

**A Battle of Values: Analysing the Changing Attitudes Towards African
Refugees in Europe**

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DEDICATION

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ABSTRACT

Cosmopolitanism is a moral perspective that stresses the importance that every human being is an equal and ultimate unit of moral concern. These principles make cosmopolitanism more concerned for and accommodative towards outsiders to a political community. Against the abstraction and universalism of cosmopolitanism, communitarianism emphasizes the role communities play in shaping our individual identities and sees it as justified that the interests and well-being of community members receive priority over those of outsiders. Both these value systems are present in Europe. The question is about which direction the trend has moved in recent decades. This dissertation examines the changing values that inform attitudes toward African refugees in Europe to get at this issue. Have attitudes towards African refugees shifted in a cosmopolitan or a communitarian direction in recent decades?

This dissertation examines newspaper articles from The Guardian between 1990 and 2022 to track changes in value. The analysis of these articles uncovered that communitarian values were the most prevalent and stayed the most prevalent from 1990 to 2022. These findings indicate that communitarian values are higher than cosmopolitan values regarding African refugees within the general European context. These findings add to the growing body of knowledge regarding attitude shifts, and they provide a timeline for value changes that can help predict future values and be used in future comparative studies.

Keywords: African refugees, public opinion, value change, Europe, cosmopolitanism, communitarianism, media, content analysis, racism, xenophobia.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Asylum, Migration, and Integration Fund.....	AMIF
Association of Southeast Asian Nations.....	ASEAN
European Council on Refugees and Exiles.....	ECRE
European Union.....	EU
International Rescue Committee.....	IRC
North American Free Trade Agreement.....	NAFTA
Non-Governmental Organization.....	NGO
Universal Declaration of Human Rights.....	UDHR
United Nations.....	UN
World Value Survey.....	WVS

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This study seeks to establish a timeline of shifting values seen in the attitudes toward African refugees in European media. This timeline will help understand what values are on the rise and what values are decreasing. The main research problem that this study seeks to understand is how the attitudes toward African refugees are changing overtime and what that means for future media coverage.

1.1 Introduction to Communitarianism and Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism is a moral perspective that stresses the importance that every human being is an equal and ultimate unit of moral concern. There are three critical aspects of cosmopolitanism: individualism, universality, and generality (Pogge, 1992). Individualism refers to the focus of moral concern being placed on the individual. Universality means that this moral concern is afforded to every person equally worldwide. Generality means that the individual is the ultimate unit of moral concern for everyone, not just for one's religious counterparts or political compatriots (Pogge, 1992). In simple terms, cosmopolitanism strives for equal rights and opportunities for everyone regardless of where they were born or where they live now. Cosmopolitanism argues for having an ethical framework that extends beyond the conventional nation-state and creates universal humanitarian norms.

Communitarianism is, in many ways, the opposite of cosmopolitanism. Communitarianism emphasizes the role communities play in shaping our societies and the role communities play in shaping our identities (Taylor, 1994). Our identities are connected to numerous aspects, including our religious beliefs, cultural groups, and families (Walzer, 1990). Under the communitarian approach, the community helps to form the individual, whereas, under the

cosmopolitan process, the individuals create the community (Cohen, 1999). The well-being of the community takes preference over the well-being of the individual, and individuals should work together to protect the ‘common good’ of the community (Walzer, 1990). The ‘common good’ is for the whole community’s benefit and not only focussed on individual benefits. Membership in these communities is not automatically granted; political communities or cultural communities will have criteria for membership, such as being born in a specific country or following a specific religion (Etzioni, 2014). Communitarianism also emphasizes that communities constantly change to protect the ‘common good.’ These changes are distinct and depend on the history and internal, external, and environmental conditions that affect the community (Etzioni, 2014).

There are two ideologies presented above, cosmopolitanism and communitarianism. Zürn and de Wilde (2016) highlighted that an important political cleavage is cosmopolitanism-communitarianism. This cleavage developed from two smaller cleavages, one between globalists and statists and another between universalists and contextualists. Political cleavage is a split or division in a society created by drastically differing views or opinions on political issues. These divisions are usually formed around issues such as environmental policies or immigration. People within the society (the society, in this case, is multifaceted, it can be used to refer to the state or smaller entities such as local communities) will fall onto either side of the division (Zürn and de Wilde, 2016). These divisions often lead to forming and organizing different political parties, as differing political views need diverse representation. This organizational component is essential for a political cleavage to be fully realized.

1.2 Cosmopolitanism and Communitarianism: The Cleavage on a Global Scale

There are four areas of tension where cosmopolitanism and communitarian values clash, and the cleavage becomes visible (Zürn and de Wilde, 2016). These four areas are, firstly, the “permeability of borders”. Cosmopolitanism argues for open or permeable borders for people, labour, and goods. Cosmopolitanism supporters say that open borders are valuable because they promote and grow wealth. On the other hand, communitarianism emphasizes the importance and relevance of maintaining boundaries, limiting the permeability of borders where possible. Secondly is the “allocation of authority” (Zürn and de Wilde, 2016). Cosmopolitanism emphasizes the need to give power to international organizations and challenge the state’s ultimate authority. Conversely, communitarianism is skeptical about transferring more power to international organizations and only supports international institutions as far as they serve the state’s interests. The ultimate authority should remain with the nation-state. The third area is the “normative value of community,” which focuses on communities' ethical perspectives (Zürn and de Wilde, 2016). Cosmopolitans do not place communities as the ultimate unit of moral concern; as stated above, all individuals are the ultimate unit of moral concern. Humanity is the only community that would be given moral value under cosmopolitans (Haddad, 2003b). Communitarians argue that the communities we are born into, our religious communities, ethnic communities, and cultural communities, have moral value. Individuals cannot be viewed as separate from these constitutive communities; therefore, moral value is given to all. The fourth area is the “valid justifications” (Zürn and de Wilde, 2016). These are seen in the public sphere, where citizens support the different governance, justice, and ethics approaches. Cosmopolitans focus on ‘freedom from’ limitations and infringements, whereas communitarians concentrate on the ‘freedom to’ self-determination, for example (Haddad, 2003a).

Several empirical examples highlight the cosmopolitan practices that have been implemented globally. Two relational approaches underpin cosmopolitanism: universalism and globalism. Universalists believe that all principles of justice apply to all human beings regardless of any factor. Universalists emphasize that every individual has a responsibility to humanity (Zürn and de Wilde, 2016). Globalists argue that the ideas of justice need to be contextualized globally and not only in the context of nation-states. Held (2003) argues that it is merely an empirical observation that justice be conceptualized globally as the state conceptualization of justice is outdated in a globalized world. They also have significant implications. These practical implications arise when these approaches are woven into how states react to certain situations.

A practical implication of these ideas is seen in the approach to sovereignty. As it is currently understood, sovereignty is the nation-states' right to self-governance. The nation-state holds all the power; sovereignty is concentrated on a single level (Pogge, 1992). Cosmopolitan sovereignty would mean a fundamental change in how we understand sovereignty. Cosmopolitan sovereignty looks at the relationship between global and local governance and the need to tackle global issues by working together (Pogge, 1992). Cosmopolitan sovereignty reorganizes sovereignty into a vertical distribution of power rather than it being concentrated on one level. This allows individuals to become responsible for themselves and to hold governments and global institutions accountable. Pogge (1992) argues for political units of varied sizes that work together. Still, none of them would dominate the other; all political units would be equal in power and authority (Pogge, 1992). This change in sovereignty would also influence democracy. Cosmopolitan democracy is another practical implication, and it seeks to extend democracy beyond the nation-state and exercise democracy on a global scale (Archibugi and Held, 2011). This would allow for accountability and transparency to be achieved globally as well.

This version of sovereignty would allow for more cooperation to tackle global issues such as climate change or poverty (Pogge, 1992). Pogge (1992) argues that cosmopolitan sovereignty would make a positive difference in three areas, peace and security, reduction of oppression, and global economic justice. Globalists argue that poverty in the Global South results from systemic issues within the relationship between the Global North and Global South (Zürn and de Wilde, 2016). It is not only the fault of bad decision-making in the Global South. Cosmopolitan sovereignty would allow for poverty in the Global South to be addressed through global bodies, as there would be no one-dimensional sovereignty stopping international bodies from ‘interfering’ in the internal affairs of a state (Archibugi and Held, 2011).

There is an argument that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is cosmopolitan due to its transnational and global application (Held, 2003). The UDHR calls for states to relinquish some of their sovereignty by committing to universal human rights. The UDHR is underpinned by the three critical aspects of cosmopolitanism, individualism, universality, and generality. Therefore, every person has the same human rights, which apply to everyone equally, regardless of where they were born or where they live. The UDHR can also be used to create a more equitable approach to globalization by encouraging individuals to be concerned not only with their access to human rights but with the level of access other people have to their human rights. Since then, there has been a global effort to move from a commitment to human rights to active compliance with them. Risse and Ropp (2013) noted that a commitment to human rights is a minimum standard; it is a statement to accept human rights but is passive. Compliance is when actors actively encourage behaviour that protects and supports human rights norms (Risse and Ropp, 2013). Countries or enterprises seen as only committing to human rights but not compliant with them would face external pressures, such as sanctions or social stresses; this is done to foster rule-consistent behaviour (Risse and

Ropp, 2013). This proliferation of human rights also hints at a move toward cosmopolitan solidarity.

In addition, is the acknowledgment of the current fight against climate change and the development of sustainable policies. To fight climate change adequately, harm was recognized as not being limited to individual nation-states; the harm done in one state is not always limited to that state; environmental harm is often transboundary. Climate change has global effects, and the efforts to limit them are based on cosmopolitan values of protecting everyone, regardless of where they were born. Simon Caney (2005) claimed in his paper, “Cosmopolitanism Justice, Responsibility, and Global Climate Change,” that climate justice can only be achieved under a cosmopolitan value system because the efforts need to extend to the global level. The international community is taking steps toward climate justice and addressing climate change with protocols like the Montreal Protocol, Kyoto, and Paris Agreements. These agreements and protocols all saw success on a global scale. The Montreal Protocol is hailed as a landmark multilateral agreement that aided in repairing a hole in the ozone layer by banning ozone-damaging products. The Law of the Sea 1982 is another prime example, based on the idea that the ocean is a ‘common heritage of humankind,’ grounding it in cosmopolitan values (Caney, 2005).

Cheah (2005) emphasizes that the growing number of transnational regulatory and political institutions is a sign of rising cosmopolitan sentiments. The United Nations (UN) and its various bodies, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and the European Union (EU), blur the lines between domestic and foreign policy. The UN also pushes international aid efforts, with support given to struggling states from foreign powers (Cheah, 2005). Peacekeeping efforts, with peacekeepers often being from several different nations, are a practical implication of this transnational effort.

Conversely, several empirical examples highlight the communitarian practices implemented globally. Communitarianism is also underpinned by two relational approaches, contextualism and statism. Contextualists believe there are limits to ideas of justice, and our responsibilities are limited to specific communities (Zürn and de Wilde, 2016). Statists believe justice should be based in a nation-state context, not a global context. For example, economic conditions may become unstable as situations change, affecting the community's 'common good.' Everyone benefits from a stable economy; the responsibility of individuals will then change to restore economic stability and, in doing so, protect the 'common good' (Etzioni, 2014).

Communitarianism places focus and power on nation-states. The idea of sovereignty is on a singular level rather than a vertical conception of sovereignty given by cosmopolitans (Pogge, 1992). Under the communitarian vision, nation-states are the subjects of international law, not the individual. The individual is the subject of the sovereign, which is the nation-state. Walzer (1990) highlights that we live in a community of nations, not of humanity. Communitarianism upholds the current nation-state system and claims that cosmopolitan conceptions of sovereignty and rights would call for a revolution within the Westphalian system (Haddad, 2003b).

Positive laws exemplify communitarianism in practice (Haddad, 2003b). A governing body enacts positive laws, typically a political community like a nation-state. These laws are usually found in certain places at certain times and are subject to change as the context of the political community changes (Miller, 2002). Nation-states have their own laws and are free to enact laws of their choosing. Communitarianism argues that laws and rights only have meaning within a state's legal system (Haddad, 2003a). A state's constitution primarily protects members of that specific political community; outsiders are a secondary concern.

Communitarianism emphasizes the importance of belonging and the type of solidarity that comes with belonging to a particularistic community (Miller, 2002). Communitarian solidarity is the solidarity one feels toward members of their community. This can be seen in practice when looking at social welfare grants. Natural citizens have benefits that are afforded to them because they are members of a state. Non-members are not afforded the same benefits, nor do they have a claim to those benefits; they only have a claim within their state.

The World Value Survey provides some context to where countries fall on the scale. The World Value Survey is a global research project that monitors trends in people's beliefs and values and how they change over time (World Value Survey). The WVS tracks social, religious, economic, cultural, and political values. The WVS's goal is to understand how value changes over time affect economic, political, and social stability in member countries. Inglehart and Welzel (2005) highlight value sets representing cosmopolitanism and communitarianism: secular-rational v traditional values and self-expression v survival values. Secular-rational values place less importance on 'traditional' values such as family and national pride. Religion is less influential in the everyday actions of individuals. Traditional values are the opposite; an emphasis is placed on the importance of family, religion, and national pride (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005). Self-expression values look at the importance of environmental protection, tolerance of foreigners, and the rising demand for individual participation in economic and political decision-making of the state. Survival values prioritize physical and financial security; environmental protection is secondary. Survival values are usually associated with a more ethnocentric outlook (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005). Secular-rational and self-expression values can be related to cosmopolitanism, whereas traditional and survival values can be associated with communitarianism. It was noted in the 2017-2022 World Value Survey wave 7 (WVS) that most 'developed' countries fell on the secular-

ration/self-expression side and that ‘developing’ countries tended to fall on the traditional/survival value side of the scale.

1.3 Cosmopolitanism and Communitarianism: The Cleavage in Europe

European countries tend to fall more on the cosmopolitan side of the Inglehart-Welzel cultural map, with higher secular-rational and self-expression values. However, despite this, there has been an increase in right-wing populist and nationalist movements throughout Europe (Hameleers, 2019). This rise may lead to a shift toward traditional and survival values and become aligned with right-wing communitarianism. Delanty (2005) noted that a cosmopolitan Europe can be contrasted against a national Europe. The nation-state still plays an essential role in Europe, but the EU's and Europe's current identity is up for debate (Ponzanesi, 2018).

Nationalist movements, especially those in Hungary and Poland, question the ‘identity’ of Europe and the EU (Krzyżanowski, 2020). Eurosceptic movements, which embody many communitarian values, call for the renationalization of the EU, restoring full sovereignty to the nation-states. The nature of the EU would therefore experience a fundamental change. The UK left the EU (Brexit), and one of the more prominent reasons for leaving was to regain full sovereignty and limit immigration.

Security risks and concerns created a new avenue for communitarianism to grow. Mustaq *et al* (2021) noted that as security concerns rose in Europe, so did communitarian-inspired policies. Communitarianism places the safety of one’s community above that of another community. The practical implications of these policies are, for example, a more realist or neorealist approach to international relations that focuses on state survival. The far-right took advantage of these safety concerns. Far-right ideas are the extreme practical implications of

communitarianism in practice. Far-right ideas promote two aspects of nationalism, cultural nationalism, and political nationalism. Cultural nationalism focuses on protecting ‘European culture’ and preserving its traditions, and this is done through resistance to assimilation (Hameleers, 2019). This would mean that groups not seen as part of the ‘European culture’ would be kept separate from the rest. Political nationalism emphasizes the protection of the interests of the nation-state. Security risks pose a threat to the interests of the nation-state, and immigration poses a threat to cultural nationalism (Hameleers, 2019).

There are many instances of European cosmopolitanism in practice. Cosmopolitans see the EU as the first step toward overcoming the ‘conceited’ nature of the nation-state (Pausch, 2021). There are ‘European’ norms that are to be followed by all member states; these include good governance and environmental protection (Pausch, 2021). All member states must respect these norms. There is also free trade of goods and services within the EU, and wealth is moved easily. This economic integration has transcended boundaries. There is free movement of people within the EU; natural citizens of member states of the EU can travel freely between countries. This free movement of people forms a ‘melting pot’ of cultures (Ponzanesi, 2018).

Europe has shifted toward a broader identity. ‘Smaller’ identities, such as religious affiliations, are considered secondary to the ‘umbrella’ identity of being European (Ponzanesi, 2018). Individuals are first seen as Europeans, then their ‘smaller’ identities are recognized. The movement toward secular states was a practical implication of this cosmopolitan value. Secular values tend to be more inclusive, as there is no exclusion based on religious beliefs (Ponzanesi, 2018).

The discussion will now shift to a critical area around which political cleavages are created, which is immigration. For this study, immigration will be limited to refugees only. Refugees

are forced to flee their countries of origin due to objective fears of persecution. The choice is not the same as that of economic migrants, for example. Refugees represent a unique cleavage due to the nature of their movement and the debate around refugees' rights.

1.4 Attitudes Toward Refugees: A Global Perspective

In this case, the topic causing the divide is immigration, specifically refugees. Society is split between the communitarian approach and the cosmopolitan approach. Haddad (2003a) presents this tension in another way by noting that emigration may be a cosmopolitan concern, but immigration is a communitarian concern. In addition, it is stated that human rights are inherently cosmopolitan, refugees are the 'collateral damage' of sovereign state formation, and sovereign state development is a crucial factor of communitarian beliefs. The cosmopolitan approach is also more focused on a global framework, whereas the communitarian approach is focused on a community-by-community basis. Haddad (2003b) reaffirms this by emphasizing that refugees bring to the fore the tensions between a state's right to exclude and the human rights' prerogative to include. As more refugees arrive in host states around the globe, the hypothesis is that the division will become more profound and more visible (Hameleers, 2019).

The tension between the communitarian and the cosmopolitan approach is highlighted again in another four areas (Gibney, 2018). These four areas are, the entitlement of refugees, the extent of the obligation, the fair distribution of refugees, and the duties of refugees (Gibney, 2018). The entitlements of refugees are brought to the fore when discussing exactly 'what' refugees are entitled to. Carens (2013) argues that refugees have a right to seek asylum in a safe country but do not have the moral entitlement to choose the country. Cosmopolitans support the refugees' right to choose, whereas communitarians will tend to restrict this choice

to a certain extent (Carens, 1992). Following this, open-door policies, which are more aligned with cosmopolitan values, will broaden the entitlements of refugees by granting citizenship or some form of long-term stay visa. Canada and Uganda both have open-door policies. Canada treats refugees as natural Canadians upon arrival (UNHCR Canada). Uganda is known for its dynamic approach to refugee camps, as refugees are given pieces of land to farm on (Betts, 2021). In contrast, communitarian approaches to entry tend to be stricter and limit the entitlements of refugees while applications are being processed. Australia has a notoriously strict asylum and refugee process. The Australian military has been criticized for stopping boats carrying refugees from landing on Australian shores (Crisp, 2021). This limits refugee entitlements to seek asylum.

This ties into the fair distribution of refugees. Refugees are often moved from one state to another; the distribution of refugees amongst states is common and is usually done to alleviate the pressure on ‘point of entry’ host states (Gibney, 2018). However, it again removes the agency of refugees, as it removes their power to choose. Burden-sharing amongst states is seen in cosmopolitan and communitarian approaches, but the extent of burden-sharing is limited. Again, cosmopolitanism will be more open to burden-sharing, whereas communitarianism would approach burden-sharing with skepticism; if the burden-sharing did not affect the ‘common good’ of the community, it would be supported (Gibney, 2018).

The extent of obligation on behalf of the host state then becomes the next area of conflict between communitarianism and cosmopolitanism (Gibney, 2018). The 1951 Convention (and 1967 Protocol) needs to define the extent of the obligation toward refugees clearly. The cosmopolitan approach would see the obligation extend to ensure that refugees are cared for at the same level as host citizens. The communitarian approach would provide care for refugees if it did not affect host citizens’ lives. Refugees’ economic and social burden on a

host state is an area of tension (Malkki, 1995). As more refugees and immigrants enter a country, more strain is placed on resources and the economy, which can affect the livelihood and standard of living of natural citizens of a host state (Malkki, 1995). If the number of refugees and other migrants starts to affect the lives of natural citizens, the state may implement measures to limit that effect to protect the common good (Etzioni, 1996). This is enshrined within communitarian values.

The final area of conflict is regarding refugees' duties to their host states. Gibney (2018) notes that there is limited literature exploring the responsibilities refugees have to host states, as the duties of refugees are not usually a focus; the focus is on the responsibilities of host states. Cosmopolitanism will view refugees as having obligations to their host states, but these duties are the same as the natural citizens. These duties may only be expected once refugees have been settled and integrated or once they have been granted asylum. Reciprocity is an essential pillar of communitarianism (Etzioni, 2014). Reciprocity, in simple terms, is 'returning the favour.' If someone does something positive for you, you should do something positive for them. In the case of communitarianism, if you work to maintain the 'common good,' you will reap the benefits of the community (Etzioni, 1996). Refugees would be expected to work or contribute to the 'common good' in some way to reap the community's benefits. The benefits of the community would not be automatically granted. Integration efforts would also be valuable; communitarian states urge refugees to learn local customs and the language to interact with the host community more effectively. Cosmopolitanism does not argue for that type of integration as being a necessity.

1.5 Attitudes Toward Refugees: A European Perspective

Europe is not homogenous. While it can be generalized as more cosmopolitan when looking at the cultural value map generated by the WVS, cosmopolitan and communitarian ideas are visible in the attitudes toward refugees. Many theorists point to events and changes suggesting or foreshadowing opposition between the two ideologies. A significant concern is the effects that immigration may have on national identity (Pausch, 2021). Immigration is perceived as a threat to national identities as immigrants bring their own cultures with them, and more cultures in one community can be seen as a cause of dilution. Populists argue that too many foreigners are being allowed to enter, and nativists argue that refugees threaten the national identity of Europe (Pausch, 2021).

With this tension, arguments around solidarity arise. Particularistic or communitarian solidarity versus cosmopolitan solidarity. Particularistic/communitarian solidarity is focused on the solidarity within communities, whereas cosmopolitan solidarity is focused on the solidarity between individuals and not just within a singular community (Nowicka *et al*, 2019). Cosmopolitan solidarity would see that refugees are afforded the same level of solidarity as natural citizens, whereas communitarian solidarity would not extend the same type or level of solidarity to refugees as it would to natural citizens (Nowicka *et al*, 2019).

The emergence of policies that limit refugees' autonomy has been around for decades. The "White list" Asylum policy became prominent in the 1990s. The "White List" policy is a list of countries that are deemed to be safe. Any asylum seekers who arrived from the "White List" countries were quickly returned to those countries (Bloch, 2000). In addition to this policy is the new one proposed in the UK to send refugees to Rwanda. This has been proposed to reduce refugee numbers in the UK and decrease the pressure on resources and infrastructure (Syal, R. and Badshah, N., 2022, UK to send asylum seekers to Rwanda for

processing. *The Guardian*, 14 April). Reducing pressure on resources and infrastructure will protect the ‘common good’ of the UK community. The UK will provide Rwanda with economic aid in return for accepting refugees.

The term “Fortress Europe” was coined when the borders that were the first entry point for refugees and other migrants became highly secure, to the point of militarization (Carr, 2015). The term is still used today, and the narrative of “Fortress Europe” remains ongoing (Ponzanesi, 2018). The idea of Europe being a fortress means it is difficult to enter, and not everyone can. Entry into the European community is not automatically granted.

Manifestations of Europe’s cosmopolitan attitudes toward refugees are also evident. A *Wellkomingskultur*, a welcoming and accepting culture, was established in Germany, especially from 2015 to 2016, as more than a million refugees and other migrants were allowed to enter (Holzberg *et al*, 2018). Citizenship was not automatically granted, but efforts to integrate and assimilate started soon after arrival. Hertner (2022) noted that Merkel’s open-door policies were effective in two ways, allowing refugees to access resources and opportunities more efficiently and fostering integration between natural citizens and refugees. In addition to this, German citizens opened their doors and offered their homes to refugees. The symbolic significance of opening ones’ home to a refugee is important. Open-door policies usually only require government cooperation and support from the people. However, when the people open their own doors to refugees it shows a sense of acceptance that one would usually on reserve for people they know and not complete strangers. This is the essence of cosmopolitanism in practice on a small scale that has a large impact.

European NGOs, such as Equal Rights Beyond Borders, which is a legal aid organization, help refugees with access to legal advice. The group also stands against policies that disenfranchise refugees within the EU. The European Council on Refugees and Exiles

(ECRE) is a network of NGOs that support refugees and protect their rights and access to rights. ECRE incorporates 117 NGOs across forty countries. The transnational nature of ECRE highlights the European effort to become more cosmopolitan.

The International Rescue Committee (IRC) helps government and local nonprofits in Germany help rescue people from conflict. The IRC places a focus on helping resettle refugees once they have reached Germany. Fleeing the conflict is only one half of the problem. The IRC helps work with local business owners to create job opportunities for refugees arriving in Germany. This has been seen to help bridge the gap between host and refugee, by forcing them to interact with one another and be exposed to socio-cultural diversity.

The Asylum, Migration, and Integration Fund (AMIF/The Fund) for 2021-2027 furthers cosmopolitan values. The Fund will aid in burden-sharing between EU member states, promote integration efforts, and develop a common European asylum system. The Fund's support is not limited to member states but includes NGOs, education and research institutions, and humanitarian organizations as well. The aim is to create an inclusive and safe environment for refugees. The reach of these NGOs was helped by globalisation, because through globalisation people in Europe could see the suffering happening in other parts of the world. Globalisation has helped the manifestation of Europe's cosmopolitanism, by opening the eyes of European society to the plight of 'distant strangers' (Held and Maffettone, 2017).

1.6 Research Question, Objectives, and Plan of Study

The cleavage between the cosmopolitan and communitarian attitudes toward refugees is becoming more visible. Maricut-Akbik (2021) highlights that the media is often a space where political polarization does take shape, and this is supported by the idea that the media

is a driver of political divides (Dempster and Hargrave, 2017). The debate above highlights that societal attitudes, especially in Europe, are split. Following this, the research question that emerges from the discussion is, “How are the attitudes toward African refugees shifting?” The aim is to use the media, specifically a broadsheet newspaper (*The Guardian*), as a tool to reveal the shifting societal attitudes toward refugees in Europe and elaborate on how this shift is moving, either toward communitarianism or cosmopolitanism. Both sides have support, and practical applications of both approaches can be seen today.

The debate about shifting attitudes and values toward refugees is ongoing and cannot be solved in one study. McLaren and Patterson (2020) highlight that the ‘how’ attitude shifts toward refugees and other immigrants is “amongst one of the most pressing issues facing European democracies.” The media either agrees or disagrees with the stance of governments. The posture of *The Guardian* within its context of being a British-based broadsheet newspaper may reveal a perspective that is either aligned with the viewpoint of the British government and European society or one that is in opposition to it. Not every left-wing paper has been analysed for this research. Instead, *The Guardian* was selected as it is a widely read left-wing newspaper that can, therefore, ‘speak’ to the stances of other left-wing newspapers. This choice will be elaborated on in Chapter 3.

The rest of this study will be divided into five chapters. Chapter Two discusses the relevant existing literature, highlighting the opposing approaches, cosmopolitanism and communitarianism, and their related value systems seen in media attitudes toward refugees. Chapter Two investigated previous attitudes toward refugees and this provides some basis for the findings of this study to be compared against. Chapter Two also provides an overview of the conceptual framework, which is the cleavage theory discussed above. Cleavage theory as a conceptual framework has a long history and therefore require further examination. Chapter Three explains the research philosophy research design and goals, and the methodological

approach chosen for this research. Chapter Four is the results chapter; the results will not be interpreted in this chapter; this will be a presentation of the findings. Chapter Five discusses and analyses the findings concerning the existing literature and the research question, this analysis is conducted through a content analysis lens and is guided by the conceptual framework. Chapter Six concludes this study and will reflect on the results and suggest ideas and considerations for future studies.

The following chapter will investigate the relevant literature that prefaces and provides grounding for this study. The chapter focuses on the main types of studies within refugee studies of this nature. This includes literature focusing on public attitudes, government attitudes, and the intersection of racism and xenophobia.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The nature of attitude shifts is unclear. It has been posited that attitudes naturally shift over time as our social realities change (McLaren and Patterson, 2020). As seen in Chapter One, there is a cleavage between the two approaches to refugees, cosmopolitanism, and communitarianism. This cleavage is perpetuated by government policies on national levels and by the media. There are a multitude of studies that investigate the attitudes toward refugees. These studies can be divided into several groups. The first group looked to explain why attitudes towards immigrants and immigration change. The second group of studies investigates government policies and action plans aimed at refugees. The third group of studies tracks the media representation and attitude toward refugees at specific times and not over an extended period. The fourth group investigated public opinion and how host citizens responded to the presence of refugees in their country.

This chapter explores the literature surrounding various aspects of attitude formation- media, public, or government attitudes. Understanding why values change informs how they change to some degree. This will preface the discussions around media representation and public opinion that shape the 'refugee identity' in opposition to the 'European identity'. This chapter will explore the intersection of racism and xenophobia and their contribution to the construction of a refugee archetype. This chapter will further explore cleavage theory as a conceptual framework for this study, the idea that this division between these value sets is deepening as the debate about refugees becomes more politicized and mediatized.

2.2 Understanding Why Values Change: The Link Between ‘How’ and ‘Why’

The ‘how’ and the ‘why’ of value changes are linked. The ‘why’ behind value changes may influence how values change. McLaren and Patterson (2020) explored the effect of generational change on attitude changes toward the immigration issue and immigrants in Europe. This study noted that while generational change influenced attitudes, other factors played a role. These factors include education and the level of presence of far-right groups (McLaren and Patterson, 2020). It was highlighted that younger well-educated individuals that were socialized away from far-right contexts were more likely to be open to immigration, whereas young, well-educated individuals that had been socialized in contexts with heavy far-right influence were less likely to be accepting of immigration.

McLaren *et al* (2021) investigated the connection between immigration numbers and anti-immigration discourses to see if there was a correlation. Earlier hypotheses were that high numbers of immigrants led to an increase in anti-immigration narratives. This was proven inaccurate, as McLaren *et al* (2021) found that the generations born into social contexts with higher degrees of diversity were becoming more tolerant. This study noted that countries like the UK that seem to be leaning toward more anti-immigration sentiments may not be true. As time passes and the younger generation, who have been exposed to more diverse groups, merges with the working population, a more accepting discourse will take hold. This is supported by contact theory, which argues that intergroup interactions may mitigate the consequences of prejudice and stereotyping (McLaren, 2003).

Wilkes and Corrigan-Brown (2011) introduced another important reason as to why attitudes toward immigration and immigrants change over time. This factor is macro-economic changes, and it was seen as more influential over attitude changes than generational changes. While generational changes impact attitude change, it heavily depends on that generation's

macro-economic situation. This study was based in Canada, where the government actively promotes the economic benefits of immigration. Therefore, the public may be more open to refugees because of this. A country that does not actively promote the economic benefits of immigration may not be so accepting, or a country that is less economically stable than Canada. The contextual conditions of the 'why' is important. Wilkes and Corrigan-Brown (2011) acknowledge that in a country where other indicators, such as the level of unemployment, are higher, this may affect the public's acceptance of immigrants.

These three studies try to explain why values change over time. Right-wing populism was highlighted as a catalyst for the rise and, in some cases, the normalization of anti-immigrant discourse in some contexts (Krzyżanowski, 2020). It is important to note the difference here between right-wing and left-wing ideologies. Right-wing ideas tend to be associated with a conservative political philosophy. These beliefs include less governmental control, especially when it comes to the economy (McClosky and Chong, 1985). The privatisation of services such as healthcare and education are also common themes. In this case right-wing ideologies tend to have stricter attitudes toward refugees and other immigrants, having rigorous policies associated with entry into a host country. Left-wing ideas are usually associated with a more liberal political philosophy than their right-wing counterparts (McClosky and Chong, 1985). The nationalisation of services is encouraged, the push for universal healthcare is often an important aspect. In terms of attitudes and policies toward refugees and other immigrants, they tend to be less stringent.

This was the case in Poland, as anti-immigration and racist discourses were slowly normalized through social media before entering traditional forms of media such as broadsheet newspapers (Krzyżanowski, 2020). Once in broadsheet newspapers, these extreme views became legitimized and, therefore, acceptable. Anti-immigrant discourse is usually linked to communitarian values; this link is tenuous as right-wing populists represent right-

wing communitarianism. Right-wing communitarianism tends to promote open borders for the exchange of wealth, goods, and services but argues for closed borders when it comes to the movement of people. This approach to communitarianism is gaining traction as it protects the economy and free trade, but the benefits of those trading practices are limited to that particular community. Left-wing communitarians tend to be against international trade and open borders for the exchange of wealth; they are, however, supporters of open borders when it comes to the movement of people.

While these three studies help understand why values change, they do not explain how they change. From communitarianism to cosmopolitanism or vice versa, are attitudes becoming more or less accepting of refugees? Explaining how values shift from one set to another will add to the theories about why they change. If values are becoming more cosmopolitan, it may disprove the effect that the rise of right-wing populism has on public attitudes. However, if values are leaning toward communitarianism, it may prove the effect that the rise of right-wing populism has on public attitudes. One crucial factor often forgotten when looking at why values change is misinformation and erroneous information's role in attitude changes.

2.3 The Refugee Crisis: Securitisation, Terror Links, Racial Discourses, and the Effect on Policies

The refugee crisis is complex. The early ideas and policies regarding refugees and the movement of refugees was that one day it would not be an issue. Therefore, early policies were ill-equipped to deal with the protracted nature of the global refugee crisis, and not just the crisis in Europe. This is proven when looking at the original version of the 1951 Refugee Convention, which limited the scope of definition to people who were displaced by the events occurring in Europe before 1951. It was only in 1967, when the 1967 Protocol amended the

1951 Refugee Convention, extended the scope of the definition, by removing the geographical and time limit criteria. The 1967 Protocol, then allowed for people fleeing conflict in recently independent African countries, to be recognised as refugees. The Refugee Convention has not been amended since 1967, despite the size and nature of the refugee crisis changing. National level policies have changed, but the international protection has not.

Maricut-Akbik (2021) aimed to understand the lack of consensus within the EU during the height of the refugee crisis in 2015 and 2016. An analysis of articles published in *Politico Europe* between 2015 and 2016 revealed that EU-level actors generally accepted refugees more, whereas national-level actors leaned toward communitarianism. The shift toward communitarianism on a national level was owed to the fact that these national actors are looking to protect the identity of their states. This disconnect between the EU and national levels allowed diverging policies to develop and for governments to change sides, so to speak, from the humanitarian side to the communitarian side. This change has been seen in Germany, as its open-door policy is beginning to change.

Mustaq *et al* (2021) studied the emergence of refugee policies and how they began leaning toward securitization. The study noted that the existing bias, especially toward Syrian refugees, is focused on the tenuous link to terrorism. The assumption became that all Muslim refugees are considered existential threats to the lives of Europeans because all Muslim people are terrorists. The Islamophobic discourse that has grown over the years started to be reflected in policies being developed. This was noted in Germany in particular, as a growing far-right movement is putting pressure on the current government policies, and securitization policies were seen as more effective than desecuritization policies. Mustaq *et al* (2021) noted that this rise in securitization was a reaction to Chancellor Merkel's open-door policy. Vollmer and Karakayali (2018) emphasized the volatility in discourses around refugees and that the security/power paradigm that was losing traction has now regained traction in both

media and national actor discussions. The security/power paradigm once again connects refugees with existential threat, and that if too many refugees enter a host country that will affect the power structures within that country.

Abbas (2019) saw a similar tendency to conflate refugees with terror suspects in Brexit Britain. The “crisis” has given momentum to the securitization of European borders and the populist nationalist movements. Abbas (2019) argues that there is a clear intersection between the ‘refugee crisis’ and the ‘terror crisis.’ The fear stems from the idea that terrorists will exploit refugee channels to gain entry into Europe. This adds fuel to the fire and promotes the idea that refugees are inherently distrustful as not all refugees are genuine, some are bogus refugees.

Abbas (2019) used the gothic discourse to focus the debate on the terror suspect and the refugee. The racialized gothic discourse has many similarities to Said’s (1978) Orientalism. Orientalism investigated the European construction of the colonized ‘Orient.’ Orientalism noted that virtually anything could be written about the ‘Orient’ without contestation (Said, 1978). The ‘Orient’ was never consulted, nor were these colonial depictions ever denounced. Instead, that carried through to today, where conflating a Muslim refugee with a terrorist is seen as reasonably acceptable. The ‘racial gothic’ provides a broader vocabulary, focusing on stigmatizing other cultures, not just those under Said’s designation of the ‘Orient.’ The stigmatized culture is seen as inferior, uncivilized, and barbaric (Abbas, 2019). The culture(s) that are being stigmatized change throughout time as the socio-political context changes as well. Therefore, the stigmatization of African cultures can be included in this discourse. This broader vocabulary can be seen in the media representation of refugees; as the focus on different refugee groups changes, so does the culture that is being stigmatized. This will be more thoroughly discussed in the next section.

While the refugee crisis has a definite racial element, there is a tendency to eliminate race from the discussions (Bloch *et al*, 2019). There is an attempt in Europe to ‘gloss over’ the fact that the policies around refugees are heavily predicated on race and country of origin. There are more desirable refugees and less desirable refugees. Implementing a ‘colour-blind’ approach to policy development and arguing that immigration is not a racial issue but more the outcome of other social, political, or economic factors. This ‘colour-blind’ approach is used to justify why some refugees are treated better than others.

Bailey and Harindranath (2005) highlight the paradoxical nature of globalization, in that while we are coming closer together, those that are not deemed to be the same are pushed out. This brings into question the role of the ‘other’ in international relations, and who decides on the ‘other’, as the ‘other’ is a subjective social construction. This creates a ‘us’ versus ‘them/other’ binary which tends to oversimplify complex situations. Rather than presenting the entire story, a small picture that fits the overarching narrative is presented. In many cases it seems that this picture is only a snapshot of reality, and not an accurate descriptor of reality. In terms of this study, analysing the othering process in the global arena will be beneficial. This is because refugees fall outside the definition of a traditional citizen, therefore they may fall prey to being ‘othered’ by host countries and the international regime itself.

The policy and practice of externalization is a manifestation of the securitization process and has a definite racial aspect (Crisp, 2020). Externalization is when boats or other vessels carrying refugees and other migrants are barred from reaching the shores of a possible host country (Haddad, 2008). They are intercepted and sent to a different country for ‘holding’ however, the ‘holding’ period is an indefinite amount of time. In other cases, the refugees are sent to a third country; these third countries accept refugees and receive economic benefits from wealthy countries in exchange for taking in refugees (Crisp, 2020). This practice is used by wealthy European countries that want to avoid taking responsibility and maintain their

‘European Identity.’ The refugees who are being intercepted and redirected are almost always refugees of colour. This practice is particularly prevalent in Australia, where migrants are intercepted and sent to Christmas Island. The practice is becoming more common and normalized around the coastal borders of Europe. Crisp (2020) argues that the Global North's border policies are becoming increasingly entrenched in the notion of externalization to protect themselves from the encroaching Global South.

These policies are seen to be putting the lives of host citizens first. This practice of protecting host citizens first is aligned with communitarian values. Refugees are often portrayed as existential threats to the ‘European Identity’ therefore, policies are starting to reflect that belief. The combination of the protection of host citizens and the perceived threat of refugees allows these policies to be accepted. While policies do not always reflect what the public feels, not all of these policies are opposed; therefore, there is an assumption that the public agrees with them to some extent.

The studies above do not answer the question of how values are shifting, but they help identify current prominent values seen in Europe today that are being put into practice. The increasing prevalence of refugees has opened the space for diverging attitudes to policy development to emerge. These studies did focus on Middle Eastern refugees, specifically Syrian refugees; however, the findings can be transferred to African refugees. African refugees represent similar threats to the threats presented by Middle Eastern refugees; therefore, it is reasonable to assume that similar policies may be applied, and similar attitudes may occur.

The media also plays an influential role in shaping public opinion and vice versa. These terror links and securitization processes are created without the help of the media, but the media

does help perpetuate these narratives. The next section will explore how these values discussed above are portrayed in the media and how the media portrays refugees.

2.4 The Media Representation of Refugees: The Politicization and Mediatization of a Crisis and the Development of a Refugee Archetype

Refugees have always been seen as a ‘hot’ topic in the media. However, the coverage spiked between 2013 and 2018 as more refugees entered Europe. The refugee crisis and the refugees have undergone another phase of politicization and mediatization (Krzyżanowski *et al*, 2018). Immigration is one of the most strongly politicized topics, and there are two consequences of this politicization. The first is that it creates a power imbalance, making individuals more reliant on political action and placing all the focus on the political realm. The second consequence adds to the ideologization of public discourse, and the context in which refugees are politicized will depend on the ideologies that dominate that political realm (Krzyżanowski *et al*, 2018). The hegemonic narrative within that space will dominate the public discourse. Refugees can therefore be politicized in different ways and to varying degrees. For example, refugees in Poland are being politicized through an interpretive frame of threat, which supports anti-immigrant discourses (Triandafyllidou, 2018). Refugees can also be politicized through the moralization frame, which supports solidarity narratives. Tying this in with Maricut-Akbik (2019), national actors are more likely to politicize refugees through the interpretive frame, whereas EU actors are more likely to politicize refugees through the moralization frame.

The mediatization process, which can be seen as the step after politicization, is how politics becomes reliant on mass media. Politics and political actors now rely on the media to spread their ideas and agendas. This has become especially popular on social media platforms, where

ideas and simplified solutions to complex issues are promoted. The use of social media to promote political ideologies was noted in the study by Krzyżanowski (2020), whereby right-wing populists used Instagram and Twitter to garner support for their ideologies.

The mediatization process is also responsible for the phrase ‘European refugee crisis.’ The phrase ‘European refugee crisis’ is problematic for a few reasons (Krzyżanowski *et al*, 2018). The first is the use of the word crisis, as it stigmatizes refugees by placing a level of blame on refugees for their situation. The second issue is that the word crisis denotes some level of panic to be expected (Krzyżanowski *et al*, 2018). The third issue is with the idea that it is a European crisis, which can mislead the public into believing that the refugee crises in other parts of the world, especially in the Global South, are not as bad as what Europe is experiencing, which is not necessarily correct.

Since refugees have undergone the mediatization process, and there has been an increase in media interest, there has been a developing trend of developing an archetypal refugee. Johnson (2011) noted that the image of the refugee has undergone three different shifts, racialization, victimization, and feminization. The racialization shift that Johnson (2011) investigates is the change that occurred when refugees went from being white to black, from being from Europe to being from the Global South. Refugees that fled during World War Two and The Cold War were white refugees fleeing one European country to another. The goal of these refugees was integration. This goal changed when the colour and origin of refugees changed (Johnson, 2011). When refugees from the Global South started increasing and seeking safety in Europe, the goal was no longer integration but rather repatriation or preventative measures. The victimization shift was interesting in that it elicited more sympathetic views from the public but also removed the individual identities of refugees (Johnson, 2011). Refugees became a homogenous mass of people who needed saving. The use of sensationalized images also became popular, the starving child or the lone mother.

Following this was the feminisation of refugees, the female refugee has to fit a certain image, the struggling mother for example. Images of struggling mothers and young female refugees were often used alongside calls for aid or financial support. Those in a position of power decide upon all these shifts; in this case, the West develops these image constructions. The West has removed the individual identities of refugees from the Global South.

The paper by Abid *et al* (2017) has many similarities with the paper, “Racialized ‘othering’ The representation of asylum seekers in news media” by Bailey and Harindranath (2005). There is an emphasis placed on the self-versus other dichotomy. However, what is important to note in this article is that many of the metaphors surrounding refugees not only remove the agency of refugees, but it presents them as natural disasters. In other words, refugees cause damage wherever they go, describing a group of people as a ‘flood’ or ‘storm’ is not going to garner positive attention, especially from the public. There is also this sense that the other is going to overrun the self, that if too many refugees are allowed to enter into the host society, they will take over that host society, with their traditions and customs. This idea of being overrun is commonly identified in the current discourse surrounding refugee studies, and how there is a push for globalization, but not for globalisation of groups of people that are seen as ‘other’.

Szczepanik (2016) investigated the imagined refugeehood perpetuated by the media and the creation of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ refugees. This ties into Johnson’s (2011) discussion. In general, female refugees were seen as ‘good’ as media outlets could exploit their vulnerability. Female refugees are also seen as passive victims, whereas male refugees are seen as aggressive, barbaric, and a threat to the women in the host country. A secondary narrative then accompanies the gendered narrative. This secondary narrative concerns the country of origin in that refugees from specific countries are seen as genuine refugees, compared to refugees from countries that are not deemed unsafe. Szczepanik (2020) highlights that Pakistani

refugees are seen as bogus when compared to Syrian refugees. These two narratives work together to create a 'refugee archetype,' and this archetype is not often used in place of the legal definition of a refugee. Refugees are seen as less deserving of protection if they do not fit the archetype.

Holmes and Castañeda (2016) investigated the emergence of the deserving versus underserving refugee narrative. It was noted that the media perpetuates this narrative and, in doing so, places both deserving and undeserving refugees as outsiders that threaten the well-being of homogenous Europe. the study noted that in Germany, there were tensions between the *Willkommenskultur* and xenophobia. Genuine and deserving refugees were met with the *Willkommenskultur*, whereas bogus and undeserving refugees were met with xenophobia. The goal of the study by Holmes and Castañeda (2016) was to analyze these representations of the 'European refugee crisis' in the midst of shifting narratives in Germany in order to inspire future studies on how refugees and other displaced people are framed and how that framing affects how actors respond to them.

Holzberg *et al* (2018) further the discussion around the divide between deserving and undeserving refugees. They add the idea of discursive borders to the conversation in that social borders are created when discussing refugees. Three key borders for differentiating between deserving and undeserving refugees are economic productivity, state security, and gender relations. Holzberg *et al* (2018) also highlight that the focus on the 'crisis' aspect of refugees detracts from the reasons why refugees flee in the first place. This ties into the discussion presented by Krzyżanowski *et al* (2018).

Davis (2020) investigated the representation of African refugees, specifically Sudanese refugees, in Australia. Two newspapers, the *Herald Sun* and *The Daily Telegraph* were analyzed as to their approach to constructing the African refugee. The main finding was that

for African refugees to be seen as ‘good’, they had to be exceptional in some way. Oftentimes, African refugees were seen as ‘good’ if they were excellent athletes. In addition to this, it was seen as unusual for African refugees to be non-violent and successful. While viewing refugees in a positive light is a step in the right direction, what constitutes a ‘good’ refugee is a step backward as the standards for being a ‘good’ refugee are unfairly high, higher than that of a host citizen (Davis, 2020).

Kotilainen and Pellander (2022) present a new refugee construction approach. While still maintaining the divide between deserving and undeserving refugees, the development of that divide is argued to be rooted in historical hierarchies related to place and agency that have been underpinned by race. They argue that the hierarchies of visual constructions of refugees are “conceptualized as symbolic borders of habitus.” Habitus is the way people perceive the world around them and respond to their specific social reality. Kotilainen and Pellander (2022) conducted a historical study of what refugees look like and the media representation of refugees through the context of Finland, from World War Two onwards. Their argument is that there are many historical layers that built up the image we see today. The original depiction of refugees in Europe followed a “People like us” narrative, as people were displaced during World War Two and the Cold War. Finland experienced large-scale displacement in World War Two, and this added the visualisation of the white European refugee. The difference between the visualisations of refugees in that era and refugees now is that European refugees were seen as active agents, who were forced to flee out of necessity and then returned to rebuild their homes and their state (Kotilainen and Pellander, 2022). Refugees today are visibly different, not only in terms of geography but racially as well, refugees today have to perform their trauma, in order to be deserving of the label ‘refugee’. European refugees did not have to perform their trauma. Kotilainen and Pellander (2022) argue that the deservingness narrative has been detectable in the media since the 1980s.

These studies investigated a refugee archetype's politicization, mediatization, and formation. The media's role in developing the refugee archetype becomes important when looking at value shifts. The argument is that as values change, the archetype might also change; therefore, the refugees that once fit the archetype may no longer fit it. The discussions surrounding deserving versus undeserving refugees also perpetuate the securitization policies discussed in 2.3 and how the ideologies behind those policies filter into public discourse through the media. The focus of these studies is on the visual representation of refugees, and not the values that inform those representations. Again, the focus of these studies was usually on Middle Eastern refugees, aside from the Davis (2020) study, but that was a different context, it was focused on Australia and not Europe. In addition to this is the racial aspect of African refugees. African refugees are less likely to be white-passing and are so phenotypically different and culturally different to the 'typical' European but are culturally different and without a home. Therefore, their mere presence in European spaces is an assault on the 'European Identity.'

2.5 Public Opinion and Host Citizens: What are 'The People' Feeling?

The public opinion on refugees and other immigrants is as divided as the media and government opinions. The opinion is usually divided along certain borders such as race, culture, religion, and ethnicity. Gusciute *et al* (2020), investigated the attitudes toward Muslim migrants, particularly Muslim refugees, in Europe. They made use of the data coming from the 7th round of the European Social Survey, in previous surveys the public attitude toward Muslim refugees was strained due to the connection between refugees and security concerns. The findings noted that there was significantly more bias in the public sphere toward Muslim refugees and Muslim migrants than any other groups of migrants. In

particular, women were more opposed to the presence of Muslim refugees. This tied in with the discussion brought up in Szczepanik (2020), that male refugees are seen as a threat. It also ties into the Orientalist idea that men from the 'Orient' will harm white European women.

Krzyzowski and Nowicka (2021) focused on the role that Muslim refugees played in fuelling the public discussions around European solidarity. The article investigated the sources of European solidarity during and after the height of the European refugee crisis. While national and ethnic identities have always been important sources of solidarity in Europe, another source has been on the rise. Religion has gained momentum and has solidified a divide between host citizens and refugees. Europe has an imagined Christian identity, and refugees do not fit into this imagined Christian identity (Krzyzowski and Nowicka, 2021). Religion being a source of solidarity is powerful in the public realms as it is not limited to individual nations and can foster a sense of transnational solidarity between Christian Europeans. The exclusionary practice is also transnational.

Bruneau *et al* (2018) revealed an interesting theory surrounding attitudes toward refugees. The level of dehumanisation experienced by refugees was dependent on the factors mentioned above, such as race, culture, ethnicity, and religion. Refugees form an 'outgroup' based purely on the fact that they are from a different country than the host citizens. However, the level of dehumanisation of the 'outgroup' was dependent on how similar they were to the 'ingroup'. If a group of refugees could present themselves as similar to the 'ingroup' in some way, be it race, ethnicity, culture or religion, the blatant dehumanisation they faced was less (Bruneau *et al*, 2018). White-passing, or white refugees face less dehumanisation. This was seen at the start of the Russia-Ukraine war, as refugees from Ukraine were treated differently to refugees from Africa or the Middle East. This is because Ukrainians are the same in terms of race, to the 'ingroup'. Refugees that do not represent a particular religion also face less dehumanisation, in other words if they can pass as Christian,

they are less likely to face the level of dehumanisation that Muslim refugees face. Müller (2018) reinforces this idea of the importance of religion, as ‘European Christian Culture’ is seen as superior to the cultures of the “other.”

The dehumanisation of refugees is also dependent on historical contexts. Szabó *et al* (2020) looked at the role of historical victimisation and victim-consciousness and the treatment of refugees. The context of the study was Hungary, due to the historical victimisation of Hungarian refugees in the 1950s. Some argue that groups that have experienced similar forms of persecution may feel more sympathetic towards one another. For example, people who have been in car accidents may feel a different level of sympathy and understanding with other car crash survivors, than those who have not been in car accidents. However, when it comes to the experience of being a refugee that sympathy is dependent on the nature of the victim-consciousness. Szabó *et al* (2020) noted that victim-consciousness that was exclusionary, as it is in some regions of Hungary, anti-refugee discourses were more likely to develop. Exclusionary victim-consciousness is when individuals do not see the events as connected or similar, but rather as two distinct events. In this case the memory of the victimisation of Hungarian refugees in the 1950s is seen as completely different to the current refugee crisis (Szabó *et al*, 2020). Regions where the victim-consciousness was inclusionary saw the rise of pro-refugee discourses. This is because inclusionary victim-consciousness recognises events are being similar in nature and therefore connected.

Moore-Berg *et al* (2022) highlight the effect that misinformation has on attitudes toward refugees. Misinformation can mislead people and affect public opinions. The perpetuation of misinformation through social media is an issue in itself, but that lies beyond the scope of this study. Moore-Berg *et al* (2022) look at the role of two different interventions strategies for increasing empathy toward refugees and migrants, the first intervention is correcting erroneous information in the media and the second is focused on targeting empathy and

dehumanization. When these interventions work together, they decrease anti-migrant sentiments, but when erroneous information is not corrected and dehumanisation is perpetuated in the media, public opinions tend to be less favourable of immigrants (Moore-Berg *et al*, 2022).

Arcimaviciene and Baglama (2018) emphasize that metaphors are used in a variety of ways to mispresent and dehumanize refugees. Metaphors allow for myths to be seen as reality and narrative framing to be accepted. Narrative framing is important as it is essentially when a stereotyped discourse around a group is spread to the public as the true story. Narrative framing is a form of manipulation as it is linked to agenda setting. Metaphors also allow for refugees to be objectified. Refugees are often spoken about as if they are inanimate objects. States often talk about taking refugees, or the fair distribution of refugees, as if refugees are not people but rather are produce. The final argument are the metaphors that link refugees to violence and destruction. Destruction in the form of natural disasters is a common trend. This was also highlighted in the paper, “‘A flood of Syrians has slowed to a Trickle’: The Use of Metaphors in the Representation of Syrian Refugees in the Online Media News Reports of Host and Non-host countries” by Abid, Manan and Rahman (2017). The idea that refugees bring violence or rather are violent is a more complex idea, there are often stories of refugees being linked to terror organisations or refugees committing violent crimes. These metaphors allow for negative connotations of refugees to be accepted as the norm.

These studies highlight the outcome of the politicization and mediatization process as the public opinion, especially those in Central and Eastern Europe, are steeped in these various ideologies. One of the main conclusions coming from these studies is the imagined European identity is premised on an illusion of homogeneity. The European public creates and maintains their ‘ingroups’ and often exclude the same ‘outgroup’. The process of excluding the same ‘outgroup’ also fosters a sense of solidarity between the various ‘ingroups’. The idea

that we feel more attachment and warmer to our own group than other groups is not without support. These studies provide a narrative for comparative analysis in Chapter Five.

2.6 Xenophobia or Racism? Debating the Multiple Faces of Discrimination

A common narrative that has emerged from these discussions above, the tension between xenophobia and racism. Refugees, especially those from the Global South, represent both racial and cultural differences. Bernasconi (2014) argues that there is more at stake when a discourse is called out for being racist, but there are less ramifications when a discourse is critiqued for being xenophobic. Often times racism is nationalised and can therefore be disguised as xenophobia (Sundstrom and Kim, 2014). The implications of this is that the is a nationalized rhetoric of racism is created and then informs and shapes history. This can lead to racist discourses being hidden behind xenophobia, and the rhetoric looks nationalistic rather than racist (Sundstrom and Kim, 2014). Xenophobia is seen as ‘natural’ as conflicts about culture are more ‘reasonable’ than conflicts about race. This is supported by arguments presented in Sundstrom and Kim (2014).

Sundstrom (2013) furthers the argument around xenophobia and highlights that xenophobia leads to civic ostracism. Civic ostracism is not merely exclusion, but it is banishment from society. A group can be within a society, but not belong to it. Existing within a space that is unwelcoming creates a pressure point, and that pressure point leads to conflict between the ‘ingroup’ and the ‘outgroup’. Refugees highlight civic ostracism in practice, as they are physically within a society, but are socially not seen as belonging.

Xenophobia finds attachment to physical place and space important for its manifestation. Cultures have traditionally been linked to space and place.¹ The essentialist argument is that once refugees have fled their homelands, they have left behind their cultures and identities as well. This argument is often used to support integration projects that push refugees into neglecting their cultures in order to adopt the culture of the host state (Brun, 2001). Brun (2001) argues that in order to combat the rising prevalence of xenophobia in refugee studies, identity needs to be deterritorialized from both place and space. This would mean that while refugees are forced to flee their place, their identity and culture remains with them, and can be introduced into the new space they find themselves in. However, there are limits to deterritorialization such as diminished agency. Brun (2001) then introduces reterritorialization as a response to those limits. Reterritorialization can be seen as the step taken after deterritorialization. Once refugees arrive in host states their identities need to be reterritorialized into the new space and place in order for them to regain full agency.

The targets of racism and xenophobia are usually different. Racism targets individuals of a different race or an entire racial group. Xenophobia on the other hand targets individuals who are perceived as foreign and 'other'. The need to differentiate between racism and xenophobia is important, but refugees face both forms of discrimination. These investigations into racism and xenophobia will be further discussed in Chapter Five as they relate to the findings of this study.

¹ Space and place are very similar concepts, both have foundations in social spatiality. The main difference is that place usually refers to a physical territory, and space refers to a socially constructed arena where social relations overlap to form a 'space'.

2.7 Communitarian-Cosmopolitan Cleavage: A Deep Dive into the Conceptual

Framework

The cleavage between communitarianism and cosmopolitanism was discussed in Chapter One, but a more in-depth analysis of cleavage theory is needed to understand the conceptual framework. Cleavage theory posits that social divisions are formed around our histories, interests, and beliefs (Zuckerman, 1975). These divisions or cleavages usually stem from the social realm but are politicized as they become more large-scale areas of tension. The divisions tend to be politicized during important events, such as presidential elections, and once politicized, it is very difficult to depoliticize the division. Notable cleavages include but are not limited to, left-wing/right-wing conflict, globalization, governance, and approaches to immigration. Zürn and de Wilde (2016) noted a deep connection between the values of a society and how the society is structured in terms of what side of the cleavage it may fall on.

Cleavage theory was borne out of arguments given by Marx and Weber, as is the case with many contemporary social and political theories (Zuckerman, 1975: 232). Marx made use of social class as a starting point for the political division. Social class under Marx's definition is not just an economic or social category but has a strong link to political behaviour and political organization. A social class is fully actualized once it participates in political activities. A social class therefore forms a strict group or community, that expresses a 'class-consciousness', which is the mutual goals and the purposeful actions that guide behaviour to attain those goals (Zuckerman, 1975: 232).

Following this there are four aspects that differentiate Marx's social class from other forms of political or social divisions. The first is membership sources, which is guided by mutual interest and the relationship to the means of production. Marx's means of production include all physical and abstract resources, except labour, needed to produce goods and services

(Zuckerman, 1975: 233). The relationship to the means of production is important as those who hold or own the means of production have the power, the bourgeoisie owned the means, and the proletariat worked the means. The second aspect is size, social classes encompass large portions of the population. The third aspect is their organization. As stated above the involvement in political activities and conflict, fully actualizes social class, and the organization of social classes into political movements is solidifying this (Zuckerman, 1975: 233). The fourth aspect is the goals of the social class, the reason for engaging in political conflict, and attaining the mutual interest.

Weber critiques Marx for being too complex. Weber does not view classes as communities, but rather the outcome of having different positions in the economy (Zuckerman, 1975: 233). Weber argues for the importance of the 'status group', as it denotes one's standing in the hierarchy of social honour. 'Status groups' are linked to the social order of society, and class should be kept within the economic sphere. Weber argues that there can be an unlimited number of potential cleavages, whereas Marx argues that the only cleavage that matters is that of social class. However, both agree that the source of political cleavage is in social divisions (Zuckerman, 1975: 233).

Eckstein (1966) argued that a cleavage is different to other kinds of political divisions. Eckstein (1966) used 'segmental cleavage' instead of 'political cleavage', but the argument is that cleavages are persistent, they are long term conflicts between objective social differentiations. These social differentiations usually form around the most salient social issues of that time and place and carry on for decades or centuries.

Peter Mair (2005) highlights three components that are essential for cleavage formation. A structural component, an organizational component, and then a normative component. The structural component occurs when a particular social divide is created; this divide then gets

associated with specific values, which form the normative component (Mair, 2005). When this is then politicized, and the divide becomes organized into specific groups, this is the organizational component that allows for the full realization of the cleavage. Mair's three components really emphasize Marx's influence on the foundations of the theory.

The formation of the cleavage between communitarianism and cosmopolitanism can now be explored through this framework. Communitarianism and cosmopolitanism represent a social differentiation between values. Communitarianism valuing belonging, community, and particularistic approaches to justice. Cosmopolitanism valuing the individual over the community and making use of more global approaches to justice and morality. The divide between communitarians and cosmopolitans formed around more than just one salient social issue, rather they are divided on issues such globalisation, immigration, justice, ethics, rights, and morality. Arguments around what justice should look like, or what is moral have plagued our society for century. The stoics pondered these questions. While the terms communitarianism and cosmopolitanism have only been popularised in recent decades, the divides they represent are much older.

The current cleavage between communitarianism and cosmopolitanism also needs to be discussed within the changing landscape of global politics. There is an undeniable level of integration of the international and the national political realms that needs to be acknowledged. Reversing the integration at this stage of globalization does not seem feasible nor does it seem possible. The argument is now about furthering globalization or trying to stop future globalization efforts. This can also be seen as renationalization versus denationalization (Zürn and de Wilde, 2016). If globalization efforts are furthered then the current formulations of justice, morals and ethics will need to be reimagined, and with this reimagination sovereignty and democracy will change. As noted in Chapter One the

cosmopolitan conception of sovereignty brought forward by Pogge (1992) would call for a revolution of the entire Westphalian system.

A revolution of the Westphalian system is not a new idea, many critical non-western scholars argue for a change in the system. Post-colonial critiques of state-centrism and the Eurocentric nature of the state have been on the rise (Seth, 2011). Critics highlight that the Westphalian system is being left in the past with the path that modernity is following. In addition to this is the Eurocentric nature of the nation-state system (Seth, 2011). A stable, developed, and democratic nation-state was seen as the pinnacle of the Westphalian system, and the goal of all sovereign states. However, this depiction is based in a Western and more specifically a European idea of what a 'good' nation-state is. While having a democratic and stable state is desirable, there are many different versions of that picture. The first is the development can look different, Pailey (2020) argues for de-centring the white gaze of development. Development in the Global South will look different to development in the Global North. The Global South has also had less time to develop when compared to the Global North, yet the expectation is that they are on the same timeline (Pailey, 2020). There is also an attempt to look at development through an ahistorical lens. While the Global North went through fundamental stages of development many people were displaced and forced to flee. The French Huguenots had to flee religious persecution from the Catholic government in 1658. In fact, it was estimated that 170 French Huguenot families fled to South Africa between 1687 and 1691. The term refugee did not exist then, but French Huguenots fit the legal definition of a refugee as it stands today. However, these aspects are forgotten when critiquing the movement of people from the Global South into the Global North.

When responding to this cleavage in the current era, it has been noted that there needs to be communitarianism for diversity to develop, the diversity that cosmopolitanism praises. Therefore, a communitarian process must occur first in order for a cosmopolitan identity to

develop. Appiah's (1997) argument for cosmopolitan patriotism underscored this approach to the cleavage. Cosmopolitan patriotism (Appiah, 1997) argues that we are citizens of the world who protect our individual identities. Our individual identities stem from the communities we grew up in.

In this study, the social divide is around attitudes toward African refugees, this forms the structural component. European society, in general, can be divided into two camps, those welcoming refugees and those accepting refugees but enforcing borders between hosts and refugees. The former group value solidarity, a global approach to justice, and non-discretionary inclusion. The latter group value cultural particularism, contextual justice, and belonging, this forms the normative component. The organizational component is seen when these values are grouped into communitarianism and cosmopolitanism. Both these value sets have been politicized and are often seen as representing right-wing (communitarian) versus left-wing (cosmopolitan) values.

Haddad (2003a) emphasizes that the international state system has always been at ends with the strained relationship between cosmopolitanism and communitarianism values. However, the divide between communitarian attitudes and cosmopolitan attitudes can arguably be seen in every sovereign nation-state. There is no agreement, even in countries that do not take in refugees, or take in relatively few refugees, there is still conflict between the attitudes.

Nowicka *et al* (2019) highlighted that the arrival of refugees in Europe challenged the unity and stability of the "European Identity," and when there is instability, shifts are sure to occur. The shift is mainly seen in solidarity. In other words, who is included and who is excluded from the obligations of solidarity. The emergence of transnational solidarity can help explain the shifts between being for an against refugees. Nowicka *et al* (2019) argue that there needs to be solidarity among the European nation-states and beyond the nation-states as well. The

notion of transnational solidarity is premised on the new understanding of transnationalism, which extends beyond the original and simple conception of crossing a border. In this case transnationalism is the “outcomes and meaning of durable connections characterised by the fact that they exist between multiple locations” (Nowicka *et al*, 2019: 387). These connections are usually maintained by non-state actors, such as refugees.

The cleavage between communitarianism and cosmopolitanism is long and complex, encompassing more than just the divide between attitudes toward African refugees. Understanding the complexity of this cleavage is important for the overall synthesis of this study. African refugees are Global South refugees and understanding that history is essential. Historicization of this cleavage provides the necessary background to solidify the value changes we see today. Refugees also maintain transnationalism and therefore maintain some level of globalization, and for that reason as long as there are refugees there will be arguments around globalization. They sustain each other.

2.8 Conclusion

The studies above are all attempting to answer questions that run parallel with the research question for this study. Understanding why values change, how refugees are viewed by national governments, how they are viewed by the media and how they are viewed by the public will provide ‘jumping off points’ for this study. As noted, there are gaps within the literature. The three main gaps identified above were firstly time periods, a majority of these studies focused on one year, or a period of a year, aside for Kotilainen and Pellander (2022), they did not stretch the discussion across longer time frames. The use of a longer time frame as seen in the Kotilainen and Pellander (2022) study was beneficial when understanding how the construction of the image of the refugee has changed over time and the factors that

influenced that change. The next gap is that the focus of discussions being one sided, for example only looking at dehumanisation or exclusionary narratives, and the third gap is the lack of attention given to African refugees. The history behind Africa, the struggle for independence, and the ongoing legacy of colonialism all contribute to the uniqueness of African refugees, that is different to that of Middle Eastern refugees (Malkki, 1996).

This study seeks to tackle these gaps by looking at the empirical evidence of two different views/approaches to refugees, communitarianism, and cosmopolitanism, and how they have changed over a period of 32 years. This will be done by reviewing articles about African refugees that appeared in *The Guardian* over 32 years. The conceptual framework, namely cleavage theory helps orientate and focus the conflict between those two value sets, and highlights that this cleavage goes beyond African refugees, but that African refugees sustain these parallel conflicts.

The next Chapter will discuss the methodology and approach taken in this study. The methodological steps taken in this study were based on previous studies that focused on similar research questions, however the methodologies had to be adapted to fit the objectives of this study.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Approach

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes and motivates the research process of tracking how value shifts in media attitudes toward African refugees. This research aimed to track how the values present in the media attitudes toward African refugees have shifted over 32 years. This was done in order to answer the research question, “How are the attitudes toward African refugees shifting?” This study examines the broader shift, if any, in either a cosmopolitan or a communitarian direction concerning attitudes toward immigrants. To get at this question, the study examines media attitudes toward African refugees from 1990 to 2022. The aim is to reveal societal attitudes through the lens of the media.

The rest of this chapter will examine the research process. The first aspect was establishing the research philosophy. The chosen research philosophy was interpretivism. The second step was the research design and goals, followed by the context of this research. The context of this study was a critical methodological issue, as it is limited context, but the goal is to make generalisations about broader attitude shifts. Data collection was done through archival searches. This was a two-stage process, as the first search was limited due to incomplete archives. The chosen method of analysis was content analysis to track trends across the data. The data was also divided into groups, representing three to four years of the overall period. The final section investigated the limitations and considerations of this study and suggestions for future studies.

3.2 Research Philosophy

Research philosophy helps guide one's research, as it is the system of beliefs and assumptions about knowledge development. There are three key groups of assumptions, ontological, epistemological, and axiological (Saunders *et al*, 2009). The ontological assumption for this research is based on subjectivism. The nature of our world and our realities is subjective; therefore, there is no single reality; there are multiple realities (Al-Ababneh, 2020). In terms of epistemological assumptions, this study draws assumptions about societal attitudes toward refugees based on media analysis (Saunders *et al*, 2009). Valid and legitimate knowledge would be based on previous studies and the values presented in the media. Values play an essential role in this study. Newspapers are not value-free, they are rather value-laden, and therefore the axiological assumption is that a left-wing newspaper may be more sympathetic to refugees.

This study aims to interpret newspaper articles about African refugees and draw generalizations and conclusions about the broader societal attitudes. The interpretivism research philosophy (Phenomenological paradigm) proved the most appropriate for this study. Interpretivism is inductive as it relies on the data to generate theories about our socially constructed realities (Saunders *et al*, 2009). Interpretivism can generalize from one setting to another. The transferability of this research philosophy is vital for this study, as the outcomes of this study can be used in future comparative studies. The results can be compared to a survey of a right-wing UK-based newspaper over the same period.

3.3 Research Design and Goals

The following steps were to decide on the research design and approach. This is a descriptive study that profiles and describes the media attitude and how it represents the societal attitude

toward African refugees. In terms of approach, it is an inductive study that seeks to generate a theory that offers additional insight into the cleavage between communitarianism and cosmopolitanism surrounding attitudes toward African refugees.

This study has two main goals in terms of methodology—namely, validity and reliability. In qualitative research, there are many approaches to validity and reliability (Golafshani, 2003). The reproducibility of a study aids in its validity and reliability; the same can be said for generalisability/applicability. Applicability is when the findings can be applied to different contexts or settings. The findings of this study can be used in a different context; as stated above, they can be used in a comparative setting. The research process was based on a compilation of previous studies investigating similar topics. These studies are peer-reviewed and therefore accepted as being somewhat reliable and valid.

Different types of validity needed to be satisfied: face, social, and empirical. Face validity is seen as ‘obvious’ because the results make sense. Krippendorff (2004) explains that it ‘makes sense’ that the frequency of statements made in a newspaper may indicate some level of importance. The second type is social validity, which is satisfied when the study findings add to a conversation about a broader social concern (Krippendorff, 2004). This study aimed to track how attitudes toward African refugees have changed. Refugees have been debated and discussed for decades, and this study adds to the conversation about African refugees. African countries are among the largest refugee-producing countries and have also been for decades. The third type is empirical validity, which is satisfied when the findings can withstand evidence from other studies and already-established theories.

3.4 Research Context

The context of this study is layered. The first layer is the broadsheet newspaper being used. *The Guardian*, a left-wing UK-based broadsheet newspaper, is the lens through which societal attitudes will be viewed and tracked for this study. Müller (2018) noted that analyzing newspapers that are usually more sympathetic to refugees provides a more exciting context. This is because if there are hidden or subtle ‘anti-refugee’ assumptions, they are typically indicative of the power structures at play in that society. Fairclough (1995) highlights that texts are suggestive of specific sociocultural discussions. Even having limited exposure to newspapers can affect the formation of public opinion on a topic (Gerber *et al*, 2009).

The second layer is the UK. The UK context will affect *The Guardian*’s reporting, but the reporting then affects public opinion formation in the UK. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) underscore that context shapes the news, and the news, in return, shapes context, creating a self-sustaining or closed cycle. This study extends from 1990 to 2022, including pre-and post-Brexit UK. This decision to leave the EU is important to include in a study surrounding attitudes toward refugees, as a motivating factor to leave had to do with immigration regulation. 51.9% chose to leave the EU in 2016; however, according to a 2023 Statista poll, roughly 55% of people now regret leaving the EU. This shows a shift in public opinion, which needs to be considered when analyzing the shift in attitudes.

The third layer is the broader European context. The refugee crisis is often referred to as Europe’s refugee crisis. As noted in Chapter 1, Europe is not homogenous, but a battle between cosmopolitanism and communitarianism is more visible on the European than the UK scale. This battle influences the media, and as Fairclough and Wodak (1997) already noted, there is a self-sustaining cycle; therefore, the media further entrenches the divide

between the two values. The hypothesis is that as one side gains more traction than the other in public opinion, this will be reflected in the media, and the media will perpetuate it (Gerber *et al*, 2009).

The next aspect is the focus. The focus is on African refugees, who are largely excluded from studies within this vein. Most studies that examine attitudes toward refugees focus on refugees as a homogenous group. Ford (2011) noted that this lack of differentiation is a serious shortcoming that needs to be corrected. Ford (2011) adds another dimension to this selection, noting that most studies make the methodological mistake of researching refugees as a homogenous group and not looking at the origins of each group of refugees. Ford (2011) argued that the attitude toward refugees depended on their origin. If a refugee was from a ‘less desirable’ country, they were not treated as well as other refugees from a ‘more desirable’ country. If a study does examine a specific group of refugees, the focus is usually on Middle Eastern and Muslim refugees and, more recently, Ukrainian refugees (Bruneau *et al*, 2017; Holmes and Castañeda, 2016; Holzberg *et al*, 2018). This is partly due to the large numbers of refugees entering Europe from Muslim-majority countries and now Ukraine (Krzyszowski and Nowicka, 2021). This lack of attention given to African refugees can partially be accredited to the fact that most African refugees flee into neighbouring countries rather than make a dangerous crossing into Europe. This, therefore, creates a lacuna in refugee studies.

3.5 Data Collection and Selection Process

This is a media analysis of the attitudes toward African refugees, and *The Guardian* newspaper from the UK was selected. Other newspapers were considered, such as *Le Monde* from France and *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (SZ) from Germany. However, they did not fit the

characteristics needed. In this case, the characteristics were online and English availability, accessible archives, and the readership size. Le Monde and SZ do not have as comprehensive archives as *The Guardian*, nor are all their online articles in English. They both have a large readership, but that was the only characteristic they met. *The Guardian* was polled as one of the most trustworthy newspapers globally and has a large international readership (Duffy and Rowden, 2005).

The Guardian is a broadsheet newspaper, and broadsheet newspapers are often regarded as more reliable and serious than their tabloid counterparts. Broadsheet newspapers are often seen as being less biased and sensationalised, trying to report on only the facts of an event (Connell, 1998). The reason for using a broadsheet newspaper in this study is twofold. The first is the reliability of broadsheet newspapers, all media suffers from some level of bias, but broadsheet is still seen as the least biased. Reliability was a vital characteristic of this study. Broadsheet newspapers, huge ones such as *The Guardian*, often have online options for international readers who need access to physical copies and have extensive archives. This study is from 1990 to 2022; therefore, access to older newspapers was necessary. It is the digital age, so choosing a broadsheet newspaper may seem outdated. However, it has been polled that many people still read physical broadsheet newspapers, and even more access the online versions of these newspapers, and the reason for this is, again, the reliability factor (Baker *et al*, 2013). *The Guardian* has 3.2 million monthly print readers and 18.4 million monthly digital readers. *The Guardian* also reaches roughly 113 million browsers globally (PAMCo Guardian survey, 2021). Broadsheet newspapers such as *The Guardian* are keenly aware that this is a digital age and, therefore, must keep up with the times to avoid becoming obsolete (Müller, 2018). Using social media platforms, such as Twitter or Instagram, to track value shifts is less reliable as they are more subjective platforms and more susceptible to fake

news (Sterrett *et al*, 2019). This subjectivity and susceptibility meant that the data would be less concrete.

The second step was to select a time frame for this study. Studies are either short time frames, of one, three-, or five-year periods or more extended time frames, of ten or twenty years. Short-term studies primarily focused on an event's immediate effects on public opinion or media coverage. Müller (2018) made use of two time periods in the study. The first period was from the 31st of August to the 6th of September 2015, and the second period was from the 31st of August to the 6th of September 2016. The first period was selected because of two events: Chancellor Merkel's statement and the photos of Aylan Kurdi, a Syrian boy who had drowned while trying to cross the Mediterranean Sea with his family. The second period was exactly one year later. This was to see if the effects were ongoing in the media after one year. The critical factor here was that key events dictated the period. Hameleers (2019) had a similar time frame, with the last three months of 2015 and the first six months of 2016 being analyzed. This was due to the steep increase in media, public, and political interest in refugees since the beginning of 2015.

In the context of this study, more than three or five years were needed to establish a long-term value shift, as no focus was placed on specific events. Additionally, unique, extreme events cause values to shift drastically, but the shift is typically short-lived; a longer timeline accounts for this, and the short-lived changes can be accounted for and discussed alongside the longer-lived shifts. One of the goals of this study was to make a generalized statement about attitude shifts; a longer time frame lends to the credibility of the comments being made. This approach is based on the method used in the studies by Wilkes and Corrigan-Brown (2011), McLaren and Paterson (2020), and McLaren *et al* (2021). Wilkes and Corrigan-Brown (2011) studied why public opinion changes over time, and to establish a credible and reliable result, they used over 20 years of data on attitudes toward immigrants in Canada.

McLaren and Paterson (2020) used 12 years of survey data to examine the extent to which generational change is likely to affect the attitudes toward the issue of immigration in Europe. McLaren *et al* (2021) also used 15 years of survey data to establish whether high immigration leads to anti-immigration sentiments in public opinion. While these studies are not analyzing how attitudes toward refugees changed, their goals were similar, namely establishing a shift or the influence of generational change. Therefore, following their approach to a longer timeline was suitable.

The final step was how the articles themselves were going to be selected. The first selection characteristic was looking for articles about African refugees. The second characteristic was that these articles had to refer to African refugees meaningfully and substantively. In this case, a substantive way included articles that discussed policies relating to African refugees, the impact of African refugees on the West, the situations African refugees came from, and general attitudes toward the presence of African refugees in the West. The exclusion criteria included brief mentions in short news clippings, as they needed more depth to draw conclusions. Brief mentions are newspaper articles that were either short articles of less than 200 words or only mentioned African refugees once throughout the piece. This approach to data selection was influenced by Maricut-Akbik (2021), who noted that short articles are less valuable; therefore, focusing on longer articles was the better option. Any papers not within the scope or directly related to the research context were excluded.

Data collection started with deciding on a search framework and selecting keywords, devising cross-sectional search strings, and using keyword-in-context (KWIC) search techniques (Stemler, 2001). A similar search strategy was used in a study by Müller (2018). The study investigated the construction of cultural borders around Muslim refugees in German and British media. The keywords used by Müller (2018) were directly related to Islam, as that was the focus of the study, and the primary keyword or search word was 'Islam'

and ‘Muslim’. This study's primary keyword or search word was ‘Refugee.’ A cross-sectional search string was then created to cross-reference the results from the preliminary keyword search. The search string included words such as ‘African’, ‘Libyan’, ‘Somali’, ‘Migrant’ and ‘asylum-seeker’. This was to help check that articles were not being left out and helped narrow down the analyzed reports. The KWIC search method is an additional step to ensure that the words are being used correctly, as both the keywords and the cross-sectional search string had results unrelated to the context of African refugees.

This research had to be conducted in two different searches. The first archival search yielded 13193 matches or references to refugees in general. A match or reference is the frequency of the word ‘refugee’ in a single article. Articles with more matches meant the word ‘refugee’ appeared more frequently. A single article could contain between one and twenty references/matches to refugees; of those, only 882 articles were identified as directly and substantively addressing African refugees. The 882 articles contained between two and six references/matches to African refugees, which amounted to a minimum of 1764 references/matches and a maximum of 5292 references/matches, or between 6.7% and 40.1% of the overall number of matches.

The second search was employed because *The Guardian*’s digital newspaper archive had no articles referencing refugees in any capacity from 2004 to 2021. A secondary advanced search was used to find articles from those missing years. *The Guardian* website archives offer an advanced search function, in which the word ‘refugee’ was used again as the primary word to guide the search. This yielded a result of 35800 matches/references, of which 182 articles were identified as substantively referring to African refugees, with roughly two to eight references/matches per article. This amounted to a minimum of 364 matches and a maximum of 1456 matches, or between 0.5% and 4.1% of the overall number of matches. This decline in the number of articles can be attributed to several factors. The one main factor was that

during this time, most of the articles focused on Middle Eastern and, more specifically, Syrian refugees. That is because of the multiple conflicts in those areas during those years, and conflicts are still the biggest producer of refugees (Krzyzanowski *et al*, 2018).

The total sample was large; therefore, it was divided into eight groups, each containing three to four years' worth of newspaper articles. The decision to split the sample into smaller groups was based on the studies by Wilkes and Corrigan-Brown (2011) and McLaren *et al* (2021). Both studies worked with large amounts of data, analyzing why attitudes change toward immigrants over roughly 20 years. Wilkes and Corrigan-Brown (2011) broke their data set into two different components, namely cohort and period components. McLaren *et al* (2021) also made use of a similar method. The group division for this research is similar to the period component in those two studies. Each group was coded selectively rather than line-by-line for each trend. All results were judged if they covered African refugees.

3.6 Data Analysis Technique: Content Analysis and Trend Monitoring

This study seeks to draw conclusions about societal attitudes from the texts in *The Guardian*. As Krippendorff (2004) explained, content analysis is more than tracking word frequency; it is context-sensitive and can make replicable and valid inferences from texts (Stemler, 2001). Content analysis can provide an empirical basis for monitoring shifts in public opinion (Stemler, 2001). Six features of texts are essential to content analysis. The first is that texts have no objective qualities; the reader gives the meaning of a text. The second feature is that texts have no single meanings in that there are many different perspectives to be considered. One text can be understood in ten different ways (Krippendorff, 2004). The third feature is that the meanings invoked by texts need not be shared, which means that finding 'common ground' is not essential and would infringe upon the empirical aspect of content analysis.

(Krippendorff, 2004). The fourth feature is that the meanings (contents) speak to something other than the given text, based on the fundamental idea that words have more profound meaning and can represent something more significant than what is seen at first glance. The fifth feature is that texts have meanings relative to specific contexts, discourses, or purposes (Krippendorff, 2004). A text's meaning will change depending on the context in which it is analyzed or for the purpose of its analysis. The sixth and final feature is that the nature of text demands that content analysts draw specific inferences from a body of texts to their chosen context. Texts never speak for themselves, they inform people, and those people then draw ideas about the texts, depending on their social reality (Krippendorff, 2004).

Content analysis is comprised of several steps (Luo, 2023). The first is identifying the data or content for analysis (Luo, 2023). The data/content was identified: *The Guardian* newspaper articles that substantively speak to African refugees between 1990 and 2022. The second step was to define the units and categories of analysis (Luo, 2023). Individual words and phrases were tracked and coded. Then more conceptual categories were also coded. The third step was to define coding rules. The fourth step was to code the content. The fifth and final step was to analyze and discuss the results (Luo, 2023).

This study's content analysis process used *a priori* and emergent coding (Stemler, 2001). *a priori* codes are codes produced by the researcher and then applied to the text (Blair, 2015). These codes can be from previous studies or be guided by the research question. The *a priori* codes for this study were communitarianism and cosmopolitanism; the research question, the WVS cultural map, and the deepening cleavage informed them. These broad codes were used to categorize statements from newspaper articles. From these statements, emergent codes were revealed. Emergent coding was used in a study by Stemler and Bebell (1999) to track school mission statements and draw inferences about the primary reason for their continued existence. The data collected in that study was then made available for future use to compare

future mission statements to see if a change had occurred. Emergent coding is when the codes (sometimes called patterns or trends) come from the data and are formed without relying on prior assumptions (Blair, 2015). The emergent codes formed the basis for the six main trends that tracked the value shifts in attitudes toward African refugees.

The emergent codes for communitarianism that came from the data were; security risk, cultural questions, threat, homogenous, cohesion, stability, bogus versus genuine refugees, race, racism, xenophobia, national pride, economic concerns, economic strain, dangerous journeys, dangerous crossings, misinformation, deportation, separation, us versus them, fear, smuggling, identity, populist, right-wing, conflict, violence, strict borders, limiting numbers, out of sight, prejudice, cold welcome, European values, European culture, structural issues, high-risk countries, moral panic, out of control, repatriation, hysteria, fortress Europe, and white-list.

The emergent codes for cosmopolitanism that came from the data were; integration, acceptance, open-door policies, victim, rescue, humanitarian, assistance, aid, helping hand, flood, mass movement, tolerance, needing help/saving, better access, opportunities, sympathy, sports connection/sporting ability, 'good' refugees, international, transnational, open borders, sensationalized, liberal, left-wing, responsibility, welcoming, multicultural, global, globalization, human rights, agency, choice, persecution, unsafe, and protection.

3.7 Emerging Trends: Tracking Value Changes from 1990 – 2022

The *a priori* codes created a binary between cosmopolitanism and communitarianism. The WVS and Inglehart and Welzel's cultural map helped divide the values seen in the emergent codes. The communitarian codes were then grouped into three broad trends. The same was done with the cosmopolitan codes; they were also grouped into three general trends. By

creating this binary, patterns were easy to identify, and the prevalence of each trend was easier to track. Trends one, two, and three were communitarian, and trends four, five, and six were cosmopolitan. The trends had to be broader so that generalization could be drawn from the conclusions produced by the analysis of one newspaper (Krippendorff, 2004). The trends could not be applied to different contexts if they were too niched or specific to *The Guardian*.

Trend one focused on ‘Questions about culture’. This was a communitarian trend. The codes constituting this trend were: culture, race, racism, xenophobia, us versus them, moral panic, European culture, homogenous, European values, prejudice, dangerous crossings, hysteria, and separation.

Trend two focused on ‘National stability and cohesion’. This was a communitarian trend. The codes constituting this trend were: cohesion, stability, national pride, economic strain, economic concern, right-wing, populist, identity, limiting numbers, deportation, repatriation, out of sight, cold welcome, and homogenous.

Trend three focused on ‘Security concerns’. This was a communitarian trend. The codes constituting this trend were: security risk, threat, bogus versus genuine refugees, dangerous journeys, high-risk countries, structural issues, out-of-control, White-list, strict borders, fear, violence, conflict, smuggling, misinformation, and fortress Europe.

Trend four focused on ‘Open-door narratives’. This was a cosmopolitan trend. The codes constituting this trend were: open-door policies, acceptance, better access, sympathy, tolerance, humanitarian, responsibility, human rights, open borders, liberal, left-wing, transnational, global, and international.

Trend five focused on ‘Integration efforts’. This was a cosmopolitan trend. The codes constituting this trend were: integration, tolerance, persecution, opportunities, protection, unsafe, aid, assistance, multicultural, welcoming, and globalization.

Trend six focused on the ‘Removal of identity’. This was a cosmopolitan trend. The codes constituting this trend were: victim, helping hand, flood, mass movement, needing help/saving, rescue, sports connection/sporting ability, ‘good’ refugees, choice, sensationalized, and agency.

The next step was to establish a ‘starting’ value. The ‘starting’ value was established by identifying the most prevalent trends in Group 1 (1990 – 1993) and whether those trends were on the cosmopolitan or communitarian side of the binary. Each group had its dominant trend, and any deviations from the prevalence of the trends in Group 1 were tracked. The most prevalent trends in Group 8 were then established and compared to those in Group 1.

3.8 Methodological Limitations, Considerations, and Consequences

Several limitations and considerations of this study need to be discussed. The first is that it is not a comparative study. Due to the time constraints of this study, a complete comparative analysis of value shifts was not possible. For this study to truly represent every aspect of value shifts through a media lens, at least two European newspapers from the left and two from the right would have to be assessed across 32 years. That would require more time and additional researchers to assist with data analysis. Using a widely read and easily accessed broadsheet newspaper mitigates certain constraints on representation. A widely read newspaper will usually represent a widely accepted view by society.

The choice to use a broadsheet newspaper instead of in-person interviews to assess value changes was multifaceted, the first aspect was financial constraints, and the second was due to the global pandemic. South Africa was on the red list for an extended period, making it incredibly difficult to travel to Europe for in-person interviews. The financial constraints were based on flight ticket prices, accommodation costs, and the value of the Rand. In

addition to this, using media to identify prevalent values is not entirely uncommon. The media is often used to determine how refugees are represented and what that representation means (Bruneau *et al*, 2017; Holmes and Castañeda, 2016; Holzberg *et al*, 2018, Krzyzanowski *et al*, 2021, and Müller, 2018). This is done to see if the media is becoming discriminatory toward certain groups. However, the values that inform those attitudes and representations are not assessed and tracked over an extended period. In this case, the media is being used to identify a shift in value systems that inform the media's attitudes toward African refugees.

The search functions and archives themselves proved to be a limitation. The digital archives had no articles referencing refugees in any manner between 2004 and 2021. They have not been updated fully, which is a limitation for this study and future studies that want to investigate *The Guardian's* reporting on refugees. The second search function aided in filling in the missing years, but there was a limitation on the available articles, and therefore there was some concern that there may be an effect on the outcome. The number of articles per year from 1990 to 2003 was significantly higher than in 2004 to 2022. However, this concern was mitigated to some extent through random sampling and selective coding.

The original approach to this research was going to include critical discourse analysis as a method of analysis, and it would have been used in tandem with the content analysis method. However, critical discourse analysis was not used to analyse this data for two reasons. The first as the issue of time constraints, an added layer of analysis is always desirable, but if not done correctly it can detract from the overall findings and analysis of the findings. Without the time to adequately conduct a thorough critical discourse analysis it was decided to be left out. The second reason was that content analysis proved to provide enough depth in terms of analysis to answer the research question at hand. A future study can be conducted, whereby the findings of this study are analysed through a critical discourse lens.

3.9 Conclusion

In summary, the design choices for this study were made based on their suitability and practicality. Guiding research is essential, and it had to have strict parameters to remain focused and be possible. Developing this research process revealed that tracking how values shift requires numerous steps. The coding process proved to have limitations as the work was manually coded. Content analysis allowed not only the frequency of trends to be followed but also for inferences to be drawn about those trends. Chapter 4 will present the findings. This will show the most prevalent patterns and trends across the data and which side of the binary emerged as the most common, as well as other notable attitude and trends. Chapter 5 is where the inferences will be drawn from the findings and will be discussed in-depth and will be related back to the studies that were critiqued in Chapter Two. This study can be categorized broadly as qualitative, interpretive, descriptive, and an inductive study.

Chapter 4: Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the main findings of the analysis of *The Guardian*. Each trend was tracked across the eight groups to establish changes. The binary created in Chapter 3 divided the trends into either communitarianism or cosmopolitanism. This was done in order to answer the research question, “How are the attitudes toward African refugees shifting?” The communitarian trends were tracked and given a percentage of prevalence, and the same was done with the cosmopolitan trends. A ‘starting value’ was established by looking at the trends seen in group one and was then compared to the ‘ending value’ seen in group eight.

The first six graphs look at each individual trend across the eight groups, and the seventh graph is a compilation of the first six graphs. The final graph is the mean percentage prevalence of each trend. This chapter illustrates the frequency aspect of content analysis. Chapter Five will analyse and draw inferences from the frequencies seen here.

4.2 The Attitude Trends Toward African Refugees from 1990-2022: Frequency and Unique Themes

Trend One focused on ‘Questions about culture’. This trend was placed on the communitarian side of the scale. This trend was relatively stable, except for a sharp decrease in group two, which was the 1994 to 1997 period. The average prevalence percentage for this trend was 63% across all eight groups. This trend looked at direct and indirect mentions of race and culture. “Refugee Orphan ‘Tortured as Witch’,” (Dodd, V., 2005, Refugee Orphan ‘Tortured as Witch’, *The Guardian*, 10 May) “Black Need, But Only Whites Receive” (Vidal, J., 1999, Black Need, But Only White Receive, *The Guardian*, 12 August). These headlines raise questions about culture and race.

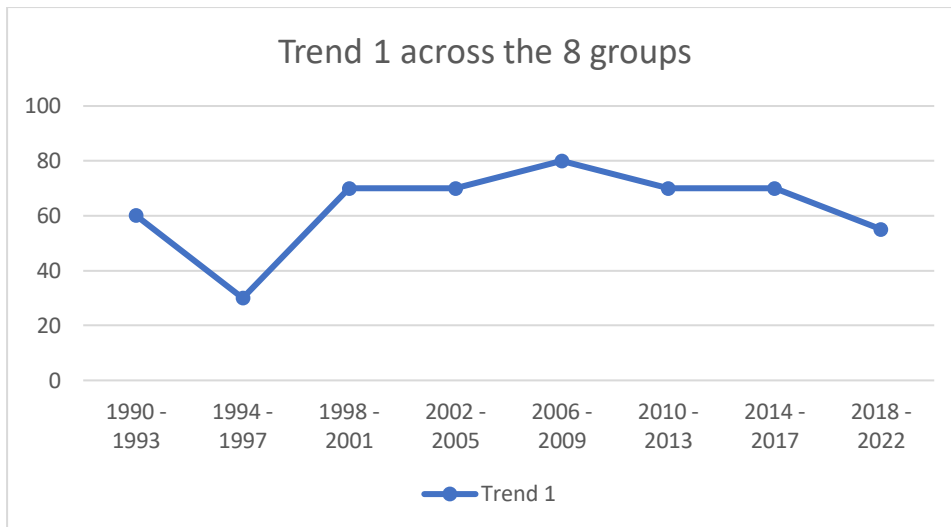


Figure 1: The prevalence pattern of Trend One across the eight groups.

Trend Two focused on ‘National pride and cohesion’ this was a communitarian trend. This trend steadily rose between group 3 and group 6; from 1998 to 2013, national pride rose. It decreased in Groups 7 and 8 but was still high compared to Group 1. The average prevalence percentage for this trend was 46% across all eight groups. “The Siege of Britain,” this headline brings into question the cohesion of Britain (Alibhai-Brown, Y., 1995, The Siege of Britain, *The Guardian*, 25 October).

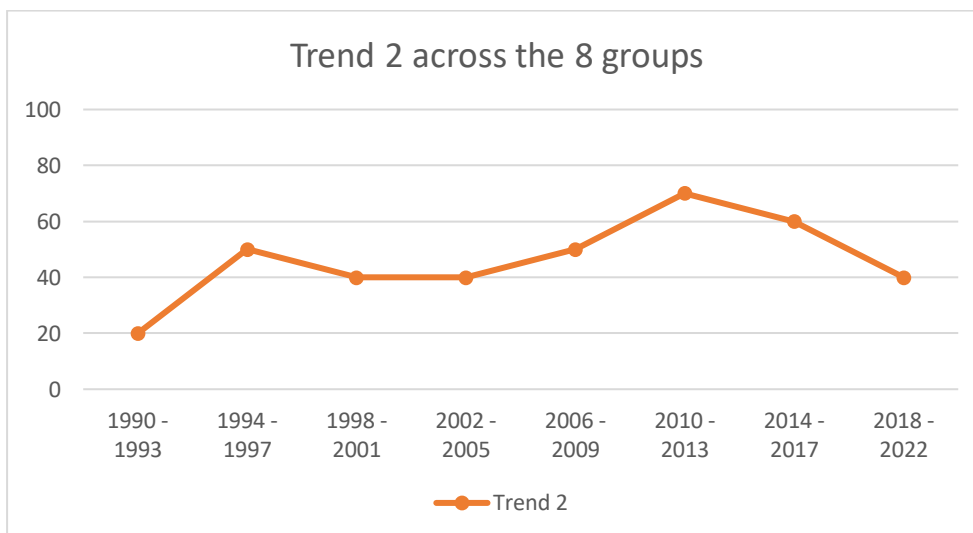


Figure 2: The prevalence pattern of Trend Two across the eight groups.

Trend Three focused on ‘Security concerns’. This is a communitarian trend and was, on average, the most prevalent trend across all eight groups. Trend three never dropped below 50% across all eight groups. The average prevalence percentage for this trend was 68% across all eight groups. “1M African Migrants may be en route to Europe, Says Former UK Envoy” (Wintour, P., 2017, 1M African Migrants may be en route to Europe, Says Former UK Envoy, *The Guardian*, 2 April). Headlines like this immediately bring up questions about security.

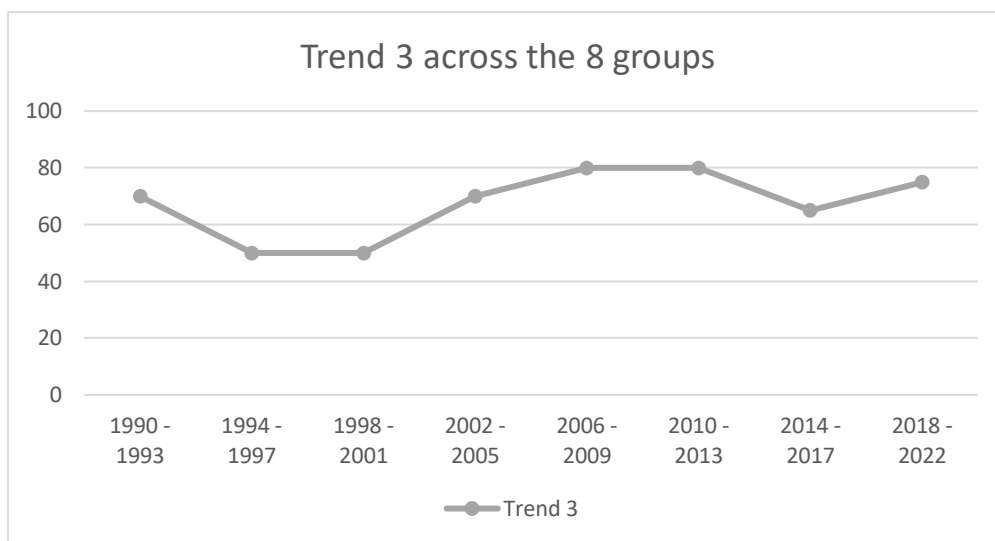


Figure 3: The prevalence pattern of Trend Three across the eight groups.

Trend Four focused on ‘Open-door narratives’, this was a cosmopolitan trend. This was the second least prevalent trend across all eight groups. The average prevalence percentage for this trend was 20% across all eight groups. This trend was stable, with only a maximum deviation of 20% between groups. “Why Won’t the World Tackle the Refugee Crisis?” this headline was to encourage open-door policies globally (McVeigh, T. and Townsend, M., 2017, Why Won’t the World Tackle the Refugee Crisis? *The Guardian*, 17 September).

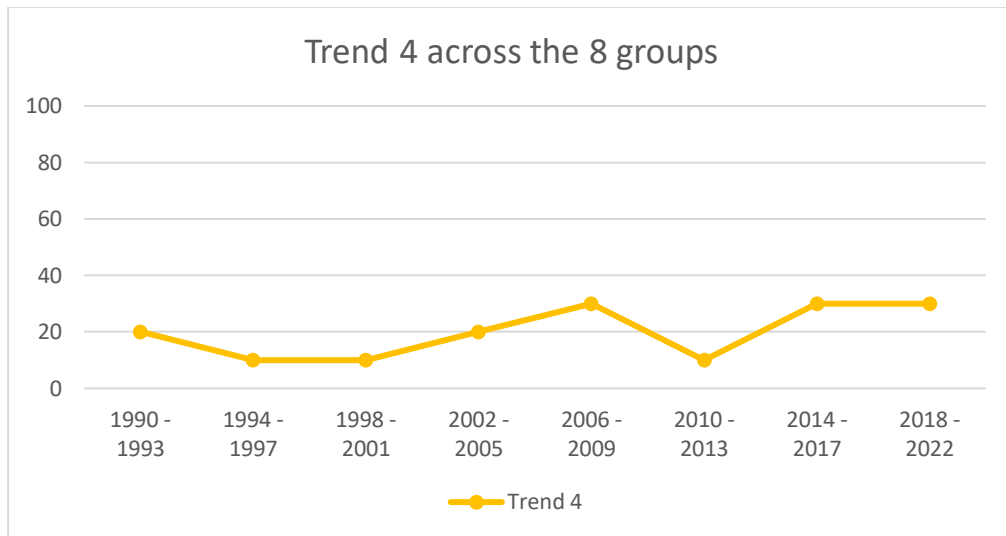


Figure 4: The prevalence pattern of Trend Four across the eight groups.

Trend five focused on ‘Integration efforts’, this was a cosmopolitan trend. This trend was the least prevalent trend across all eight groups. The highest prevalence percentage was 30%. The average prevalence percentage for this trend was 19% across all eight groups. “Treatment of Asylum Seekers ‘is Inhumane’” this headline critiqued the treatment of refugees (Travis, A., 2003, Treatment of Asylum Seekers ‘is Inhumane’, *The Guardian*, 11 February).

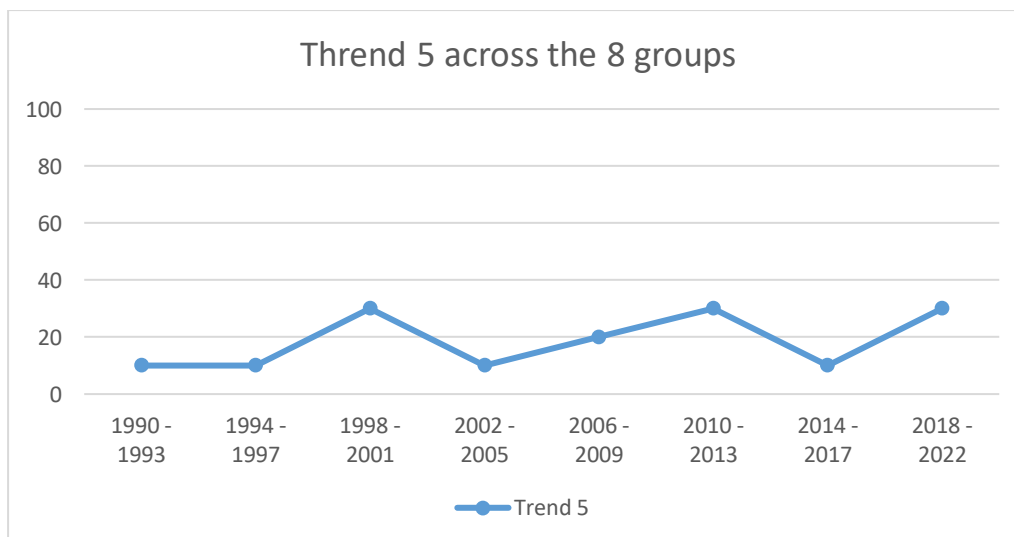


Figure 5: The prevalence pattern of Trend Five across the eight groups.

Trend six focused on the ‘Removal of Identity’, a cosmopolitan trend. This trend saw a sharp but short-lived increase in group seven from 2014 to 2017. The average prevalence percentage for this trend was 30% across all eight groups. the phrases such as: flood, tide, victim and vulnerable were among the codes. “Tide of Refugees Flood Spanish Beaches” and similar headlines or phrases were seen in *The Guardian* (Carroll, R., 2000, Tide of Refugees Flood Spanish Beaches, *The Guardian*, 28 August).

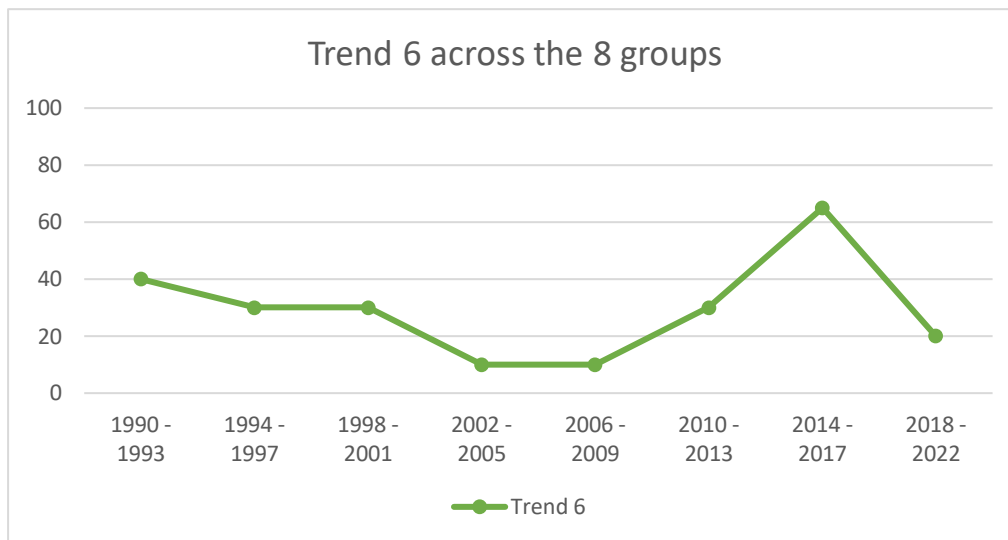


Figure 6: The prevalence pattern of Trend Six across the eight groups.

The ‘starting’ value was predominantly communitarian, with communitarian values being present across 68% of the articles on average, compared to a 32% average prevalence of cosmopolitan values, as seen in Figure 9. Trend Three was the most prevalent communitarian trend, and Trend Six was the most prevalent cosmopolitan trend, as seen in Figure 7. Regarding average prevalence, the ‘ending’ value in group eight did not deviate from the ‘starting’ value in group one. Communitarian values were present across 68% of the articles, compared to a 32% average prevalence of cosmopolitan values, as seen in Figure 9. Trend

Three was the most prevalent communitarian trend, and Trends Four and Five were the most prevalent cosmopolitan trends, as seen in Figure 7.

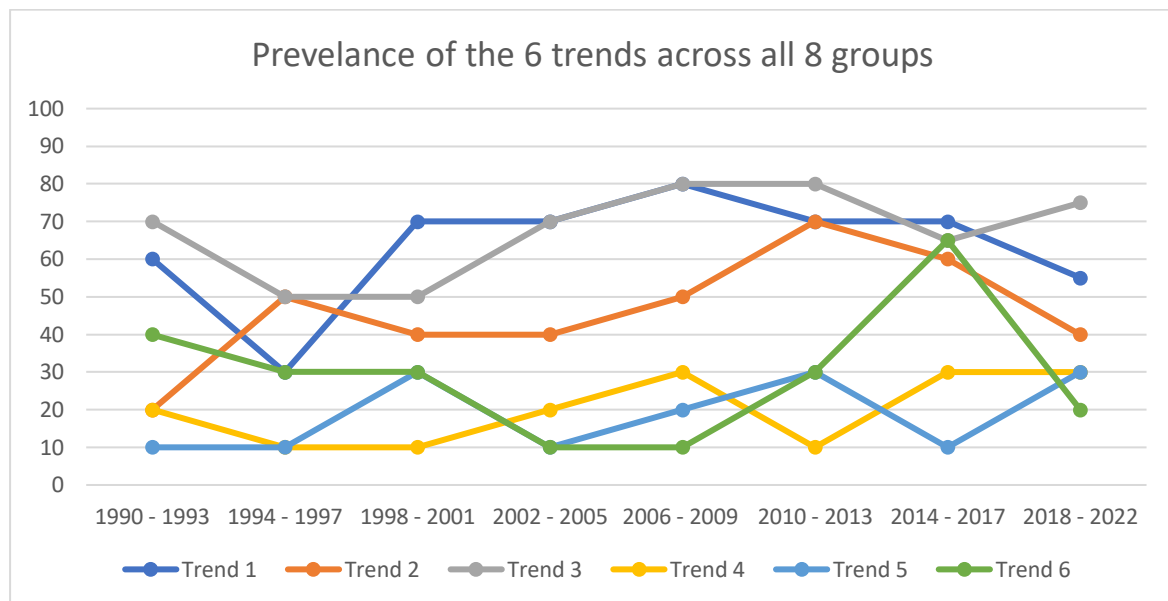


Figure 7: A compilation of the previous six trend graphs.

The ‘most communitarian’ group was Group 4, 2002 – 2005, with an average prevalence of 82% communitarian value. The ‘most cosmopolitan’ group was Group 7, 2014 – 2017, with an average prevalence of 35% cosmopolitan value, as seen in Figure 9. Trend Three was the most prevalent communitarian trend, with an average of 68%, and Trend Six was the most prevalent cosmopolitan trend, with an average of 30%, as seen in Figure 8.

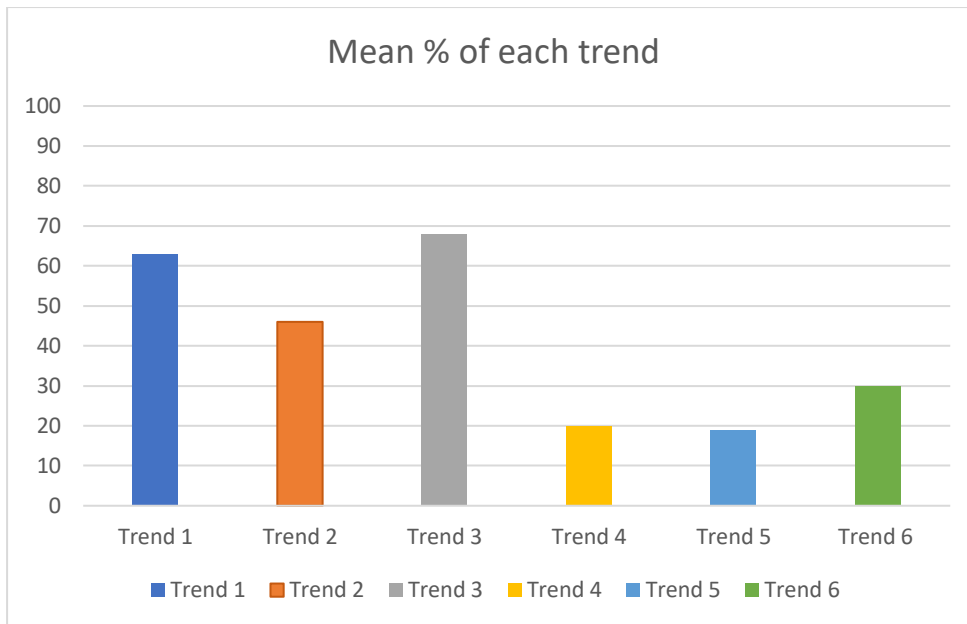


Figure 8: The mean percentage of each trend calculated across the eight groups.

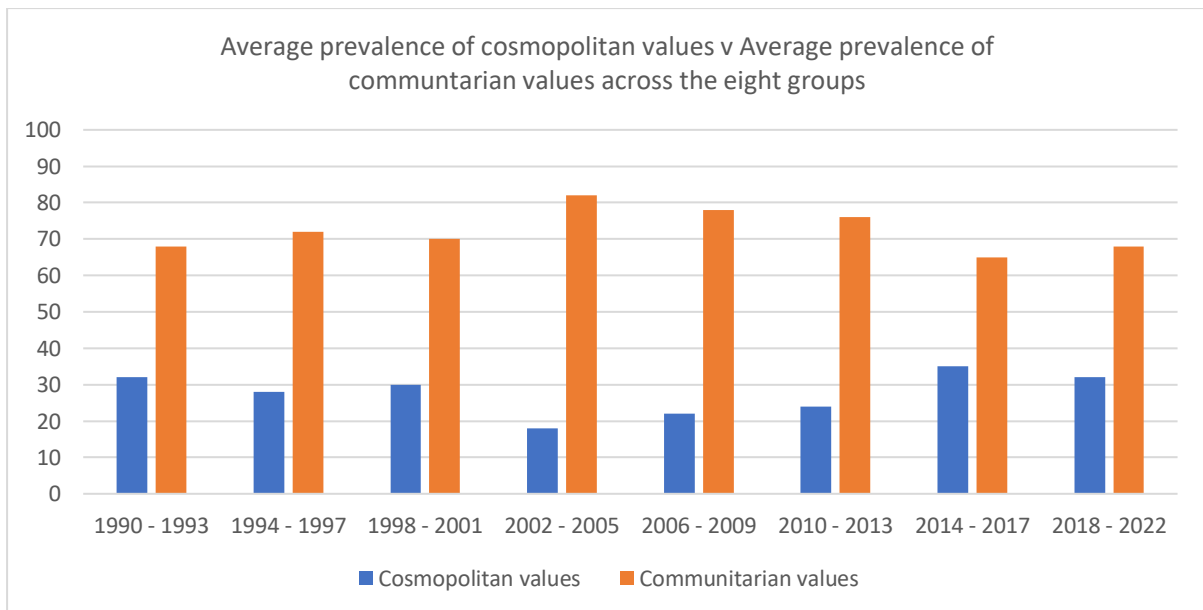


Figure 9: The average prevalence of each value set across the eight groups.

There were a few unique ideas that were repeated. They fall into the broader trends but are worth noting. The first is that *The Guardian* noted that in 2003, the UK planned to ‘export’

asylum-seekers to Albania, and in exchange, Albania would receive some form of economic compensation. The same trend started again in 2022, with an ‘export’ deal between Rwanda and UK being developed. In addition, refugees are also being sent to areas of the UK where there is little to no access to legal aid.

The Guardian has a trend of denouncing and criticizing European and British government policies and narratives deemed ‘unfair’ toward refugees. This can be seen throughout the 32 years. When the ‘White List’ was introduced in the 1990s, *The Guardian* was a vocal opponent of the policy. However, there is a noted silence regarding supporting ‘pro-refugee’ policies. *The Guardian* did not openly or actively promote ‘pro-refugee’ policies, nor were they discussed in the same way as ‘anti-refugee’ policies.

Race and culture were both frequently mentioned. The indirect references to race and culture were seen, especially when discussions around Kosovan and Ukrainian refugees intersected with discussions about African refugees. This intersection highlights the tension between racism and xenophobia that *The Guardian* attempts to tackle throughout the years.

4.3 Conclusion

As seen above, communitarian trends are still the most prevalent value, with no deviation between Group 1 and Group 8. However, the deviations seen between those two groups will be discussed in Chapter Five. Contextualizing these results is important; the frequency of these results indicates some level of face validity in that the most ‘talked about’ trend is the most important. However, face validity does not cover the nuances that will be revealed. The most ‘talked about’ trend has importance, but the less frequent trends, while on face value seem less important, will offer great insight into why certain ideas are on the rise and why others are seemingly fading into the periphery.

Chapter Five will highlight that there are more nuanced aspects to these trends than the frequencies can show. Chapter Five forms the second part of content analysis by framing the trends so that they can be used to answer the research question at hand. Chapter Five will be divided into six main sections, namely ‘The Rise of Right-Wing Populism in Europe’, ‘Realistic Concerns or Sensationalising Moral Panic?’, ‘African Refugees: The Intersection of Racism and Xenophobia’, ‘The Homogenous Refugee Identity’, ‘Open-Door Policies versus Securitization Policies’, and ‘What does this mean for the communitarian-cosmopolitan cleavage?’

Chapter 5: Discussion

5.1 Introduction

The research question guiding this study was “How are the attitudes toward African refugees shifting?” Communitarian values are seemingly dominating *The Guardian’s* coverage of African refugees. *The Guardian* is a left-wing newspaper, so the outcome was slightly unexpected. The assumption was that a left-wing newspaper will have higher cosmopolitan values. Communitarian values remained the most prevalent values across all eight groups. However, it was noted in Chapter Two that communitarian values are not always misaligned with left-wing stances.

This chapter will discuss the findings and contextualise these findings, because without context the frequency of trends can be misleading, and as noted in Chapter Two misinformation or misleading information can warp public opinions (Moore-Berg *et al*,2022). The trends will be discussed in six separate sections, each addressing key elements of the trends seen in *The Guardian* and the trends seen in Chapter Two. The first section looks at the rise of right-wing populism in Europe. This has been argued to be one of the contributing factors to the maintenance of communitarian attitudes both in the public and in the media. The second section looks at realistic threats versus sensationalized moral panics. Realistic threats are the genuine and objective concerns that host countries and African refugees faces. Sensationalised moral panics however are not objective and are intended to create hysteria about the arrival of the ‘other’. The third section looks at the intersection between racism and xenophobia. African refugees create an avenue for this intersection to be realised and acknowledged that more than one line of oppression and discrimination is active. The fourth section is the homogenization of the African refugee identity. this is often the outcome of victimization processes that remove the unique and individual identities that refugees have

and replaces it with a faceless mass. The fifth section concerns open-door policies versus securitisation policies. Open-door policies and securitisation policies are opposite in terms of trends as well, open-door policies will reach a peak and then crash, and that crash is followed by a peak in securitization policies, and so the cycle goes. The sixth and final section looks at the effect on the communitarian-cosmopolitan cleavage and posits that African refugees can now be viewed as their own class and under Marx's definition as a community.

5.2 The Rise of Right-Wing Populism in Europe

There is a definite rise of right-wing populism in Europe. Many right-wing parties have gained majority votes in many recent national elections across Europe (Henley, J., 2023, How Europe's Far Right is Marching Steadily into the Mainstream, *The Guardian*, 30 June). Italy, Spain, France, and Finland all saw these right-wing parties, that used to exist on the fringe of politics, have now gained popularity and in some cases gained majority votes in parliamentary elections. Noury and Roland (2020) highlight that there are two causes for the rise of populism, economic and cultural causes. Ever since the 2008 recession populist movements have gained support. This can be seen by the high level of communitarian values present in group 5, as seen in Figure 9. After the Covid-19 pandemic there was mass instability across many economies and unemployment rates increased drastically. As noted in Wilkes and Corrigan-Brown (2011) macro-economic conditions have a greater effect on attitudes than other factors. Unemployment rates play an important role as there is the belief that foreigners and in this case refugees, will take jobs away from host citizens. This is not entirely accurate, the belief that foreigners take jobs is based on the fact that many employers will employ foreigners as they can be more easily exploited than host citizens. Employers can 'get away with' paying foreigners less for the work they do. Therefore, blaming immigrants and refugees for this is unfair as they are not the cause of the problem, immoral employers

are². All these overlapping aspects create economic anxiety, and that anxiety is capitalised on by right-wing movements to promote anti-refugee policies.

In addition to this, economic instability will undoubtedly have an effect on the ‘common good’ according to communitarian values. If the ‘common good’ is threatened the responsibility of the government will be to ensure that it is not destroyed. Right-wing populism focuses on this responsibility, by claiming that the presence of refugees will put the economic stability of the country at risk. Host citizens do not want to risk their own economic well-being. It is human nature to protect ourselves. However, right-wing populists often hyperbolize the economic burden of refugees, and they often leave out the fact that refugees can be an economic benefit as well (Wilkes and Corrigan-Brown, 2011). Trend Two was one of the most prevalent trends, and national pride and cohesion would be affected by economic instability that was threatening the ‘common good’.

The second aspect is culture. Right-wing populists claim to want to protect the national identity, be it a broader European identity or a national identity such as the Hungarian identity. de Ornella and Michelsen (2019) highlight that the New Right have redefined who constitutes ‘the people’. Following Trend One, which tracks the pattern of questions concerning culture and Trend Two regarding national pride and cohesion, ‘the people’ would be the host citizens and refugees would not be considered part of the people. African refugees would be seen as ‘other’ to ‘the people’. National pride relies on the existence of a self and in order for there to be a self there has to be the ‘other’. One cannot exist without the presence of the other. This ties into discussion Trends One and Two are linked in many ways as cultural questions often give rise to questions about national pride and cohesion and vice versa. These questions are also used to illicit strong emotions from the public.

² This misinformation has been corrected many times in the media, but the negative media representations of refugees have not changed. Moore-Berg *et al* (2022) argue that the anti-refugee discourse will remain if misinformation is the only aspect that is corrected.

The rise of right-wing movements coincides with extreme events, such as the 2008 economic recession and the drastic increase in refugees moving into Europe in 2015 and 2016. These are not common events, but they are polarising events. As noted in Chapter Three and Four unique events cause drastic changes, but these changes are typically short-lived (McLaren and Patterson, 2020). The reason that the presence of right-wing movements hasn't decreased is because separate unique events keep happening. No one could foresee the 2008 recession, followed by Arab Springs, the Syrian civil war, and the Covid-19 pandemic.

While right-wing populism might explain the rise in communitarian values, however it must be noted that right-wing populism and nationalist movements have used and abused communitarianism. They have used the communitarian approach to pluralistic justifications as an ideological foundation for their racist and xenophobic rhetoric and exclusionary practices. Communitarianism in its original form still promotes acceptance of differences and that communities can live in harmony with one another as long as there is mutual respect for each other.

There is one concern that comes with the prevalence of communitarian values and the rise of the right-wing, and that is the fate of the international approaches to justice. Communitarianism argues for pluralistic forms of justice but does accept that certain global conceptions of justice are justified. Right-wing nationalists may pull away from any or all of these global conceptions of justice and argue for a purely pluralistic conception of justice. This can also happen to laws and the extension of laws. Laws may no longer have an impactful effect outside of their particular legal contexts. The rise of purely positivist laws.

5.3 Realistic Concerns or Sensationalising Moral Panic?

There is the debate between the realistic concern that comes with the movement of people across borders and sensationalised moral panic. It is idealistic and naïve to think that the movement of people across borders is not without security risks. However, the security risks that are being identified are extreme and not commonplace. The evidence that terror organisations abuse refugee channels as a means to gain access to the West is limited. The connection between African refugees and terrorism is not as visible as the connection between Middle Eastern refugees and terrorism. African refugees are associated with groups like Boko Haram, but their usual connection is with being a criminal. The criminalization of African refugees stems from colonial ideas around Africans. Brouwer *et al* (2017) looks at the process of crimmigration in the Netherlands. The criminalization process views black men in particular as criminals first, and humans second. The idea that humanity of black people is secondary, ties back into the colonial idea that black people are secondary to white people.

The legacy of colonial imagery is still seen, and *The Guardian* recognizes that lingering legacy (Pai, H-H, 2020, The Refugee ‘Crisis’ Showed Europe’s Worst Side To The World, *The Guardian*, 1 January). In fact, *The Guardian* critiqued the ongoing Western interference in Africa and other Global South nations. Western influence is often seen as a source of conflict in Africa. Conflict produces refugees and then these refugees seek safety in Europe. However, upon their arrival in Europe they are seen as a threat. Therefore, the security of borders is not only physical borders but cultural ones as well. The security of physical borders can be justified to a certain extent, as controlling not only the movement of people, but the movements of goods and services as well is common practice. The permeability of physical border is often times dependent on the commodity that is attempting to cross. There

is a realistic threat to physical borders that can be acknowledge, but the threat is not only coming from the presence of African refugees (Zürn and de Wilde, 2016).

The threat facing cultural borders however is leaning toward sensationalized moral panic, that finds its roots in the 'reverse colonialism' narrative. Europe is scared that with the arrival of African refugees, European cultures are going to be damaged and corrupted. This damage and corruption are seen in the same way that African cultures were damaged and corrupted during colonialism. However, the linking of refugee movements to colonialism is completely unfounded and misleading. African refugees are forced to flee their homes and seek refuge elsewhere because they are scared for their lives. Their movements are fuelled by the right to life. Their presence in Europe is not out of choice or out of the idea of globalising African cultures. African refugees are being forcibly thrust into Europe³ from situations they had no control over and oftentimes no involvement in either. Colonialism however was an active endeavour. Colonial powers were not forced to flee their home lands, they chose to leave their home lands willingly, and to spread European culture around the globe, and in doing so eradicate other cultures. This was done to place European culture on top of the cultural hierarchy. European culture being one of civility, and African cultures representing the backward barbarian. The reasons for African refugees being in Europe are so vastly different to the reasons behind colonialism. Colonialism also had a power dynamic, the colonisers had power over those they were colonising. African refugees do not have power over the host country or host citizens; therefore, their influence is very limited. The only influence on host culture will be dependent on the host citizens. If host citizens are open to cultural contact, then there might be some effect. It is this reason that the threat to cultural borders is not an entirely realistic threat.

³ Most African refugees stay on the continent, therefore the idea that millions upon millions of African refugees is untrue.

The dangerous crossings that African refugees face is not only the physical crossing of the Mediterranean Sea, but the crossing of these cultural borders as well. Trend Three not only represents the security risks that host countries face, but the security risks that African refugees face when they cross into host countries as well. African refugees are also a community that can experience instability. There are realistic threats facing African refugees, and they arguably face more threats than host communities. They face smugglers, dying at sea, the asylum process itself, abuse from host citizens and now the risk of deportation to third countries or repatriation to their country of origin. The outcome here is that the realistic threat is being faced by African refugees and not host communities. Host communities face the outcomes of moral panic and the sensationalisation of the threat of 'other' on the identity of the host state. However, the realistic and practical concerns are less than that of the African refugees.

The context of Trend Three is dependent on the target of the threat. *The Guardian* recognizes these realistic threats that African refugees face, but when one thinks of security concerns the normative assumption is that the focus is on the host state, but that focus needs to shift. There needs to be a recognition that African refugees have the same moral value as other communities and therefore any threat to them is as important as the threats that other communities face. However, as it stands based on the narratives seen in *The Guardian* the public opinion still views host communities as the ones who are the targets of threats, or at least the target of different threats. The threats African refugees face are seen to be left behind when they leave.

The reframing of African refugees as the targets of realistic threats will take time, as reframing processes have to change the existing narratives and symbolic borders within society before, they can become mainstreamed. This type of contextualisation can also be

applied to Trend One, which looks at questions concerning culture. African refugees may also have questions about the culture of their host states. African refugees have cultures that are also deserving of protection from the influence of the host state. However, there is still a strong link between culture and place, there is an argument that culture is rooted in physical place, and therefore once the African refugees left the continent they left behind their culture (Brun, 2001).

5.4 African Refugees: The Intersection of Racism and Xenophobia

African refugees highlight the intersection of racism and xenophobia. Trend one looked at questions concerning culture, which included questions about race. Race and culture are linked, especially for African refugees. In order to understand this intersection, one needs to understand the type of racism and xenophobia that African refugees face. There are arguments that stem from this around whether African refugees face racism or xenophobia, and I argue that they experience both, a unique version that merges the two. Jensen (2011) looks at the role of othering, as seen in Chapter Two. Creating the other highlights, a power dynamic, those who are othered are inferior and have no power, whereas those who are othering are superior and have the power. This allows for those in power to capitalize on the othering process (Jensen, 2011). The other problem with othering is that it has an effect on identity formation and how we view ourselves, and how we view groups of people. The argument here is that othering can lead to an inferior identity being formed. The idea that if you are 'other' you are not worthy of the same level of humanity. This is outcome of the racial and cultural 'othering' that is done through the use racist and xenophobic narratives.

This leads to the formation of xeno-racism. Xeno-racism forms when the types of discrimination a group faces cannot be differentiated from one another. African refugees are

discriminated against in multiple ways, but it comes down to an intersection of both racism and xenophobia. This also confronts the idea that xenophobia is seen as more ‘acceptable’ than racism. Neither form is acceptable. Cultural conflicts happen, but no one should be excluded or ostracised because of culture.

However, racism and xenophobia while both being discriminatory, have very different power dynamics. Racism is deeply entrenched within the system of white supremacy that created a racial hierarchy that placed black people at the bottom of the social order. African refugees are drastically phenotypically different from Europeans, therefore any argument that claims to be ‘colour-blind’ is going to lack nuance. This can be seen in the vastly different treatment of white refugees and black refugees. Ukrainian refugees have received an outpouring of support in the media, but *The Guardian* recognised this difference in treatment and commented that it is unfair. By highlighting the unfairness, it plays into the psychological intervention mentioned by Moore-Berg *et al* (2022).

The Guardian denounces these actions as they are outright racist, but it does the same thing. The article about the child refugee who was tortured for being a witch was reported on three separate times, each time the article was relatively long and in-depth. Bernasconi (2014) looks at the tendency to use xenophobia to cover up racism. Xenophobia is seen as more socially acceptable as it is based on culture differences. Race is not something one can control. In this case the article highlights both racism and xenophobia, and the way in which it is reported on is normalising in nature. Making it seem as though refugees often torture their children, is both racist and xenophobic. The normalisation of the narration leads to the stigmatization of the culture and the racial ‘othering’ of African refugees (Bailey and Harindranath, 2005). If identity and culture were not rooted in space and place in the media approach to this situation, the Eurocentric evaluation could have been avoided (Brun, 2001).

Following this, Pailey's (2020) argument for de centring the white gaze of development, ties into this discussion. African refugees are often viewed by the European public as 'less developed' because of their countries of origins being seen as 'less developed'. However, this happens because the default presentation of African refugees is one that dehistoricizes them and their situations. *The Guardian* acknowledges the effects of colonialism on the current situation, but again there is a forgetfulness, that African countries are on a different timeline because of colonialism. The development timeline of African countries places the countries at a very precarious point in development. The broader arena of development is within a global system that is unstable as well. There are a lot of factors working against development in Africa.

Tying this in with the discussion the refugee archetype, African refugees are not aligned with the description of the 'good' refugee, unless they are exceptional. This study draws similarities with the study by Davis (2020). The sports narrative is prevalent in *The Guardian* and African refugees are usually praised and receive better treatment if they have a talent.⁴ The public is also usually more sympathetic to the stories behind these sports stars, forgetting the fact that refugees share a commonality, the objective fear of persecution. The public discourse also emphasizes these stories as success stories, and these 'good' refugees only excelled because they came to Europe, where they were 'given' the opportunity to succeed and develop.

The archetype is arguably undergoing a visual change, due to the presence of Ukrainian refugees. The archetype is reverting back to the archetype described by Kotilainen and Pellander (2022), which was white European refugees. White, European refugees will also

⁴ The connection between physical ability or sporting ability and race is another avenue of study worth exploring but falls beyond the scope of this study.

face less dehumanization as they share more similarities with the ‘ingroup’ (Bruneau *et al*, 2018).

The main outcome from this is that while the mentioning of race and culture is not always done in a negative way, the mere fact that it is frequently mentioned means it is very much on the minds of the public. Frequency has face validity, and in this case the continuous direct and indirect mentions highlight that race and culture are a concern.

5.5 The Homogenous Refugee Identity

Trend six highlighted the removal of identity from African refugees. This was categorised as a cosmopolitan trend on the binary scale. This is a unique trend as it recognises aspects such as the victimization of African refugees. As explored in Chapter Two, victimization is not an overall positive. There is a need to acknowledge that refugees are in fact victims, and they were forced to flee, as their lives were at risk from an objective threat. However, the negative side of victimization is that it removes the unique identities of refugees; they become passive victims.

Cosmopolitanism, by having a more open approach to accepting refugees, and an overall higher level of sympathy, opens the field to the victimization discourses. This is because the tendency to over emphasize that refugees are victims removes the rest of their identity. Cosmopolitan values also focus on aid and rescue, and therefore the idea of being the helping hand saving the vulnerable African victim is perpetuated. Once African refugees have their identity removed and homogenized through victimization, it opens the door to infantilization. The infantilization of African refugees is a common occurrence, as it depicts them as being

unable to help themselves and needing the help of cosmopolitan Europe. This played into the idea presented by Kotilainen and Pellander (2022) that they are passive victims.

Johnson (2011) noted that another aspect was the feminisation of refugees. The feminisation process was not as prevalent in this study. The victimization process was far more prevalent. African refugees were usually portrayed as victims or criminals, but the imagery of female refugees as vulnerable and needing protection was not a common narrative. This could be that the focus when it comes to African refugees is on the criminalization of male African refugees. The criminalization narrative runs alongside the victimisation narrative. African refugees are either victims or enemies. Criminalization also removes identity from African refugees and replaces their identity with the visual of a criminal.

The homogenising identity, however, creates this faceless mass often associated with words like flood and tide. Trend Six explored the removal of identity, which is done when words such as tide or flood are used. The terms flood and wave have negative connotations attached to them. Floods are natural disasters that destroy their surrounding environment (Abid *et al*, 2017). The portrayal of African refugees as floods denotes some level of destruction that awaits the host society. Following this, Trend Six can be seen as fuel for Trends One and Two. A flood of refugees could threaten culture and cohesion.

Trend Six saw a sharp increase in Group seven as seen in Figure 7. Group seven is from 2014 to 2017, the same time period that saw a spike in the number of African refugees arriving in Europe. During this time Germany had an open-door policy and took in over one million refugees. This drastic increase was because of the increase in the frequency of phrases such as flood and tide, but also because of victimization. In 2015 ‘The refugee photo’ which was the photo of the drowned boy, Aylan Kurdi, who had fled Syria with his family, became a symbol of the crisis. While Aylan Kurdi was Middle Eastern, the photo reignited the

victimization process, which meant that refugees were only being seen as victims and the rest of their identities were taken from them, and that process effected African refugees as well.

This threat of destruction ties into the previous discussions. However as noted above African refugees also face the threat of destruction when entering a host country. Some integration policies have been critiqued for trying to remove African refugees' identity in order to make integration easier. However, it is not only a removal of identity, but the adoption of a new one, a more cosmopolitan identity that makes assimilation into the host society easier. One of the critiques of cosmopolitanism is that it can lead to the removal of cultural nuance, or it can lead to one culture being replaced by another, and in its extreme form a version of cultural imperialism (Miller, 2002).

The process of homogenizing African refugees is a realistic threat. The homogenization process is more likely to happen under a cosmopolitan framework and the process has been visible for decades. In Chapter Two Szabó *et al* (2020) notes the historical practice of dehumanisation and along with dehumanisation is homogenization. Homogenization and removal of identity open up another avenue for dehumanisation. The idealisation of cosmopolitanism has led to this sort of critique being largely ignored in public debates, but rather is kept in academic spaces. Public opinion needs all the facts in order to form opinions that can withstand the test of time.

5.6 Open-Door Policies versus Securitization Policies

Open-door policies go beyond merely accepting refugees. They go beyond the obligations highlighted in Chapter One. Open-door policies are underpinned by six characteristics. The first is no discrimination: Open-door policies do not discriminate based on nationality, race,

religion, or any other factors. They offer protection to all individuals in need, regardless of their background (Drouhot *et al*, 2023). The second aspect is easier and simpler procedures: the entry and asylum application processes are made to be more efficient, therefore, making it easier for refugees to access protection and assistance upon arrival. The third aspect is long-term protection for refugees at a minimum and permanent protection at a maximum. Temporary protection may be provided to those fleeing immediate threats, while permanent protection allows refugees to settle and rebuild their lives in the host country (Drouhot *et al*, 2023). The following two aspects link into one another the first is access to basic services and the next is public support. If there is no public support access to basic services may be difficult as public support facilitates integration and acceptance. Integration was the focus of Trend Five. The final aspect is international cooperation, without the help of INGOs and other nations, the burden of refugees would be too great.

In practice, not all countries have open-door refugee policies, and as seen in Chapter Two, many countries are starting to favour securitization policies. This is reinforced by the constant presence of Trend Three throughout all eight groups and by the lack of prevalence regarding Trends Four and Five. *The Guardian* often offered critique on policies that were deemed unfair, such as the ‘Rwanda Policy’. Policies or actions that stopped integration efforts or slowed them were also critiqued. However, there was a deafening silence when it came to supporting open-door policies. This lack of discussion brings one to the conclusion that the public is against policies that are deemed objectively unfair, but do not necessarily want to accept more refugees than they already have. There is acceptance of refugees, but there is a limit to that acceptance.

In addition to this, open-door policies allow for more refugees to enter a host country. When there is an increase in refugee numbers, the prevalence on Trend Six increases. Trend Six has

an effect on Trends One, Two and Three. When these trends increase, securitization policies are seen to increase as well. when securitisation policies increase, the number of refugees being allowed to enter into countries decrease. Therefore, there needs to be a balance between open-border and Trend six, so that this cycle does not keep reinforcing itself.

5.7 What does this mean for the communitarian-cosmopolitan cleavage?

The cleavage between cosmopolitanism and communitarianism is clear, however the findings of this study lend weight to the communitarian side of the cleavage. The findings and discussion add another aspect to the cleavage as well, in that communitarianism is often perceived as the ‘bad’ side of the cleavage because of the misuse of the ring-wing nationalist movements, but that is not always the case. The findings of this study helped remove the normative attachments to communitarianism and cosmopolitanism, both approaches have ‘good’ and ‘bad’ aspects. There is no right side, each have their merits. Therefore, the type of communitarianism visible in 2022 is not necessarily the same as the type of communitarianism visible in 1990.

It has been noted that under the communitarian approach, African refugees are afforded the same protection as they can be classed as a community, or even a social class under Marx’s definition. The first aspect of Marx’s definition was memberships sources, African refugees have the same relationship to the means of production in that they have no means of production and in most cases no relationship either, as many African refugees face unemployment during the asylum process. The second aspect is size, there are over 30 million African refugees, therefore the small percentage that arrive in Europe are still a sizable group. The third aspect is organization, African refugees are forming movements to secure their rights to asylum and safety. African refugees are inherently political due to the

nature of refugee formation. The fourth aspect is goals, African refugees tend to have the same goals, which is primarily safety and subsequent to that some degree of human flourishing. African refugees engage in activities in order to obtain those goals. African refugees can therefore add to the cleavage discussion as they are a valid community.

In addition to this, these findings satisfy the methodological goal of social and empirical validity. Social validity is satisfied when the study findings add to a conversation about a broader social concern. In this case the broader social concern is attitude shifts toward refugees and more specifically African refugees. Refugees and the ever-present refugee crisis are a pressing social, political, cultural, and economic concern. Empirical validity, which is satisfied when the findings can withstand evidence from other studies and already-established theories. In this study the findings are aligned with the findings that emerged from the studies explored in Chapter Two. The Chapter Two studies were studies that were most relevant to helping identify a gap in the literature and provide guidance on how to address this gap. They also provided a basis for comparative analysis, as the findings in this study were compared with Chapter Two findings. By satisfying these aspects of validity, the reliability of the study was secured. The triangulation of validity was seen in the findings and the discussion of the findings.

5.8 Conclusion

While the majority of opinions emerging from this study favour communitarian values, it did not mean that the general European public were more unaccepting of African refugees. The findings of this study aligned with the findings discussed in the studies in Chapter Two. The securitization policies were prevalent and unless they were objectively and obviously

discriminatory, they were not denounced. This was significant as it reflects the public's tendency to rely on out-of-sight out-of-mind narratives.

The discussion highlighted that public discourse regarding African refugees is very similar to those regarding Middle Eastern refugees. The main differences are that African refugees face harsher racial 'othering' than Middle Eastern refugees, and African refugees are connected to criminals, and the rise in crime rates are often blamed on the presence of African refugees. Middle Eastern refugees are seen as terrorists, which are a worse threat, but a rarer threat than the 'everyday criminal'.

This discussion above also argued for the reframing of threat targets to include African refugees. The threats African refugees face, aside from the obvious physical threats, are not that dissimilar to that of host nations. Both hosts and refugees run the risk of changing or losing their identities, but the risk is more real to refugees under certain integration frameworks. If the targets of threats can be reframed it will help close the divide between the 'us' versus 'them' dichotomy as they share similarities, therefore creating 'ingroup' connections (Arcimaviciene and Baglama, 2018).

The broader implication of this study is that with the prevalence of communitarian values not declining, the right-wing populists will gain more traction over time, and as they gain traction, the rights and protections afforded to African refugees, and refugees in general, will begin to diminish. With influential countries in Europe already turning toward right-wing populism, the threat to African refugees is becoming more real every day. Noury and Roland (2020) argue that right-wing populism will continue to rise due to its reactionary nature, therefore the more refugees that arrive the more reactionary the response becomes.

These results are generalizable based on their face validity. However, there are some limits to the generalizability of the outcomes, namely that while the media can be a good

representation of public opinion, it can diverge from it as well. there were no mechanisms to account for any divergence, but rather this study relied on the popularity level of *The Guardian* as the assumption is that popularity is maintained by being well aligned with the majority of public opinions.

These results also align with the cultural map developed by the WVS. It noted that Europe is not homogenous, and that various European nations are found along different spots on the binary. Some nations are more communitarian while others are not. The UK was lying on the cosmopolitan side of the binary represented on the cultural map. However, the recent policy developments in UK refugee policy, such as the 'Rwanda Policy', highlight a shift toward communitarian values, or at least a shift toward right-wing communitarianism to be specific. The UK still promotes free and open trade, but the permeability is limited when it comes to refugees.

This study did not examine the photos and images used in *The Guardian*. Images are often another avenue for sensationalized narratives to emerge. Images illicit more of an emotional response from the public than the written word. Images are often used to solidify the image of the refugee archetype. The images would have had an effect on the frequency of the trends, but the discrepancy between communitarianism and cosmopolitanism was large enough to assume that the effect of images would have been minimal as the images used would have had to align with what was being written.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The main research question of this study was ‘How are attitudes toward African refugees shifting?’ The goal was to draw generalizations about the general European attitude toward African refugees through a popular left-wing newspaper (*The Guardian*) lens and how the attitude is changing.

The starting value was predominantly communitarian, and the end value was also predominantly communitarian, the final outcome saw no shift in frequency. There were shifts between 1990 and 2022, but when directly comparing 1990 and 2022, or rather group One and Group Eight, there was no change. The answer is therefore that the most prevalent attitude is a communitarian attitude. Therefore, lending weight to the communitarian side of the cleavage, tilting the scales in favour of particularistic approaches. The outcome was still slightly unexpected; a left-wing newspaper is usually assumed to be more sympathetic to refugees and therefore have higher levels of cosmopolitan values. Cosmopolitan values are still present, and their presence is still ensuring acceptance, and that refugees still receive protection in host states. The presence of these cosmopolitan values is important, as they help keep right-wing populist policies from ‘flooding’ the refugee policy arena.

However, with the number of refugees rising around the globe and economic instability rising, there is a realistic argument that one might resort to protecting their own community and stability first before that of another community. The rise of security concerns in the current global context is not unreasonable. There is an acceptable amount of intergroup conflict, as it is deemed unrealistic to assume that people from different backgrounds will not encounter disagreements. However, what is important to note is that Trend Three also focuses on the threat that African refugees face. This recontextualization is essential as it highlights

that host states also represent a threat to African refugees. Host states represent the same threat to African refugees, as African refugees do to them.

The role of race and culture cannot be overstated when understanding public opinion and the shifts seen in attitudes. Racism and xenophobia are visible in the media's coverage, and as seen in the studies presented in Chapter Two, they are incredibly influential in the development of the refugee archetype. Race and culture are divisive topics to begin with, then couple them with the nature of African refugees in Europe, and there is a visible clear intersection of different types of discrimination that place refugees toward the bottom of the social hierarchy.

This study added to the larger body of refugee studies. Refugee studies is still a growing academic field with many aspects that remain unexplored. However, in terms of aspects that have been explored, this study reaffirms those aspects, and aligns with the main findings of previous studies, that highlight that attitudes towards refugees are volatile, and are likely to become more exclusionary over time. It also contributed to the understanding of the public attitude toward African refugees who are for the most part left out of studies of this nature. This has been based on the fact that most African refugees stay on the continent, and by remaining on the continent they are not seen as a European problem. Despite the acknowledgement that Western involvement in Africa adds to the conflict that creates refugees. African refugees only become a 'problem' when they reach Europe, and this special attention given to Europe needs to change.

The methodology used in this study was content analysis, relying on both frequency and the contextualisations of those frequencies. The approach was effective, but the coding process could have been improved. The large data sample made coding difficult and time-consuming,

and manual coding has to account for human error. Manually coding, even though it was selective coding, is still susceptible to errors being made.

Critical discourse analysis could have been used in tandem with content analysis to provide another layer of interpretation and to add to the overall validity and reliability of the study. By adding critical discourse analysis, the study would have been a triangulated approach, which is seen as the gold standard for reliability and validity in qualitative studies. However, triangulation is difficult to master and if done poorly it can detract from the study, and for that reason it was not included.

Despite the methodological limitations, the findings and the discussion were still able to satisfy all three types of validity: face, social, and empirical. By satisfying all three of these validities, it increased the reliability and transferability of this study. The transferability of these findings mean that they can be used in future studies.

The outcomes of this study can be used in future comparative studies with a right-wing newspaper from the UK, such as *The Telegraph* (*The Daily Telegraph*). This would provide for an interesting study to compare the values seen in each of them and how different they are, when it comes to refugees, particularly African refugees. The assumption would be that a right-wing newspaper is going to be even more communitarian than its left-wing counterpart. However, it could also provide a surprise, like in this study, by being more cosmopolitan.

The outcomes can also be used in future studies on left-wing newspapers and their influence on public discourse and vice versa. In ten years from now this study could be used as the base for a similar study that wants to track trend changes over an extended time period. It can also be used to in a comparative analysis with a left-wing newspaper from a non-European country, to provide for two different contextual background as well.

It will be interesting to monitor these values and see if they remain the same or change, and what that change looks like. A longitudinal study could be undertaken to further the findings of this study.

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