

Appendix 1 - Categories: literature and examples

Category	Lit quote	Examples	Ref
Vitriolic hate			
Epithets	"epithets in order to stigmatize and insult... vilify and wound"		Brink, David O. "Millian principles, freedom of expression, and hate speech." <i>Legal Theory</i> 7.2 (2001): 119-157.
	"symbols of derision to vilify on the basis of group membership"		Brink, David O. "Millian principles, freedom of expression, and hate speech." <i>Legal Theory</i> 7.2 (2001): 119-157.
Incitement to violence			'What is hate speech, why does it matter and how can we tackle it?' , Stop Funding Hate. Accessed 8th March 2022. https://stopfundinghate.info/about-the-campaign/what-is-hate-speech/
Incitement to discrimination			'What is hate speech, why does it matter and how can we tackle it?' , Stop Funding Hate. Accessed 8th March 2022. https://stopfundinghate.info/about-the-campaign/what-is-hate-speech/

		the extreme right wing group, the Australia First Party employs the language of love and care for white Australian identity and culture to justify its policies of zero-net migration and the abolition of multiculturalism.	Sorial, Sarah. "Hate speech and distorted communication: Rethinking the limits of incitement." <i>Law and Philosophy</i> 34.3 (2015): 299-324.
Threat' construction			
Demonisation	"Presenting the target group (often but not always a minority) in overwhelmingly negative terms – characterising them as inherently malicious, dishonest or threatening."		'What is hate speech, why does it matter and how can we tackle it?', Stop Funding Hate. Accessed 8th March 2022. https://stopfundinghate.info/about-the-campaign/what-is-hate-speech/
	Asylum seekers and migrants have been linked to rape, murder, disease, theft, and almost every conceivable crime and misdemeanour in front-page articles and two-page spreads, in cartoons, editorials, even on the sports pages of almost all the UK's national tabloid newspapers.		'UN rights chief urges UK to curb tabloid hate speech, end 'decades of abuse' targeting migrants', UN News, (24th April 2015). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://news.un.org/en/story/2015/04/496892-un-rights-chief-urges-uk-curb-tabloid-hate-speech-end-decades-abuse-targeting
	The convenient scapegoating and demonising of immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees has left new arrival communities particularly vulnerable as a result of relentless 'othering' and dehumanising		Clarke, Amy L. 'Lost Voices': The targeted hostility experienced by new arrivals. Diss. University of Leicester, 2020.

	Each article was assessed against five metrics: 1) Association with negative aspects of behaviour		Hanif, Faisal. 'British Media's Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)'. Centre for Media Monitoring. (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. 'https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf
		asylum seekers are frequently labelled by right-wing media and politicians as 'cheats' who make 'bogus claims', and more recently they have been depicted a threat to national security and potential terrorists despite a lack of evidence to genuinely support these concerns.	Clarke, Amy L. 'Lost Voices': The targeted hostility experienced by new arrivals. Diss. University of Leicester, 2020.
		the portrayal of Polish migrants as 'scroungers'	Lumsden, Karen, Jackie Goode, and Alex Black. "I will not be thrown out of the country because I'm an immigrant': Eastern European migrants' responses to hate crime in a semi-rural context in the wake of Brexit." <i>Sociological Research Online</i> 24.2 (2019): 167-184.
		the persistent association of Muslim refugee with jihadist terrorism	Müller, Tobias. "Constructing cultural borders: depictions of Muslim refugees in British and German media." <i>Zeitschrift Für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft</i> 12.1 (2018): 263-277.
		the creation of a moral panic over the construction of Muslims as refusing to social distance, particularly during religious festivals	Poole, Elizabeth, and Milly Williamson. "Disrupting or reconfiguring racist narratives about Muslims? The

			representation of British Muslims during the Covid crisis." Journalism (2021): 14648849211030129.
		The Guardian frequently chooses to focus on illegal activities, such as their legal battles, previous convictions and offences, their support for 'terrorist group with links to Osama bin Laden', or smuggling of refugees across the English Channel, which despite being described as the 'crime of compassion', still situate refugees in the realm of wrongdoing and law-breaking. 'Future suicide bomber,' 'an invasion under way,' refugee babies seen as 'illegal maritime arrivals,' 'African exodus,' and resettlement programmes that work as 'cover for terrorists' are a snapshot of the metaphors used by the newspaper that frequently link 'migrants' to a security threat.	Połośka-Kimunguyi, Ewa. "Echoes of Empire: racism and historical amnesia in the British media coverage of migration." Humanities and Social Sciences Communications 9.1 (2022): 1-13.
		the two newspapers converge to a large degree on the image of Arab, Muslim, and North African 'migrants,' with The Times openly describing them as a threat to law and order, and with The Guardian frequently choosing to publish stories that, although protect 'migrants' and defend their rights, they simultaneously see them as thematically connected to the same domain of law and order.	Połośka-Kimunguyi, Ewa. "Echoes of Empire: racism and historical amnesia in the British media coverage of migration." Humanities and Social Sciences Communications 9.1 (2022): 1-13.

		<p>The portrayal of Romanians as fraudsters, criminals, beggars, pickpockets, and poor... For example, one headline from Daily Mail stated: "Romanian arrested at seven times rate of Britons: 800 held in London last month" (Chris Greenwood, 13 December 2013). In the article, the British journalist also mentioned numbers to strengthen the arguments, such as "for every 1,000 Romanians in London 183 are arrested". The strategy of discourse is based on differentiation, because the journalist from Daily Mail compares the delinquency rate of Britons with the number of Romanian people arrested in London. The argument is not very well constructed, as we can identify the fallacy of a false analogy between the two nations. The British journalist also quotes an official source in order to give fallacious legitimacy to the argument: "Police say that for every 1,000 Romanians in London, 183 are arrested. This compared to 26 Britons per 1,000."</p>	<p>Cheregi, Bianca-Florentina. "The media construction of identity in anti-immigration discourses: the case of Romanian immigrants in Great Britain." <i>Romanian Journal of Journalism & Communication/Revista Romana de Jurnalism si Comunicare-RRJC</i> 10.1 (2015).</p>
	<p>Migrants are generally under-represented and shown as delinquents or criminals. Although, media framing differs based on specific migrant groups the discourse is focusing on, immigration coverage is often negative and conflict-centred.</p>		<p>Eberl, Jakob-Moritz, et al. "The European media discourse on immigration and its effects: A literature review." <i>Annals of the International Communication Association</i> 42.3 (2018): 207-223.</p>

		As Deputy Prime Minister (in 1995-7) I came to three stark conclusions. The first is that a very large number of those seeking asylum are cheats, quite deliberately making bogus claims and false allegations in order to get into this country ... The second was that the demands on scarce housing and medical care made by dishonest “economic migrants” (were) likely to stretch the patience of voters ... The third was that the problem of phoney asylum seekers was likely to grow as the impression spread that this country was a soft touch. Above all, I could see no reason why my most vulnerable constituents – honest and hard working people who paid their taxes all their lives – should be pushed to the back of the queue for housing and hospital treatment by dubious asylum seekers’	Grayson, John, ‘The shameful ‘Go Home’ campaign’, Institute of Race Relations, (22nd August 2013). Accessed 28th March 2022. https://irr.org.uk/article/the-shameful-go-home-campaign/
"Accusations in a mirror"	"Claiming that the target group is conspiring to attack the wider population, and poses an existential threat."		‘What is hate speech, why does it matter and how can we tackle it?’, Stop Funding Hate. Accessed 8th March 2022. https://stopfundinghate.info/about-the-campaign/what-is-hate-speech/
		This narrative of a clandestine plot to take over Europe adds to the suspicion around British Muslim citizens and their loyalties toward Britain. Questioning this loyalty (as well as that of other migrants) is not new. In 1990, Conservative MP Norman Tebbit most famously claimed that South Asians and Caribbeans failed the cricket test (a euphemism for British loyalty) by not supporting	Hanif, Faisal, ‘British Media’s Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)’, Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf

		England in international cricket matches. Tippet told the British politician, writer and journalist Woodrow Wyatt that he didn't think certain immigrants would assimilate "because some of them insist on sticking to their own culture, like the Muslims in Bradford and so forth, and they are extremely dangerous.	
Construction of 'symbolic threat'	The competition can occur over "tangible (e.g., housing or labor market issues) as well as intangible goods (e.g., religious or language issues)". Therefore, most of the academic studies explaining opposition to immigration and immigrants retain two main threats: the realistic threat, which has an economic and security dimension, and the symbolic threat, which is about national identity, values and clash of cultures."		'Explaining the Main Driver of Anti-Migrant Attitudes in Europe', Eyes on Europe, (30th November 2020). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://www.eyes-on-europe.eu/explaining-the-main-drivers-of-anti-immigration-attitudes-in-europe/
	'Threat' narratives are overwhelmingly utilised in media and official discourses surrounding immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees and this appears to have genuine consequences for public attitudes towards new arrivals.		Clarke, Amy L. 'Lost Voices': The targeted hostility experienced by new arrivals. Diss. University of Leicester, 2020.
	"the British press are more likely to frame refugees as potential threats to culture, welfare, security and the health system than any other country in Europe."		Dempster, Helen, and Karen Hargrave. "Understanding public attitudes towards refugees and migrants." London: Overseas Development Institute & Chatham House (2017).

		the incorrect suggestion that the UK has no-go zones for white people, controlled by Muslim populations	Hiddique, Saroon, 'MailOnline mocked for suggesting Didsbury is 'no go' area for white people', The Guardian, (6th June 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/jun/06/mailonline-mocked-for-suggesting-didsbury-is-no-go-area-for-white-people
		Particularly significant in the context of anti-migrant rhetoric was the trope that Muslims and Islam are different and a threat to Britain and the West.	Hanif, Faisal, 'British Media's Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)', Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf
		Other examples include telling Black students to "calm down" or implying that they are "too emotional".	Sue, Derald Wing. Microaggressions in everyday life: Race, gender, and sexual orientation. John Wiley & Sons, 2010. p.5

		<p>A story published in the Times Newspaper on May 06 2019, alleged that a bus driver in Paris, France had refused to allow a woman onto the vehicle because of her short skirt. The story was framed around the idea that the unnamed driver was “motivated by the hard-line beliefs that increasingly hold sway among North African immigrants.” This was pitched against the quotes from the girls’ father referencing the “Enlightenment”. The driver’s supposed beliefs (on the say-so of one girl) were used to frame the narrative of a France being run on the whims of those with extremist beliefs. Speaking through his union and later his lawyer, the driver denied the version of events given by the girls’ father Kamel Bencheikh (a French-Algerian poet and polemicist accused of Islamophobia. He alleged that despite stopping for the two girls, they continued to smoke in front of the doors of his bus at which point he drove off. Despite these details being known at the time, there was no inclusion of this rebuttal; in the piece nor was a follow-up story to clarify that the accusations against the driver, particularly him having “hard-line beliefs” were unfounded.</p>	<p>Hanif, Faisal, ‘British Media’s Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)’, Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf</p>
		<p>This narrative of a clandestine plot to take over Europe adds to the suspicion around British Muslim citizens and their loyalties toward Britain. Questioning this loyalty (as well as that of other migrants) is not new. In 1990, Conservative MP Norman Tebbit most famously claimed that South Asians and Caribbeans failed the cricket test (a</p>	<p>Hanif, Faisal, ‘British Media’s Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)’, Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploa</p>

		euphemism for British loyalty) by not supporting England in international cricket matches. Tibbet told the British politician, writer and journalist Woodrow Wyatt that he didn't think certain immigrants would assimilate "because some of them insist on sticking to their own culture, like the Muslims in Bradford and so forth, and they are extremely dangerous.	ds/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf
		A headline in Christian Today reading, "The European Church is sleeping while Islam is creeping in, says African Bishop": "in a Christian Today article on the supposed invasion of Muslims, an African Bishop in Rome, Andrew Nkea Fuanya speaks of Christianity crumbling under an "Islamic Europe." This gives credence to the myth of 'Eurabia'; a conspiracy theory whose adherents claim, among other things, that Europe is heading towards "a total change... which will be more and more Islamicised and will become a political satellite of the Arab and Muslim world."	Hanif, Faisal, 'British Media's Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)', Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. 'https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf
	Suggestion that migrants are unpatriotic	Bogus story that circulated on Facebook about a Tescos that refused to sell poppies because a Muslim member of staff was offended.	Mike Ainsworth
		Focus on veiled women as a symbol of oppression.	Chris Allen, interview.

		<p>images of male migrants often showed them standing in long queues, jumping out of lorries or climbing over/through fences</p>	<p>Chris Hart, written feedback.</p>
	<p>It has obsessed over birth rates, dangerously echoing conspiracy theories that the white British population is about to be usurped.</p>		<p>Robinson, Alexander, 'Muslim population in parts of Europe could TRIPLE by 2050: New study predicts migration and birth rates will lead to dramatic rise in numbers across continent' in Mail Online (29th November 2017). Accessed online, 20th May 2022. https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5130617/Study-Europes-Muslim-population-grow-migration-not.html;</p> <p>'Fortress Europe: As Islam Expands, Should the US Imitate the 'Christian' Continent?' in <i>Christianity Today</i>, (3rd June 2021). Accessed online, 16th May 2022. https://www.christianitytoday.com/news/2021/june/europe-muslim-population-christian-islamophobia-austria.html;</p> <p>and Betham, Martin, 'Migration to be main driver of UK population growth as birth rate slows' in Evening Standard (13th January 2022). Accessed online, 20th May 2022. https://www.standard.co.uk/news/uk/migration-uk-population-growth-birth-rate-slows-b976439.html</p>

<p>Construction of 'realistic threat'</p>	<p>The competition can occur over “tangible (e.g., housing or labor market issues) as well as intangible goods (e.g., religious or language issues)”. Therefore, most of the academic studies explaining opposition to immigration and immigrants retain two main threats: the realistic threat, which has an economic and security dimension, and the symbolic threat, which is about national identity, values and clash of cultures.”</p>		<p>'Explaining the Main Driver of Anti-Migrant Attitudes in Europe'. Eyes on Europe. (30th November 2020). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://www.eyes-on-europe.eu/explaining-the-main-drivers-of-anti-immigration-attitudes-in-europe/</p>
	<p>'Threat' narratives are overwhelmingly utilised in media and official discourses surrounding immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees and this appears to have genuine consequences for public attitudes towards new arrivals.</p>		<p>Clarke, Amy L. 'Lost Voices': The targeted hostility experienced by new arrivals. Diss. University of Leicester, 2020.</p>
	<p>“the British press are more likely to frame refugees as potential threats to culture, welfare, security and the health system than any other country in Europe.”</p>		<p>Dempster, Helen, and Karen Hargrave. "Understanding public attitudes towards refugees and migrants." London: Overseas Development Institute & Chatham House (2017).</p>
	<p>Richardson found that anti-immigration discourse predominantly makes negative assumptions about the effects of immigration on the host country's resources, thus portraying them a realistic threat.</p>	<p>Correspondingly, the results of a Transatlantic Trends survey found that people in the UK are more likely than comparable Western nations to say that immigrants are a 'problem' who take work away from citizens, drive down wages and place too much pressure on the NHS and the state education system.</p>	<p>Clarke, Amy L. 'Lost Voices': The targeted hostility experienced by new arrivals. Diss. University of Leicester, 2020.</p>

		Others referenced being stereotyped, media manipulation over the idea of taking jobs, and scapegoating of Polish people.	Lumsden, Karen, Jackie Goode, and Alex Black. "I will not be thrown out of the country because I'm an immigrant": Eastern European migrants' responses to hate crime in a semi-rural context in the wake of Brexit." <i>Sociological Research Online</i> 24.2 (2019): 167-184.
		If you're sitting in a crumbling, concrete, Soviet-era slum in Sofia, what's not to like about Britain? Put yourself in their knock-off Nike trainers. Would you rather beg in the streets of Bucharest or sell the Big Issue in Bristol, while living rent-free in a modern council house and receiving an exciting range of welfare payments for your extended family? (Richard Littlejohn, 28 January 2013, Daily Mail)	Cheregi, Bianca-Florentina. "The media construction of identity in anti-immigration discourses: the case of Romanian immigrants in Great Britain." <i>Romanian Journal of Journalism & Communication/Revista Romana de Jurnalism si Comunicare-RRJC</i> 10.1 (2015).
		Blunkett, in a radio interview in April 2002, before local elections where the BNP was fielding candidates in former riot areas, 'accused asylum seekers' children of 'swamping' British schools'.	Grayson, John. 'The shameful 'Go Home' campaign'. Institute of Race Relations. (22nd August 2013). Accessed 28th March 2022. https://irr.org.uk/article/the-shameful-go-home-campaign/
	Association of migrant groups with paedophilia, child abuse and / or grooming.		Bill Howe, interview.
	Association with sexual assault or harassment of European women, related to the use of the term 'rapugees' by far right commentators.		Faisal Hanif, interview. Bill Howe, interview.

		Suggestion that migrants are getting homes when ex-servicemen are not.	Mike Ainsworth, interview.
	Suggestions that migrants are diseased	That they are bringing new (or old) diseases to the UK and should be screened and / or quarantined on arrival.	Chris Hart, written feedback.
	Suggestions that migrants are given preferential treatment or allowed to queue jump	That migrant are given housing before others.	Chris Hart, written feedback.
Construction of in-groups and out-groups	The 'group-threat theory' is central to understandings of hate in society. "In this theory, when an out-group enters a country (in this case, migrants), the in-group (the hosting country's citizens) tends to perceive them as a threat to their resources, because they will compete for them.		'Explaining the Main Driver of Anti-Migrant Attitudes in Europe'. Eyes on Europe, (30th November 2020), Accessed 8th March 2022. https://www.eyes-on-europe.eu/explaining-the-main-drivers-of-anti-immigration-attitudes-in-europe/

	<p>an expression that can be considered hateful (be it conveyed through text, images or sound) sends two types of messages. The first is to the targeted group and functions to dehumanize and diminish members assigned to this group. It often sounds more or less like: "Don't be fooled into thinking you are welcome here. [...] You are not wanted, and you and your families will be shunned, excluded, beaten, and driven out, whenever we can get away with it. We may have to keep a low profile right now. But don't get too comfortable. [...] Be afraid."</p> <p>Another function of hate speech is to let others with similar views know they are not alone, to reinforce a sense of an in-group that is (purportedly) under threat. A typical message sent this time to like-minded individuals can read like: "We know some of you agree that these people are not wanted here. We know that some of you feel that they are dirty (or dangerous or criminal or terrorist). Know now that you are not alone. [...] There are enough of us around to make sure these people are not welcome. There are enough of us around to draw</p>		<p>Ghanea, Nazila. "Intersectionality and the spectrum of racist hate speech: Proposals to the un committee on the elimination of racial discrimination." Hum. Rts. Q. 35 (2013): 935.</p>
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	attention to what these people are really like”		
	Negative news also increases outgroup-related perceived health risk, outgroup anxiety and outgroup threat less in ethnically-homogeneous contexts. Overall, negative portrayals of immigrants generate physiological and emotional hostility toward the outgroup, and ingroup favoritism in economic transactions.		Conzo, Pierluigi, et al. "Negative media portrayals of immigrants increase ingroup favoritism and hostile physiological and emotional reactions." <i>Scientific reports</i> 11.1 (2021): 1-11.
	the “we-group”, which appeals to the national solidarity and union of British citizens... The strategies of positive self-presentation (British people) and negative other- presentation (Romanian and Bulgaria migrants) generate a polarization between the two entities.		Cheregi, Bianca-Florentina. "The media construction of identity in anti-immigration discourses: the case of Romanian immigrants in Great Britain." <i>Romanian Journal of Journalism & Communication/Revista Romana de Jurnalism si Comunicare-RRJC</i> 10.1 (2015).
		Dog-whistles - Indeed, recent focus on concepts like ‘dog-whistles’ (“a phrase that may sound innocuous to some people, but which also communicates something more insidious either to a subset of the audience or outside of the audience’s conscious awareness”) show that what may appear - and in fact be - hateful to one group might be entirely “innocuous” to another.	Olasov, Ian, 'Offensive political dog whistles: you know them when you hear them. Or do you?'. (7th November 2016), Vice. www.vox.com/the-big-idea/2016/11/7/13549154/dog-whistles-campaign-racism
		Particularly significant in the context of anti-migrant rhetoric was the trope that Muslims	Hanif, Faisal, 'British Media's Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)', Centre for Media Monitoring,

		and Islam are different and a threat to Britain and the West.	https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022.
		Their work argued that news media looked to “reassert hegemonic understandings of race, migration, and welfare in the following ways:	Poole, Elizabeth, and Milly Williamson. "Disrupting or reconfiguring racist narratives about Muslims? The representation of British Muslims during the Covid crisis." <i>Journalism</i> (2021): 14648849211030129.
		after a decade of uncontrolled immigration under Labour, and with the economy wheezing and spluttering, the last thing we want is another surge of migrants - (Stephen Glover, 16 January 2013, Daily Mail)	Cheregi, Bianca-Florentina. "The media construction of identity in anti-immigration discourses: the case of Romanian immigrants in Great Britain." <i>Romanian Journal of Journalism & Communication/Revista Romana de Jurnalism si Comunicare-RRJC</i> 10.1 (2015).
		the extreme right wing group, the Australia First Party employs the language of love and care for white Australian identity and culture to justify its policies of zero-net migration and the abolition of multiculturalism.	Sorial, Sarah. "Hate speech and distorted communication: Rethinking the limits of incitement." <i>Law and Philosophy</i> 34.3 (2015): 299-324.
Assumption of incompatibility	Ideologies based on assumed incompatibility between national/ethnic or religious groups present a danger to inclusive societies		'2018 Annual Report', European Commission on Racism and Intolerance, (2018). Accessed 8th March 2022.

		<p>in the UK 18.1% of people support banning all Muslim migration, 4-6% higher than it is for other ethnic and religious groups.</p>	<p>Hanif, Faisal, 'British Media's Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)', Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf</p>
		<p>Their work argued that news media looked to “reassert hegemonic understandings of race, migration, and welfare in the following ways:</p>	<p>Poole, Elizabeth, and Milly Williamson. "Disrupting or reconfiguring racist narratives about Muslims? The representation of British Muslims during the Covid crisis." Journalism (2021): 14648849211030129.</p>
		<p>A story published in the Times Newspaper on May 06 2019, alleged that a bus driver in Paris, France had refused to allow a woman onto the vehicle because of her short skirt. The story was framed around the idea that the unnamed driver was “motivated by the hard-line beliefs that increasingly hold sway among North African immigrants.” This was pitched against the quotes from the girls’ father referencing the “Enlightenment”. The driver’s supposed beliefs (on the say-so of one girl) were used to frame the narrative of a France being run on the whims of those with extremist beliefs. Speaking through his union and later his lawyer, the driver denied the version of events given by the girls’ father Kamel Bencheikh (a French-Algerian poet and polemicist accused of Islamophobia. He alleged that despite</p>	<p>Hanif, Faisal, 'British Media's Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)', Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf</p>

		stopping for the two girls, they continued to smoke in front of the doors of his bus at which point he drove off. Despite these details being known at the time, there was no inclusion of this rebuttal; in the piece nor was a follow-up story to clarify that the accusations against the driver, particularly him having “hard-line beliefs” were unfounded.	
		A headline in Christian Today reading, “The European Church is sleeping while Islam is creeping in, says African Bishop”: “in a Christian Today article on the supposed invasion of Muslims, an African Bishop in Rome, Andrew Nkea Fuanya speaks of Christianity crumbling under an “Islamic Europe.” This gives credence to the myth of ‘Eurabia’; a conspiracy theory whose adherents claim, among other things, that Europe is heading towards “a total change... which will be more and more Islamicised and will become a political satellite of the Arab and Muslim world.”	Hanif, Faisal, 'British Media's Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)', Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. 'https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf
		the extreme right wing group, the Australia First Party employs the language of love and care for white Australian identity and culture to justify its policies of zero-net migration and the abolition of multiculturalism.	Sorial, Sarah. "Hate speech and distorted communication: Rethinking the limits of incitement." Law and Philosophy 34.3 (2015): 299-324.
Moral panic		the ‘massification’ of Muslims, particularly in discussions of burials, 2) the creation of a moral panic over the construction of Muslims as refusing to social distance, particularly during religious festivals	Poole, Elizabeth, and Milly Williamson. "Disrupting or reconfiguring racist narratives about Muslims? The representation of British Muslims during the Covid crisis." Journalism (2021): 14648849211030129.

		<p>The Times creates 'migrants,' especially those from the Middle East and Africa, as a threat to law and order. Mobilizing language of invasion, The Times uses metaphors such as 'mass exodus,' 'desperate exodus,' 'potential stampede,' 'mob,' and 'aggression.' 'Migrants' are frequently portrayed as people who bring violence over to their host countries, as if violence did not already exist in the host countries. The newspaper reports on 'rioting migrants' and 'huge crowds of refugees' who 'battled with the outmanned and ill-equipped local police forces' on their way to Europe. 'Furious scenes' were reported to have occurred at the Hungarian and Serbian borders, as 'migrants turned on each other.'</p>	<p>Połośka-Kimunguyi, Ewa. "Echoes of Empire: racism and historical amnesia in the British media coverage of migration." <i>Humanities and Social Sciences Communications</i> 9.1 (2022): 1-13.</p>
		<p>the creation of a moral panic over the construction of Muslims as refusing to social distance, particularly during religious festivals</p>	<p>Poole, Elizabeth, and Milly Williamson. "Disrupting or reconfiguring racist narratives about Muslims? The representation of British Muslims during the Covid crisis." <i>Journalism</i> (2021): 14648849211030129.</p>
		<p>Headlines such as the one found in The Economist in an article on animal slaughter, religion and Brexit, uses the harsher sounding verb 'butchering beasts' to refer to religious slaughter whilst complimenting it with a shop front advertising Halal meat. Even though the issue being discussed relates to Muslims and Jews alike, only images relating to Muslims are used as a way to single them out as the problem.... The use of the term halal to evoke negativity is not only found in the</p>	<p>Hanif, Faisal, 'British Media's Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)', Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf</p>

		<p>national press but also in local and regional papers. The Newcastle Chronicle website places an image of a shop front window with a halal sign on it in an article which about a so-called 'problem' street in which many white residents speak of it having become run down and crime ridden.¹⁹⁵ Interestingly, other residents are proud of street and speak of its diversity and vibrancy. Responding to the article on social media, one reader, Chris Jackson sums up the problem with the imagery well. He calls the article blatantly racist and says: 'The chronicle is trying to do it subtly as ever, so the morons will see the word 'Halal' and blame the immigrants.</p>	
	Association of migrant groups with child marriage and FGM.		Bill Howe, interview.
	References to 'lefty lawyers' defending migrants and undermining British values and democracy.		Bill Howe, interview.
	Tropes around poor animal welfare, e.g. focus on Halal meat as animal cruelty.		Mike Ainsworth, interview.
Portrayal of migration in terminology of war		The Times discussed NATO warships as a solution to 'stem the flow of refugees coming into Europe.'	Połośka-Kimunguyi, Ewa. "Echoes of Empire: racism and historical amnesia in the British media coverage of migration." <i>Humanities and Social Sciences Communications</i> 9.1 (2022): 1-13.
		Mobilizing language of invasion, The Times uses metaphors such as 'mass exodus,' 'desperate	Połośka-Kimunguyi, Ewa. "Echoes of Empire: racism and historical amnesia

		exodus,"potential stampede,' 'mob,' and 'aggression.'	in the British media coverage of migration." Humanities and Social Sciences Communications 9.1 (2022): 1-13.
	Focus particularly on young men, to tap into the "fighting age men" trope used by politicians and news reporters to imply that migrants are 'invaders' and / or a sexual threat.	Portrayals of migrants as only single men of colour.	Bill Howe, interview.
Misogyny in reporting	Two types of misogyny in 'threat' reporting: 1) migrants presented as a threat to white women; 2) generalisations about oppression of women from migrant group.	Irrelevant emphasis on ethnicity or nationality when reporting sexual assault. Generalisations about women being 'forced' to wear headscarves.	Conversation with Stop Funding Hate (20th April 2022)
Fakes, inaccuracy or misrepresentation			
Toxic misinformation	"False stories linking the target group to violent, criminal or morally corrupt behaviour."		'What is hate speech, why does it matter and how can we tackle it?' , Stop Funding Hate. Accessed 8th March 2022.
	The Press must take care not to publish inaccurate, misleading or distorted information or images, including headlines not supported by the text.		'Editor's Code of Practice' , Independent Press Standards Organisation. Accessed 8th March 2022.

	<p>CAN states that advertisers should: "Endeavour to avoid advertising any media which commercialise inaccuracies, distort facts, and do not clearly label opinion and conjecture, harass individuals, peddle rumours, hoaxes and conspiracy for commercial gain, or which promote misinformation about climate science or public health.</p>		<p>‘Manifesto - disinformation’, Conscious Advertising Network, (October 2021), Accessed 8th March 2022.</p>
		<p>the persistent association of Muslim refugee with jihadist terrorism</p>	<p>Müller, Tobias. "Constructing cultural borders: depictions of Muslim refugees in British and German media." Zeitschrift Für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft 12.1 (2018): 263-277.</p>
		<p>the incorrect suggestion that the UK has no-go zones for white people, controlled by Muslim populations</p>	<p>Hiddique, Saroon, ‘MailOnline mocked for suggesting Didsbury is ‘no go’ area for white people’, The Guardian, (6th June 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022.</p>
		<p>Misrepresentation of Muslim belief, behaviour or identity</p>	<p>Hanif, Faisal, ‘British Media’s Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)’, Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022.</p>

		A headline in Christian Today reading, “The European Church is sleeping while Islam is creeping in, says African Bishop”: “in a Christian Today article on the supposed invasion of Muslims, an African Bishop in Rome, Andrew Nkea Fuanya speaks of Christianity crumbling under an “Islamic Europe.” This gives credence to the myth of ‘Eurabia’; a conspiracy theory whose adherents claim, among other things, that Europe is heading towards “a total change... which will be more and more Islamicised and will become a political satellite of the Arab and Muslim world.”	Hanif, Faisal. 'British Media's Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)', Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf
Assumptions of harm	Richardson found that anti-immigration discourse predominantly makes negative assumptions about the effects of immigration on the host country's resources, thus portraying them a realistic threat.		Clarke, Amy L. 'Lost Voices': The targeted hostility experienced by new arrivals. Diss. University of Leicester, 2020.
		the media's reporting on migration focussed almost exclusively on the thousands of people fleeing their home countries as a result of conflict or other contextual factors and the effects of these flows of people on transit and destination countries; as a result, the media also contributed to the perception that migration was “a problem” rather than a multi-faceted global phenomenon with a variety of permutations, challenges and opportunities.	How does the media on both side of the Mediterranean report on migration? - A study by journalists, for journalists and policy-makers', Ethical Journalism Network, (2017). https://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Media_Migration_17_country_chapters_ICMPD.pdf

	<p>Sue explains that, despite McCain's responses appearing "admirable" at first glance, it contained hidden microaggressions in implicitly condoning the notion that being an Arab was untrustworthy and in contrast to the American "citizen" and "decent family man".</p>	<p>During the 2008 presidential campaign, for example, Republican Senator John McCain appeared at a political rally taking questions from his supporters. One elderly White woman, speaking into a handheld microphone, haltingly stated, "I don't trust Obama. He's an Arab."... McCain shook his head, quickly took the microphone, and said, "No ma'am. He's a decent family man, a citizen that I just happen to have disagreements with. He's not!"</p>	<p>Sue, Derald Wing. <i>Microaggressions in everyday life: Race, gender, and sexual orientation</i>. John Wiley & Sons, 2010. p.5</p>
		<p>the two newspapers converge to a large degree on the image of Arab, Muslim, and North African 'migrants,' with The Times openly describing them as a threat to law and order, and with The Guardian frequently choosing to publish stories that, although protect 'migrants' and defend their rights, they simultaneously see them as thematically connected to the same domain of law and order.</p>	<p>Połośska-Kimunguyi, Ewa. "Echoes of Empire: racism and historical amnesia in the British media coverage of migration." <i>Humanities and Social Sciences Communications</i> 9.1 (2022): 1-13.</p>
		<p>after a decade of uncontrolled immigration under Labour, and with the economy wheezing and spluttering, the last thing we want is another surge of migrants - (Stephen Glover, 16 January 2013, Daily Mail)</p>	<p>Cheregi, Bianca-Florentina. "The media construction of identity in anti-immigration discourses: the case of Romanian immigrants in Great Britain." <i>Romanian Journal of Journalism & Communication/Revista Romana de Jurnalism si Comunicare-RRJC</i> 10.1 (2015).</p>

		If you're sitting in a crumbling, concrete, Soviet-era slum in Sofia, what's not to like about Britain? Put yourself in their knock-off Nike trainers. Would you rather beg in the streets of Bucharest or sell the Big Issue in Bristol, while living rent-free in a modern council house and receiving an exciting range of welfare payments for your extended family? (Richard Littlejohn, 28 January 2013, Daily Mail)	Cheregi, Bianca-Florentina. "The media construction of identity in anti-immigration discourses: the case of Romanian immigrants in Great Britain." <i>Romanian Journal of Journalism & Communication/Revista Romana de Jurnalism si Comunicare-RRJC</i> 10.1 (2015).
		the extreme right wing group, the Australia First Party employs the language of love and care for white Australian identity and culture to justify its policies of zero-net migration and the abolition of multiculturalism.	Sorial, Sarah. "Hate speech and distorted communication: Rethinking the limits of incitement." <i>Law and Philosophy</i> 34.3 (2015): 299-324.
Unevidenced claims		Furthermore, asylum seekers are frequently labelled by right-wing media and politicians as 'cheats' who make 'bogus claims', and more recently they have been depicted a threat to national security and potential terrorists despite a lack of evidence to genuinely support these concerns.	Clarke, Amy L. 'Lost Voices': The targeted hostility experienced by new arrivals. Diss. University of Leicester, 2020.
	It has published unevidenced and uncontested figures on migrant numbers	Farage warns 100k migrants to arrive unless Brexit is completed	Walters, Jack, "Rwanda about to rebound' Farage warns 100k migrants to arrive unless Brexit is completed', in <i>Daily Express</i> , (5th May 2022). Accessed online, 20th May 2022. https://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/1605527/nigel-farage-brexit-ukip-rwanda-immigration-channel-crossing-latest-news-ont

Distortion of facts	CAN states that advertisers should: "Endeavour to avoid advertising any media which commercialise inaccuracies, distort facts, and do not clearly label opinion and conjecture, harass individuals, peddle rumours, hoaxes and conspiracy for commercial gain, or which promote misinformation about climate science or public health.		‘Manifesto - disinformation’. Conscious Advertising Network, (October 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022.
		In 1990, Conservative MP Norman Tebbit most famously claimed that South Asians and Caribbeans failed the cricket test (a euphemism for British loyalty) by not supporting England in international cricket matches. Tibbet told the British politician, writer and journalist Woodrow Wyatt that he didn't think certain immigrants would assimilate "because some of them insist on sticking to their own culture, like the Muslims in Bradford and so forth, and they are extremely dangerous.	Hanif, Faisal, 'British Media's Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)', Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022.
		Sarah Baxter, a former columnist in the Sunday Times made a sweeping statement claiming, "Here is Britain, Muslim girls' sexual organs are being cut.	Hanif, Faisal, 'British Media's Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)', Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022.

		<p>The portrayal of Romanians as fraudsters, criminals, beggars, pickpockets, and poor... For example, one headline from Daily Mail stated: "Romanian arrested at seven times rate of Britons: 800 held in London last month" (Chris Greenwood, 13 December 2013). In the article, the British journalist also mentioned numbers to strengthen the arguments, such as "for every 1,000 Romanians in London 183 are arrested". The strategy of discourse is based on differentiation, because the journalist from Daily Mail compares the delinquency rate of Britons with the number of Romanian people arrested in London. The argument is not very well constructed, as we can identify the fallacy of a false analogy between the two nations. The British journalist also quotes an official source in order to give fallacious legitimacy to the argument: "Police say that for every 1,000 Romanians in London, 183 are arrested. This compared to 26 Britons per 1,000."</p>	<p>Cheregi, Bianca-Florentina. "The media construction of identity in anti-immigration discourses: the case of Romanian immigrants in Great Britain." <i>Romanian Journal of Journalism & Communication/Revista Romana de Jurnalism si Comunicare-RRJC</i> 10.1 (2015).</p>
	<p>Suggestion of large numbers of migrants continually arriving in a short time frame,</p>	<p>for example '400 migrants arrive every day'.</p>	
<p>Irrelevance</p>	<p>Details of an individual's race, colour, religion, gender identity, sexual orientation, physical or mental illness or disability must be avoided unless genuinely relevant to the story.</p>		<p>'Editor's Code of Practice', Independent Press Standards Organisation. Accessed 8th March 2022. https://www.ipso.co.uk/editors-code-of-practice/</p>
	<p>The Press must take care not to publish inaccurate, misleading or distorted</p>		<p>'Editor's Code of Practice', Independent Press Standards</p>

	information or images, including headlines not supported by the text.		Organisation. Accessed 8th March 2022.
	Camden Principles recognise importance of - Avoiding unnecessary references to race, religion, gender and other group characteristics that may promote intolerance.		'Camden Principles on Freedom of Expression and Equality', Article 19, (30th April 2009). Accessed 8th March 2022.
		Misleading or irrelevant headlines or imagery on coverage on Muslims and Islam	Hanif, Faisal, 'British Media's Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)', Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022.
Misuse of terms / miscategorisation	"Oftentimes, these terms are used interchangeably with little consensus about who they include and, when used so loosely, they tend to "conflate issues of immigration status, race, ethnicity and asylum"."		Clarke, Amy L. 'Lost Voices': The targeted hostility experienced by new arrivals. Diss. University of Leicester, 2020.
	The paper argues that media representations turn refugees into 'migrants'		Połośńska-Kimunguyi, Ewa. "Echoes of Empire: racism and historical amnesia in the British media coverage of migration." Humanities and Social

			Sciences Communications 9.1 (2022): 1-13.
		The UN has written on why the term 'illegal immigrant' should not be used: because it is inaccurate (legally incorrect, misleading, ignores international legal obligations, violates principle of due process, inaccurate to describe people arriving at borders), harmful (dehumanising, criminalising, prevents fair debate, threatens solidarity and costs lives, undermines social cohesion) and against Europe's values (discriminatory, oppressive, outdated).	'Why 'undocumented' or 'irregaular'?', United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees, (2018). https://www.unhcr.org/cy/wp-content/uploads/sites/41/2018/09/TerminologyLeaflet_EN_PICUM.pdf
		In 2015, media outlets around the world printed photos of those arriving on the shores of Greece having crossed the Mediterranean. The vast majority of those making the crossing were from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq, countries known for escalating conflict and political unrest, suggesting that they would be recognised as refugees. Yet, several European leaders dismissed them as "economic migrants" taking advantage of the conflicts, complicating their asylum claims.	Crawley, Heaven, and Dimitris Skleparis. "Refugees, migrants, neither, both: categorical fetishism and the politics of bounding in Europe's 'migration crisis'." <i>Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies</i> 44.1 (2018): 48-64.
	"Media discourses commonly use such terms [migrant and asylum seeker] interchangeably, particularly in tabloid newspaper discussions of asylum."	When asylum applications in European countries increased sharply in 2015 and 2016, media coverage often used the term 'migrants' pejoratively to refer to economic migrants in contrast to 'genuine refugees'.	Anderson, Bridget, and Scott Blinder. "Who counts as a migrant? Definitions and their consequences." Briefing, The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford (2011).
		The tragic but brutal truth: They are not REAL refugees! Despite drowning tragedy thousands of economic migrants are still trying to reach Europe."	Reid, Sue. 'The tragic but brutal truth: They are not REAL refugees! Despite drowning tragedy thousands of

		The article went on to argue, “the explosion in migration is completely out of control.”	economic migrants are still trying to reach Europe’ , Daily Mail, (28 May 2016). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3613603/The-tragic-brutal-truth-not-REAL-refugees-Despite-drowning-tragedy-thousands-economic-migrants-trying-reach-Europe.html
	Terminology remains a salient issue	with ‘migration’ generally acting as “a synonym for irregular migration.”	‘How does the media on both side of the Mediterranean report on migration? - A study by journalists, for journalists and policy-makers’ , Ethical Journalism Network, (2017). https://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Media_Migration_17_country_chapters_ICMPD.pdf
		the Daily Mail repeatedly referred to ‘illegal migrants’ in relation to push backs against channel crossings. The term ‘illegal migrants’ is not only condemned by the UN; it also fails to recognise that the majority of those making channel crossings were asylum seekers protected under the 1951 Refugee Convention regardless of the legality of entry.	E.g. Robinson, Martin, ‘Church of England says there is no evidence of asylum seekers faking conversions to Christianity to abuse the immigration system and avoid being sent back to Muslim countries as MPs demand probe’, The Daily Mail Online, (17th November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10211397/Priti-Patel-accuses-church-helping-asylum-seekers-game-converting-Christianity.html

	<p>By re-classifying refugees as 'migrants,' both newspapers suggest that personal choice and circumstances are the basis for mobility (rather than war and persecution, two aspects clearly out of refugees' control). As such, the newspapers effectively delegitimize refugees' claims to protection... Through these discursive choices, refugees-turned-migrants are stripped of their legal status, which would typically impose responsibility on receiving states. Instead, states can discharge their accountability for deaths and suffering at the border. Citizens of the host countries and readers of the two newspapers producing this discursive shift are encouraged to think of 'illegal migrants' as unworthy of protection.</p>	<p>This tactic, commonly used by the tabloid press (Berry et al., 2016; Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008; Vollmer and Karakayali, 2018), is widely employed by The Guardian and The Times... The Times largely dismisses the concept of 'refugees' and demands 'emergency breaks' on their entry into Britain.</p>	
		<p>Although they exercise their right to free movement granted to all EU citizens by the EU Treaty, 'Eastern Europeans' are nevertheless seen as 'migrants.'</p>	<p>Połośska-Kimunguyi, Ewa. "Echoes of Empire: racism and historical amnesia in the British media coverage of migration." Humanities and Social Sciences Communications 9.1 (2022): 1-13.</p>
<p>Failure to distinguish between comment, conjecture and fact</p>	<p>The Press, while free to editorialise and campaign, must distinguish clearly between comment, conjecture and fact.</p>		<p>'Editor's Code of Practice', Independent Press Standards Organisation. Accessed 8th March 2022.</p>

	CAN states that advertisers should: "Endeavour to avoid advertising any media which commercialise inaccuracies, distort facts, and do not clearly label opinion and conjecture, harass individuals, peddle rumours, hoaxes and conspiracy for commercial gain, or which promote misinformation about climate science or public health.		'Manifesto - disinformation'. Conscious Advertising Network, (October 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://www.consciousadnetwork.com/manifestos/disinformation.pdf
Misrepresentation		The use of the phrase 'stricter Sharia law' in the context of regimes for example banning girls from attending school, despite the fact that such policies are widely considered to violate Sharia law, by the Sunni Muslim community.	Faisal Hanif, interview.
		Labelling of ISIS as a Sunni Muslim group despite the fact that over 10,000 Sunni Muslims, including many leaders, have signed a letter to say that they do not recognise the group within Sunni Islam.	Faisal Hanif, interview.
Scapegoating	We need to think about how we're asking papers to message. For media that is interested in an honest portrayal of migration, absolutely, I don't think we should be asking them to shy away from asking honest questions, as the watchdog that they are. But they need to be sensitive to terminology... and make sure that if you're talking about migrant arrivals don't immediately pivot to the housing crisis if you know full well that the housing crisis has nothing to do with		Pia Oberoi, interview.

	those arriving. Or if you're going to make that argument, make it empirically, make it with figures that demonstrate how... Don't accept narratives that aren't right."		
Selective reporting			
Selective reporting	A number of factors such as under-resourcing of newsrooms "often results in reporting which reduces migration to its extremes."		'How does the media on both side of the Mediterranean report on migration? - A study by journalists, for journalists and policy-makers', Ethical Journalism Network, (2017). https://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Media_Migration_17_country_chapters_ICMPD.pdf
	Taking care to report in context and in a factual and sensitive manner, while ensuring that acts of discrimination are brought to the attention of the public.		'Camden Principles on Freedom of Expression and Equality', Article 19, (30th April 2009). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://www.article19.org/resources/camden-principles-freedom-expression-equality/
		the media's reporting on migration focussed almost exclusively on the thousands of people fleeing their home countries as a result of conflict or other contextual factors and the effects of these flows of people on transit and destination countries; as a result, the media also contributed to the perception that migration was "a problem" rather than a multi-faceted global phenomenon with a variety of permutations, challenges and opportunities.	'How does the media on both side of the Mediterranean report on migration? - A study by journalists, for journalists and policy-makers', Ethical Journalism Network, (2017). https://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Media_Migration_17_country_chapters_ICMPD.pdf

		Other aspects of migration, such as day-to-day realities, success stories and migration opportunities were far less reported on.	'How does the media on both side of the Mediterranean report on migration? - A study by journalists, for journalists and policy-makers', Ethical Journalism Network, (2017). https://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Media_Migration_17_country_chapters_ICMPD.pdf
		Little media attention was given to migration from the country of reporting.	'How does the media on both side of the Mediterranean report on migration? - A study by journalists, for journalists and policy-makers', Ethical Journalism Network, (2017). https://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Media_Migration_17_country_chapters_ICMPD.pdf
		It is rare for articles to quote refugees or migrants, focus on women and children or give information on migration histories or reasons for movement.	Dempster, Helen, and Karen Hargrave. "Understanding public attitudes towards refugees and migrants." London: Overseas Development Institute & Chatham House (2017).
		Headlines such as the one found in The Economist in an article on animal slaughter, religion and Brexit, uses the harsher sounding verb 'butchering beasts' to refer to religious slaughter whilst complimenting it with a shop front advertising Halal meat. Even though the issue being discussed relates to Muslims and Jews alike, only images relating to Muslims are used as a way to single them out as the problem.... The use of the term	Hanif, Faisal, 'British Media's Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)', Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf

		<p>halal to evoke negativity is not only found in the national press but also in local and regional papers. The Newcastle Chronicle website places an image of a shop front window with a halal sign on it in an article which about a so-called 'problem' street in which many white residents speak of it having become run down and crime ridden.¹⁹⁵ Interestingly, other residents are proud of street and speak of its diversity and vibrancy. Responding to the article on social media, one reader, Chris Jackson sums up the problem with the imagery well. He calls the article blatantly racist and says: 'The chronicle is trying to do it subtly as ever, so the morons will see the word 'Halal' and blame the immigrants.</p>	
	Selective reporting of government or third-party reports on migration.		Pia Oberoi, interview.
	Selective imagery.	The disproportionate use of images of Muslim women in the full face veil (said to be over 30% of images, despite less than 1% of UK Muslim population wearing the full face veil)	Chris Allen, interview.
	Lack of coverage of success stories, or of positive social, cultural or economic impacts.		Chris Hart, written feedback.
	Lack of coverage of treatment of migrants on arrival	e.g. in immigration detention centres.	Chris Hart, written feedback.
Lack of due prominence	A fair opportunity to reply to significant inaccuracies should be given, when reasonably called for.		'Editor's Code of Practice', Independent Press Standards Organisation. Accessed 8th March

			2022. https://www.ipso.co.uk/editors-code-of-practice/
	<p>Camden Principles recognise importance of - Raising awareness of the harm caused by discrimination and negative stereotyping.</p>		<p>'Camden Principles on Freedom of Expression and Equality', Article 19, (30th April 2009). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://www.article19.org/resources/camden-principles-freedom-expression-equality/</p>
	<p>Camden Principles recognise importance of - Reporting on different groups or communities and giving their members an opportunity to speak and to be heard in a way that promotes a better understanding of them, while at the same time reflecting the perspectives of those groups or communities.</p>		<p>'Camden Principles on Freedom of Expression and Equality', Article 19, (30th April 2009). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://www.article19.org/resources/camden-principles-freedom-expression-equality/</p>
	<p>Migrant voice is largely missing from the coverage. History, that could explain the causes of 'migration', the distant conflicts and Britain's role in them, is also nowhere to be found.</p>		<p>Połośńska-Kimunguyi, Ewa. "Echoes of Empire: racism and historical amnesia in the British media coverage of migration." Humanities and Social Sciences Communications 9.1 (2022): 1-13.</p>
	<p>Migrants are generally under-represented and shown as delinquents or criminals. Although, media framing differs based on specific migrant groups the discourse is focusing</p>		<p>Eberl, Jakob-Moritz, et al. "The European media discourse on immigration and its effects: A literature review." Annals of the International Communication Association 42.3 (2018): 207-223.</p>

	on, immigration coverage is often negative and conflict-centred.		
		Lack of due prominence to a Muslim voice, identity, or perspective	Hanif, Faisal, 'British Media's Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)', Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf
		It is rare for articles to quote refugees or migrants, focus on women and children or give information on migration histories or reasons for movement.	Dempster, Helen, and Karen Hargrave. "Understanding public attitudes towards refugees and migrants." London: Overseas Development Institute & Chatham House (2017).
		Women 'migrants' are almost non-existent in both newspapers' coverage.	Połośńska-Kimunguyi, Ewa. "Echoes of Empire: racism and historical amnesia in the British media coverage of migration." Humanities and Social Sciences Communications 9.1 (2022): 1-13.

		<p>A story published in the Times Newspaper on May 06 2019, alleged that a bus driver in Paris, France had refused to allow a woman onto the vehicle because of her short skirt. The story was framed around the idea that the unnamed driver was “motivated by the hard-line beliefs that increasingly hold sway among North African immigrants.” This was pitched against the quotes from the girls’ father referencing the “Enlightenment”. The driver’s supposed beliefs (on the say-so of one girl) were used to frame the narrative of a France being run on the whims of those with extremist beliefs. Speaking through his union and later his lawyer, the driver denied the version of events given by the girls’ father Kamel Bencheikh (a French-Algerian poet and polemicist accused of Islamophobia. He alleged that despite stopping for the two girls, they continued to smoke in front of the doors of his bus at which point he drove off. Despite these details being known at the time, there was no inclusion of this rebuttal; in the piece nor was a follow-up story to clarify that the accusations against the driver, particularly him having “hard-line beliefs” were unfounded.</p>	<p>Hanif, Faisal, ‘British Media’s Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)’, Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022.</p> <p>https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf</p>
	Failure to consult experts.	Failure to consult an Islamic Mufti or Scholar as the expert sources when reporting on Islamic scripture, beliefs or practices.	Faisal Hanif.
Generalisations			
Generalisation		Makes generalisations about Muslim belief or behaviour	Hanif, Faisal, ‘British Media’s Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)’,

			Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. 'https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf
		<p>In 1990, Conservative MP Norman Tebbit most famously claimed that South Asians and Caribbeans failed the cricket test (a euphemism for British loyalty) by not supporting England in international cricket matches. Tibbet told the British politician, writer and journalist Woodrow Wyatt that he didn't think certain immigrants would assimilate "because some of them insist on sticking to their own culture, like the Muslims in Bradford and so forth, and they are extremely dangerous.</p>	Hanif, Faisal, 'British Media's Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)', Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. 'https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf
		<p>Sarah Baxter, a former columnist in the Sunday Times made a sweeping statement claiming, "Here is Britain, Muslim girls' sexual organs are being cut.</p>	Hanif, Faisal, 'British Media's Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)', Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. 'https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf
Stereotyping	<p>the generally prohibited nature of overt racism and openly prejudiced behaviour has forced politicians and media representatives to engage in a much more subtle and indirect discourse but</p>		<p>Clarke, Amy L. 'Lost Voices': The targeted hostility experienced by new arrivals. Diss. University of Leicester, 2020.</p>

	that nevertheless still reproduces negative stereotypes about immigrants.		
	Being alert to the danger of discrimination or negative stereotypes of individuals and groups being furthered by the media.		'Camden Principles on Freedom of Expression and Equality', Article 19, (30th April 2009). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://www.article19.org/resources/camden-principles-freedom-expression-equality/
	Finally, the mostly negative coverage of immigration can lead to activation of stereotypical cognitions of migrant groups. When the audience is repeatedly exposed to negative media messages over time, this effect might be reinforced and, in the long run, influence perceptions of political actors and even audiences' voting behaviour.		Eberl, Jakob-Moritz, et al. "The European media discourse on immigration and its effects: A literature review." <i>Annals of the International Communication Association</i> 42.3 (2018): 207-223.
		Other examples include telling Black students to "calm down" or implying that they are "too emotional".	Sue, Derald Wing. <i>Microaggressions in everyday life: Race, gender, and sexual orientation</i> . John Wiley & Sons, 2010. p.5

		<p>A story published in the Times Newspaper on May 06 2019, alleged that a bus driver in Paris, France had refused to allow a woman onto the vehicle because of her short skirt. The story was framed around the idea that the unnamed driver was “motivated by the hard-line beliefs that increasingly hold sway among North African immigrants.” This was pitched against the quotes from the girls’ father referencing the “Enlightenment”. The driver’s supposed beliefs (on the say-so of one girl) were used to frame the narrative of a France being run on the whims of those with extremist beliefs. Speaking through his union and later his lawyer, the driver denied the version of events given by the girls’ father Kamel Bencheikh (a French-Algerian poet and polemicist accused of Islamophobia. He alleged that despite stopping for the two girls, they continued to smoke in front of the doors of his bus at which point he drove off. Despite these details being known at the time, there was no inclusion of this rebuttal; in the piece nor was a follow-up story to clarify that the accusations against the driver, particularly him having “hard-line beliefs” were unfounded.</p>	<p>Hanif, Faisal, ‘British Media’s Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)’, Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022.</p>
Dehumanisation			
Dehumanisation	<p>"Portraying the target group as subhuman – likening them to vermin, parasites or disease."</p>		<p>‘What is hate speech, why does it matter and how can we tackle it?’, Stop Funding Hate. Accessed 8th March 2022.</p>

	Asylum seekers and migrants have been linked to rape, murder, disease, theft, and almost every conceivable crime and misdemeanour in front-page articles and two-page spreads, in cartoons, editorials, even on the sports pages of almost all the UK's national tabloid newspapers.	the Sun newspaper calling migrants "cockroaches"	'UN rights chief urges UK to curb tabloid hate speech, end 'decades of abuse' targeting migrants', UN News, (24th April 2015). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://news.un.org/en/story/2015/04/496892-un-rights-chief-urges-uk-curb-tabloid-hate-speech-end-decades-abuse-targeting
	The convenient scapegoating and demonising of immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees has left new arrival communities particularly vulnerable as a result of relentless 'othering' and dehumanising		Clarke, Amy L. 'Lost Voices': The targeted hostility experienced by new arrivals. Diss. University of Leicester, 2020.
		references to 'swarms' of migrants	Berry, Mike, Inaki Garcia-Blanco, and Kerry Moore. "Press coverage of the refugee and migrant crisis in the EU: A content analysis of five European countries.". United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (2016). https://www.unhcr.org/56bb369c9.pdf
	Use of language referencing animals.	'Stampede of migrants crossing river'	Chris Hart, written feedback.
Massification	The papers identify migrants mostly in numeric terms. Numbers, not names, professions, or other human qualities, dominate the coverage.	The newspapers describe migrants as 'numerous'; they arrive in 'high numbers.' References to the scale of arrivals are explained through metaphors. Both newspapers are equally inventive, frequently applying images of natural disasters: the words 'flow,' 'wave,' 'surge,' 'catastrophe,' and 'disaster' are used to portray people's movements... The Times	Połośńska-Kimunguyi, Ewa. "Echoes of Empire: racism and historical amnesia in the British media coverage of migration." Humanities and Social Sciences Communications 9.1 (2022): 1-13.

		<p>sees the arrivals as a 'mass exodus,' 'flood' and 'invasion' and uses even fewer words denoting names and nationalities than The Guardian. 'Migrants' in The Times are overwhelmingly referred to as 'economic,' 'political,' 'undocumented,' 'illegal,' or 'displaced' people. Women 'migrants' are almost non-existent in both newspapers' coverage.</p>	
		<p>the 'massification' of Muslims, particularly in discussions of burials</p>	<p>Poole, Elizabeth, and Milly Williamson. "Disrupting or reconfiguring racist narratives about Muslims? The representation of British Muslims during the Covid crisis." <i>Journalism</i> (2021): 14648849211030129.</p>
		<p>references to 'swarms' of migrants</p>	<p>Berry, Mike, Inaki Garcia-Blanco, and Kerry Moore. "Press coverage of the refugee and migrant crisis in the EU: A content analysis of five European countries.", United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2016). https://www.unhcr.org/56bb369c9.pdf</p>
		<p>The most common modifiers identified in relation to migration were 'mass', 'net', and 'illegal'.</p>	<p>Allen, William. "A decade of immigration in the British press." COMPAS, 2016. Accessed 8th March 2022 via https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/reports/decade-immigration-british-press/</p>

		after a decade of uncontrolled immigration under Labour, and with the economy wheezing and spluttering, the last thing we want is another surge of migrants - (Stephen Glover, 16 January 2013, Daily Mail)	Cheregi, Bianca-Florentina. "The media construction of identity in anti-immigration discourses: the case of Romanian immigrants in Great Britain." Romanian Journal of Journalism & Communication/Revista Romana de Jurnalism si Comunicare-RRJC 10.1 (2015).
		References to Travellers as a 'flood' or 'incursion'.	Jenni Berlin, interview.
	You also find a lot of natural disaster language	'floods of migrants', 'tsunami of migrant' and at the more subtle end 'flow of migrants'	Chris Hart, written feedback.
Demonisation of humanitarian assistance		The home secretary, Priti Patel, was accused of fanning the flames of far-right racism and violence in a manner akin to that of the former US president Donald Trump. Four charities wrote to her, warning that her words have "harmful consequences", after she bragged in September 2020 about removing asylum seekers and had also spoken of "do gooders" and "lefty lawyers" offering support to the same people.	https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2022/feb/02/tories-far-right-rhetoric
Intersectional prejudice			
Intersectional prejudice	Anderson and Binder state that the term migrant is often used to "conflate issues of immigration status, race, ethnicity and asylum".		Anderson, Bridget, and Scott Blinder. "Who counts as a migrant? Definitions and their consequences." Briefing, The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford (2011).

		Lumsden et al. suggest that portrayals of Eastern European migrants have borrowed from racist understandings of migration to transfer culturally accrued stigma from one group to another.	Lumsden, Karen, Jackie Goode, and Alex Black. "I will not be thrown out of the country because I'm an immigrant": Eastern European migrants' responses to hate crime in a semi-rural context in the wake of Brexit." <i>Sociological Research Online</i> 24.2 (2019): 167-184.
		Particularly significant in the context of anti-migrant rhetoric was the trope that Muslims and Islam are different and a threat to Britain and the West.	Hanif, Faisal, 'British Media's Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)', Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf
		Coverage has focused on the fact that Ukrainians are "civilised" and "look like us" in contrast to coverage on conflicts in Iraq, Afghanistan or Syria. European leaders who took a hardline on resettling Afghan refugees have indicated that they will take those from Ukraine.	Zadeh, Joe, 'The Problem with the Concept of the Good Migrant', in Vice, (11th October 2016). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://www.vice.com/en/article/5gq9qk/the-good-immigrant
		the incorrect suggestion that the UK has no-go zones for white people, controlled by Muslim populations	Hiddique, Saroon, 'MailOnline mocked for suggesting Didsbury is 'no go' area for white people', The Guardian, (6th June 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/jun/06/mailonline-mocked-for-suggesting-didsbury-is-no-go-area-for-white-people

		<p>Their work argued that news media looked to “reassert hegemonic understandings of race, migration, and welfare in the following ways [looking at portrayals of Muslims during COVID]</p>	<p>Poole, Elizabeth, and Milly Williamson. "Disrupting or reconfiguring racist narratives about Muslims? The representation of British Muslims during the Covid crisis." <i>Journalism</i> (2021): 14648849211030129.</p>
		<p>the two newspapers converge to a large degree on the image of Arab, Muslim, and North African ‘migrants,’ with The Times openly describing them as a threat to law and order, and with The Guardian frequently choosing to publish stories that, although protect ‘migrants’ and defend their rights, they simultaneously see them as thematically connected to the same domain of law and order.</p>	<p>Połośka-Kimunguyi, Ewa. "Echoes of Empire: racism and historical amnesia in the British media coverage of migration." <i>Humanities and Social Sciences Communications</i> 9.1 (2022): 1-13.</p>
		<p>Headlines such as the one found in The Economist in an article on animal slaughter, religion and Brexit, uses the harsher sounding verb ‘butchering beasts’ to refer to religious slaughter whilst complimenting it with a shop front advertising Halal meat. Even though the issue being discussed relates to Muslims and Jews alike, only images relating to Muslims are used as a way to single them out as the problem.... The use of the term halal to evoke negativity is not only found in the national press but also in local and regional papers. The Newcastle Chronicle website places an image of a shop front window with a halal sign on it in an article which about a so-called ‘problem’ street in which many white residents speak of it having become run down and crime ridden.¹⁹⁵</p>	<p>Hanif, Faisal, 'British Media's Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)', Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021), Accessed 8th March 2022. https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf</p>

		<p>Interestingly, other residents are proud of street and speak of its diversity and vibrancy. Responding to the article on social media, one reader, Chris Jackson sums up the problem with the imagery well. He calls the article blatantly racist and says: 'The chronicle is trying to do it subtly as ever, so the morons will see the word 'Halal' and blame the immigrants.</p>	
<p>Construction of 'native' and 'non-native' (regardless of migration status)</p>	<p>While some of these examples explicitly refer to migration, many instead demonstrate a suspicion of all Muslims that positions them as migrants or non-natives, regardless of actual migration status.</p>		
		<p>This narrative of a clandestine plot to take over Europe adds to the suspicion around British Muslim citizens and their loyalties toward Britain. Questioning this loyalty (as well as that of other migrants) is not new. In 1990, Conservative MP Norman Tebbit most famously claimed that South Asians and Caribbeans failed the cricket test (a euphemism for British loyalty) by not supporting England in international cricket matches. Tibbet told the British politician, writer and journalist Woodrow Wyatt that he didn't think certain immigrants would assimilate "because some of them insist on sticking to their own culture, like the Muslims in Bradford and so forth, and they are extremely dangerous.</p>	<p>Hanif, Faisal. 'British Media's Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)', Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf</p>

		<p>A headline in Christian Today reading, “The European Church is sleeping while Islam is creeping in, says African Bishop”: “in a Christian Today article on the supposed invasion of Muslims, an African Bishop in Rome, Andrew Nkea Fuanya speaks of Christianity crumbling under an “Islamic Europe.” This gives credence to the myth of ‘Eurabia’; a conspiracy theory whose adherents claim, among other things, that Europe is heading towards “a total change... which will be more and more Islamicised and will become a political satellite of the Arab and Muslim world.”</p>	<p>Hanif, Faisal, 'British Media's Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)', Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf</p>
		<p>In December 2021, New Statesman reported: “Two in five people in England and Wales from an ethnic minority background could become eligible to be deprived of their citizen status without warning.” The article explained that since 2006, the Home Secretary has had the power to strip dual nationals of their British citizenship if deemed to be “conducive to the public good”; and that since 2014, these powers have been extended to “foreign-born British citizens without dual nationality... if the government believes they are eligible for foreign citizenship.” In 2019, in the well-documented case of the former Islamic State supporter, Shamima Begum was stripped of citizenship despite being born in the UK and not possessing a foreign passport because she was considered a Bangladeshi citizen under Bangladesh's law until the age of 21. The UK government has gradually expanded its powers of</p>	<p>van de Merwe, Ben, 'Exclusive: British citizenship of six million people could be jeopardised by Home Office plans', New Statesman, (1st December 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2021/12/exclusive-british-citizenship-of-six-million-people-could-be-jeopardised-by-home-office-plans</p>

		deportation, and in doing so subtly (and concerningly) expanded the concept of 'migrant'. Begum was granted UK-citizenship at birth on the basis of her parent's immigration status: she has now been stripped of it on the same basis. These powers therefore beg the questions: how long are individuals considered migrants for? Is an individual a migrant only at the point of arrival or 10, 15, 20, or 50 years into residency in the country? Can a UK-born citizen also be a migrant?	
		David 'Blunkett conflated immigration and race when responding to the riots in Bradford with calls for citizenship classes and language lessons as though those involved were foreign. "We have norms of acceptability" he said shortly before the reports into the disturbances was released. "And those who come into our home- for that is what it is – should accept those norms just as we would have to do if we went elsewhere."	Grayson, John, 'The shameful 'Go Home' campaign', Institute of Race Relations, (22nd August 2013). Accessed 28th March 2022. https://irr.org.uk/article/the-shameful-go-home-campaign/
Prejudicial hierarchies	The concept of the 'good' migrant has long been recognised as a problematic one: Vice wrote in 2016 that through it "all immigrants are automatically deemed bad people until they somehow earn their right to be treated as humans, and to sit at the table."		Zadeh, Joe, 'The Problem with the Concept of the Good Migrant', in Vice, (11th October 2016). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://www.vice.com/en/article/5gq9qk/the-good-immigrant
		"undesirable whiteness" - For example, Rzepnikowska, Lumsden et al., and others have discussed anti-migrant media coverage of white	Clarke, Amy L. 'Lost Voices': The targeted hostility experienced by new arrivals. Diss. University of Leicester, 2020.

		populations including Polish people and Gypsies and Travellers.	
		Their work argued that news media looked to “reassert hegemonic understandings of race, migration, and welfare in the following ways:	Poole, Elizabeth, and Milly Williamson. "Disrupting or reconfiguring racist narratives about Muslims? The representation of British Muslims during the Covid crisis." <i>Journalism</i> (2021): 14648849211030129.
		a reconfiguration of 'good' and 'bad' Muslims to acknowledge their role in the NHS while continuing to construct Muslims in general as atavistic and un-British.	Poole, Elizabeth, and Milly Williamson. "Disrupting or reconfiguring racist narratives about Muslims? The representation of British Muslims during the Covid crisis." <i>Journalism</i> (2021): 14648849211030129.
		Coverage has focused on the fact that Ukrainians are “civilised” and “look like us” in contrast to coverage on conflicts in Iraq, Afghanistan or Syria. European leaders who took a hardline on resettling Afghan refugees have indicated that they will take those from Ukraine.	Zadeh, Joe. 'The Problem with the Concept of the Good Migrant', in Vice, (11th October 2016). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://www.vice.com/en/article/5gq9qk/the-good-immigrant
	Sue explains that, despite McCain's responses appearing “admirable” at first glance, it contained hidden microaggressions in implicitly condoning the notion that being an Arab was untrustworthy and in contrast to the American “citizen” and “decent family man”.	During the 2008 presidential campaign, for example, Republican Senator John McCain appeared at a political rally taking questions from his supporters. One elderly White woman, speaking into a handheld microphone, haltingly stated, “I don't trust Obama. He's an Arab.”... McCain shook his head, quickly took the microphone, and said, “No ma'am. He's a decent family man, a citizen that I just happen to have disagreements with. He's not!”	Sue, Derald Wing. <i>Microaggressions in everyday life: Race, gender, and sexual orientation.</i> John Wiley & Sons, 2010. p.5

	<p>Racism is also a system of 'moral hierarchies' that always positions whiteness at the top and blackness at the bottom of the hierarchy</p>		<p>Połośska-Kimunguyi, Ewa. "Echoes of Empire: racism and historical amnesia in the British media coverage of migration." Humanities and Social Sciences Communications 9.1 (2022): 1-13.</p>
		<p>Unlike their western counterparts, who, as 'EU citizens' are associated with intellectual capacity and portrayed in positions of responsibility and highly paid jobs, Easterners are associated with low-end manual labour. Both newspapers construct them as 'workers' and 'labourers' and discursively associate them with 'shelf-stocking', 'cleaning', 'fruit-picking' and 'farm work.'</p>	<p>Połośska-Kimunguyi, Ewa. "Echoes of Empire: racism and historical amnesia in the British media coverage of migration." Humanities and Social Sciences Communications 9.1 (2022): 1-13.</p>
	<p>Their colonial practices continue to orientalise and racialise non-Western populations and reproduce their subordinate place in a hierarchical relationship with Britain.... The construction of migrants as an inferior category that either threaten Britain or depend on it for their survival, precludes alternative political possibilities: what if media were to challenge the practices of the British state and interrogate British foreign interventions that produce human suffering, the main reason behind mass mobility? What if they questioned Britain's economic model that has historically relied on cheap and racialised workforce, which has produced</p>		<p>Połośska-Kimunguyi, Ewa. "Echoes of Empire: racism and historical amnesia in the British media coverage of migration." Humanities and Social Sciences Communications 9.1 (2022): 1-13.</p>

	<p>unprecedented levels of hardship and poverty over the years? Why not interrogate the movement of capital rather than the movement of labour? Instead of sustaining the bifurcated world of benevolent 'us' and malicious 'them,' why not offer a vision of justice?</p>		
		<p>Headlines such as the one found in The Economist in an article on animal slaughter, religion and Brexit, uses the harsher sounding verb 'butchering beasts' to refer to religious slaughter whilst complimenting it with a shop front advertising Halal meat. Even though the issue being discussed relates to Muslims and Jews alike, only images relating to Muslims are used as a way to single them out as the problem.... The use of the term halal to evoke negativity is not only found in the national press but also in local and regional papers. The Newcastle Chronicle website places an image of a shop front window with a halal sign on it in an article which about a so-called 'problem' street in which many white residents speak of it having become run down and crime ridden.¹⁹⁵ Interestingly, other residents are proud of street and speak of its diversity and vibrancy. Responding to the article on social media, one reader, Chris Jackson sums up the problem with the imagery well. He calls the article blatantly racist and says: 'The chronicle is trying to do it subtly as ever, so the morons will see the word 'Halal' and blame the immigrants.</p>	<p>Hanif, Faisal, 'British Media's Coverage of Muslims and Islam (2018-2020)', Centre for Media Monitoring, (November 2021). Accessed 8th March 2022. https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/CfMM-Annual-Report-2018-2020-digital.pdf</p>

	<p>“They want to point out that not all immigrants are bad – but these particular Muslim Pakistani ones are really bad. It suggests that their religion causes them to do this.”</p>	<p>grooming gangs in Bradford had initially been named as ‘Asian grooming gangs’, then ‘Asian Pakistani grooming gangs’, and then later ‘Asian Pakistani Muslim grooming gangs’, “as a way to divide and categorise migrant populations”.</p>	<p>Faisal Hanif, interview.</p>
	<p>You can create a ‘basket of undesirability’ that contains for example ‘illegal migrant’ or ‘economic migrant’, and you’re always relegating someone to that basket. It suggests that not all humans are equal, and creates an ingroup and an outgroup... How do you take the sting out of some of these terms? This idea that ‘irregularity’ is somehow wrong is something we are really trying to turn around.</p>		<p>Pia Oberoi, interview.</p>

Appendix 2 – Examples of hate, subtle hate or drivers of hate in UK media coverage on migration

References are provided in the table above.

- Asylum seekers are frequently labelled by right-wing media and politicians as ‘cheats’ who make ‘bogus claims’, and more recently they have been depicted a threat to national security and potential terrorists despite a lack of evidence to genuinely support these concerns.
- the portrayal of Polish migrants as ‘scroungers’
- the persistent association of Muslim refugee with jihadist terrorism
- the creation of a moral panic over the construction of Muslims as refusing to social distance, particularly during religious festivals
- The Guardian frequently chooses to focus on illegal activities, such as their legal battles, previous convictions and offences, their support for ‘terrorist group with links to Osama bin Laden’, or smuggling of refugees across the English Channel, which despite being described as the ‘crime of compassion’, still situate refugees in the realm of wrongdoing and law-breaking. ‘Future suicide bomber,’ ‘an invasion under way,’ refugee babies seen as ‘illegal maritime arrivals,’ ‘African exodus,’ and resettlement programmes that work as ‘cover for terrorists’ are a snapshot of the metaphors used by the newspaper that frequently link ‘migrants’ to a security threat.
- the two newspapers converge to a large degree on the image of Arab, Muslim, and North African ‘migrants,’ with The Times openly describing them as a threat to law and order, and with The Guardian frequently choosing to publish stories that, although protect ‘migrants’ and defend their rights, they simultaneously see them as thematically connected to the same domain of law and order.
- The portrayal of Romanians as fraudsters, criminals, beggars, pickpockets, and poor... For example, one headline from Daily Mail stated: “Romanian arrested at seven times rate of Britons: 800 held in London last month” (Chris Greenwood, 13 December 2013). In the article, the British journalist also mentioned numbers to strengthen the arguments, such as “for every 1,000 Romanians in London 183 are arrested”. The strategy of discourse is based on differentiation, because the journalist from Daily Mail compares the delinquency rate of Britons with the number of Romanian people arrested in London. The argument is not very well constructed, as we can identify the fallacy of a false analogy between the two

nations. The British journalist also quotes an official source in order to give fallacious legitimacy to the argument: “Police say that for every 1,000 Romanians in London, 183 are arrested. This compared to 26 Britons per 1,000.”

- Article in the Daily Mail: As Deputy Prime Minister (in 1995-7) I came to three stark conclusions. The first is that a very large number of those seeking asylum are cheats, quite deliberately making bogus claims and false allegations in order to get into this country ... The second was that the demands on scarce housing and medical care made by dishonest “economic migrants” (were) likely to stretch the patience of voters ... The third was that the problem of phoney asylum seekers was likely to grow as the impression spread that this country was a soft touch. Above all, I could see no reason why my most vulnerable constituents – honest and hard working people who paid their taxes all their lives – should be pushed to the back of the queue for housing and hospital treatment by dubious asylum seekers’
- This narrative of a clandestine plot to take over Europe adds to the suspicion around British Muslim citizens and their loyalties toward Britain. Questioning this loyalty (as well as that of other migrants) is not new. In 1990, Conservative MP Norman Tebbit most famously claimed that South Asians and Caribbeans failed the cricket test (a euphemism for British loyalty) by not supporting England in international cricket matches. Tibbet told the British politician, writer and journalist Woodrow Wyatt that he didn’t think certain immigrants would assimilate “because some of them insist on sticking to their own culture, like the Muslims in Bradford and so forth, and they are extremely dangerous.
- the incorrect suggestion that the UK has no-go zones for white people, controlled by Muslim populations
- From Centre for Media Monitoring coverage on Islam and Muslims: Particularly significant in the context of anti-migrant rhetoric was the trope that Muslims and Islam are different and a threat to Britain and the West.
- A story published in the Times Newspaper on May 06 2019, alleged that a bus driver in Paris, France had refused to allow a woman onto the vehicle because of her short skirt. The story was framed around the idea that the unnamed driver was “motivated by the hard-line beliefs that increasingly hold sway among North African immigrants.” This was pitched against the quotes from the girls’ father referencing the “Enlightenment”. The driver’s supposed beliefs (on the say-so of one girl) were used to frame the narrative of a France being run on the whims of those with extremist beliefs. Speaking through his union and later his lawyer, the driver denied the version of events given by the girls’ father Kamel Bencheikh (a French-Algerian poet and polemicist accused of Islamophobia. He alleged that despite stopping for the two girls, they continued to smoke in front of the doors of his bus at which point he drove off. Despite these details being known at the time, there was no inclusion of this rebuttal; in the piece nor was a follow-up story to clarify that the accusations against the driver, particularly him having “hard-line beliefs” were unfounded.

- A headline in Christian Today reading, “The European Church is sleeping while Islam is creeping in, says African Bishop”: “in a Christian Today article on the supposed invasion of Muslims, an African Bishop in Rome, Andrew Nkea Fuanya speaks of Christianity crumbling under an “Islamic Europe.” This gives credence to the myth of ‘Eurabia’; a conspiracy theory whose adherents claim, among other things, that Europe is heading towards “a total change... which will be more and more Islamicised and will become a political satellite of the Arab and Muslim world.”
- Others referenced being stereotyped, media manipulation over the idea of taking jobs, and scapegoating of Polish people.
- Article in The Daily Mail: If you’re sitting in a crumbling, concrete, Soviet-era slum in Sofia, what’s not to like about Britain? Put yourself in their knock-off Nike trainers. Would you rather beg in the streets of Bucharest or sell the Big Issue in Bristol, while living rent-free in a modern council house and receiving an exciting range of welfare payments for your extended family? (Richard Littlejohn, 28 January 2013, Daily Mail)
- Their work argued that news media looked to “reassert hegemonic understandings of race, migration, and welfare in the following ways:
 - Article in the Daily Mail: After a decade of uncontrolled immigration under Labour, and with the economy wheezing and spluttering, the last thing we want is another surge of migrants - (Stephen Glover, 16 January 2013, Daily Mail)
 - The ‘massification’ of Muslims, particularly in discussions of burials, 2) the creation of a moral panic over the construction of Muslims as refusing to social distance, particularly during religious festivals
 - The Times creates ‘migrants,’ especially those from the Middle East and Africa, as a threat to law and order. Mobilizing language of invasion, The Times uses metaphors such as ‘mass exodus,’ ‘desperate exodus,’ ‘potential stampede,’ ‘mob,’ and ‘aggression.’ ‘Migrants’ are frequently portrayed as people who bring violence over to their host countries, as if violence did not already exist in the host countries. The newspaper reports on ‘rioting migrants’ and ‘huge crowds of refugees’ who ‘battled with the outmanned and ill-equipped local police forces’ on their way to Europe. ‘Furious scenes’ were reported to have occurred at the Hungarian and Serbian borders, as ‘migrants turned on each other.’
 - The Times discussed NATO warships as a solution to ‘stem the flow of refugees coming into Europe.’
 - Mobilizing language of invasion, The Times uses metaphors such as ‘mass exodus,’ ‘desperate exodus,’ ‘potential stampede,’ ‘mob,’ and ‘aggression.’
 - the incorrect suggestion that the UK has no-go zones for white people, controlled by Muslim populations
 - the media’s reporting on migration focussed almost exclusively on the thousands of people fleeing their home countries as a result of conflict or other contextual factors and the effects of these flows of people on transit and destination

countries; as a result, the media also contributed to the perception that migration was “a problem” rather than a multi-faceted global phenomenon with a variety of permutations, challenges and opportunities.

- Sarah Baxter, a former columnist in the Sunday Times made a sweeping statement claiming, “Here is Britain, Muslim girls’ sexual organs are being cut.
- When asylum applications in European countries increased sharply in 2015 and 2016, media coverage often used the term ‘migrants’ pejoratively to refer to economic migrants in contrast to ‘genuine refugees’.
- Daily Mail headline: The tragic but brutal truth: They are not REAL refugees! Despite drowning tragedy thousands of economic migrants are still trying to reach Europe.” The article went on to argue, “the explosion in migration is completely out of control.”
- the Daily Mail repeatedly referred to ‘illegal migrants’ in relation to push backs against channel crossings. The term ‘illegal migrants’ is not only condemned by the UN; it also fails to recognise that the majority of those making channel crossings were asylum seekers protected under the 1951 Refugee Convention regardless of the legality of entry.
- This tactic, commonly used by the tabloid press (Berry et al., 2016; Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008; Vollmer and Karakayali, 2018), is widely employed by The Guardian and The Times... The Times largely dismisses the concept of ‘refugees’ and demands ‘emergency breaks’ on their entry into Britain.
- Although they exercise their right to free movement granted to all EU citizens by the EU Treaty, ‘Eastern Europeans’ are nevertheless seen as ‘migrants.’ [in The Times and the Guardian]
- the media’s reporting on migration focussed almost exclusively on the thousands of people fleeing their home countries as a result of conflict or other contextual factors and the effects of these flows of people on transit and destination countries; as a result, the media also contributed to the perception that migration was “a problem” rather than a multi-faceted global phenomenon with a variety of permutations, challenges and opportunities.
- Other aspects of migration, such as day-to-day realities, success stories and migration opportunities were far less reported on.
- Little media attention was given to migration from the country of reporting.
- It is rare for articles to quote refugees or migrants, focus on women and children or give information on migration histories or reasons for movement.
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- the Sun newspaper calling migrants “cockroaches”
- references to ‘swarms’ of migrants
- The newspapers describe migrants as ‘numerous’; they arrive in ‘high numbers.’ References to the scale of arrivals are explained through metaphors. Both newspapers are equally inventive, frequently applying images of natural disasters: the words ‘flow,’ ‘wave,’ ‘surge,’ ‘catastrophe,’ and ‘disaster’ are used to portray people’s movements... The Times sees the arrivals as a ‘mass exodus,’ ‘flood’ and ‘invasion’ and uses even fewer words denoting names and nationalities than The Guardian. ‘Migrants’ in The Times are overwhelmingly referred to as ‘economic,’ ‘political,’ ‘undocumented,’ ‘illegal,’ or ‘displaced’ people. Women ‘migrants’ are almost non-existent in both newspapers’ coverage.
- The most common modifiers identified in relation to migration were ‘mass,’ ‘net’, and ‘illegal’.
- Coverage has focused on the fact that Ukrainians are “civilised” and “look like us” in contrast to coverage on conflicts in Iraq, Afghanistan or Syria. European leaders who took a hardline on resettling Afghan refugees have indicated that they will take those from Ukraine.
- "undesirable whiteness" - For example, Rzepnikowska, Lumsden et al., and others have discussed anti-migrant media coverage of white populations including Polish people and Gypsies and Travellers.
- a reconfiguration of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ Muslims to acknowledge their role in the NHS while continuing to construct Muslims in general as atavistic and un-British.
- Unlike their western counterparts, who, as ‘EU citizens’ are associated with intellectual capacity and portrayed in positions of responsibility and highly paid jobs, Easterners are associated with low-end manual labour. Both newspapers construct them as ‘workers’ and ‘labourers’ and discursively associate them with ‘shelf-stocking,’ ‘cleaning,’ ‘fruit-picking’ and ‘farm work.’
- Headlines such as the one found in The Economist in an article on animal slaughter, religion and Brexit, uses the harsher sounding verb ‘butchering beasts’ to refer to religious slaughter whilst complimenting it with a shop front advertising Halal meat. Even though the issue being discussed relates to Muslims and Jews alike, only images relating to Muslims are used as a way to single them out as the problem.... The use of the term halal to evoke negativity is not only found in the national press but also in local and regional papers. The Newcastle Chronicle website places an image of a shop front window with a halal sign on it in an article which about a so-called ‘problem’ street in which many white residents speak of it having become run down and crime ridden.¹⁹⁵ Interestingly, other residents are proud of street and speak of its diversity and vibrancy. Responding to the article on social media, one reader, Chris Jackson sums up the problem with

the imagery well. He calls the article blatantly racist and says: 'The chronicle is trying to do it subtly as ever, so the morons will see the word 'Halal' and blame the immigrants.

- Portrayals of migrants as only single men of colour.
- Focus particularly on young men, to tap into the “fighting age men” trope used by politicians and news reporters to imply that migrants are ‘invaders’ and / or a sexual threat.
- Association of migrant groups with paedophilia, child abuse and / or grooming.
- Association of migrant groups with child marriage and FGM.
- References to ‘lefty lawyers’ defending migrants and undermining British values and democracy.
- Association with sexual assault or harassment of European women, related to the use of the term ‘rapugees’ by far right commentators.
- Association of migrant groups with crime or riots.
- Tropes around poor animal welfare, e.g. focus on Halal meat as animal cruelty.
- Suggestion that migrants are getting homes when ex-servicemen are not.
- Suggestion that migrants are unpartiotic, e.g. a bogus story that circulated on Facebook about a Tesco that refused to sell poppies because a Muslim member of staff was offended.
- Focus on veiled women as a symbol of oppression.
- Suggestions that Muslim men hate and / or want to control women.
- Suggestions that migrants are diseased, e.g. that they are bringing new (or old) diseases to the UK and should be screened and / or quarantined on arrival.
- Use of language referencing animals, such as ‘stampede of migrants crossing river’.
- Suggestions that migrants are given preferential treatment or allowed to queue jump, e.g. that migrant are given housing before others.
- References to Travellers as a ‘flood’ or ‘incursion’.
- Bill Howe likewise discussed the way in which language and imagery relating to the military could evoke the “fighting age men” trope of migrants as invaders.
- Chris Hart also referenced the way in which images of male migrants often showed them standing in long queues, jumping out of lorries or climbing over/through fences.
- Chris Hart also suggested that much language referred to natural disasters in order to imply threat, such as ‘tsunami of migrants’, ‘floods of migrants’.

- Faisal Hanif spoke about the way in which grooming gangs in Bradford had initially been named as 'Asian grooming gangs', then 'Asian Pakistani grooming gangs', and then later 'Asian Pakistani Muslim grooming gangs', "as a way to divide and categorise migrant populations". He suggested that this dynamic was repeatedly seen in the way that press specifically names 'Muslim immigrant men' in negative news reports in a way that suggests any negative behaviour is "part of their culture". "They want to point out that not all immigrants are bad – but these particular Muslim Pakistani ones are really bad. It suggests that their religion causes them to do this."
- multiple interviewees expressed concerns about the way in which Ukrainian refugees had been distinguished from other migrants through focus on appearance (including hair and eye colour), women and children as the majority of the refugee population, and / or their non-economic motivations.
- Selective reporting of government or third-party reports on migration
- The disproportionate use of images of Muslim women in the full face veil (said to be over 30% of images, despite less than 1% of UK Muslim population wearing the full face veil)
- Failure to consult an Islamic Mufti or Scholar as the expert sources when reporting on Islamic scripture, beliefs or practices.
- Lack of coverage of success stories, or of positive social, cultural or economic impacts.
- Lack of coverage of treatment of migrants on arrival, e.g. in immigration detention centres.
- The use of the phrase 'stricter Sharia law' in the context of regimes for example banning girls from attending school, despite the fact that such policies are widely considered to violate Sharia law, by the Sunni Muslim community.
- Labelling of ISIS as a Sunni Muslim group despite the fact that over 10,000 Sunni Muslims, including many leaders, have signed a letter to say that they do not recognise the group within Sunni Islam.
- Suggestion of large numbers of migrants continually arriving in a short time frame, for example '400 migrants arrive every day'.
- Bill Howe referenced the frequency of articles relating migrants to child abuse or grooming.
- Chris Allen referenced the predominance of images of Muslim women wearing the full face veil in media (a much higher rate than in the general population).
- Chris Hart discussed the number of articles suggesting that public services could not cope with the number of migrants.
- the doctoring of an image of a Muslim woman to add the full face veil.

- Media has repeatedly and disproportionately associated the migrant community with child abuse, grooming and criminality.
- It has published unevidenced and uncontested figures on migrant numbers and repeatedly referred to new arrivals as a 'surge'.
- It has obsessed over birth rates, dangerously echoing conspiracy theories that the white British population is about to be usurped.
- the UK media repeatedly makes unevidenced links between migration and overwhelmed public services.
- It makes frequent generalisations about Muslim migrants oppressing women in their communities.
- It disproportionately shows Black male migrants waiting in queues, jumping out of lorries or climbing over fences.