the papers the day before." "the nice old lady sitting next to you on the bus could harbour really racist thoughts and ideas. That's the true nightmare."	Creative industry
Walter Iuzzolino, the collection's creative director and namesake	"In the simplest sense, Blue Eyes is a beautiful, traditional political thriller," says Walter Iuzzolino, the collection's creative director and namesake. "But it also holds up a mirror to society and reflects something that's touching all of us on a much broader scale. It is not a national piece, it's a global piece." "Viewers will be completely familiar with what's occurring, because Europe has never been more important to us in terms of the referendum," says Iuzzolino. "I think we discuss it even more than before, because now there's a choice to be made." "the nice old lady sitting next to you on the bus could harbour really racist thoughts and ideas. That's the true nightmare." "Viewers will be completely familiar with what's occurring, because Europe has never been more important to us in terms of the referendum," says Iuzzolino. "I think we discuss it even more than before, because now there's a choice to be made."	Creative industry

Körlof (actress)	<p>"Sofia is such an unusual character," says Körlof. "Not a victim or femme fatale or the girl-next-door. It is so important that she's not just a stereotypical villain. The audience have to like her, even though we hate her and see ourself in her."</p> <p>"Sweden is a very insecure country at the moment," she says. "It's so disturbing when racists burn refugee camps. That's terrorism too. There's tension created by politicians and the media and the Sweden Democrats being given a stage."</p>	Creative industry
Barack Obama	<p>Barack Obama on Saturday rejected "any attempt to stigmatize Muslim Americans " in the aftermath of the terror attacks in Brussels, calling such views as espoused by some Republican presidential candidates "contrary to our character, to our values, and to our history as a nation built around the idea of religious freedom".</p> <p>Detailing in his weekly address what he called an ongoing international military effort "to root out and defeat [Isis]", the president referred to Friday's announcement of the death in an airstrike of Abd al-Rahman Mustafa al-Qaduli, reportedly Isis's second-in-command.</p> <p>Then he said: "As we move forward in this fight, we have to wield another weapon alongside our airstrikes, our military, our counterterrorism work, and our diplomacy. And that's the power of our example.</p> <p>"Our openness to refugees fleeing [Isis] violence. Our determination to win the battle against [Isis's] hateful and violent propaganda - a distorted view of Islam that aims to radicalize young Muslims to their cause.</p> <p>"In that effort, our most important partners are American Muslims. That's why we have to reject any attempt to stigmatize Muslim Americans, and their enormous contributions to our country and our way of life.</p> <p>"Such attempts are contrary to our character, to our values, and to our history as a nation built around the idea of religious freedom. It's also counterproductive. It plays right into the hands of terrorists who want to turn us against one another; who need a reason to recruit more people to their hateful cause."</p> <p>Saying he had also offered the prime minister of Belgium "the full array of our support", Obama also said: "Belgium is a close friend and ally of the United States. And when it comes to our friends, America has their back. Especially as we fight the scourge of terrorism."</p>	Non-European politician
Texas senator Ted Cruz	<p>Texas senator Ted Cruz called for law enforcement to " patrol and secure Muslim neighborhoods before they become radicalized", adding: "The days of the United States voluntarily surrendering to the enemy to show how progressive and enlightened we can be are at an end."</p>	
Daniel Webb, director of legal advocacy at the human rights law centre	<p>Daniel Webb, director of legal advocacy at the human rights law centre, said his clients were incredibly relieved and grateful, and one man had called him with excitement after going to a shopping centre.</p> <p>"After three years in detention he was so excited just to see cars and buildings and families walking around together enjoying</p>	Advocates /lawyers

	<p>themselves. It was the first time I've ever heard any hope or excitement in his voice. Most of all, I heard relief," he said.</p> <p>"This is an important first step towards compassion and decency. The next step is to allow these families to have their refugee claims processed here and to let them begin rebuilding their lives - they have so much to contribute."</p>	
GetUp's human rights director, Shen Narayanasamy	<p>"This is the first positive step we have seen toward people seeking asylum in a long time," said GetUp's human rights director, Shen Narayanasamy.</p> <p>"It shows that the government is listening to the shifting community sentiment on this issue."</p> <p>"If the government now tries to deport these vulnerable people back to Nauru, over one hundred churches stand ready to provide sanctuary," said Narayanasamy.</p>	NGO
Friends of Hussain's	<p>Friends of Hussain's, speaking from the camp at Dunkirk where the teenager had spent six months, revealed that he had family living in Manchester</p>	RASIM
Maddie Harris, of the charity Help Refugees	<p>Maddie Harris, of the charity Help Refugees, who knew Hussain's cousin in the camp in northern France, said: "He was trying to find a better life and died in the process and our government is responsible for his death." She said police officers in Oxfordshire had called Hussain's cousin on Friday evening to reveal details of the tragedy.</p>	NGO
Liz Clegg, who runs the women and children's in Calais	<p>Liz Clegg, who runs the women and children's in Calais and looks after scores of unaccompanied minors, said she had tried contacting the youngster, called Kareem, but to no avail and also said she contacted Kent police but they allegedly refused to issue a missing persons report.</p> <p>She said that Kareem was an unaccompanied minor, who had been living in her centre at the Calais refugee for at least six months.</p> <p>Clegg said: "The officer said that he did not go missing from Kent and my reply was that I am 99.9% certain that he is in Kent. I kept saying it's an emergency, he's 11 and doesn't speak english but it was a very unhelpful response.</p> <p>"So they then alerted French police hoping that between them they might generate a missing child alert. From our experience in the last few days there appears to be no coordinated response in regards to refugee children going missing.</p> <p>Clegg added: "He is a kind, funny and smart boy all and his friends are deeply concerned and feel powerless to do anything. He has now been missing for days."</p>	NGO
Josie Naughton of Help Refugees	<p>Josie Naughton of Help Refugees said her organisation had "repeatedly pleaded with the authorities to register the children in the camp. Our warnings about the dangers of not doing so were ignored, with potentially terrible consequences for this young boy."</p>	NGO
George Gabriel, of Citizens UK	<p>George Gabriel, of Citizens UK, said: "The disappearance of this boy is a grim reminder of the dangers faced by hundreds of children who are alone in Calais and Dunkirk. Our governments should be ashamed that they are not doing more to register and protect unaccompanied minors."</p>	NGO

a spokeswoman for the Nine Network	"Tara and the crew are detained in Beirut," the spokeswoman told Guardian Australia. "We don't know much else at this point, we are working with authorities to get her out safely."	Other
The[Lebanese] state-run National News Agency	The state-run National News Agency reported that two children had been kidnapped by three gunmen. "Three armed persons aboard a silver Hyundai kidnapped on Hadath-Shouaifat road the child Diala Ali Al-Amin (six years old) and her brother Nouh (four years old) as they waited with their grandmother for their school bus, " the agency said. "The kidnappers ran away after having hit the grandma and snatched the two children. ISF forces started their investigations into the kidnapping, with family reasons looming in the background."	Other
Nine colleague Lisa Wilkinson	Nine colleague Lisa Wilkinson tweeted : "Thoughts are with Tara Brown & @60Mins film crew detained in Lebanon filming child recovery bid."	Other
Australia's minister for foreign affairs, Julie Bishop	Australia's minister for foreign affairs, Julie Bishop, said authorities were urgently trying to locate the crew and offer them help. "I confirm that Dfat has been in contact with Channel Nine with regard to reports that an Australian TV crew has been detained in Lebanon," Bishop said. "We are urgently seeking to confirm the crew's whereabouts and welfare, and have offered all appropriate consular assistance".	Non-European politician
Nils Muiznieks, commissioner for human rights at the Council of Europe	Britain should take in more Syrian refugees, impose a time limit on migrant detention and loosen its "restrictive regime" on reunifying families, according to Europe's most senior human rights official. Nils Muiznieks, commissioner for human rights at the Council of Europe, warned about the growing "toxicity" of the debate over migration and called for greater efforts to be made to resettle refugees. Muiznieks said: "I welcome that the UK has promised to resettle 20,000 people [from Syria]. [But] the UK could do more, given its size and the need elsewhere. "I think the future is in resettlement, certainly in the medium to long term, to stop these dangerous crossings [of the Mediterranean]. We need to ramp up resettlement." Muiznieks said: "I have a lots of concerns about the draft immigration bill, particularly about involving landlords in police checks [on tenants' immigration status]. The atmosphere this creates is one in which direct and indirect discrimination becomes far more likely. "I was told that 92% of people stay less than four months but I have heard of people being held for several years in migrant detention [centres in Britain]. That's incompatible with human rights law and a waste of taxpayer's money. I would like to see limits set on migrant detention."	European politician

	<p>Muiznieks also highlighted the plight of a small group of 67 asylum seekers who have been stranded on a British airbase in Cyprus for nearly two decades and refused permission to come to the UK.</p> <p>"You have a group of asylum seekers in Cyprus," he said, "some have been there for 17 years. This is the UK's responsibility. I have raised this issue and asked why can't we resolve it?"</p> <p>"There's no way that resettling these 67 people to the UK after all these years will create a pull factor. These people deserve a life."</p>	
The chair of the select committee, Emma Nicholson	The chair of the select committee, Emma Nicholson, said the government had made a good start on a horrific issue, but "if that good start is not to be squandered it is time for a clear strategic plan on how to take forward the battle against sexual violence in conflict".	European politician
the former foreign secretary William Hague	<p>Hague, appearing on the BBC Radio 4 Today programme, accepted the government needed to redouble its efforts, adding that the new UN secretary general would have to provide global leadership on the issue, and not leave it to nation states. "The issue is getting worse around the world," he said.</p> <p>Hague agreed, saying those guilty of sexual violence must be accountable at some point even if they are party to the Syrian peace negotiations. At present neither Syria nor Iraq is party to international agreements on sexual violence in conflict. "A peace with such an amnesty would be deeply flawed and doomed," Hague said. "In any international agreement it is very important that such crimes can be prosecuted even if it happens many years to the future."</p>	European politician
Sonya Sceats, policy director at Freedom from Torture	Commenting on the report, Sonya Sceats, policy director at Freedom from Torture, said: "This initiative is arguably the most dynamic human rights diplomacy in British history, but as values are increasingly sacrificed in the pursuit of trade at any cost, Baroness Anelay, the UK's special representative on sexual violence, has been left to bear this torch alone at a critical moment. The glitz of this campaign on sexual violence needs high-level political support and resourcing to deliver on the promises secured by Mr Hague and Ms Jolie Pitt."	NGO
Anna Wintour, the editor-in-chief of American Vogue	<p>Wintour explained she had arrived early and was "waiting for the Kardashians to arrive en masse - and Jay-Z. So, eventually, they did turn up and The Life of Pablo concert started and the migrant chic fashion show started and they were both wonderful," she said, in an apparent reference to the clothing on show.</p> <p>Following the criticism, she said: "I apologise if my remark was offensive in any way. The migrant crisis is real, and I didn't intend to trivialise that issue."</p>	Creative industry
Twitter user	One Twitter user wrote: "Apparently migrant chic is becoming a thing in the fashion world. Do we really need to spell out how insensitive that is?"	Ordinary citizen
Another twitter user	Another tweeted: "Anna Wintour called Yeezy season 3 Migrant Chic. Even though Chic is a good thing, the word Migrant can be taken any other ways."	Ordinary citizen
Norbert Baksa [photographer]	Norbert Baksa criticised what he called the media's "incomplete" coverage of Europe's worst migrant crisis since the second world war. He said his shoot, called Der Migrant, was intended to represent what he called the ambiguity of the crisis by depicting "someone who is miserable but at the same time very beautiful, and	Creative industry

	who despite the situation owns good-quality clothing and a smartphone".	
the home secretary	<p>"The government will table an amendment to the immigration bill when it returns to parliament shortly placing a 72-hour limit on the detention of pregnant women. This will be extendable to up to a week with ministerial authorisation," the home secretary told MPs in a written statement on Monday.</p> <p>"The government is clear that pregnant women should be detained only in exceptional circumstances," she added. "This is a difficult issue - we need to balance the welfare of pregnant women with the need to maintain a robust and workable immigration system and ensure that those with no right to be here leave the UK."</p>	European politician
Theresa May	<p>May said the 72-hour safeguard would ensure that detention for pregnant women would be used as a last resort and only for very short periods. She said that this could happen in cases in the period immediately before a managed return, to prevent illegal entry at the border or if the woman "presents a public risk".</p> <p>May said the move was part of wider changes to improve the welfare of vulnerable people held in immigration detention, including a new policy on "adults at risk".</p>	European politician
Stephen Shaw, the former prisons and probation ombudsman	<p>Shaw said there was little evidence that the detention of pregnant women was only being used in exceptional circumstances.</p>	European politician
Medical Justice	<p>Campaigners at Medical Justice, which works with immigration detainees, said they were disappointed May had not accepted Shaw's recommendation, backed by the House of Lords, to end the practice completely. However, they added they were pleased she had recognised that the current policy was inadequate.</p> <p>"Allowing detention to continue for longer periods of time with ministerial approval undermines the time limit entirely. The current policy already states that pregnant women should only be detained in exceptional circumstances but in reality pregnant women are routinely detained and often remain in detention for long periods of time," the organisation said.</p> <p>"Even short periods of detention are distressing for pregnant women and disruptive to maternity care. As detention occurs without notice women are not able to prepare and make plans for their maternity care. We call on the Home Office to end the detention of pregnant women."</p>	NGO
Jean-Claude Juncker [President of the European Commission]	<p>Jean-Claude Juncker told a meeting of the Council of Europe - not an EU body - in Strasbourg that people were "stepping away" from the EU, which he said had "lost a part of its attractiveness". Juncker said one of the reasons EU citizens were losing faith in the union was because "we are interfering in too many areas of their private lives, and in too many areas where member states are better placed to act".</p> <p>European commissions had been "wrong to over-regulate and interfere too much in the lives of our citizens", he said, stressing</p>	European politician

	<p>that the EU's current executive was trying to cut new legislation to a minimum.</p> <p>He told the Council of Europe on Tuesday that EU officials were not very popular at home when they pleaded the European cause, and "no longer respected" when they said the EU had to be given priority.</p> <p>"We are losing economic clout in a very visible way," the commission president said, adding that the combination of long-term decline and more immediate crises such as the refugee crisis and Islamist terror attacks left the EU facing "very tough times".</p> <p>The risk, he warned, was that: "We will eventually end up with the ruins of this ideal; people who want more national things at the expense of European principles and ... find themselves defenceless."</p> <p>Separately, Juncker said on Tuesday that Turkey would have to meet all criteria for visa-free travel with Europe before Brussels would consider easing restrictions as part of a controversial migration deal.</p> <p>But Juncker said Turkey must fulfil all remaining conditions for visa liberalisation. "The criteria will not be watered down in the case of Turkey," he said</p>	
Rafael Dos Santos	<p>"What if I looked after the house, organised the renting and kept it clean and in working order."</p> <p>"I don't speak English well"; "They won't understand me"; "They will laugh at me because of the way I speak".</p>	RASIM
Clint Beharry, of the New York-based Harmony Institute	<p>VR has "exploded over the last year or two", according to Clint Beharry, of the New York-based Harmony Institute, which researches the science of media. "I guess everyone is saying this is the big year because of the releases of the platforms - [Samsung] Gear VR came out end of last year. This year Oculus [Rift] just came out, HTC Vive is coming soon and [Sony's] PlayStation VR later this year."</p>	Expert
Nonny de la Peña , a VR pioneer known CEO of the digital reality company Emblematic Group	<p>Nonny de la Peña , a VR pioneer known as "the godmother of immersive journalism", said: "It is the real, extraordinary sense of being present on scene that creates a visceral connection that is really unique to this medium." As CEO of the digital reality company Emblematic Group, she believes the power of immersive journalism lies in the way people "really, really deeply engage in the material" compared with how they react to straight text or video.</p>	Expert
Sarah Wolozin, director of the Open Documentary Lab at Massachusetts Institute of Technology	<p>Sarah Wolozin, director of the Open Documentary Lab at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, said VR was "bringing a different kind of knowledge and understanding of the story, because the idea is it transports you somewhere ... It is using all of your senses to help you understand the story."</p> <p>"Right now there is a lot of money being poured into the hardware and there is a big search for content and journalists are exploring it a lot."</p> <p>"When you ask the question what stories should be told with certain technology, this is definitely one."</p>	Expert
Sally Jewell, US secretary of the interior	<p>"We will have climate refugees," Jewell said. "We have to figure out how to deal with potentially relocating villages. There's real tangible support we need to do from a government basis, working alongside</p>	Non-European politician

	<p>indigenous communities as they make very difficult choices about what is right for them.</p> <p>"We can't turn this around. We can stem the increase in temperature, we can stem some of the effect, perhaps, if we act on climate. But the changes are under way and they are very rapid."</p> <p>Jewell said the remote town of Kivalina in Alaska is "washing away".</p> <p>Jewell said political leaders need to "act and support" efforts to <u>make communities more resilient to climate change</u></p>	
Catherine McKenna, Canada's environment minister	<p>"The changing climate isn't just about melting permafrost, it's having a huge impact upon cultures," said Catherine McKenna, Canada's environment minister, who met with Jewell in Quebec.</p> <p>"When your ice highway has gone, communities can't interact. It's having a huge impact upon food and food insecurity."</p> <p>McKenna said there is a "huge commitment to do more" from Obama and Justin Trudeau, Canada's prime minister</p>	Non-European politician
Mike Spence	"I'm a Reagan conservative," Spence says in the new ad. "I see Ted Cruz as a principled conservative who's dedicated his career to advocating the Reagan agenda."	Non-European politician
Maricella Olvera. The 47-year-old cleans the penthouse at the Trump International Hotel Las Vegas	"The policy is: you don't talk to the boss," she said at her small one-bedroom home, on the joyously named Sing Song Way in the city's northern suburbs.	Ordinary citizen
Donald Trump	Although Trump has touted himself as " the greatest jobs president that God has ever created ",	Non-European politician
Bernie Sanders	<p>Sanders said on Sunday that he would continue battling against Hillary Clinton, revealing plans for a new series of mega-rallies in California.</p> <p>"She will need superdelegates to take her over the top at the convention in Philadelphia," Sanders said. "In other words the convention will be a contested contest."</p>	Non-European politician
Ted Cruz	No one is going to clinch it on the first ballot. I'm not and Donald Trump is not either," Cruz said. "It's why Donald Trump is so desperate to say it's over now... It's going to be a contested convention."	Non-European politician
Save the Children	Save the Children says that 10,000 people have offered places under the Homes for Refugees scheme and they can be given foster training to look after the child victims of war and persecution.	NGO
His [David Cameron's] immigration minister, James Brokenshire	his immigration minister, James Brokenshire, was telling MPs that Britain intended an "opt-out" and refusal to take part in the EU's reformed asylum rules.	European politician
Bromberg [Australian judge]	<p>"She has no independent means," he said. "She has been and remains dependent on the minister for food, shelter, security and healthcare."</p> <p>Because of this, Bromberg said Dutton had a duty of care to procure a safe and lawful abortion for S99, and that the abortion he made available to her in Papua New Guinea carried safety and lawfulness</p>	Expert

	<p>risks "that a reasonable person in the minister's position would have avoided".</p> <p>However, Bromberg said his findings did not mean Dutton had to bring S99 to Australia for the procedure. Other countries with the necessary medical experts and equipment could also be appropriate.</p> <p>Blomberg ordered that the abortion "not be procured so it takes place in any location where a person who participates in an abortion is exposed to criminal liability".</p>	
S99's [asylum seeker's] lawyer, Ron Merkel CQ	<p>S99's lawyer, Ron Merkel QC, told the court on Friday that S99's distress had grown in recent days, especially after news that two of her friends had self-immolated, and that her overall health was declining.</p> <p>But he said: "There is simply no basis for the minister to ask for more than 48 hours to comply with your honour's order.</p> <p>"We say the time has run for the commonwealth to take a leisurely approach to this.</p> <p>"Every teaching hospital in New Zealand or Singapore has the required facilities."</p> <p>The risk to his clients health was "grave and imminent" the longer the delay, Merkel added. "That risk is not one she should be confronted with for any reason at all.</p> <p>"The minister... has medical advice, he's had expert evidence, he's had your honour's judgment. What more can he need?"</p>	Expert
Greens senator Sarah Hanson-Young	<p>In a statement, the Greens senator Sarah Hanson-Young said S99 had "been through enough".</p> <p>"The ruling of the court makes it clear," she said. "This woman is still under the care of the Australian immigration minister and he must act within the law, ensuring that she's given a safe and legal abortion.</p> <p>"This woman should never have been sent to PNG and it's shameful that she's been put in this position."</p>	Non-European politician
Marie Lemaire	<p>"Eventually we will leave," said Marie Lemaire, who is French and lives and works in London. "How soon will depend on the result of the referendum. The debate about Brexit had made us realise that we were not at home here."</p>	RASIM
Patrizia Piccardo	<p>, she has "finally started the process" towards citizenship after 24 years in the UK. "People's attitudes towards me have changed," she said. "It makes me paranoid and scared."</p>	RASIM
Julie Lamoureux	<p>. "I feel rejected, like a bad transplant," she said. Lamoureux is worried that EU citizens will gradually be "encouraged" to leave should the UK vote to leave, and is applying for British citizenship.</p> <p>"My friends like Nigel Farage. My friends like me. Do my friends know that they want to see in power someone who wants me out, away, back where I came from?"</p>	RASIM
Marie Van Der Velde	<p>"Nobody seems to actually know what the consequences would be," said Marie Van Der Velde, in London. Originally from Belgium, she is married to a British citizen. "Will all EU citizens be required to leave? Will we be assessed on level of income, on desirability of God-knows-what?"</p>	RASIM

	"What if we are married to a UK citizen? Will they now need a certain income level to keep us in, like for non-EU spouses? Do we need to apply for citizenship and give up our European passport in the process? My children think they are English."	
The assistant minister for multicultural affairs, Craig Laundry	The assistant minister for multicultural affairs, Craig Laundry, has assured LNP member George Christensen that no Syrian refugees would be settled in his region of Mackay after the outspoken backbencher complained about the unemployment rate there	European politician
LNP member George Christensen	"Given that Mrs Gilbert has repeatedly stated that she wants to see some of the 3,500 refugees that may be settled in Queensland come to the Mackay region, I ask Mr Gilbert to be straight with Mackay people and state his position," Christensen said. "In his reply to me Mr Laundry clearly stated: 'Sarina is not currently a designated settlement location' and 'decisions on settlement locations are still being finalised, however the locations are expected to align with those where settlement service providers are already operating.'	European politician
Labor candidate, Frank Gilbert	Gilbert said the people of Dawson were sick of Christensen's divisiveness and said he believed the community was welcoming. "People have had enough of Christensen's grandstanding," Gilbert said.	European politician
Jenny Gaylard, shopping centre manager	Jenny Gaylard, shopping centre manager, told Shorten the biggest issue in Townsville was unemployment. She said her son-in-law was unemployed, while her son was on short-term contracts with no job security. "He's 27, he would like to have a house, get married and have children, but there is no security," she said. Gaylard said she had not made up her mind which way she would vote but would assess the policies. She rejected the tag swinging voter. "I like to think I think about the policies and whether they suit the times".	Ordinary citizen
Donald Trump	"In Britain, more Muslims join ISIS than join the British army," he said in the tweet "The politicians of the UK should watch Katie Hopkins ... many people in the UK agree with me," Trump tweeted just after 6am ET. In another tweet he said: "The United Kingdom is trying hard to disguise their massive Muslim problem. Everybody is wise to what is happening, very sad! Be honest." On Wednesday, Trump attracted a political backlash in Britain when he claimed there were parts of London so radicalised that police officers feared for their lives "Thank you to respected columnist Katie Hopkins ... for her powerful writing on the UK's Muslim problems," he tweeted.	Non-European politician
Katie Hopkins [British commentator]	Hopkins, who recently left the Sun newspaper for MailOnline, said : "A quarter of the population here in the UK are right behind Donald Trump." Hopkins said of Ukip in her Fox interview: "60% of their membership are right behind Donald Trump as well." she wrote in the Sun that European gunships should be used against migrants crossing the Mediterranean and compared the people fleeing war and poverty to cockroaches.	Other

Nigel Farage	Nigel Farage, the leader of Ukip, a eurosceptic, anti-immigration party, has described Trump's call to ban Muslims from the US as a "political mistake too far".	European politician
Capt Shawqat of the Kurdish peshmerga,	"There is no such thing as Iraq any more," said Capt Shawqat of the Kurdish peshmerga, behind sandbags about a mile away from the Iraqi lines. "There never was, but now it is clear to everyone. Even to the Americans up in the hills."	Expert
Another Kurdish officer, Lt Col Srud Barzinji	Next to him, another Kurdish officer, Lt Col Srud Barzinji, looked through his binoculars at the Iraqi troops. "Look at them," he said. "Every military training course tells us that you must have at least 500 metres of open land between yourself and your enemy. They are at the bottom of a hill, just below them. They have no element of surprise." . "When they attacked al-Nasr, the Americans were firing artillery from the mountain [about 30 miles behind]," said Barzinji. "They were very precise shells, guided in by cameras, and they still couldn't take it. They fled after a few hours." "The ones we think are Isis, we will send straight to Irbil," said Barzinji "Most of them, like these people, were caught up in it. But we need to check them out." "We are military officers and we don't speak poorly of our colleagues. But look at what's been achieved. And look at the job ahead."	Expert
Another Peshmerga soldier	"We don't see them during the day," said another Peshmerga soldier, of the Isis members confronting both sides. "Even when they mortar us, it is hard to know where they come from. They move around at night: they have dug tunnels, and they have laid bombs. All around us were bombs when we came into this village. It will be like this all the way to Mosul. Our friends can't do this by themselves, and they know that," he said, referring to the Iraqi army. "The difference is, we believe in what we are fighting for. We believe in this cause. We have principles and we have values. We will not stop until we get this done."	Expert
One 22-year old	"I'll tell you what it is like in there," said one 22-year old-who had walked to Makhmour from near Mosul. "It is so confused. My father is in Isis. He joined them because he has three wives and he could not afford to pay for them all," the man said, adding that his father had joined the terror group to benefit from the stipend it pays its members. "It was financial for him, but it made our life hell."	RASIM
Issam	A second man, Issam, 22, said his brother had joined the terror group and had tried to recruit him. "I said no and he did not force me, but he became ideological. Communities are very tired. They are ruthless. If they catch you smoking once, they will warn you," he said inhaling a cigarette. "If they catch you a second time, you get the leather," he added, lifting his shirt to show faint scars.	RASIM
David Thomas, chief executive of Barratt Developments [homebuilder]	David Thomas, chief executive of Barratt Developments, said: "We would much prefer that the UK stays within the EU. We have a significant part of our labour force, particularly within the London market, coming from continental Europe - the free movement of labour in the European market is a positive from our point of view."	Expert

	<p>A vote to leave the EU would mean "even more pressure in terms of skills shortages", he argued. "If you ask any housebuilder what their main challenge is, they say it's labour availability."</p> <p>"It wouldn't be unusual to find 10-plus nationalities on a London construction site, and dual language signs," he said.</p>	
Mott MacDonald's chairman, Keith Howells [UK engineering firm]	Mott MacDonald's chairman, Keith Howells, said: "We would face quite a significant skills shortage if we opt out [of the EU]. We employ quite a number of EU nationals. A lot of young people have come here from Greece, Spain and Italy, got masters degrees and put themselves on the local market. What's the impact going to be on them? We're all in the dark."	Expert
Steve Turner of the Homebuilders Federation	Steve Turner of the Homebuilders Federation said: "Because the industry is reliant on labour from the EU, in the event of Brexit we would be pushing the government hard for a quota system ... Considering that housing is such a priority for the government, we would anticipate that the government would listen to our concerns."	Expert
Syrian public	<p>75% of Syrians believe a political solution stands the best chance of ending the crisis - while 25% say that military action is the way forward - according to a new poll.</p> <p>, 60% of Syrians feel the influence of Isis (Islamic State) in the country has decreased over the last six months.</p>	RASIM
ORB International [Syrian pollsters]	<p>ORB said the wish to see a negotiated end to the conflict had been reflected in focus groups it has conducted in Aleppo, Idlib and Hassakeh and with recent refugees from the Isis-held areas of Raqqa and Deir el Zor (conducted in southern Turkey).</p> <p>Western media and governments were "fixated" with Isis and following a strategy to "degrade" it, ORB said. "But with the exception of areas Isis controls or have attacked recently, the general perception across Syria is that the group's influence has decreased over the past six months.</p> <p>"Though the narrative in the west is that they have been hit hard by falling oil prices and continued airstrikes, when individuals from Isis-held areas are asked, opinion is more divided over whether their reported economic problems are reality.</p> <p>"We have seen that they have halved salaries for fighters, and sometimes they are paid late," said a man from Raqqa. "However, I don't think they are having economic problems because they have taken over more oil wells and they are increasing..taxes".</p> <p>It describes itself as "a market leader in high quality research in fragile and conflict environments"</p>	Other
Norbert Hofer of the anti-immigrant, Eurosceptic Freedom party	<p>Hofer wrote: "Dear friends, I thank you for your fantastic support. Of course today I am sad. I would have liked to have watched out for you as president of our wonderful country."</p> <p>Hofer urged his supporters not to be discouraged but to see the campaign as "an investment in the future".</p> <p>In contrast Hofer, whose cultivated, smooth-talking image has led to him being hailed "the friendly face" of the Freedom party, has said "Islam has no place in Austria" and warned if he was elected he would not hesitate to dissolve the government if it did not act against immigration.</p>	European politician
Muhannad Mohamad	"Today they will choose the direction Austria will go in possibly for the next decades," he said.	RASIM

The Italian navy	"due to overcrowding and instability caused by the high number of people on board", the Italian navy said in a statement.	Expert
Flavio di Giacomo, a spokesman for the International Organisation for Migration (IOM).	<p>"It is a miracle," said Flavio di Giacomo, a spokesman for the International Organisation for Migration (IOM). "You would expect them to save the people on the deck. But if they've saved 500 people, that means they've saved even the people who were inside. And that is very impressive."</p> <p>"Libya is also perceived as more dangerous than it was in 2014," said di Giacomo.</p> <p>"We are talking to migrants, and people coming from east Africa seem to know that Libya is now very dangerous," said di Giacomo. "So if they can, they are trying to come through Egypt."</p> <p>"But there might be other reasons," said Di Giacomo. "It is much more complicated for fishing boats to depart - whereas the rubber boats you can inflate on the beach. This give you much more flexibility, and allow you to change the date of departure and the departure points much more easily."</p>	European politician
Ibrahim Mbalo	<p>Ibrahim Mbalo, a Gambian who was one of just 28 survivors when a shipwreck claimed the lives of around 800 people last April, has described how passengers pull each other down when the water rushes below decks, since many cannot swim and need something to hold onto in order to stay buoyant.</p> <p>"Someone grabbed my trousers because they couldn't swim, so I had to remove my trousers [to get free]," said Mbalo. "I was underwater for three or four minutes."</p>	RASIM
The IOM	More than 6,000 lives have been saved since Monday, 11,000 since the start of the month, and 39,000 since the start of the year, according to the IOM.	European politician
Other European politicians, including David Cameron	Other European politicians, including David Cameron, have suggested sending asylum seekers straight back to Libya -	European politician
Hasan	<p>"Here it is a big dream. I think all the refugees there, in Greece, maybe in Macedonia and Greece, deserve the right to come here and stay here. Not specifically here, I mean a safe country like Italy," he said.</p> <p>Hasan said he had felt compelled to leave Syria with his wife and two-year-old son for many reasons, but that his call to join military service was the final impetus before his family's departure.</p> <p>"I did not want to kill anyone. I'm an engineer, not a soldier. I'm interested in my work. So I must escape from Syria at that time," he said. "I hope that I can find a new future for us, suitable for us, suitable for our situation, especially for our family."</p> <p>. "This is the seventh interview today," he said.</p>	RASIM
a Vatican-sponsored charity complex, Sant'Egidio	Sant'Egidio said the families had been chosen because their paperwork was ready, they wanted to aid families seeking asylum, and because, as Syrians, they were clearly fleeing war.	NGO
Daniela Pompei, who heads refugee services at Sant'Egidio	<p>Daniela Pompei, who heads refugee services at Sant'Egidio, said religion was not an issue in the face of the humanitarian crisis.</p> <p>"The need for language is a primary necessity, because it is necessary for communication, for relationships, for a life," said Pompei. "The knowledge of language is a key to enter the world."</p>	NGO

One asylum seeker	as one asylum seeker living in Italy - who asked not to be named - said, there are few if any services for new refugees.	RASIM
Many refugees and aid agencies	Many refugees and aid agencies have expressed frustration at the long waiting times many face in Italy - some wait up to two years - as well as bans on seeking employment.	RASIMs + NGO's
An official at Sant'Egidio	An official at Sant'Egidio said the first step towards integration would be teaching the new arrivals Italian.	NGO
Giancarlo Perego, the manager of a church-affiliated refugee charity	Giancarlo Perego, the manager of a church-affiliated refugee charity, said that about 23,000 of a total of 105,000 refugees in Italy were now being housed in church facilities across 200 Catholic dioceses.	NGO
One shop worker	"Those 12 are fortunate. It's not right for the others, but I am for welcoming people," said one shop worker, referring to the thousands of others of refugees who also risk their lives to reach European shores. "Poor people, I'm in favour of helping people," she added.	Ordinary citizen
A bar worker	A bar worker described the atmosphere in Rome as "a bit angry". He said people in Trastevere were not against the 12 chosen by the pontiff, but a host of other problems in Italy were not being addressed. "The problem is not those who are hosted, but Italy," he said.	Ordinary citizen
The former British prime minister, now the UN special envoy for education Gordon Brown	<p>The former British prime minister, now the UN special envoy for education, told the Davos economic summit that the current market turmoil should not be used as an excuse for inaction.</p> <p>He said: "Whatever the difficulties in financial markets and whatever difficulties countries have with their individual aid budgets, we have to come together in the face of this great humanitarian crisis."</p> <p>said there were now 60 million displaced people around the world, 20 million of them refugees. "Syria is at the epicentre with the fastest growing problem - 12 million displaced persons, 4 million of them refugees, 2 million of them children."</p> <p>The former prime minister said that within a year the number of Syrian refugee children would swell to close to 2.5 million, and that \$750m (£530m) was needed to fund an extra 1m school places.</p> <p>He added that \$500m had already been raised from a variety of sources, including the EU and the World Bank, but an additional \$250m was needed by 4 February, when the UK will host an international conference on the refugee crisis in London. "Without action now, these young Syrians will become a lost generation."</p> <p>Brown added that young Syrians had to be given hope. "There is no solution to the exodus to Europe without an expansion of education."</p>	European politician
Jim Yong-kim	<p>Jim Yong-kim, the president of the World Bank, said the refugee problem had intensified and he had been asked by the UN chief, Ban Ki-moon, to rethink the humanitarian response to the crisis so that emergency assistance formed part of a long-term development plan.</p> <p>Speaking to the Guardian in Davos, Jim said the bill for refugees was soaring and a new approach was needed. "People are attached to staying where they are but there has to be hope of finding work.</p>	Expert

	"We have to build up the productive capacity of countries with large numbers of refugees. We have to make it attractive to stay in these countries."	
Justine Greening, the UK's international development secretary	She said: "Billions of euros can be spent on failure or they can be put it into a constructive, positive response which meets what the refugees really want - education and a job."	European politician
Trump	"There is no drought," he said. Trump accused state officials of denying water to farmers so they can send it out to sea "to protect a certain kind of three-inch fish." "We're going to solve your water problem. You have a water problem that is so insane. It is ridiculous where they're taking the water and shoving it out to sea," Trump said.	Non-European politician
A senior source in Brussels	according to a senior source in Brussels, "has to adapt his position to reality" on the welfare row. "All the legal experts say this is not feasible," the source said. "Everyone we consult tells us the same thing. This is the most critical point. There will be no deal next week." February is an option," said the senior source. "But it doesn't need to be done then. The timing is in the hands of the British. They have to decide this, not us."	European politician
The Polish prime minister	the Polish prime minister said Warsaw did not "see eye to eye" with the UK over plans to restrict access to in-work benefits.	European politician
Donald Tusk, the president of the European council	Tusk told the Guardian last week that Cameron wanted to force a quick overall agreement at next week's summit. Tusk also warned the prime minister of the "very, very clear" risks of failure.	European politician
<u>Angela Merkel</u> , chancellor of Germany,	<u>Angela Merkel</u> , chancellor of Germany, then called Cameron and told him a quick deal next week was not achievable.	European politician
The Vote Leave campaign	The Vote Leave campaign has accused David Cameron of scaremongering, saying border security arrangements with France have "nothing to do with our EU membership".	European politician
The current French interior minister, Bernard Cazeneuve	The current French interior minister, Bernard Cazeneuve, hinted on Monday that France would give two years' notice to end the arrangement if Britain voted to leave: "It is obvious that leaving the EU will always result in countermeasures," he said on Monday.	European politician
the outspoken mayor of Calais, newspaper Le Monde, former ministers, and the French national commission on human rights	been the outspoken mayor of Calais, newspaper Le Monde, former ministers, and the French national commission on human rights, who argue that this "one-sided tangle of treaties" in contradiction of EU law has led to France "becoming the police arm of British migration policy".	European politician
Rob Whiteman, the former head of the UK Border Agency,	Rob Whiteman, the former head of the UK Border Agency, set out the background: "I think at the time the French felt there would be an upside for them, in that if it was clear that people could not easily get to Britain it would stop Sangatte building up again. The camp was closed. But history has shown that not to be the case. The French authorities still have a huge amount of pressure on their side. And now the Jungle, as it is called, has developed. So there is not much upside for the French."	European politician

	Whiteman says UK asylum claims fell from 80,000 a year in 2003 to 30,000 a year now as a result of the arrangements	
the French government,	now says that even more refugees and migrants would head for the French Channel ports if they thought it was easier get into Britain	European politician
Frans Timmermans, the vice-president of the European commission	Frans Timmermans, the vice-president of the European commission, said he had written to the Polish government warning that recent alterations to the workings of Poland's highest court posed "a systemic risk to the rule of law". Timmermans said he was "dispassionate and legal" and that the commission had a duty to uphold the rule of law. "The European Union is built on common values enshrined in the treaties," he said. "Making sure the rule of law is observed is a collective responsibility of all EU institutions and all member states."	European politician
But Poland's justice minister, Zbigniew Ziobro	But Poland's justice minister, Zbigniew Ziobro, claimed the commission was using the rule of law issue to force Poland to "take tens of thousands of refugees and migrants ". "The commission intervenes when it is convenient for the commission," he said, accusing Brussels of blackmailing Poland to force the country to take more than the 7,600 Syrian migrants agreed. "This confirms that the European commission has been influenced by [Poland's] political opposition to interfere in the internal affairs of a sovereign state," he said.	European politician
Parliamentary spokesman Rafal Bochenek	Parliamentary spokesman Rafal Bochenek said Poland could solve its constitutional crisis without support or pressure from Brussels. The government's goal is "to end the dispute over the constitutional court as soon as possible", he said, adding that a revised law might be adopted in July at the latest.	European politician
the head of PiS, Jaroslaw Kaczynski	the head of PiS, Jaroslaw Kaczynski, condemned the EU action as a "made up" procedure. Speaking to pro-government Do Rzeczy, he said the decision "can be challenged in the court of justice of the European Union at any moment".	Expert
Ian Duncan Smith	The senior Conservative, a former party leader who resigned from Cameron's cabinet in March, claimed to have identified two lies in two sentences spoken by the prime minister on ITV's Good Morning Britain. Duncan Smith said the prime minister was wrong to say there was a legal right to send people home if they did not have a job and that EU migrants were entitled to jobseeker's allowance after three months of living in the UK.	European politician
David Cameron, the prime minister	Cameron told the programme on Friday that he had negotiated a deal with the EU so that when people came to the UK to work they had to go home if they did not find a job and they did not get unemployment benefit when they arrived. "Wrecking our economy by coming out of the single market and hitting businesses and jobs, that is a terrible way of trying to deal with the issue," the prime minister said In response, Cameron insisted he had genuine fears about leaving the EU and believed it was necessary to campaign with political rivals, as the issue was much bigger than one party. He insisted it was possible to meet the challenge of dealing with migration from within the EU, and appealed to viewers not to gamble the futures of their children and grandchildren on a "roll of the dice" by leaving the EU.	European politician

	"The way to meet that challenge must not be to leave the single market, harm our economy, hurt jobs and damage our country. We have got to find the right way of dealing with the movement of people, not the wrong way," he said.	
Vote Leave	<p>Vote Leave suggested that jobless EU migrants should be deported, saying a consequence of the failure to do so has been a stark rise in homelessness.</p> <p>"The truth is that for as long as we are a member of the European Union we are powerless to control the number of people coming to this country. And yesterday's damning home affairs report shows conclusively that even if EU migrants commit serious crimes, the government is unable to remove them.</p> <p>"On his claims about benefits, this is the worst kind of gesture politics. I know, because I was in charge of the department responsible for this area. EU migrants are legally entitled to unemployment benefits after three months in the country - and as to the deal to address this after the referendum, the British people shouldn't hold their breath."</p>	European politician
Michael Gove, the justice secretary, and Boris Johnson, the former London mayor	Michael Gove, the justice secretary, and Boris Johnson, the former London mayor, have suggested that Cameron's failure to hit his target of bringing down immigration to tens of thousands a year, not hundreds of thousands, was "corrosive of public trust".	European politician
The Tory former deputy prime minister Michael Heseltine	The Tory former deputy prime minister Michael Heseltine accused Johnson of behaving "irresponsibly [and] recklessly" and making "preposterous, obscene political remarks".	European politician
Ken Clarke, a Tory former chancellor and home secretary, said	Ken Clarke, a Tory former chancellor and home secretary, said Johnson was not serious and just a nicer version of Donald Trump, while the Lib Dem former deputy prime minister Nick Clegg said earlier on Friday that the former London mayor was like "Trump with a thesaurus".	European politician
David Franzoni, who wrote the script	<p>"He's like a Shakespeare," Franzoni said. "He's a character who has enormous talent and worth to his society and his people, and obviously resonates today. Those people are always worth exploring."</p> <p>"It's a very exciting project - and obviously challenging," Franzoni said. "There are a lot of reasons we're making a product like this right now. I think it's a world that needs to be spoken to; Rumi is hugely popular in the United States. I think it gives him a face and a story."</p> <p>"We're trying to invent and resurrect a character at the same time because there is so much missing in the shadow of history, and some of it is idealised so you have to go back and find the human being who became a saint, because we can't write about a saint," said Franzoni.</p> <p>. "The greatness of Rumi, so much of it came out of that unpredictability and being challenged," said Franzoni.</p> <p>Franzoni said the film would probably include a prologue of Rumi's flight from his birthplace, a situation he said had parallels with modern times. The Mongol invasions bore some semblance to the</p>	Creative industry

	<p>rampage of extremists in the Middle East today, and the ensuing flight of civilians, he said.</p> <p>Franzoni said he hoped the audience would be able to identify with the poet. "What's fascinating is where did this all come from? It's the 21st century and we're rolling in it and embracing it. If we position ourselves carefully, [we can say] now we're going to tell you where something you love came from," he said.</p> <p>"I think it's obvious why people love his poetry. There's a line about Lawrence of Arabia when they ask him why he likes the desert, and he says 'because it's clean'. There's something profoundly 'gettable' about Rumi. You get it. And not only do you get it but it involves you."</p>	
Stephen Joel Brown, a producer on the Rumi film	"This is the level of casting that we're talking about," said Brown	Creative industry
Nicola Sturgeon	"Take it down," Nicola said	European politician
Boris Johnson	"take back control".	European politician
Daryll Delgado, the research and stakeholder engagement programme manager at labour rights non-profit Verité South East Asia	<p>"Some come from very dire situations, and migrate for work in order to survive," says Daryll Delgado, the research and stakeholder engagement programme manager at labour rights non-profit Verité South East Asia. "Many of them leave their families, sell their lands or borrow money to finance the cost of migration for work."</p> <p>Many workers lack proper documentation and the conditions of stay are dependent on their employers or sponsors, explains Delgado.</p> <p>"They are not as free to move around or mingle with society, they cannot easily change jobs even if the conditions are untenable [...] they cannot easily refuse the terms of the job given to them, they cannot advocate for better conditions, they usually don't have access to grievance mechanisms, they cannot join unions. [Plus] there are other barriers, such as language, culture, and gender which also adds to their vulnerability."</p> <p>, Delgado says suppliers must invest time and resources in the ethical recruitment and fair hiring of migrant workers. "[Then] they should take full control of the whole recruitment and hiring process, conduct due diligence of their labour suppliers, provide workers decent working and living conditions, give them access to communication and grievance mechanisms, protect them from discrimination, and let them enjoy their basic rights to freedom of movement and association."</p>	NGO
Torben Venning, project director of Borneo Child Aid	Torben Venning, project director of Borneo Child Aid, says the organisation has managed to get the main plantation companies in Malaysia involved in building schools and funding education for children.	NGO
A number of Syrian children	<p>have written an open letter urging the home secretary to "take our friends out of danger".</p> <p>They say they will never forget the "horrific months" spent in northern France or the friends they have left behind</p>	RASIM
Unicef's UK deputy executive	Unicef's UK deputy executive director, Lily Caprani, said: "The government has said that unaccompanied children should be brought to the UK if they have family here, yet these children's cases	NGO

director, Lily Caprani	<p>are moving far too slowly. It's time for the government to turn its promise into a reality now, and get these children to their families.</p> <p>"The children in Calais are the nearest and most visible cases of children who are fleeing conflict and making dangerous journeys in search of safety, yet have a legal right to live in safety with their families in the UK.</p> <p>"I've met some of the unaccompanied children in Calais and have seen the terrible conditions they are living in. By taking immediate action for these children, the government can take a crucial first step to show it is serious about its recent commitments to refugee children."</p>	
Labour's leader, Jeremy Corbyn	<p>Corybn said: "Many people in Britain are concerned about immigration and their local communities. Surely what communities need are practical solutions like the migrant impact fund set up by Gordon Brown, when he was prime minister, to deal with the extra pressure on housing, schools and hospitals. Will you now concede that it was a mistake to abolish that fund, and will you work with us to reinstate it as a matter of urgency to give support to those communities that are facing problems [with] school places, and doctors' surgeries?"</p>	European politician
David Cameron	<p>The prime minister said he would work with Labour and other parties to address the concerns of voters, but stressed that leaving the EU was not the right way to deal with unhappiness about immigration.</p> <p>Cameron added: "In answer to the question about employment agencies that only advertise for overseas workers - we are looking at that to see if we can, and, we have announced this already, to see if we can ban that practice because we don't believe that is right.</p> <p>"Of course, the answer to so many of these questions is actually to make sure we are training, educating and employing British people and getting them the qualifications they need to take on the jobs that our economy is creating.</p> <p>"In terms of funds to help communities impacted by migration, we have a pledge in our manifesto, which we are looking forward to bringing forward, which [is] actually a controlled migration fund to make sure we put money into communities where there are pressures. Because, of course, there are some pressures and we do need to address them, and I'm happy we will be able to work on a cross-party basis to do that."</p> <p>Decisions to cut public spending in the UK budget do have an impact, through Barnett, on Scotland," Cameron replied. "To anyone who says these warnings could be wrong or inaccurate - there were warnings about the oil price before the Scottish referendum. It turned out actually to be worse than the experts warned."</p>	European politician
the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights' founder, Rami Abdelrahman	<p>Six of this weekend's casualties were from the same family, said the observatory's founder, Rami Abdelrahman. "I sent our activists to hospital there, we have video [of the corpses], but we haven't published it because there are children [involved]," he said.</p>	NGO
Human Rights Watch	<p>"EU officials should recognise that their red light for refugees to enter the EU gives Turkey a green light to close its border, exacting a heavy price on war-ravaged asylum seekers with nowhere else to go," Human Rights Watch said after a previous round of border shootings in March.</p>	NGO

A senior Turkish official	A senior Turkish official said Turkey was investigating the latest allegations of shootings but was "unable to independently verify the claims". The official added: "Turkey provides humanitarian assistance to displaced persons in northern Syria and follows an open-door policy, which means we admit refugees whose lives are under threat."	European politician
Amnesty and Human Rights Watch	Amnesty and Human Rights Watch allege that Turkey has deported some Syrians back to northern Syria, where Isis, Syrian rebels, the Syrian government, an al-Qaida franchise and Kurdish forces are all fighting for territory	NGO
MIA	"Sorry I'm not doin' Afropunk," MIA tweeted on 20 June. "I've been told to stay in my lane. Ha, there is no lane for 65 million refugees who's lanes are blown up! #nolanes"	Creative industry
Azealia Banks	Leave MIA the f-ck alone. You guys are idiots and have COMPLETELY missed the point of what she's trying to tell you. THIS IS A BLACK PERSON. Sri Lankans/Indians are BLACK. U guys keep for getting that black is not something we share as an ethnicity it's something we share as a GLOBAL STRUGGLE ... the LIBERAL MEDIA has its d-ck so far down you sheeple's throats that you can't even understand what she's saying. SHES TELLING YOU THAT HER PEOPLE ARE SUFFERING JUST AS OURS ARE. LEAVE MAYA THE F-CK ALONE AND LET HER DO HER PERFORMANCE. FOR F-CK'S SAKE.	Creative industry
Singer Beth Gibbons	"We have far more in common than which divides us."	Creative industry
Boris Johnson	Boris could be prime minister inside 18 months. "This is the most difficult decision I have ever had to make," he sobbed.	European politician
The prime minister, David Cameron	"It is a fact that our economy will be weaker if we leave and stronger if we stay," a shirt-sleeved Cameron told supporters in Birmingham.	European politician
Groden Brown, former prime minister	This is not the Britain I know, this is not the Britain I love. The Britain I know is better than the Britain of these debates, of insults, of posters," he said. "The Britain I know is a Britain of Jo Cox. The Britain? where people are tolerant - and not prejudiced and where people hate."	European politician
The Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn	The Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn, who spoke at a separate event in London on Wednesday, agreed with Brown that the tone of the campaign had been divisive, adding: "The Farage poster of the Syrian refugees was just the pits." "They raise issues of poverty, they raise issues of housing, they raise issues of health; and yes they raise issues of immigration, all these issues are raised; but if you have a rational discussion with people, as I try to do, and don't do it with rancour, you don't do with personal abuse, then you get a hearing."	European politician
Boris Johnson	Boris Johnson, heading the final push for the Vote Leave campaign, insisted his side was "on the verge of victory". Urging voters to turn out in great numbers, he warned: "This will not come again."	European politician
Raneem Barakat	"Music, these days, is like a painkiller," says Raneem Barakat, a singer in the orchestra's choir. The 24-year-old regularly braves bombs and snipers on the roads on her two-hour journey to Damascus to study and perform. "You have to take the risk. When I sing it hypnotises me; I leave reality."	RASIM
Damon Albarn	"It blew me away," Albarn tells me, "Young people would start their evening in Damascus, go to Beirut for the night and then come back to Damascus to chill out," he says. "The call to prayer when you are	Creative industry

	<p>on the top of the mountain in the early morning in Damascus just leaves you speechless."</p> <p>"homogenous shadow from the Middle East moving slowly towards us". "I just felt: 'What can I do?'" And so he decided to get the Syrian National Orchestra back together, "Blues Brothers style".</p> <p>"I want people who see these concerts to experience the humanity of this homogenous shadow which they feel so threatened by." he says.</p>	
Mahmood	<p>"Everyone will tell you of moments where there was an explosion in front of you and you are lucky to be alive; this happened to me twice," he says. "But the worst thing was seeing Syrians dying in the street."</p> <p>"The worst thing for me was leaving my parents, brothers and friends. I had a good job, a good life. It was a challenge to learn to live without everything; a human being is not just a person, we are our connections too," says Mahmood.</p> <p>"Music helped me not to go crazy," he says. "Even in the centre I would practise for hours. My teacher and I would sit on Skype, playing to each other, discussing technical points and new things."</p> <p>They shot at my university bus. Another friend got her head blown off. Some of my friends were kidnapped, 'disappeared'</p> <p>"When you hear [the orchestra's] big sound again it is strange and touching," he says. "It takes you back to Damascus, to our memories of this sound ... in some moments, as we were playing, I could smell Damascus."</p>	RASIM
Munir Bu Kolthoum	<p>"I started losing my mind," he says. "I had to get away. They blew up eight tonnes of TNT close to where I live; if it wasn't for a red traffic light, I would have been dead.</p> <p>"They shot at my university bus. Another friend got her head blown off. Some of my friends were kidnapped, 'disappeared'; we still don't know what happened to them."</p> <p>says "music was my only therapy". He has told his stories through his music which has brought him a wider audience among displaced Syrians around the world. "Half my fan base are refugees now," he says. "I am mad proud of my people. They are surviving all these odds and proving how talented and brave they are.</p> <p>"As kids they were our musical heroes." "The media tries to show us as savages. As terrorists. But there are different sides to every country in the world; there is the musician and the graphic designer and the coffee-shop worker. We need to show the normal side."</p>	RASIM
Violinist Sousan Eskandar	<p>Violinist Sousan Eskandar, who now lives in Germany, is adamant they will make it work. "It doesn't matter if we all have different opinions, we have to find a way to bring them together. Maybe you make good points, maybe I do; [but] we can become one.</p> <p>"When there is violence in the world, you have to make more beautiful music, and make it more intensely."</p>	RASIM
Bill Shorten	<p>"All this goes to the prime minister's credibility ... The prime minister has serious questions about his credibility," Shorten said. "That is not leadership. That is weak."</p>	Non-European Politician

Malcolm Turnbull	But Turnbull launched a counterattack on Shorten's leadership authority, accusing him being "owned" by the union movement, and repeating the claim that a Labor government would be part of a "chaotic" and "unstable" alliance with the Greens.	Politician
Labor senator Kim Carr	<p>Labor senator Kim Carr seized on a report in Guardian Australia about Liberal brochures claiming that 31,000 jobs would be "lost" in Victoria, based on analysis by the Institute of Public Affairs that the thinktank itself says is of "low to medium reliability" and "highly conjectural".</p> <p>Carr said the brochure was an example of "fear mongering, lies and deceit".</p> <p>"The dodgy Liberal ads are based on a document from the Institute of Public Affairs (IPA) however the numbers are so flimsy even the right-wing IPA repudiates them," Carr said.</p>	Non-European Politician
Hilary Clinton	As Clinton swiftly pointed out in her statement in response to the court's paralysis, it shows "us all just how high the stakes are in this election".	Non-European Politician

Appendix H: Discursive Analysis The Daily Mail

Speaker	Quote/paraphrase	Type of source
Neil Kinnock, a former EU commissioner	If Britain leaves the EU, the impact will be "seismic" Brexit would be "a jump off the edge of the cliff... in which our economic stability is hugely put at risk".	European politician
Experts	warn that they may end up achieving the opposite.	Expert
Marcus Weinberg, a Christian Democrat spokesman on family affairs.	"Following the council's resolution, adjusting child benefits to living costs in recipients' home country will also be possible in Germany from 2020," "That isn't just appropriate, it's also fair."	European politician
The German chancellor, Angela Merkel,	said she could "very well imagine us implementing similar measures in Germany".	European politician
Experts	warn that history shows that what may look like a relief for the welfare state could in fact increase the burden	Expert
Stefan Luft, a migration researcher at Bremen University	"It's hard to make a prediction about whether these curbs will trigger the same effect this time,". "But history shows that politically popular measures can have unintended consequences."	Expert
Jonathan Portes, senior fellow at the UK's Economic and Social Research Council.	"At the very least, it's likely that the savings countries like Britain and Germany make will be considerably lower than they think,"	European politician
Clare Moseley, of British volunteer group Care4Calais	"They said different things to different people," she said. "It's a form of psychological pressure, especially as the backgrounds of many of these people mean they tend to believe what authorities threaten."	NGO
Clare Moseley, of British volunteer group Care4Calais	volunteers from various groups, aided by French students, had been touring the tents, telling people they did not need to move out immediately.	NGO
France's interior minister, Bernard Cazeneuve,	said authorities would not do anything too hastily. "It has never been our intention to send in bulldozers to destroy the camp,"	European politician
Afghan man in his 30s ('declining to give his name')	"I spent two years getting here, and I've been here for three months now," , "I've tried lots of times to get to England. Why would I stop now? Where do I go? I have family in England. It's the only place I want to go."	RASIM
Nadiya Mamo	"I could smell the streets of Aleppo, I remembered the colour of the light in my room at dusk," "And I remembered how the city that used to be my home turned into living hell within just 48 hours. I think I am only now beginning to understand what that means."	RASIM
Stefan Weber, the director of the Museum for Islamic Art	"When people are just waiting around with nothing to do, they can fall into a hole. They feel useless and worthless," "But when you give people an important job to do, you also give them a certain status in your society."	
guide Razan Nassreddine, a	"The first question we usually get asked is: how did all this end up in Germany?"	RASIM

cultural curator from Damascus		
Stefan Weber, the director of the Museum for Islamic Art	"Some objects have a complicated history,"	Expert
Aladdin Haddad, an architecture student from Aleppo	"This is my civilisation," "It's great to see my heritage here in the heart of Germany."	RASIM
One man	"Is that Sunni?"	RASIM
An elderly woman	"They didn't have Sunnis and Shias back then,"	RASIM
Another	"Yes, they did," But let's not talk about religion here, we just want to look at the objects."	RASIM
One member of the group	"Syria hasn't always been the way it is now," "We used to be tolerant."	RASIM
Stefan Weber, the director of the Museum for Islamic Art	German schoolkids fall asleep when it comes to the history of the 30 years' war," "But we found that Syrians were often gripped. German history shows them that destruction is not the end of history - new life can come out of the rubble."	Creative industry
One veteran music critic	"We can allow some bending of the usual concertgoing rules. This evening's different".	Expert
Iván Fischer, the Konzerthaus orchestra's chief conductor	It was a chance to celebrate. "We're experiencing a wonderful transformation - a new, tolerant Europe is developing before our very eyes," said.	Creative industry
Iván Fischer, the Konzerthaus orchestra's chief conductor, along with Daniel Barenboim of the Staatskapelle and Sir Simon Rattle of the Berlin Philharmonic	described the evening as a "show of solidarity with the refugees".	Creative industry
The signatories [of a letter to Angela Merkel telling her to "keep going"], including Barenboim and the Nobel laureate Herta Müller	having "changed our country," saying thanks to her, "people are no longer scared of Germany", in reference to the atrocities of the Nazi era	Ordinary citizen
, 55-year-old Noordeen Al Mansouri	"after all, without her we wouldn't be here now",	RASIM

The philosophy teacher	"I listen to this music and I find peace myself, and if I close my eyes I can imagine I am back in Damascus listening to another Beethoven concert during peacetime,"	RASIM
Shahnaz, a primary school teacher	"It is very optimistic music." "We need this optimism after seeing what is happening to our brothers and sisters stuck on the Greek-Macedonian border"	RASIM
Talin, 35, a makeup artist from Aleppo	said she had heard Mozart this evening for the first time, and had been mesmerised by Barenboim's ability to "both play the piano and conduct at the same time".	RASIM
Talin's son, Kifork, 18, a hairdresser	"My mum's usual preference is for Enrique Iglesias, and mine is for Julio, but we're in Germany now, so we're happy to try out the stuff the Germans like." "But as soon as I get a new one, I think I might download some Beethoven. That was my favourite."	RASIM
Rattle [conductor]	"This is an exceptional opportunity for Germany and Europe to welcome an exceptional people. By playing for them, we are demonstrating our love and support and are very happy to communicate with these new Europeans."	Creative industry
Diab, a 30-year-old economics graduate from Damascus	"It was amazing; the energy of the string players in the Beethoven struck me most, and filled me with calm," "But I did find myself thinking, I wish that the German authorities could put as much effort into pushing my asylum application along as they did performing the seventh symphony,"	RASIM
Kifork	"It's clearly time more Germans learned Arabic,"	RASIM
Russ Shaw, the founder of Tech London Advocates	"London has established a global reputation as the digital capital of Europe. There is significant concern within the digital community that Brexit would undermine this position and threaten relationships with the European market. "Attracting international companies to the capital has been one of the great success stories of London's digital economy. Brexit could see global businesses locating in emerging digital hubs in Berlin, Paris and Stockholm rather than London."	Expert
Transferwise's co-founder, Taavet Hinrikus	, said that even with EU membership, "the biggest constriction to growth is hiring people", and warned that if the Leave camp won, "it would make sense for us to relocate to Europe".	Expert
Jeff Peel, the managing director of Quadriga Consulting,	"I wouldn't ascribe to all the arguments that the leave camp has," he says. "For instance, I think immigration is hugely important. We need to attract talent from all over the world to come to Britain." But, he argues, "it's entirely up to the UK to decide the types of people that it needs. The fact is that with the open border policy that we have within the EU, the people who are attracted are attracted to relatively low-paid employment. We're not actually attracting hordes of highly skilled Europeans with lots of money to spend. "UK tech startups employ two or three people in Hoxton. The bulk of employment in Britain's tech sector is often provided by companies that aren't even located in the EU: look at Microsoft, for example, or Fujitsu."	Expert

Russ Shaw, the founder of Tech London Advocates	cautions that the small firms who make up the majority of those in the sector often don't have the time or resources to campaign effectively "Something like half a million new businesses were started last year. I think anybody who engages in business, because of the internet being a global tool, knows that they need to access markets on a global bases. And so I think that rather than this being the elites versus the ordinary folk, I look at this more as being the past versus the future."	Expert
Donald Tusk, president of the European Council	"With that," "we will close the western Balkans route."	European politician
David Cameron	Brexit could result in Britain facing an "influx of 50,000 asylum seekers"	European politician
the Greens senator Janet Rice	"I'll be able to take your message back to Canberra with me," "I'm not part of the government and I can't tell the government what to do, unfortunately. But the people who can tell the government what to do are all of you and you can send a very strong message that these children should be allowed to be free."	European politician
Student Sienna Galioto	"We are the first school in Australia to do this and we hope many others will follow our example." "They have the right to have a home or shelter and an adult to take care and support them," she said. "They deserve an education and medical attention. They are also entitled to have a voice and be heard, to have freedom and live a happy, healthy, safe life. "Most of all, every child has a right to protection from any violence and the right to seek asylum in another country if you are being persecuted in your own."	Ordinary citizen
The school's principal, Joanne Doherty	"It was an incredibly heartfelt assembly," Doherty said. "We welcome difference and embrace diversity here, and we want students to leave school knowing that they can make a difference. This entire project was student-led." "I did read someone having a go at us on Senator Rice's Facebook page, saying something about schools being used to politicise things, but I haven't heard anything negative, not one thing, from the school community itself. "These children have made something happen and they should have a great sense of pride in that."	Ordinary citizen
A parent present at the assembly, Lisa Leening,	, described it as "incredibly moving". "It was so empowering for the students and they were stoked to have their voices heard," she said. "I think people underestimate the empathy of children. What they see in the media really affects them. Even my five-year-old can't understand why people are being imprisoned for not doing anything wrong."	Ordinary citizen
Kretschmann	has said that he spent every day "praying" for Merkel since there was "no one in sight" who could lead Europe out of its current impasse if she were topple	European politician
The Green mayor of	called for an end to "unchecked immigration" and "Pippi-Longstocking politics".	European politician

Tübingen, Boris Palmer		
Syrian student Frayha	"Will I stay there?" wondered the Syrian student, staring into his steaming tea. "Or will they send me back?" "I have to go," Frayha said. "I don't care about the rules. I know I sound like a teenager, but I have to think like a teenager - otherwise I will never go. If they send me back, they send me back."	RASIM
Police	police said that by dawn yesterday at least a dozen boats had landed on the shores of Lesbos, the island on the frontline of Europe's biggest migration crisis since the second world war Police said the incident, including the first shots fired in anger since Friday's deal, highlighted how difficult the agreement would be to enforce in practice.	Other
Giorgos Kyritsis, a spokesman for Athens' migration coordination centre	"Obviously this agreement can't be implemented in 24 hours," said Giorgos Kyritsis, a spokesman for Athens' migration coordination centre. "There is a lot of tension among refugees," added Kyritsis. "What worries us most is that clashes may take places along ethnic lines."	Expert
One volunteer	"The situation is extremely explosive," said one volunteer. "We're running out of tents and food."	
Abu Hamid (smuggler)	"Today is a normal day," said Abu Hamid, sipping a tea outside the cheap hotel he block-books for his customers. "Nothing's changed. The smuggling will continue. There will always be people going."	Expert
The second smuggler	"People over the past period of course were scared about going - because they don't want to get stuck in Greece," the second smuggler said. "But they will go again. It's either Italy again, or Bulgaria by land. The only real solution is to get rid of Bashar al-Assad [the Syrian dictator] and to dissolve his security services. Until then people will keep going - I will go myself in a couple of months."	Expert
Fahed	"Anybody who gets caught now will get sent back - so we're going back," said Fahed. "It's time to forget about Europe."	RASIM
The local fire brigade	According to the local fire brigade, two Syrians pulled the seriously injured Jagsch from the wreckage and administered first aid treatment before an ambulance arrived at the scene. A spokesman for the Büdingen fire brigade said two vans carrying about 16 refugees had already stopped at the site of the crash by the time emergency services arrived.	Other
Jean Christoph Fiedler, the NPD's leader in the Hesse region	Jean Christoph Fiedler, the NPD's leader in the Hesse region, told the Frankfurter Rundschau newspaper that the Syrians had "likely performed a very good, humane deed". According to Fiedler, Jagsch was still in a local hospital as of 22 March and "doing well, considering the circumstances".	European politician
Two Syrians	Two Syrians informed the firefighters that Jagsch had still been wearing his seatbelt when they came upon the wreckage, and that he had been fully conscious during his rescue.	RASIM
Alex Haridi (series director)	and, says Haridi, it was almost too real "People thought it was based on what they had read in the papers the day before." "the nice old lady sitting next to you on the bus could harbour really racist thoughts and ideas. That's the true nightmare."	Creative industry
Walter Iuzzolino, the collection's	"In the simplest sense, Blue Eyes is a beautiful, traditional political thriller," says Walter Iuzzolino, the collection's creative director and namesake. "But it also holds up a mirror to society and reflects	Creative industry

creative director and namesake	<p>something that's touching all of us on a much broader scale. It is not a national piece, it's a global piece."</p> <p>"Viewers will be completely familiar with what's occurring, because Europe has never been more important to us in terms of the referendum," says Iuzzolino. "I think we discuss it even more than before, because now there's a choice to be made."</p> <p>"the nice old lady sitting next to you on the bus could harbour really racist thoughts and ideas. That's the true nightmare."</p> <p>"Viewers will be completely familiar with what's occurring, because Europe has never been more important to us in terms of the referendum," says Iuzzolino. "I think we discuss it even more than before, because now there's a choice to be made."</p>	
Körlof (actress)	<p>"Sofia is such an unusual character," says Körlof. "Not a victim or femme fatale or the girl-next-door. It is so important that she's not just a stereotypical villain. The audience have to like her, even though we hate her and see ourself in her."</p> <p>"Sweden is a very insecure country at the moment," she says. "It's so disturbing when racists burn refugee camps. That's terrorism too. There's tension created by politicians and the media and the Sweden Democrats being given a stage."</p>	Creative industry
Barack Obama	<p>Barack Obama on Saturday rejected "any attempt to stigmatize Muslim Americans " in the aftermath of the terror attacks in Brussels, calling such views as espoused by some Republican presidential candidates "contrary to our character, to our values, and to our history as a nation built around the idea of religious freedom".</p> <p>Detailing in his weekly address what he called an ongoing international military effort "to root out and defeat [Isis]", the president referred to Friday's announcement of the death in an airstrike of Abd al-Rahman Mustafa al-Qaduli, reportedly Isis's second-in-command.</p> <p>Then he said: "As we move forward in this fight, we have to wield another weapon alongside our airstrikes, our military, our counterterrorism work, and our diplomacy. And that's the power of our example.</p> <p>"Our openness to refugees fleeing [Isis] violence. Our determination to win the battle against [Isis's] hateful and violent propaganda - a distorted view of Islam that aims to radicalize young Muslims to their cause.</p> <p>"In that effort, our most important partners are American Muslims. That's why we have to reject any attempt to stigmatize Muslim Americans, and their enormous contributions to our country and our way of life.</p> <p>"Such attempts are contrary to our character, to our values, and to our history as a nation built around the idea of religious freedom. It's also counterproductive. It plays right into the hands of terrorists who want to turn us against one another; who need a reason to recruit more people to their hateful cause."</p> <p>Saying he had also offered the prime minister of Belgium "the full array of our support", Obama also said: "Belgium is a close friend and ally of the United States. And when it comes to our friends, America has their back. Especially as we fight the scourge of terrorism."</p>	Non-European politician

Texas senator Ted Cruz	Texas senator Ted Cruz called for law enforcement to " patrol and secure Muslim neighborhoods before they become radicalized", adding: "The days of the United States voluntarily surrendering to the enemy to show how progressive and enlightened we can be are at an end."	
Daniel Webb, director of legal advocacy at the human rights law centre	<p>Daniel Webb, director of legal advocacy at the human rights law centre, said his clients were incredibly relieved and grateful, and one man had called him with excitement after going to a shopping centre.</p> <p>"After three years in detention he was so excited just to see cars and buildings and families walking around together enjoying themselves. It was the first time I've ever heard any hope or excitement in his voice. Most of all, I heard relief," he said.</p> <p>"This is an important first step towards compassion and decency. The next step is to allow these families to have their refugee claims processed here and to let them begin rebuilding their lives - they have so much to contribute."</p>	Advocates /lawyers
GetUp's human rights director, Shen Narayanasamy	<p>"This is the first positive step we have seen toward people seeking asylum in a long time," said GetUp's human rights director, Shen Narayanasamy.</p> <p>"It shows that the government is listening to the shifting community sentiment on this issue."</p> <p>"If the government now tries to deport these vulnerable people back to Nauru, over one hundred churches stand ready to provide sanctuary," said Narayanasamy.</p>	NGO
Friends of Hussain's	Friends of Hussain's, speaking from the camp at Dunkirk where the teenager had spent six months, revealed that he had family living in Manchester	RASIM
Maddie Harris, of the charity Help Refugees	Maddie Harris, of the charity Help Refugees, who knew Hussain's cousin in the camp in northern France, said: "He was trying to find a better life and died in the process and our government is responsible for his death." She said police officers in Oxfordshire had called Hussain's cousin on Friday evening to reveal details of the tragedy.	NGO
Liz Clegg, who runs the women and children's in Calais	<p>Liz Clegg, who runs the women and children's in Calais and looks after scores of unaccompanied minors, said she had tried contacting the youngster, called Kareem, but to no avail and also said she contacted Kent police but they allegedly refused to issue a missing persons report.</p> <p>She said that Kareem was an unaccompanied minor, who had been living in her centre at the Calais refugee for at least six months.</p> <p>Clegg said: "The officer said that he did not go missing from Kent and my reply was that I am 99.9% certain that he is in Kent. I kept saying it's an emergency, he's 11 and doesn't speak english but it was a very unhelpful response.</p> <p>"So they then alerted French police hoping that between them they might generate a missing child alert. From our experience in the last</p>	NGO

	<p>few days there appears to be no coordinated response in regards to refugee children going missing.</p> <p>Clegg added: "He is a kind, funny and smart boy all and his friends are deeply concerned and feel powerless to do anything. He has now been missing for days."</p>	
Josie Naughton of Help Refugees	Josie Naughton of Help Refugees said her organisation had "repeatedly pleaded with the authorities to register the children in the camp. Our warnings about the dangers of not doing so were ignored, with potentially terrible consequences for this young boy."	NGO
George Gabriel, of Citizens UK	George Gabriel, of Citizens UK, said: "The disappearance of this boy is a grim reminder of the dangers faced by hundreds of children who are alone in Calais and Dunkirk. Our governments should be ashamed that they are not doing more to register and protect unaccompanied minors."	NGO
a spokeswoman for the Nine Network	"Tara and the crew are detained in Beirut," the spokeswoman told Guardian Australia. "We don't know much else at this point, we are working with authorities to get her out safely."	Other
The[Lebanese] state-run National News Agency	<p>The state-run National News Agency reported that two children had been kidnapped by three gunmen.</p> <p>"Three armed persons aboard a silver Hyundai kidnapped on Hadath-Shouaifat road the child Diala Ali Al-Amin (six years old) and her brother Nouh (four years old) as they waited with their grandmother for their school bus, " the agency said.</p> <p>"The kidnappers ran away after having hit the grandma and snatched the two children. ISF forces started their investigations into the kidnapping, with family reasons looming in the background."</p>	Other
Nine colleague Lisa Wilkinson	Nine colleague Lisa Wilkinson tweeted : "Thoughts are with Tara Brown & @60Mins film crew detained in Lebanon filming child recovery bid."	Other
Australia's minister for foreign affairs, Julie Bishop	<p>Australia's minister for foreign affairs, Julie Bishop, said authorities were urgently trying to locate the crew and offer them help.</p> <p>"I confirm that Dfat has been in contact with Channel Nine with regard to reports that an Australian TV crew has been detained in Lebanon," Bishop said.</p> <p>"We are urgently seeking to confirm the crew's whereabouts and welfare, and have offered all appropriate consular assistance".</p>	Non-European politician
Nils Muiznieks, commissioner for human rights at the Council of Europe	<p>Britain should take in more Syrian refugees, impose a time limit on migrant detention and loosen its "restrictive regime" on reunifying families, according to Europe's most senior human rights official.</p> <p>Nils Muiznieks, commissioner for human rights at the Council of Europe, warned about the growing "toxicity" of the debate over migration and called for greater efforts to be made to resettle refugees.</p> <p>Muiznieks said: "I welcome that the UK has promised to resettle 20,000 people [from Syria]. [But] the UK could do more, given its size and the need elsewhere.</p>	European politician

	<p>"I think the future is in resettlement, certainly in the medium to long term, to stop these dangerous crossings [of the Mediterranean]. We need to ramp up resettlement."</p> <p>Muiznieks said: "I have a lots of concerns about the draft immigration bill, particularly about involving landlords in police checks [on tenants' immigration status]. The atmosphere this creates is one in which direct and indirect discrimination becomes far more likely.</p> <p>"I was told that 92% of people stay less than four months but I have heard of people being held for several years in migrant detention [centres in Britain]. That's incompatible with human rights law and a waste of taxpayer's money. I would like to see limits set on migrant detention."</p> <p>Muiznieks also highlighted the plight of a small group of 67 asylum seekers who have been stranded on a British airbase in Cyprus for nearly two decades and refused permission to come to the UK.</p> <p>"You have a group of asylum seekers in Cyprus," he said, "some have been there for 17 years. This is the UK's responsibility. I have raised this issue and asked why can't we resolve it?"</p> <p>"There's no way that resettling these 67 people to the UK after all these years will create a pull factor. These people deserve a life."</p>	
The chair of the select committee, Emma Nicholson	The chair of the select committee, Emma Nicholson, said the government had made a good start on a horrific issue, but "if that good start is not to be squandered it is time for a clear strategic plan on how to take forward the battle against sexual violence in conflict".	European politician
the former foreign secretary William Hague	<p>Hague, appearing on the BBC Radio 4 Today programme, accepted the government needed to redouble its efforts, adding that the new UN secretary general would have to provide global leadership on the issue, and not leave it to nation states. "The issue is getting worse around the world," he said.</p> <p>Hague agreed, saying those guilty of sexual violence must be accountable at some point even if they are party to the Syrian peace negotiations. At present neither Syria nor Iraq is party to international agreements on sexual violence in conflict. "A peace with such an amnesty would be deeply flawed and doomed," Hague said. "In any international agreement it is very important that such crimes can be prosecuted even if it happens many years to the future."</p>	European politician
Sonya Sceats, policy director at Freedom from Torture	Commenting on the report, Sonya Sceats, policy director at Freedom from Torture, said: "This initiative is arguably the most dynamic human rights diplomacy in British history, but as values are increasingly sacrificed in the pursuit of trade at any cost, Baroness Anelay, the UK's special representative on sexual violence, has been left to bear this torch alone at a critical moment. The glitz of this campaign on sexual violence needs high-level political support and resourcing to deliver on the promises secured by Mr Hague and Ms Jolie Pitt."	NGO
Anna Wintour, the editor-in-chief of American Vogue	Wintour explained she had arrived early and was "waiting for the Kardashians to arrive en masse - and Jay-Z. So, eventually, they did turn up and The Life of Pablo concert started and the migrant chic	Creative industry

	<p>fashion show started and they were both wonderful," she said, in an apparent reference to the clothing on show.</p> <p>Following the criticism, she said: "I apologise if my remark was offensive in any way. The migrant crisis is real, and I didn't intend to trivialise that issue."</p>	
Twitter user	One Twitter user wrote: "Apparently migrant chic is becoming a thing in the fashion world. Do we really need to spell out how insensitive that is?"	Ordinary citizen
Another twitter user	Another tweeted: "Anna Wintour called Yeezy season 3 Migrant Chic. Even though Chic is a good thing, the word Migrant can be taken any other ways."	Ordinary citizen
Norbert Baksa [photographer]	Norbert Baksa criticised what he called the media's "incomplete" coverage of Europe's worst migrant crisis since the second world war. He said his shoot, called Der Migrant, was intended to represent what he called the ambiguity of the crisis by depicting "someone who is miserable but at the same time very beautiful, and who despite the situation owns good-quality clothing and a smartphone".	Creative industry
the home secretary	<p>"The government will table an amendment to the immigration bill when it returns to parliament shortly placing a 72-hour limit on the detention of pregnant women. This will be extendable to up to a week with ministerial authorisation," the home secretary told MPs in a written statement on Monday.</p> <p>"The government is clear that pregnant women should be detained only in exceptional circumstances," she added. "This is a difficult issue - we need to balance the welfare of pregnant women with the need to maintain a robust and workable immigration system and ensure that those with no right to be here leave the UK."</p>	European politician
Theresa May	<p>May said the 72-hour safeguard would ensure that detention for pregnant women would be used as a last resort and only for very short periods. She said that this could happen in cases in the period immediately before a managed return, to prevent illegal entry at the border or if the woman "presents a public risk".</p> <p>May said the move was part of wider changes to improve the welfare of vulnerable people held in immigration detention, including a new policy on "adults at risk".</p>	European politician
Stephen Shaw, the former prisons and probation ombudsman	Shaw said there was little evidence that the detention of pregnant women was only being used in exceptional circumstances.	European politician
Medical Justice	<p>Campaigners at Medical Justice, which works with immigration detainees, said they were disappointed May had not accepted Shaw's recommendation, backed by the House of Lords, to end the practice completely. However, they added they were pleased she had recognised that the current policy was inadequate.</p> <p>"Allowing detention to continue for longer periods of time with ministerial approval undermines the time limit entirely. The current policy already states that pregnant women should only be detained in exceptional circumstances but in reality pregnant women are routinely detained and often remain in detention for long periods of time," the organisation said.</p>	NGO

	<p>"Even short periods of detention are distressing for pregnant women and disruptive to maternity care. As detention occurs without notice women are not able to prepare and make plans for their maternity care. We call on the Home Office to end the detention of pregnant women."</p>	
<p>Jean-Claude Juncker [President of the European Commission]</p>	<p>Jean-Claude Juncker told a meeting of the Council of Europe - not an EU body - in Strasbourg that people were "stepping away" from the EU, which he said had "lost a part of its attractiveness". Juncker said one of the reasons EU citizens were losing faith in the union was because "we are interfering in too many areas of their private lives, and in too many areas where member states are better placed to act".</p> <p>European commissions had been "wrong to over-regulate and interfere too much in the lives of our citizens", he said, stressing that the EU's current executive was trying to cut new legislation to a minimum.</p> <p>He told the Council of Europe on Tuesday that EU officials were not very popular at home when they pleaded the European cause, and "no longer respected" when they said the EU had to be given priority.</p> <p>"We are losing economic clout in a very visible way," the commission president said, adding that the combination of long-term decline and more immediate crises such as the refugee crisis and Islamist terror attacks left the EU facing "very tough times".</p> <p>The risk, he warned, was that: "We will eventually end up with the ruins of this ideal; people who want more national things at the expense of European principles and ... find themselves defenceless."</p> <p>Separately, Juncker said on Tuesday that Turkey would have to meet all criteria for visa-free travel with Europe before Brussels would consider easing restrictions as part of a controversial migration deal.</p> <p>But Juncker said Turkey must fulfil all remaining conditions for visa liberalisation. "The criteria will not be watered down in the case of Turkey," he said</p>	<p>European politician</p>
<p>Rafael Dos Santos</p>	<p>"What if I looked after the house, organised the renting and kept it clean and in working order."</p> <p>"I don't speak English well"; "They won't understand me"; "They will laugh at me because of the way I speak".</p>	<p>RASIM</p>
<p>Clint Beharry, of the New York-based Harmony Institute</p>	<p>VR has "exploded over the last year or two", according to Clint Beharry, of the New York-based Harmony Institute, which researches the science of media. "I guess everyone is saying this is the big year because of the releases of the platforms - [Samsung] Gear VR came out end of last year. This year Oculus [Rift] just came out, HTC Vive is coming soon and [Sony's] PlayStation VR later this year."</p>	<p>Expert</p>
<p>Nonny de la Peña , a VR pioneer known CEO of the digital reality company Emblematic Group</p>	<p>Nonny de la Peña , a VR pioneer known as "the godmother of immersive journalism", said: "It is the real, extraordinary sense of being present on scene that creates a visceral connection that is really unique to this medium." As CEO of the digital reality company Emblematic Group, she believes the power of immersive journalism lies in the way people "really, really deeply engage in the material" compared with how they react to straight text or video.</p>	<p>Expert</p>
<p>Sarah Wolozin, director of the</p>	<p>Sarah Wolozin, director of the Open Documentary Lab at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, said VR was "bringing a</p>	<p>Expert</p>

Open Documentary Lab at Massachusetts Institute of Technology	<p>different kind of knowledge and understanding of the story, because the idea is it transports you somewhere ... It is using all of your senses to help you understand the story."</p> <p>"Right now there is a lot of money being poured into the hardware and there is a big search for content and journalists are exploring it a lot."</p> <p>"When you ask the question what stories should be told with certain technology, this is definitely one."</p>	
Sally Jewell, US secretary of the interior	<p>"We will have climate refugees," Jewell said. "We have to figure out how to deal with potentially relocating villages. There's real tangible support we need to do from a government basis, working alongside indigenous communities as they make very difficult choices about what is right for them.</p> <p>"We can't turn this around. We can stem the increase in temperature, we can stem some of the effect, perhaps, if we act on climate. But the changes are under way and they are very rapid."</p> <p>Jewell said the remote town of Kivalina in Alaska is "washing away".</p> <p>Jewell said political leaders need to "act and support" efforts to make communities more resilient to climate change</p>	Non-European politician
Catherine McKenna, Canada's environment minister	<p>"The changing climate isn't just about melting permafrost, it's having a huge impact upon cultures," said Catherine McKenna, Canada's environment minister, who met with Jewell in Quebec.</p> <p>"When your ice highway has gone, communities can't interact. It's having a huge impact upon food and food insecurity."</p> <p>McKenna said there is a "huge commitment to do more" from Obama and Justin Trudeau, Canada's prime minister</p>	Non-European politician
Mike Spence	<p>"I'm a Reagan conservative," Spence says in the new ad. "I see Ted Cruz as a principled conservative who's dedicated his career to advocating the Reagan agenda."</p>	Non-European politician
Maricella Olvera. The 47-year-old cleans the penthouse at the Trump International Hotel Las Vegas	<p>"The policy is: you don't talk to the boss," she said at her small one-bedroom home, on the joyously named Sing Song Way in the city's northern suburbs.</p>	Ordinary citizen
Donald Trump	<p>Although Trump has touted himself as " the greatest jobs president that God has ever created ",</p>	Non-European politician
Bernie Sanders	<p>Sanders said on Sunday that he would continue battling against Hillary Clinton, revealing plans for a new series of mega-rallies in California.</p> <p>"She will need superdelegates to take her over the top at the convention in Philadelphia," Sanders said. "In other words the convention will be a contested contest."</p>	Non-European politician
Ted Cruz	<p>No one is going to clinch it on the first ballot. I'm not and Donald Trump is not either," Cruz said. "It's why Donald Trump is so desperate to say it's over now... It's going to be a contested convention."</p>	Non-European politician

Save the Children	Save the Children says that 10,000 people have offered places under the Homes for Refugees scheme and they can be given foster training to look after the child victims of war and persecution.	NGO
His [David Cameron's] immigration minister, James Brokenshire	his immigration minister, James Brokenshire, was telling MPs that Britain intended an "opt-out" and refusal to take part in the EU's reformed asylum rules.	European politician
Bromberg [Australian judge]	<p>"She has no independent means," he said. "She has been and remains dependent on the minister for food, shelter, security and healthcare."</p> <p>Because of this, Bromberg said Dutton had a duty of care to procure a safe and lawful abortion for S99, and that the abortion he made available to her in Papua New Guinea carried safety and lawfulness risks "that a reasonable person in the minister's position would have avoided".</p> <p>However, Bromberg said his findings did not mean Dutton had to bring S99 to Australia for the procedure. Other countries with the necessary medical experts and equipment could also be appropriate.</p> <p>Blomberg ordered that the abortion "not be procured so it takes place in any location where a person who participates in an abortion is exposed to criminal liability".</p>	Expert
S99's [asylum seeker's] lawyer, Ron Merkel CQ	<p>S99's lawyer, Ron Merkel QC, told the court on Friday that S99's distress had grown in recent days, especially after news that two of her friends had self-immolated, and that her overall health was declining.</p> <p>But he said: "There is simply no basis for the minister to ask for more than 48 hours to comply with your honour's order.</p> <p>"We say the time has run for the commonwealth to take a leisurely approach to this.</p> <p>"Every teaching hospital in New Zealand or Singapore has the required facilities."</p> <p>The risk to his clients health was "grave and imminent" the longer the delay, Merkel added. "That risk is not one she should be confronted with for any reason at all.</p> <p>"The minister... has medical advice, he's had expert evidence, he's had your honour's judgment. What more can he need?"</p>	Expert
Greens senator Sarah Hanson-Young	<p>In a statement, the Greens senator Sarah Hanson-Young said S99 had "been through enough".</p> <p>"The ruling of the court makes it clear," she said. "This woman is still under the care of the Australian immigration minister and he must act within the law, ensuring that she's given a safe and legal abortion.</p> <p>"This woman should never have been sent to PNG and it's shameful that she's been put in this position."</p>	Non-European politician
Marie Lemaire	"Eventually we will leave," said Marie Lemaire, who is French and lives and works in London. "How soon will depend on the result of the referendum. The debate about Brexit had made us realise that we were not at home here."	RASIM

Patrizia Piccardo	, she has "finally started the process" towards citizenship after 24 years in the UK. "People's attitudes towards me have changed," she said. "It makes me paranoid and scared."	RASIM
Julie Lamoureux	. "I feel rejected, like a bad transplant," she said. Lamoureux is worried that EU citizens will gradually be "encouraged" to leave should the UK vote to leave, and is applying for British citizenship. "My friends like Nigel Farage. My friends like me. Do my friends know that they want to see in power someone who wants me out, away, back where I came from?"	RASIM
Marie Van Der Velde	"Nobody seems to actually know what the consequences would be," said Marie Van Der Velde, in London. Originally from Belgium, she is married to a British citizen. "Will all EU citizens be required to leave? Will we be assessed on level of income, on desirability of God-knows-what? "What if we are married to a UK citizen? Will they now need a certain income level to keep us in, like for non-EU spouses? Do we need to apply for citizenship and give up our European passport in the process? My children think they are English."	RASIM
The assistant minister for multicultural affairs, Craig Laundry	The assistant minister for multicultural affairs, Craig Laundry, has assured LNP member George Christensen that no Syrian refugees would be settled in his region of Mackay after the outspoken backbencher complained about the unemployment rate there	European politician
LNP member George Christensen	"Given that Mrs Gilbert has repeatedly stated that she wants to see some of the 3,500 refugees that may be settled in Queensland come to the Mackay region, I ask Mr Gilbert to be straight with Mackay people and state his position," Christensen said. "In his reply to me Mr Laundry clearly stated: 'Sarina is not currently a designated settlement location' and 'decisions on settlement locations are still being finalised, however the locations are expected to align with those where settlement service providers are already operating.'	European politician
Labor candidate, Frank Gilbert	Gilbert said the people of Dawson were sick of Christensen's divisiveness and said he believed the community was welcoming. "People have had enough of Christensen's grandstanding," Gilbert said.	European politician
Jenny Gaylard, shopping centre manager	Jenny Gaylard, shopping centre manager, told Shorten the biggest issue in Townsville was unemployment. She said her son-in-law was unemployed, while her son was on short-term contracts with no job security. "He's 27, he would like to have a house, get married and have children, but there is no security," she said. Gaylard said she had not made up her mind which way she would vote but would assess the policies. She rejected the tag swinging voter. "I like to think I think about the policies and whether they suit the times".	Ordinary citizen
Donald Trump	"In Britain, more Muslims join ISIS than join the British army," he said in the tweet "The politicians of the UK should watch Katie Hopkins ... many people in the UK agree with me," Trump tweeted just after 6am ET.	Non-European politician

	<p>In another tweet he said: "The United Kingdom is trying hard to disguise their massive Muslim problem. Everybody is wise to what is happening, very sad! Be honest."</p> <p>On Wednesday, Trump attracted a political backlash in Britain when he claimed there were parts of London so radicalised that police officers feared for their lives</p> <p>"Thank you to respected columnist Katie Hopkins ... for her powerful writing on the UK's Muslim problems," he tweeted.</p>	
Katie Hopkins [British commentator]	<p>Hopkins, who recently left the Sun newspaper for MailOnline, said : "A quarter of the population here in the UK are right behind Donald Trump."</p> <p>Hopkins said of Ukip in her Fox interview: "60% of their membership are right behind Donald Trump as well."</p> <p>she wrote in the Sun that European gunships should be used against migrants crossing the Mediterranean and compared the people fleeing war and poverty to cockroaches.</p>	Other
Nigel Farage	<p>Nigel Farage, the leader of Ukip, a eurosceptic, anti-immigration party, has described Trump's call to ban Muslims from the US as a "political mistake too far".</p>	European politician
Capt Shawqat of the Kurdish peshmerga,	<p>"There is no such thing as Iraq any more," said Capt Shawqat of the Kurdish peshmerga, behind sandbags about a mile away from the Iraqi lines. "There never was, but now it is clear to everyone. Even to the Americans up in the hills."</p>	Expert
Another Kurdish officer, Lt Col Srud Barzinji	<p>Next to him, another Kurdish officer, Lt Col Srud Barzinji, looked through his binoculars at the Iraqi troops. "Look at them," he said. "Every military training course tells us that you must have at least 500 metres of open land between yourself and your enemy. They are at the bottom of a hill, just below them. They have no element of surprise."</p> <p>. "When they attacked al-Nasr, the Americans were firing artillery from the mountain [about 30 miles behind]," said Barzinji. "They were very precise shells, guided in by cameras, and they still couldn't take it. They fled after a few hours."</p> <p>"The ones we think are Isis, we will send straight to Irbil," said Barzinji</p> <p>"Most of them, like these people, were caught up in it. But we need to check them out."</p> <p>"We are military officers and we don't speak poorly of our colleagues. But look at what's been achieved. And look at the job ahead."</p>	Expert
Another Peshmerga soldier	<p>"We don't see them during the day," said another Peshmerga soldier, of the Isis members confronting both sides. "Even when they mortar us, it is hard to know where they come from. They move around at night: they have dug tunnels, and they have laid bombs. All around us were bombs when we came into this village. It will be like this all the way to Mosul. Our friends can't do this by themselves, and they know that," he said, referring to the Iraqi army.</p> <p>"The difference is, we believe in what we are fighting for. We believe in this cause. We have principles and we have values. We will not stop until we get this done."</p>	Expert
One 22-year old	<p>"I'll tell you what it is like in there," said one 22-year old-who had walked to Makhmour from near Mosul. "It is so confused. My father</p>	RASIM

	is in Isis. He joined them because he has three wives and he could not afford to pay for them all," the man said, adding that his father had joined the terror group to benefit from the stipend it pays its members. "It was financial for him, but it made our life hell."	
Issam	A second man, Issam, 22, said his brother had joined the terror group and had tried to recruit him. "I said no and he did not force me, but he became ideological. Communities are very tired. They are ruthless. If they catch you smoking once, they will warn you," he said inhaling a cigarette. "If they catch you a second time, you get the leather," he added, lifting his shirt to show faint scars.	RASIM
David Thomas, chief executive of Barratt Developments [homebuilder]	David Thomas, chief executive of Barratt Developments, said: "We would much prefer that the UK stays within the EU. We have a significant part of our labour force, particularly within the London market, coming from continental Europe - the free movement of labour in the European market is a positive from our point of view." A vote to leave the EU would mean "even more pressure in terms of skills shortages", he argued. "If you ask any housebuilder what their main challenge is, they say it's labour availability." "It wouldn't be unusual to find 10-plus nationalities on a London construction site, and dual language signs," he said.	Expert
Mott MacDonald's chairman, Keith Howells [UK engineering firm]	Mott MacDonald's chairman, Keith Howells, said: "We would face quite a significant skills shortage if we opt out [of the EU]. We employ quite a number of EU nationals. A lot of young people have come here from Greece, Spain and Italy, got masters degrees and put themselves on the local market. What's the impact going to be on them? We're all in the dark."	Expert
Steve Turner of the Homebuilders Federation	Steve Turner of the Homebuilders Federation said: "Because the industry is reliant on labour from the EU, in the event of Brexit we would be pushing the government hard for a quota system ... Considering that housing is such a priority for the government, we would anticipate that the government would listen to our concerns."	Expert
Syrian public	75% of Syrians believe a political solution stands the best chance of ending the crisis - while 25% say that military action is the way forward - according to a new poll. , 60% of Syrians feel the influence of Isis (Islamic State) in the country has decreased over the last six months.	RASIM
ORB International [Syrian pollsters]	ORB said the wish to see a negotiated end to the conflict had been reflected in focus groups it has conducted in Aleppo, Idlib and Hassakeh and with recent refugees from the Isis-held areas of Raqqa and Deir el Zor (conducted in southern Turkey). Western media and governments were "fixated" with Isis and following a strategy to "degrade" it, ORB said. "But with the exception of areas Isis controls or have attacked recently, the general perception across Syria is that the group's influence has decreased over the past six months. "Though the narrative in the west is that they have been hit hard by falling oil prices and continued airstrikes, when individuals from Isis-held areas are asked, opinion is more divided over whether their reported economic problems are reality. "We have seen that they have halved salaries for fighters, and sometimes they are paid late," said a man from Raqqa. "However, I don't think they are having economic problems because they have taken over more oil wells and they are increasing..taxes".	Other

	It describes itself as "a market leader in high quality research in fragile and conflict environments"	
Norbert Hofer of the anti-immigrant, Eurosceptic Freedom party	<p>Hofer wrote: "Dear friends, I thank you for your fantastic support. Of course today I am sad. I would have liked to have watched out for you as president of our wonderful country."</p> <p>Hofer urged his supporters not to be discouraged but to see the campaign as "an investment in the future".</p> <p>In contrast Hofer, whose cultivated, smooth-talking image has led to him being hailed "the friendly face" of the Freedom party, has said "Islam has no place in Austria" and warned if he was elected he would not hesitate to dissolve the government if it did not act against immigration.</p>	European politician
Muhannad Mohamad	"Today they will choose the direction Austria will go in possibly for the next decades," he said.	RASIM
The Italian navy	"due to overcrowding and instability caused by the high number of people on board", the Italian navy said in a statement.	Expert
Flavio di Giacomo, a spokesman for the International Organisation for Migration (IOM).	<p>"It is a miracle," said Flavio di Giacomo, a spokesman for the International Organisation for Migration (IOM). "You would expect them to save the people on the deck. But if they've saved 500 people, that means they've saved even the people who were inside. And that is very impressive."</p> <p>"Libya is also perceived as more dangerous than it was in 2014," said di Giacomo.</p> <p>"We are talking to migrants, and people coming from east Africa seem to know that Libya is now very dangerous," said di Giacomo. "So if they can, they are trying to come through Egypt."</p> <p>"But there might be other reasons," said Di Giacomo. "It is much more complicated for fishing boats to depart - whereas the rubber boats you can inflate on the beach. This give you much more flexibility, and allow you to change the date of departure and the departure points much more easily."</p>	European politician
Ibrahim Mbalo	<p>Ibrahim Mbalo, a Gambian who was one of just 28 survivors when a shipwreck claimed the lives of around 800 people last April, has described how passengers pull each other down when the water rushes below decks, since many cannot swim and need something to hold onto in order to stay buoyant.</p> <p>"Someone grabbed my trousers because they couldn't swim, so I had to remove my trousers [to get free]," said Mbalo. "I was underwater for three or four minutes."</p>	RASIM
The IOM	More than 6,000 lives have been saved since Monday, 11,000 since the start of the month, and 39,000 since the start of the year, according to the IOM.	European politician
Other European politicians, including David Cameron	Other European politicians, including David Cameron, have suggested sending asylum seekers straight back to Libya -	European politician
Hasan	<p>"Here it is a big dream. I think all the refugees there, in Greece, maybe in Macedonia and Greece, deserve the right to come here and stay here. Not specifically here, I mean a safe country like Italy," he said.</p> <p>Hasan said he had felt compelled to leave Syria with his wife and two-year-old son for many reasons, but that his call to join military service was the final impetus before his family's departure.</p>	RASIM

	<p>"I did not want to kill anyone. I'm an engineer, not a soldier. I'm interested in my work. So I must escape from Syria at that time," he said. "I hope that I can find a new future for us, suitable for us, suitable for our situation, especially for our family."</p> <p>. "This is the seventh interview today," he said.</p>	
a Vatican-sponsored charity complex, Sant'Egidio	Sant'Egidio said the families had been chosen because their paperwork was ready, they wanted to aid families seeking asylum, and because, as Syrians, they were clearly fleeing war.	NGO
Daniela Pompei, who heads refugee services at Sant'Egidio	<p>Daniela Pompei, who heads refugee services at Sant'Egidio, said religion was not an issue in the face of the humanitarian crisis.</p> <p>"The need for language is a primary necessity, because it is necessary for communication, for relationships, for a life," said Pompei. "The knowledge of language is a key to enter the world."</p>	NGO
One asylum seeker	as one asylum seeker living in Italy - who asked not to be named - said, there are few if any services for new refugees.	RASIM
Many refugees and aid agencies	Many refugees and aid agencies have expressed frustration at the long waiting times many face in Italy - some wait up to two years - as well as bans on seeking employment.	RASIMs + NGO's
An official at Sant'Egidio	An official at Sant'Egidio said the first step towards integration would be teaching the new arrivals Italian.	NGO
Giancarlo Perego, the manager of a church-affiliated refugee charity	Giancarlo Perego, the manager of a church-affiliated refugee charity, said that about 23,000 of a total of 105,000 refugees in Italy were now being housed in church facilities across 200 Catholic dioceses.	NGO
One shop worker	"Those 12 are fortunate. It's not right for the others, but I am for welcoming people," said one shop worker, referring to the thousands of others of refugees who also risk their lives to reach European shores. "Poor people, I'm in favour of helping people," she added.	Ordinary citizen
A bar worker	A bar worker described the atmosphere in Rome as "a bit angry". He said people in Trastevere were not against the 12 chosen by the pontiff, but a host of other problems in Italy were not being addressed. "The problem is not those who are hosted, but Italy," he said.	Ordinary citizen
The former British prime minister, now the UN special envoy for education Gordon Brown	<p>The former British prime minister, now the UN special envoy for education, told the Davos economic summit that the current market turmoil should not be used as an excuse for inaction.</p> <p>He said: "Whatever the difficulties in financial markets and whatever difficulties countries have with their individual aid budgets, we have to come together in the face of this great humanitarian crisis."</p> <p>said there were now 60 million displaced people around the world, 20 million of them refugees. "Syria is at the epicentre with the fastest growing problem - 12 million displaced persons, 4 million of them refugees, 2 million of them children."</p> <p>The former prime minister said that within a year the number of Syrian refugee children would swell to close to 2.5 million, and that \$750m (£530m) was needed to fund an extra 1m school places.</p> <p>He added that \$500m had already been raised from a variety of sources, including the EU and the World Bank, but an additional \$250m was needed by 4 February, when the UK will host an</p>	European politician

	<p>international conference on the refugee crisis in London. "Without action now, these young Syrians will become a lost generation."</p> <p>Brown added that young Syrians had to be given hope. "There is no solution to the exodus to Europe without an expansion of education."</p>	
Jim Yong-kim	<p>Jim Yong-kim, the president of the World Bank, said the refugee problem had intensified and he had been asked by the UN chief, Ban Ki-moon, to rethink the humanitarian response to the crisis so that emergency assistance formed part of a long-term development plan.</p> <p>Speaking to the Guardian in Davos, Jim said the bill for refugees was soaring and a new approach was needed. "People are attached to staying where they are but there has to be hope of finding work.</p> <p>"We have to build up the productive capacity of countries with large numbers of refugees. We have to make it attractive to stay in these countries."</p>	Expert
Justine Greening, the UK's international development secretary	<p>She said: "Billions of euros can be spent on failure or they can be put it into a constructive, positive response which meets what the refugees really want - education and a job."</p>	European politician
Trump	<p>"There is no drought," he said.</p> <p>Trump accused state officials of denying water to farmers so they can send it out to sea "to protect a certain kind of three-inch fish."</p> <p>"We're going to solve your water problem. You have a water problem that is so insane. It is ridiculous where they're taking the water and shoving it out to sea," Trump said.</p>	Non-European politician
A senior source in Brussels	<p>according to a senior source in Brussels, "has to adapt his position to reality" on the welfare row. "All the legal experts say this is not feasible," the source said. "Everyone we consult tells us the same thing. This is the most critical point. There will be no deal next week."</p> <p>February is an option," said the senior source. "But it doesn't need to be done then. The timing is in the hands of the British. They have to decide this, not us."</p>	European politician
The Polish prime minister	<p>the Polish prime minister said Warsaw did not "see eye to eye" with the UK over plans to restrict access to in-work benefits.</p>	European politician
Donald Tusk, the president of the European council	<p>Tusk told the Guardian last week that Cameron wanted to force a quick overall agreement at next week's summit. Tusk also warned the prime minister of the "very, very clear" risks of failure.</p>	European politician
<u>Angela Merkel</u> , chancellor of Germany,	<p><u>Angela Merkel</u>, chancellor of Germany, then called Cameron and told him a quick deal next week was not achievable.</p>	European politician
The Vote Leave campaign	<p>The Vote Leave campaign has accused David Cameron of scaremongering, saying border security arrangements with France have "nothing to do with our EU membership".</p>	European politician
The current French interior minister, Bernard Cazeneuve	<p>The current French interior minister, Bernard Cazeneuve, hinted on Monday that France would give two years' notice to end the arrangement if Britain voted to leave: "It is obvious that leaving the EU will always result in countermeasures," he said on Monday.</p>	European politician

the outspoken mayor of Calais, newspaper Le Monde, former ministers, and the French national commission on human rights	been the outspoken mayor of Calais, newspaper Le Monde, former ministers, and the French national commission on human rights, who argue that this "one-sided tangle of treaties" in contradiction of EU law has led to France "becoming the police arm of British migration policy".	European politician
Rob Whiteman, the former head of the UK Border Agency,	Rob Whiteman, the former head of the UK Border Agency, set out the background: "I think at the time the French felt there would be an upside for them, in that if it was clear that people could not easily get to Britain it would stop Sangatte building up again. The camp was closed. But history has shown that not to be the case. The French authorities still have a huge amount of pressure on their side. And now the Jungle, as it is called, has developed. So there is not much upside for the French." Whiteman says UK asylum claims fell from 80,000 a year in 2003 to 30,000 a year now as a result of the arrangements	European politician
the French government,	now says that even more refugees and migrants would head for the French Channel ports if they thought it was easier get into Britain	European politician
Frans Timmermans, the vice-president of the European commission	Frans Timmermans, the vice-president of the European commission, said he had written to the Polish government warning that recent alterations to the workings of Poland's highest court posed "a systemic risk to the rule of law". Timmermans said he was "dispassionate and legal" and that the commission had a duty to uphold the rule of law. "The European Union is built on common values enshrined in the treaties," he said. "Making sure the rule of law is observed is a collective responsibility of all EU institutions and all member states."	European politician
But Poland's justice minister, Zbigniew Ziobro	But Poland's justice minister, Zbigniew Ziobro, claimed the commission was using the rule of law issue to force Poland to "take tens of thousands of refugees and migrants ". "The commission intervenes when it is convenient for the commission," he said, accusing Brussels of blackmailing Poland to force the country to take more than the 7,600 Syrian migrants agreed. "This confirms that the European commission has been influenced by [Poland's] political opposition to interfere in the internal affairs of a sovereign state," he said.	European politician
Parliamentary spokesman Rafal Bochenek	Parliamentary spokesman Rafal Bochenek said Poland could solve its constitutional crisis without support or pressure from Brussels. The government's goal is "to end the dispute over the constitutional court as soon as possible", he said, adding that a revised law might be adopted in July at the latest.	European politician
the head of PiS, Jaroslaw Kaczynski	the head of PiS, Jaroslaw Kaczynski, condemned the EU action as a "made up" procedure. Speaking to pro-government Do Rzeczy, he said the decision "can be challenged in the court of justice of the European Union at any moment".	Expert
Ian Duncan Smith	The senior Conservative, a former party leader who resigned from Cameron's cabinet in March, claimed to have identified two lies in two sentences spoken by the prime minister on ITV's Good Morning Britain. Duncan Smith said the prime minister was wrong to say there was a legal right to send people home if they did not have a job and that EU migrants were entitled to jobseeker's allowance after three months of living in the UK.	European politician

David Cameron, the prime minister	<p>Cameron told the programme on Friday that he had negotiated a deal with the EU so that when people came to the UK to work they had to go home if they did not find a job and they did not get unemployment benefit when they arrived.</p> <p>"Wrecking our economy by coming out of the single market and hitting businesses and jobs, that is a terrible way of trying to deal with the issue," the prime minister said</p> <p>In response, Cameron insisted he had genuine fears about leaving the EU and believed it was necessary to campaign with political rivals, as the issue was much bigger than one party.</p> <p>He insisted it was possible to meet the challenge of dealing with migration from within the EU, and appealed to viewers not to gamble the futures of their children and grandchildren on a "roll of the dice" by leaving the EU.</p> <p>"The way to meet that challenge must not be to leave the single market, harm our economy, hurt jobs and damage our country. We have got to find the right way of dealing with the movement of people, not the wrong way," he said.</p>	European politician
Vote Leave	<p>Vote Leave suggested that jobless EU migrants should be deported, saying a consequence of the failure to do so has been a stark rise in homelessness.</p> <p>"The truth is that for as long as we are a member of the European Union we are powerless to control the number of people coming to this country. And yesterday's damning home affairs report shows conclusively that even if EU migrants commit serious crimes, the government is unable to remove them.</p> <p>"On his claims about benefits, this is the worst kind of gesture politics. I know, because I was in charge of the department responsible for this area. EU migrants are legally entitled to unemployment benefits after three months in the country - and as to the deal to address this after the referendum, the British people shouldn't hold their breath."</p>	European politician
Michael Gove, the justice secretary, and Boris Johnson, the former London mayor	<p>Michael Gove, the justice secretary, and Boris Johnson, the former London mayor, have suggested that Cameron's failure to hit his target of bringing down immigration to tens of thousands a year, not hundreds of thousands, was "corrosive of public trust".</p>	European politician
The Tory former deputy prime minister Michael Heseltine	<p>The Tory former deputy prime minister Michael Heseltine accused Johnson of behaving "irresponsibly [and] recklessly" and making "preposterous, obscene political remarks".</p>	European politician
Ken Clarke, a Tory former chancellor and home secretary, said	<p>Ken Clarke, a Tory former chancellor and home secretary, said Johnson was not serious and just a nicer version of Donald Trump, while the Lib Dem former deputy prime minister Nick Clegg said earlier on Friday that the former London mayor was like "Trump with a thesaurus".</p>	European politician
David Franzoni, who wrote the script	<p>"He's like a Shakespeare," Franzoni said. "He's a character who has enormous talent and worth to his society and his people, and obviously resonates today. Those people are always worth exploring."</p> <p>"It's a very exciting project - and obviously challenging," Franzoni said. "There are a lot of reasons we're making a product like this right now. I think it's a world that needs to be spoken to; Rumi is</p>	Creative industry

	<p>hugely popular in the United States. I think it gives him a face and a story."</p> <p>"We're trying to invent and resurrect a character at the same time because there is so much missing in the shadow of history, and some of it is idealised so you have to go back and find the human being who became a saint, because we can't write about a saint," said Franzoni.</p> <p>. "The greatness of Rumi, so much of it came out of that unpredictability and being challenged," said Franzoni.</p> <p>Franzoni said the film would probably include a prologue of Rumi's flight from his birthplace, a situation he said had parallels with modern times. The Mongol invasions bore some semblance to the rampage of extremists in the Middle East today, and the ensuing flight of civilians, he said.</p> <p>Franzoni said he hoped the audience would be able to identify with the poet. "What's fascinating is where did this all come from? It's the 21st century and we're rolling in it and embracing it. If we position ourselves carefully, [we can say] now we're going to tell you where something you love came from," he said.</p> <p>"I think it's obvious why people love his poetry. There's a line about Lawrence of Arabia when they ask him why he likes the desert, and he says 'because it's clean'. There's something profoundly 'gettable' about Rumi. You get it. And not only do you get it but it involves you."</p>	
Stephen Joel Brown, a producer on the Rumi film	This is the level of casting that we're talking about," said Brown	Creative industry
Nicola Sturgeon	"Take it down," Nicola said	European politician
Boris Johnson	"take back control".	European politician
Daryll Delgado, the research and stakeholder engagement programme manager at labour rights non-profit Verité South East Asia	<p>"Some come from very dire situations, and migrate for work in order to survive," says Daryll Delgado, the research and stakeholder engagement programme manager at labour rights non-profit Verité South East Asia. "Many of them leave their families, sell their lands or borrow money to finance the cost of migration for work."</p> <p>Many workers lack proper documentation and the conditions of stay are dependent on their employers or sponsors, explains Delgado.</p> <p>"They are not as free to move around or mingle with society, they cannot easily change jobs even if the conditions are untenable [...] they cannot easily refuse the terms of the job given to them, they cannot advocate for better conditions, they usually don't have access to grievance mechanisms, they cannot join unions. [Plus] there are other barriers, such as language, culture, and gender which also adds to their vulnerability."</p> <p>, Delgado says suppliers must invest time and resources in the ethical recruitment and fair hiring of migrant workers. "[Then] they should take full control of the whole recruitment and hiring process, conduct due diligence of their labour suppliers, provide workers decent working and living conditions, give them access to communication and grievance mechanisms, protect them from</p>	NGO

	discrimination, and let them enjoy their basic rights to freedom of movement and association."	
Torben Venning, project director of Borneo Child Aid	Torben Venning, project director of Borneo Child Aid, says the organisation has managed to get the main plantation companies in Malaysia involved in building schools and funding education for children.	NGO
A number of Syrian children	have written an open letter urging the home secretary to "take our friends out of danger". They say they will never forget the "horrific months" spent in northern France or the friends they have left behind	RASIM
Unicef's UK deputy executive director, Lily Caprani	Unicef's UK deputy executive director, Lily Caprani, said: "The government has said that unaccompanied children should be brought to the UK if they have family here, yet these children's cases are moving far too slowly. It's time for the government to turn its promise into a reality now, and get these children to their families. "The children in Calais are the nearest and most visible cases of children who are fleeing conflict and making dangerous journeys in search of safety, yet have a legal right to live in safety with their families in the UK. "I've met some of the unaccompanied children in Calais and have seen the terrible conditions they are living in. By taking immediate action for these children, the government can take a crucial first step to show it is serious about its recent commitments to refugee children."	NGO
Labour's leader, Jeremy Corbyn	Corybn said: "Many people in Britain are concerned about immigration and their local communities. Surely what communities need are practical solutions like the migrant impact fund set up by Gordon Brown, when he was prime minister, to deal with the extra pressure on housing, schools and hospitals. Will you now concede that it was a mistake to abolish that fund, and will you work with us to reinstate it as a matter of urgency to give support to those communities that are facing problems [with] school places, and doctors' surgeries?"	European politician
David Cameron	The prime minister said he would work with Labour and other parties to address the concerns of voters, but stressed that leaving the EU was not the right way to deal with unhappiness about immigration. Cameron added: "In answer to the question about employment agencies that only advertise for overseas workers - we are looking at that to see if we can, and, we have announced this already, to see if we can ban that practice because we don't believe that is right. "Of course, the answer to so many of these questions is actually to make sure we are training, educating and employing British people and getting them the qualifications they need to take on the jobs that our economy is creating. "In terms of funds to help communities impacted by migration, we have a pledge in our manifesto, which we are looking forward to bringing forward, which [is] actually a controlled migration fund to make sure we put money into communities where there are pressures. Because, of course, there are some pressures and we do need to address them, and I'm happy we will be able to work on a cross-party basis to do that."	European politician

	Decisions to cut public spending in the UK budget do have an impact, through Barnett, on Scotland," Cameron replied. "To anyone who says these warnings could be wrong or inaccurate - there were warnings about the oil price before the Scottish referendum. It turned out actually to be worse than the experts warned."	
the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights' founder, Rami Abdelrahman	Six of this weekend's casualties were from the same family, said the observatory's founder, Rami Abdelrahman. "I sent our activists to hospital there, we have video [of the corpses], but we haven't published it because there are children [involved]," he said.	NGO
Human Rights Watch	"EU officials should recognise that their red light for refugees to enter the EU gives Turkey a green light to close its border, exacting a heavy price on war-ravaged asylum seekers with nowhere else to go," Human Rights Watch said after a previous round of border shootings in March.	NGO
A senior Turkish official	A senior Turkish official said Turkey was investigating the latest allegations of shootings but was "unable to independently verify the claims". The official added: "Turkey provides humanitarian assistance to displaced persons in northern Syria and follows an open-door policy, which means we admit refugees whose lives are under threat."	European politician
Amnesty and Human Rights Watch	Amnesty and Human Rights Watch allege that Turkey has deported some Syrians back to northern Syria, where Isis, Syrian rebels, the Syrian government, an al-Qaida franchise and Kurdish forces are all fighting for territory	NGO
MIA	"Sorry I'm not doin' Afropunk," MIA tweeted on 20 June. "I've been told to stay in my lane. Ha, there is no lane for 65 million refugees who's lanes are blown up! #nolanes"	Creative industry
Azealia Banks	Leave MIA the f-ck alone. You guys are idiots and have COMPLETELY missed the point of what she's trying to tell you. THIS IS A BLACK PERSON. Sri Lankans/Indians are BLACK. U guys keep for getting that black is not something we share as an ethnicity it's something we share as a GLOBAL STRUGGLE ... the LIBERAL MEDIA has its d-ck so far down you sheeples throats that you can't even understand what she's saying. SHES TELLING YOU THAT HER PEOPLE ARE SUFFERING JUST AS OURS ARE. LEAVE MAYA THE F-CK ALONE AND LET HER DO HER PERFORMANCE. FOR F-CK'S SAKE.	Creative industry
Singer Beth Gibbons	"We have far more in common than which divides us."	Creative industry
Boris Johnson	Boris could be prime minister inside 18 months. "This is the most difficult decision I have ever had to make," he sobbed.	European politician
The prime minister, David Cameron	"It is a fact that our economy will be weaker if we leave and stronger if we stay," a shirt-sleeved Cameron told supporters in Birmingham.	European politician
Groden Brown, former prime minister	This is not the Britain I know, this is not the Britain I love. The Britain I know is better than the Britain of these debates, of insults, of posters," he said. "The Britain I know is a Britain of Jo Cox. The Britain? where people are tolerant - and not prejudiced and where people hate."	European politician
The Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn	The Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn, who spoke at a separate event in London on Wednesday, agreed with Brown that the tone of the campaign had been divisive, adding: "The Farage poster of the Syrian refugees was just the pits." "They raise issues of poverty, they raise issues of housing, they raise issues of health; and yes they raise issues of immigration, all these issues are raised; but if you have a rational discussion with people,	European politician

	as I try to do, and don't do it with rancour, you don't do with personal abuse, then you get a hearing."	
Boris Johnson	Boris Johnson, heading the final push for the Vote Leave campaign, insisted his side was "on the verge of victory". Urging voters to turn out in great numbers, he warned: "This will not come again."	European politician
Raneem Barakat	"Music, these days, is like a painkiller," says Raneem Barakat, a singer in the orchestra's choir. The 24-year-old regularly braves bombs and snipers on the roads on her two-hour journey to Damascus to study and perform. "You have to take the risk. When I sing it hypnotises me; I leave reality."	RASIM
Damon Albarn	"It blew me away," Albarn tells me, "Young people would start their evening in Damascus, go to Beirut for the night and then come back to Damascus to chill out," he says. "The call to prayer when you are on the top of the mountain in the early morning in Damascus just leaves you speechless." "homogenous shadow from the Middle East moving slowly towards us". "I just felt: 'What can I do?' And so he decided to get the Syrian National Orchestra back together, "Blues Brothers style". "I want people who see these concerts to experience the humanity of this homogenous shadow which they feel so threatened by." he says.	Creative industry
Mahmood	"Everyone will tell you of moments where there was an explosion in front of you and you are lucky to be alive; this happened to me twice," he says. "But the worst thing was seeing Syrians dying in the street." "The worst thing for me was leaving my parents, brothers and friends. I had a good job, a good life. It was a challenge to learn to live without everything; a human being is not just a person, we are our connections too," says Mahmood. "Music helped me not to go crazy," he says. "Even in the centre I would practise for hours. My teacher and I would sit on Skype, playing to each other, discussing technical points and new things." They shot at my university bus. Another friend got her head blown off. Some of my friends were kidnapped, 'disappeared' "When you hear [the orchestra's] big sound again it is strange and touching," he says. "It takes you back to Damascus, to our memories of this sound ... in some moments, as we were playing, I could smell Damascus."	RASIM
Munir Bu Kolthoum	"I started losing my mind," he says. "I had to get away. They blew up eight tonnes of TNT close to where I live; if it wasn't for a red traffic light, I would have been dead." "They shot at my university bus. Another friend got her head blown off. Some of my friends were kidnapped, 'disappeared'; we still don't know what happened to them." says "music was my only therapy". He has told his stories through his music which has brought him a wider audience among displaced Syrians around the world. "Half my fan base are refugees now," he says. "I am mad proud of my people. They are surviving all these odds and proving how talented and brave they are."	RASIM

	"As kids they were our musical heroes." "The media tries to show us as savages. As terrorists. But there are different sides to every country in the world; there is the musician and the graphic designer and the coffee-shop worker. We need to show the normal side."	
Violinist Sousan Eskandar	Violinist Sousan Eskandar, who now lives in Germany, is adamant they will make it work. "It doesn't matter if we all have different opinions, we have to find a way to bring them together. Maybe you make good points, maybe I do; [but] we can become one." "When there is violence in the world, you have to make more beautiful music, and make it more intensely."	RASIM
Bill Shorten	"All this goes to the prime minister's credibility ... The prime minister has serious questions about his credibility," Shorten said. "That is not leadership. That is weak."	Non-European Politician
Malcolm Turnbull	But Turnbull launched a counterattack on Shorten's leadership authority, accusing him being "owned" by the union movement, and repeating the claim that a Labor government would be part of a "chaotic" and "unstable" alliance with the Greens.	Politician
Labor senator Kim Carr	Labor senator Kim Carr seized on a report in Guardian Australia about Liberal brochures claiming that 31,000 jobs would be "lost" in Victoria, based on analysis by the Institute of Public Affairs that the thinktank itself says is of "low to medium reliability" and "highly conjectural". Carr said the brochure was an example of "fear mongering, lies and deceit". "The dodgy Liberal ads are based on a document from the Institute of Public Affairs (IPA) however the numbers are so flimsy even the right-wing IPA repudiates them," Carr said.	Non-European Politician
Hilary Clinton	As Clinton swiftly pointed out in her statement in response to the court's paralysis, it shows "us all just how high the stakes are in this election".	Non-European Politician