

Who Deserves Compassion?

**A corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis of
the discursive construction of Syrian refugees,
asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants in UK
newspaper reports published between October
2014 and September 2016**

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Abstract

Background: A body of research exists that investigates the representation of migrant populations in news media texts.

This study extends the scope of inquiry towards the capacity for the discursive construction of social actors to shape readers' emotional and cognitive responses of compassion.

Aims: The aims of the study are to both understand how Syrian refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants (RASIM) are discursively constructed in UK newspaper reports, and establish how these representational strategies function to construct Syrian RASIM as deserving of compassion or otherwise.

Methodology: The study combines the research disciplines of linguistics and the health and social sciences in a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis of UK newspaper reports about the Syrian refugee crisis published between October 2014 and September 2016. Analysis is aided by theories of both compassion and desert.

Findings: RASIM are represented first and foremost as an overwhelming global problem and within a dominant frame of immigration. They are positioned at either extreme of a continuum of threat according to a socio-political debate about immigration, from which their voices are excluded. Their

position on the continuum indicates them as either deserving of compassion or otherwise by virtue of their relational threat to other social actors.

Conclusions: The findings of this study demonstrate how the ways in which RASIM are represented can function to align readers with social actors or create distance between them on emotional and cognitive levels. Judgements about whether or not people deserve compassion for their suffering, offer implications for how people subsequently respond both socially and politically. Compassion provokes prosocial actions intended to alleviate suffering, whilst the absence of compassion leads to either inaction or acts of self-preservation.

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For Bronwyn and for Patrick

Lament for Syria

Syrian doves croon above my head
their call cries in my eyes.
I'm trying to design a country
that will go with my poetry
and not get in the way when I'm thinking,
where soldiers don't walk over my face.
I'm trying to design a country
which will be worthy of me if I'm ever a poet
and make allowances if I burst into tears.
I'm trying to design a City
of Love, Peace, Concord and Virtue,
free of mess, war, wreckage and misery.

Oh Syria, my love
I hear your moaning
in the cries of the doves.
I hear your screaming cry.
I left your land and merciful soil
And your fragrance of jasmine
My wing is broken like your wing.

I am from Syria
From a land where people pick up a discarded piece of bread
So that it does not get trampled on
From a place where a mother teaches her son not to step on an ant at the
end of the day.
From a place where a teenager hides his cigarette from his old brother out
of respect
From a place where old ladies would water jasmine trees at dawn.
From the neighbours' coffee in the morning
From: after you, aunt; as you wish, uncle; with pleasure, sister...
From a place which endured, which waited, which is still waiting for relief.

Syria.
I will not write poetry for anyone else.

Can anyone teach me
how to make a homeland?
Heartfelt thanks if you can,
heartiest thanks,
from the house-sparrows,
the apple-trees of Syria,
and yours very sincerely.

Amineh Abou Kerech

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1. Introduction

1.1. Motivation for research

This thesis documents the course of my PhD journey, which draws together the disciplines of healthcare, psychology, theology and linguistics to investigate how a marginalised social group is represented as deserving of compassion or otherwise.

The motivation for research was rooted in healthcare and my professional observations and experiences as a mental health nurse and in compassionate nursing practice. However, the concept of compassion extends far beyond nursing practice into the domains of psychology, theology, social science, biology and history and this study is therefore conducted across multiple disciplines. The focus of the study was guided by the findings of a scoping review, which suggested that the representation of social actors was an important factor in guiding others' judgements about whether they deserve compassion or otherwise in their suffering. This directed the study's methodology and empirical investigation, which is strongly tied to social scientific methods of corpus linguistics, and seeks to interpret findings of linguistic analysis in light of philosophical questions about compassion.

As stated above, this study was motivated by my professional observations and experiences. As a consultant nurse in mental health, I work with people who are experiencing acute mental health crises. A large part of crisis work involves the detailed discussion and inter-professional formulation of a person's crisis, making sense together of what is happening for the person, in order to provide the most helpful response for the person and his or her family in the immediacy. The way in which this process unfolds is that the mental health practitioner meets with the person and conducts a detailed assessment of his or her presenting difficulties, in order to determine together the most effective plan of care to meet their needs. The mental health practitioner provides an account of this assessment to the rest of the mental health team and offers an initial formulation of what is happening for this person, together with recommendations of how to respond.

I had noticed that judgements are made within these accounts and subsequent inter-professional discussions about a person's perceived deservingness of compassion. To illustrate, in my professional experience, people with diagnoses of schizophrenia and bipolar disorder are commonly understood as being authentically mentally ill and will often be represented as such, through the use of adjectives such as

'genuine'. Doing so suggests a hierarchy of legitimacy and the notion that other people may be inauthentic in illness. Conversely, I had observed that people diagnosed with substance and personality-related disorders are often regarded less sympathetically, and it is not uncommon for professionals to refer to people with a diagnosis of personality disorder as 'manipulative', people who use illicit substances as 'making lifestyle choices' or people who self-injure as 'maladaptive copers'. These frames all have negative overtones and imply a deficit either within the individuals or within their behaviours that have contributed to their own situation and suffering, and fail to recognise the broader context of mental health and illness.

Such frames often go unnoticed by both those who make them and those who receive them, remain largely unchallenged within psychiatric discourse, and thus become normative within culture and practice. They are even legitimised within psychiatric texts such as the *Diagnostic Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM- 5)* (American Psychiatric Association (APA), 2013) and the *ICD-10 Classification of Mental and Behavioural Disorders* (World Health Organisation (WHO), 2004). Furthermore nationally, mental health services are funded and their efficacy measured according to a model of mental illness and diagnosis (NHS

England & NHS Improvement, 2019), which not only legitimises this model of practice within national healthcare provision, but also simultaneously excludes others.

The formulation and subsequent professional representation of a person and their situation is fundamental to informing attitudes and treatment responses; there is a body of literature that draws attention to the presence of negative attitudes and judgements towards certain groups in mental health services, as well as the harmful impact this can have on the quality and their experience of care (Stockwell, 1972; Lewis & Appleby, 1988; Gallop et al, 1989; Conway, 2000; Deans & Meocevic, 2006; Bodner et al, 2011). It is not uncommon, particularly in a crisis context, to observe attitudes and responses that are more or less compassionate, according to the conceptualisation of and communication about a person, their problems and their mental health diagnosis.

Whilst professionally I am situated within a mental health environment, my interest in compassion extends beyond the boundaries of mental health and to the question of 'who deserves compassion?' in its most global sense. That is, I am interested in the *desert of compassion*; the basis on which we

come to decisions about who does and does not deserve compassion.

As will be examined as this thesis unfolds, the desert of compassion is applied as a normative concept to individuals and groups, and particularly those in marginalised populations, including mental health, poverty, immigration, sexual violence and HIV, according to prevailing assumptions about people and the perceived causes and subsequent framing of their suffering.

1.2. Research context

This research study is positioned within the context of the Syrian refugee crisis. The choice of population to investigate the phenomenon of the desert of compassion was informed by the findings of a scoping review and is justified in chapter 3. In March 2011, civil unrest in Syria led to the beginning of one of the largest refugee exoduses in history (UNHCR, 2019a). In June 2019, there were 5.9 million internally displaced people in Syria and 11.7 million people in need of humanitarian assistance (UNHCR, 2019c). By 22nd August 2019, the total number of registered Syrian refugees reached 5,363,155 (UNHCR, 2019b), 64% of whom were in Turkey. The high number of refugees requiring resettlement represents a global humanitarian crisis, with appeals for

increased financial and resettlement support extending beyond proximal nations towards the West. In September 2015, a photograph of the body of a 3-year-old Syrian boy, Alan Kurdi, washed up on a Turkish beach was published in the UK news media and was followed by national outpourings of both anger and compassion in social and news media. Shortly thereafter, the UK Government agreed to increase the number of refugees it would accommodate in the country. This representation of the human cost of conflict was a pivotal moment in reporting and illustrates the power of the media in informing the public, shaping attitudes and ultimately government policy (Vicsek et al, 2008; Croteau et al, 2011; Kosho, 2016).

1.3. Aims and objectives

The overarching aim of this thesis is to establish how UK newspapers' discursive construction of Syrian refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants represents them as deserving of compassion or otherwise. The study is designed apropos the question of 'who deserves compassion, according to whom and upon what basis?' The aim of the study is achieved through a preliminary scope of the literature relating to the desert of compassion, followed by a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis of UK newspaper reports concerning

Syrian RASIM, published between October 2014 and September 2016.

1.4. Overview of chapters

The organisation of the chapters in this thesis reproduces my PhD journey, from preliminary observations and curiosity surrounding the desert of compassion in a mental health workplace, to the choice of RASIM as a subject for investigation and the critical analysis of the discursive construction of the Syrian refugee crisis within UK newspaper reports.

Chapter 2 explores the concepts of 'deserve' and 'compassion' in detail, and offers an overview of the key religious and secular traditions of compassion as they have evolved through history, as well as key theories of desert. The chapter comments on the extent to which theories of desert exist within each of the traditions of compassion, either implicitly or explicitly, and offers an operational definition of the 'desert of compassion' as a discrete phenomenon to inform the methodology.

In chapter 3, a scoping review of the research literature relating to the question of 'who deserves compassion, according to whom and upon what basis?' is presented. This chapter identifies and discusses two key issues that emerged

from the scoping review. First, there was an absence of research conducted from the perspective of those people experiencing suffering and second, studies were designed according to the researchers' own representation of the particular phenomenon of suffering. At the end of this chapter, the focus of research is contextualised and justified, and the corresponding research question confirmed.

Chapter 4 aligns the aims of the study with the interpretivist research paradigm and specifically, social constructionism. A brief overview is provided of the media's role in the social construction of news and its contribution to shaping discourses. The concept of discourse is then presented as it relates to this study, following which the choice of methodology is presented and justified. The study methods are systematically described and the chapter concludes with a note about ethical considerations and the original contribution that this study makes to research.

Chapter 5 provides an overview and preliminary analysis of a corpus of UK newspaper reports of Syrian RASIM published between October 2014 and September 2016. This chapter provides a descriptive and illustrative overview of the composition and extent of the corpus as well as a general outline of its content. Techniques from corpus linguistics are

employed to investigate differences in linguistic choices over time and according to politically left- and right-leaning newspapers. This chapter forms the basis for subsequent analysis.

Chapters 6 to 8 are concerned with the textual representations of RASIM's identity, and how these function in context.

Utilising techniques from corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis, chapter 6 demonstrates how representational strategies contribute to discourses of 'RASIM are an overwhelming global problem to be resisted' and 'RASIM are passive victims'.

Transitivity analysis is employed in chapters 7 and 8 to investigate how social actors are represented in action; chapter 7 focuses on verbs relating to movement, whilst chapter 8 is concerned with verbs relating to helping, suffering and violence. These chapters discuss how the choice of verb functions to construct RASIM more or less favourably and with more or less agency in a political debate concerning immigration.

Chapter 9 discusses the implications of the textual representations identified in the previous three chapters in terms of the desert of compassion. This chapter draws on the traditions of compassion and theories of desert presented in

chapter 2, to offer a critical discussion of how social actors are discursively constructed in the corpus as deserving of compassion or otherwise. This chapter also draws attention to frames that are absent from the corpus and the implications of this. In particular, absent frames include one which concentrates on the alleviation of suffering for millions of people through their liberation from persecution, and one that draws attention to the positive effects of immigration on host countries.

Chapter 10 completes the thesis by providing an overview of the key claims of the study in relation to how the discursive construction of Syrian RASIM represents social actors as deserving of compassion or otherwise. The chapter concludes by suggesting the implications of the study findings for practice and recommends possibilities for future research.

2. Compassion and desert

2.1. Introduction

In chapter 1, the background to my personal and professional curiosity surrounding the desert of compassion and my early motivation for pursuing this study was presented. This chapter provides an overview of the key traditions of compassion and theories of desert, and comments upon how desert exists in each of the traditions of compassion. This study is grounded in the 'desert of compassion' as a discrete phenomenon, and towards the end of this chapter, an operational definition is offered, drawn from the theory, in order to inform the methodology.

2.2. Traditions of compassion

Compassion is a universal phenomenon found in most cultures, across geographical boundaries and throughout history (Nussbaum, 2001; Lampert, 2005; Solomon, 2008; Johnson, 2011). Despite its universality, compassion is largely lacking in philosophical precision and across the literature it overlaps with accounts of mercy, pity, sympathy and empathy (Nussbaum, 2001; Lampert, 2005; Solomon, 2008; Crisp, 2008; Williams, 2008; Goetz et al, 2010; Bein, 2013). However, there are two key characteristics that extend across both history and geography that distinguish

compassion from other phenomena: the presence of suffering and the desire to alleviate that suffering (Wispé, 1986; Lazarus, 1991; Carr, 1999; Nussbaum, 2001; Lampert, 2005; Peters, 2006; Chochinov, 2007; Solomon, 2008; Williams, 2008; Gilbert, 2010; Goetz et al, 2010; Simpson et al, 2014). Early traditions of compassion were found in the great religions, particularly Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and Judaism (Lampert, 2005; Solomon, 2008; Bein, 2013). Later, compassion has been understood as a human characteristic and described within theories of psychology.

Divine compassion

In the Old Testament of the Christian Bible, the emphasis of divine compassion relates to moral justice and manifests as God's mercy and forgiveness towards man for his sins (Lampert, 2005). In the book of Genesis, Adam is cautioned by God that he will be condemned to death if he ate from the forbidden fruit. After Adam eats the fruit, God chooses to show compassion by sparing the lives of both Adam and Eve but banishes them from the Garden of Eden for eternity.

In this tradition, man is regarded as having a natural propensity for weakness, yielding to temptation and failing in his adherence to the Ten Commandments. Prayer provides man with an opportunity to seek forgiveness and salvation

from God for his sins. In this tradition, compassion is not a human quality, but is exclusively divine; God – “the strong and omnipotent” – chooses to bestow compassion upon man – “the weak and the wretched” (Lampert, 2005: xv) – or to condemn him to suffering. God’s compassion is enacted through man’s concrete acts of welfare towards others, typically the poor, orphaned and sick (Lampert, 2005). Here man’s acts are self-oriented, motivated by the opportunity for his own salvation, not his own compassion for the poor, and as directed by God. Indeed, in the divine tradition of compassion it is considered a weakness for man to show empathy towards others and is to be avoided.

Christian compassion/agapé

In Christianity, compassion emerged as agapé, described by Post as an “other-regarding love elevated by an overwhelming sense of equal regard derived from a spiritual belief in the love of the supreme being for all humanity” (2002: 56). In this tradition, humanity is understood as responding to God in filial love and to one another as brothers and sisters. Familial relationships are transcended by a much greater spiritual relationship that unites humankind and extends love to all persons equally, regardless of moral conduct (Outka, 1972; Brummer, 1993; Solomon, 2008).

In agapé, God's word was embodied through Jesus, whose persona provided the possibility for compassion to be both human and divine. Jesus led people in showing mercy and compassion to all and asked man to love others as they themselves are loved by Jesus (Post, 2002; Lampert, 2005). Agapic love is illustrated through the parable of the Good Samaritan, in which a Jew was shown love and pity following a vicious attack by robbers. After being passed by a Priest and a Levite – both Jews – the unfortunate Jew was found and cared for by a Samaritan, longstanding adversaries of the Jews. Here, agapic love manifested through the kindly actions of the Samaritan, who was able to regard his natural enemy as his neighbour, in the way that Jesus had asked (Luke 10:25-37).

In agapé, the motivation for people's compassionate acts remains the promise of salvation; in acting as a medium for God's compassion, they demonstrate their spirituality and closeness to God. Thus, man's actions are self-oriented; it is God's compassion through Jesus that is other-oriented.

Buddhist compassion

The Buddhist tradition is one of universal compassion, in which compassion is directed to all sentient beings equally, without distinction or exception (Lampert, 2005; HH 17th Gyalwang

Karmapa, 2011). In Buddhism, compassion is the conscious state of awareness of the pain and suffering of others and exists on a continuum of ignorance and enlightenment, along which the Buddhist travels in search of the elimination of perpetual suffering.

According to Buddhism, the constant presence of pain and suffering is a universal aspect of all human existence from birth to death (Jones, 1995; Lampert, 2005; Yao, 2008; Bein, 2013; Hoyt, 2014). Buddhists believe that the source of all suffering is desire; the human desire to satisfy what is missing in life, but which can never be realised, for it is an illusion. It is only through the realisation of that illusion that desire and thus perpetual suffering may be eliminated (Lampert, 2005; HH 17th Gyalwang Karmapa, 2011). To achieve this state of compassion, Buddhists must choose to take the path to enlightenment and adopt a lifestyle that meets the moral, intellectual and practical requirements to attain liberation from desire and reach the transcendent state of nirvana, in which there is no further suffering (Lampert, 2005).

The compassionate Buddhist resists feelings of pity or sympathy; such feelings suggest value judgements of the sufferer – that he or she is needier – and this is in conflict with the Buddhist position of equality. Furthermore, the goal of

Buddhist compassion is to reduce the overall amount of suffering in the world; since Buddhists believe that feelings such as pity or sympathy can cause suffering to the person experiencing them, this would only add to the amount of suffering in the world (Lampert, 2005). Buddhist compassion is both self-oriented and other-oriented.

Humanist/psychological compassion

A humanist tradition of compassion emerged in the period of Enlightenment (Lampert, 2005), and is described as a distinct emotion, with its own appraisal process and response profile. In this tradition, compassion is the affective state experienced in the awareness of another's suffering, coupled with a desire to alleviate it (Wispé, 1986; Lazarus, 1991; Nussbaum, 2001; Peters, 2006; Chochinov, 2007; Gilbert, 2010; Goetz et al, 2010). Human beings experience emotions in response to their appraisals of the environment in which they find themselves. The appraisal process affords meaning to the environment in terms of the potential harm or benefit that it may bring, and emotions are expressed in accordance with their own characteristics (Lazarus, 1991; Porter, 2006).

Within the discipline of psychology, the word 'compassion' is often used interchangeably with the words 'sympathy' and 'pity' (Nussbaum, 2001; Solomon, 2008; Crisp, 2008;

Williams, 2008; Goetz et al, 2010). These three emotions are grouped as other-oriented emotions and as being largely concerned with suffering. Empathy is closely associated with sympathy, pity and compassion, yet is mostly regarded as a disposition rather than an emotion. Empathy is explained as the vicarious experience of another's emotions; the observer replicates the other's emotional characteristics, which may vary within a single experience, for example from sadness to joy (Lazarus, 1991; Wispe, 1986; Solomon, 2008).

According to Nussbaum (2001), compassion requires three cognitive components: seriousness, desert and eudaimonia. First, the observer must assess the cause of suffering to be sufficiently serious to warrant a compassionate response. Next, compassion is not deserved where an observer perceives the other to be in some way personally responsible for the cause of his or her suffering, unless, the degree of personal responsibility is considered to be disproportionate to the degree of suffering caused. Finally, Nussbaum argues that the observer must perceive the other's suffering as significant in his own scheme of goals - eudaimonia. Where these three components exist, compassion follows.

Gilbert (2010; 2014; 2015), identifies six attributes of compassion: motivation, sensitivity, sympathy, distress

tolerance, empathy and non-judgement, each of which has a very distinct profile and role in compassion. Gilbert's psychological theory of compassion follows the Buddhist philosophy, in which suffering is regarded as a natural and inevitable component of human life, and human beings' natural tendency to be compassionate can be actively unlocked. Gilbert's theory, like the Buddhist tradition, is one of universal compassion; human compassion manifests most significantly in the parent-child relationship, close family and social groups but this compassion also exists in the witnessing of distress in others, including strangers. Acts of human compassion often manifest in acts of human kindness, donations to charity or philanthropy.

2.3. A theory of desert

Desert – or deservingness – is a firmly established, normative concept that is used in everyday life and is understood and applied in the context of justice, fairness, entitlement and rightness (Feinberg, 1970; Schmidtz, 2002; Feather, 2002; Celello, 2014). Put simply, most would say that people ought to get what they deserve in a given set of circumstances; getting what is deserved is regarded as just and therefore good, whilst not getting what is deserved is regarded as

unjust and therefore bad (Schmidtz, 2002; McLeod, 2013; Celello, 2014).

Theorists have discussed desert in the context of justice, morality, rationality, virtue, merit and entitlement (Feinberg, 1970; Slote, 1973; Feather, 2002; Schmidtz, 2002; Kristjansson, 2005a; 2005b; Rendall, 2013), and commonly hold that it has three basic 'ingredients': a deserving subject (S), a deserved mode of treatment (M) and a desert base (B) (Kleinig, 1971; Zaitchik, 1977; Feldman, 1995; Pojman, 1997; Scheffler, 2000; McLeod, 2013). The relationship between ingredients is shown through the formula:

S deserves M by virtue of B

For a desert claim to be legitimate, all three ingredients must exist.

The deserving subject

There is some discussion in the literature as to whom or what qualifies as a deserving subject (Young, 1992; McLeod, 2013; Celello, 2014). To justify a mode of treatment a subject must possess a particular characteristic or behave in a certain way (Pojman, 1997; Schmidtz, 2002; Celello, 2014), such as being human, sentient, or having the ability to reason (Schmidtz, 2002; McLeod, 2013; Celello, 2014).

The deserved mode of treatment

The deserved mode of treatment is the positive or negative outcome that the subject deserves. Much of the literature describes the deserved mode of treatment in the context of reward and punishment (Feather, 2008; Rusch et al, 2010; Willen, 2012a; 2012b; Petersen et al 2012). However, others suggest that anything which is pleasant or unpleasant can be described as a deserved mode of treatment, such as kindness and misery, financial reward or imprisonment (Feinberg, 1970; Kleinig, 1971).

Desert bases

Desert bases relate to the grounds upon which a subject can be judged as legitimately deserving the mode of treatment and must be a fact 'about' the subject (Feinberg, 1970; McLeod, 2013). Thus, a person may be judged as deserving *by virtue of* a characteristic that he or she possesses or activity that he or she is engaged in (Feinberg, 1970:58). It is the bases for desert which cause the most debate between theorists, and hence which are described in more detail below. What is held as a legitimate desert base can be personal, political, cultural, religious, moral or socially determined (Sher, 1979; Benn, 1998; Hareli, 1999; Feather, 2002; Schmidtz, 2002, Kristjansson, 2005a; 2005b; Rendall, 2013).

Institutional and pre-institutional desert

Institutional desert recognises the conventions and practices of an organisation or larger social, economic or political institution, such as criminal justice, welfare, healthcare and education systems as the bases for desert (Rawls 1985; Cummiskey, 1987; Celello, 2014). Thus, desert judgements are made in keeping with how commensurate a person's behaviour is perceived to be in relation to the defined conventions and practices of a particular institution. To illustrate, within a welfare system, a person may be considered deserving of financial assistance if he or she is perceived to have done all in his or her capabilities to secure employment, whilst he who has not is likely to be considered as undeserving of assistance. In this example, the employment seeking efforts represents the desert base; this is a quality/behaviour of the person; legitimised within the policies and conventions of the welfare system.

Pre-institutional desert theorists describe desert as being a normative concept that is logically prior to any institution and its conventions (Feinberg, 1970; Sher, 1975; Kalmansson, 1995; Celello, 2014). Pre-institutional desert refers to an original state of being that guides desert judgements outside

any institutional framework of principles or rules; that is, what may be perceived as right or wrong.

Rawls (1985) argues against the idea of pre-institutional desert. Rawls bases his argument on a proposal that the concept of justice and fairness is a political, practical issue, and established independently of philosophical and religious doctrines (Rawls, 1985). He argues that there is no philosophical universal truth, and that no consensus about moral or religious values can ever be reached. Rather, members of a democratic society tolerate incommensurate values and instead seek to find common ground in order to agree on fundamental principles, or reduce disagreement as far as possible to facilitate political cooperation (Rawls, 1985). Thus, a just position is based upon mutual acceptance, made by free and equal persons, for the purposes of society.

Rawls argues that desert cannot exist outside a framework of mutually accepted institutional rules, values and principles, made by free and equal persons. It is against these principles that desert is measured, and therefore in their absence, there is nothing to judge; one position cannot be considered any more legitimate than another. Rawls also contends that no one can truly deserve anything in life pre-institutionally, as we cannot be held accountable for any of the natural assets with

which we are born or, in other words, which result from a truly arbitrary process (Rawls, 1971; Scheffler, 2000). Gilbert's tradition of compassion also draws attention to the arbitrariness of suffering, and argues that we find ourselves here "in the flow of life", with no choice of our birth, our social circumstances, our nationality and so forth (Gilbert, 2010:66). Thus, in the earlier example of the welfare system, this argument upholds that the rules, values and principles of the welfare system have been determined through political cooperation, outside of which there can be no legitimate right or wrong in the desert of financial assistance.

Whether institutional or pre-institutional, desert judgements are made against a set of principles, conventions or rules that are judged by individuals, groups or societies as being right. Those principles may be relative to cultures, political perspectives, morals, social or religious practices or institutions and represent the desert base.

2.4. Desert in traditions of compassion

Although it has been considered in relation to theories of justice, desert is explicit in only one of the traditions of compassion presented in this chapter, that is, Nussbaum's (2001) cognitive theory of compassion, in which she identifies desert as one of three cognitive components required for

compassion to be shown. Nussbaum claims that if an onlooker perceives the other to be in some way agentive and so responsible for the cause of his or her suffering, then compassion is not deserved and thus will not be experienced (Nussbaum, 2001). Or, if the degree of responsibility for the cause of suffering is perceived to be disproportionately low to the subsequent degree of suffering, compassion may be mobilised. Thus, using Nussbaum's theory, a formula for the desert of compassion can be expressed as, 'a person deserves compassion by virtue of not being responsible for the cause of his or her own suffering', or, 'a person deserves compassion by virtue of the degree of suffering being disproportionately high to the degree of his or her personal responsibility for its cause'.

Whilst desert is not explicit in the other traditions of compassion presented in this chapter, it is nonetheless implied through the presence of desert bases. Divine compassion involves the evaluation of man's conduct against a moral framework, the Ten Commandments. God's judgement about whether or not to show compassion is informed by the evaluation of human behaviour against this moral framework, and so can be expressed by the formula, 'man deserves compassion by virtue of moral conduct that is consistent with the Ten Commandments'. Agapé or Christian compassion also

implies desert through its requirement that man shows compassion to others because of their shared filial relationship with God. Man is required to act towards his 'brothers and sisters' according to the moral conduct required by God and so one person extends compassion to another person due to this moral requirement. Thus, the desert of agapic compassion can be expressed as, 'man deserves compassion by virtue of his filial relationship with God'. Universal compassion is perhaps the least explicit in any desert claim; however, this tradition implies that the universal presence of suffering in sentient beings is a basis for the desert of compassion.

Nevertheless, the desert of compassion can be complicated and additional factors may function as mediators to the desert base of compassion (Williams, 2008). For example, a person may experience serious suffering as a consequence of his or her own actions, for which they are clearly personally responsible. However, personal responsibility – the desert base – may be mediated by other factors; the person may have acted out of character, or may have acted in the interest of safeguarding others. These additional factors are thus considered alongside the desert base of personal responsibility, and collectively, they inform perceptions of the person's ultimate desert of compassion (Blum, 1980; Kristjansson, 2006; Williams, 2008).

2.5. The desert of compassion as a discrete phenomenon

For the purpose of this research study, conceiving of the desert of compassion as a discrete phenomenon first requires operationalisation of both compassion and desert individually. Whilst compassion is understood and applied variously across historical and geographical boundaries, it holds two characteristics that remain constant across traditions and thus distinguish it from other similar phenomena. Across all traditions, compassion is characterised by the presence of suffering in the self or other(s), and a desire to alleviate that suffering (Wispé, 1986; Lazarus, 1991; Carr, 1999; Nussbaum, 2001; Lampert, 2005; Solomon, 2008; Williams, 2008; Gilbert, 2010; Goetz et al, 2010; Simpson et al, 2014). Desert is expressed by the formula S (subject) deserves M (mode of treatment) by virtue of B (desert base), and all three ingredients must exist.

As a discrete phenomenon, the desert of compassion is therefore defined as follows:

'A person or group of people (S), deserve compassion (M) by virtue of an identifiable desert base(s) (B)'

This operational formula informs the methodology and critical evaluation of the desert of compassion in subsequent chapters.

2.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, an overview of various traditions of compassion and a theory of desert has been presented. Desert has been shown to exist either explicitly or implicitly in traditions of compassion and the desert of compassion has been operationalised as a discrete phenomenon, according to a shared agreement of components within various theoretical accounts. The next chapter presents a scoping review of the literature surrounding the desert of compassion, as set out above, in order to map the research landscape relating to the question 'who deserves compassion, according to whom, and upon what basis?'

3. A scoping review: who deserves compassion?

3.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, traditions of compassion and theories of desert were drawn upon to describe the desert of compassion as a discrete phenomenon. In this chapter, a scoping review of the literature surrounding the desert of compassion is presented, according to the operational definition and guided by the question 'who deserves compassion, according to whom, and upon what basis?' The chapter begins with the choice of, and rationale for the scoping review's methodology, followed by a description of how the review was undertaken; findings are presented and discussed according to the themes identified. As the chapter closes, review findings are mapped to the three elements of the question of who deserves compassion, according to whom and upon what basis. The chapter concludes with a subsequent research question to inform the next part of the PhD study.

3.2. Background

The aims of the review were to (1) establish and summarise the extent and nature of existing research literature relating to 'who deserves compassion?' as a discrete phenomenon, (2) identify themes within the research literature that may

warrant further investigation, and (3) identify any gaps in the research literature, that may warrant further exploration.

3.3. Methodology: scoping review

A scoping review of the literature was conducted to map the research landscape relating to the desert of compassion.

According to Davis et al, a scoping review:

Provides a panoramic and intellectual overview of what is currently known and draws attention to where there are prominent knowledge gaps.

(Davis et al, 2009:1396)

Scoping reviews have become increasingly popular as a method for knowledge synthesis and may be selected as a methodology where the aim of research is to provide greater conceptual clarity about a specific topic, to refine subsequent research inquiries, or as a precursor to a full systematic review (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005; Davis et al, 2009; Levac et al 2010; Armstrong et al 2011; Colquhoun et al, 2014). A scoping review is more concerned with the breadth of evidence than its depth, and can be used to map key concepts, types of evidence and gaps in research across a wide range of evidence, including quantitative and qualitative research, grey literature and policy (Davis et al, 2009; Levac et al 2010; Armstrong et al 2011; Coquhoun et al, 2014).

Armstrong et al 2011 provide a helpful comparison between systematic reviews and scoping reviews (table 3.1):

Table 3.1 Comparison between systematic reviews and scoping reviews (from Armstrong et al, 2011)

Systematic Review	Scoping Review
Focused research question with narrow parameters	Broad research question
Inclusion/exclusion criteria usually defined at outset	Inclusion/exclusion criteria can be developed <i>post hoc</i>
Quality filters often applied	Quality not an initial priority
Detailed data extraction	May or may not involve data extraction
Quantitative synthesis often performed	Synthesis typically qualitative
Formally assesses the quality of studies and generates a conclusion relating to the focused research question	Used to identify parameters and gaps in a body of literature

Mapping these characteristics to the aims of this research study strengthens the rationale for a scoping review as the methodology of choice, in that the objectives of this stage of the study were to summarise the extent of the literature, extract themes and identify gaps in a body of literature in order to inform and refine the empirical investigation that is presented in the following chapters.

Whilst a scoping review does not involve the formal assessment of the quality of studies included, Davis et al (2009) emphasise the need for scoping reviews to be subject to the same degree of rigour as other primary and secondary research studies in terms of transparency, credibility, validity and relevance of findings. To this end, Arksey and O'Malley (2005) have developed a framework that follows a "narrative synthesis approach, particularly suited to the appraisal of contrasting studies that are principally qualitative in nature..... It is based upon an iterative, conceptual and interpretative approach that emphasises the importance of developing a critique based on the relevance, credibility and contributions of evidence" (Davis et al, 2009: 1388). This scoping review followed Arksey and O'Malley's (2005) five-stage framework for conducting scoping reviews (table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Scoping review framework proposed by Arksey & O'Malley (2005)

Stage 1	Identify the research question
Stage 2	Identify relevant studies
Stage 3	Study selection
Stage 4	Chart the data
Stage 5	Collate, summarise and report the results

Stage one – identify the research question

The purpose of the scoping review was to identify opportunities for the next stage of the study, informed by the overarching research question: who deserves compassion?

The specific objectives of the review were to

1. Summarise the extent, range and nature of existing research activity relating to 'who deserves compassion, according to whom and upon what basis'
2. Identify any themes or gaps in the research that may inform the next stage of the study

Arksey and O'Malley (2005) recommend that due consideration is afforded to the aspects of the research question that are of principal importance. This study was particularly concerned with the population being studied, that is, the 'who' of who deserves compassion, as well as the research participants, that is, the people making judgements about who deserves compassion, and the basis upon which the desert of compassion was made. Findings relating to these three aspects, in addition to any identified themes or gaps within the literature represented the desired outputs of the review.

To promote clarity and to maximise rigour, Davis et al (2009) propose that the purpose of the scoping review is 'spelled out'

within its title, through use of a descriptive statement. Thus, the review was entitled:

A scoping review designed to provide an initial indication of the extent of the literature exploring the question 'who deserves compassion, according to whom and upon what basis?'

Stage two – identify relevant studies

The aim of the search strategy was to identify studies that would fulfil the purpose of the review. Given the various accounts of both desert and compassion, each phenomenon was operationalised according to its common characteristics, as identified and discussed within chapter 2. Traditions of compassion were consistent in relation to two characteristics, and for the purpose of the search strategy, compassion was operationalised accordingly as:

The presence of suffering in the self or other(s) and a desire to alleviate that suffering

The key characteristics within this operational definition were

- a) The presence of suffering;
- b) The presence of a desire and/or actions to alleviate the suffering.

Desert is operationally defined through the formula

'A subject (S) deserves a mode of treatment (M) by virtue of an identifiable desert base (B)'

The literature search strategy in a scoping study is guided by the review's aims of eliciting broad results and identifying all literature regardless of study design (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005). It was expected that a limited amount of research investigating the question of 'who deserves compassion?' in its purest form would be obtained. Thus, search terms were selected to reflect the language of compassion and desert theories. Compassion has evolved through history and across theoretical domains, such that a range of terms is used interchangeably within the literature to describe the same concept; theology refers to mercy, whilst Enlightenment philosophy refers to sympathy. Desert is explained in the context of judgement, morality, entitlement and worth (Feinberg, 1970; Kleinig, 1971; Rawls, 1985; Cummiskey, 1987; Celello, 2014), and the search strategy was sufficiently broad to capture these related concepts. Finally, compassion is often the prerequisite to practical actions intended to alleviate suffering, and therefore this component was captured within the search strategy through associated terms (table 3.3).

Electronic databases were selected that would effectively capture an extensive range of literature across the domains relevant to compassion – theology, psychology, social science, biology, health and history. The databases used were; The International Bibliography of the Social Sciences, PsycINFO, Sociological Abstracts, Historical Abstracts, Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts, CINAHL and Medline. A hand search of reference lists was conducted and a search using Internet browser Google Scholar was carried out to capture any additional publications or grey literature. As data emerged, personal contact was made with leading researchers in the fields of compassion and attribution theory, who provided additional resources for review.

Consideration was afforded to time constraints at the outset in terms of what was manageable in the timeframe of a PhD. Thus, the relevance of older research studies in the context of current health and social policies was balanced with the potential value that older, seminal research articles could bring to the results. The timeframe employed in the search strategy was therefore 1950 – 2015; this inevitably limited timeframe may exclude some studies.

Table 3.3 Data bases/sources and search terms

Databases/source	Search terms
The International Bibliography of the Social Sciences;	Compassion AND deser*, judg*, moral, deci*, responsib*, blam*, virtu*, valu*, worth, prejudice*, stigma*, attitude*
PsycINFO;	Suffer AND compassion, deser*, judg*, moral, deci*, responsib*, blam*, virtu*, valu*, worth, prejudice*, stigma*, attitude*
Sociological Abstracts;	Suffer AND compassion, deser*, judg*, moral, deci*, responsib*, blam*, virtu*, valu*, worth, prejudice*, stigma*, attitude*
Applied Social Sciences Index & Abstracts;	Agapé AND deser*, judg*, moral, deci*, responsib*, blam*, virtu*, valu*, worth, prejudice*, stigma*, attitude*
CINAHL;	Sympathy AND deser*, judg*, moral, deci*, responsib*, blam*, virtu*, valu*, worth, prejudice*, stigma*, attitude*
Medline;	Sympathy AND deser*, judg*, moral, deci*, responsib*, blam*, virtu*, valu*, worth, prejudice*, stigma*, attitude*
Google Scholar	Mercy AND deser*, judg*, moral, deci*, responsib*, blam*, virtu*, valu*, worth, prejudice*, stigma*, attitude*
	Deser* AND help, aid, care

Stage three – study selection

The expectation that there would be a limited amount of research investigating the question of ‘who deserves compassion?’ explicitly was borne out by a preliminary search of the literature, which revealed zero studies that investigated this question directly. However, the search strategy described

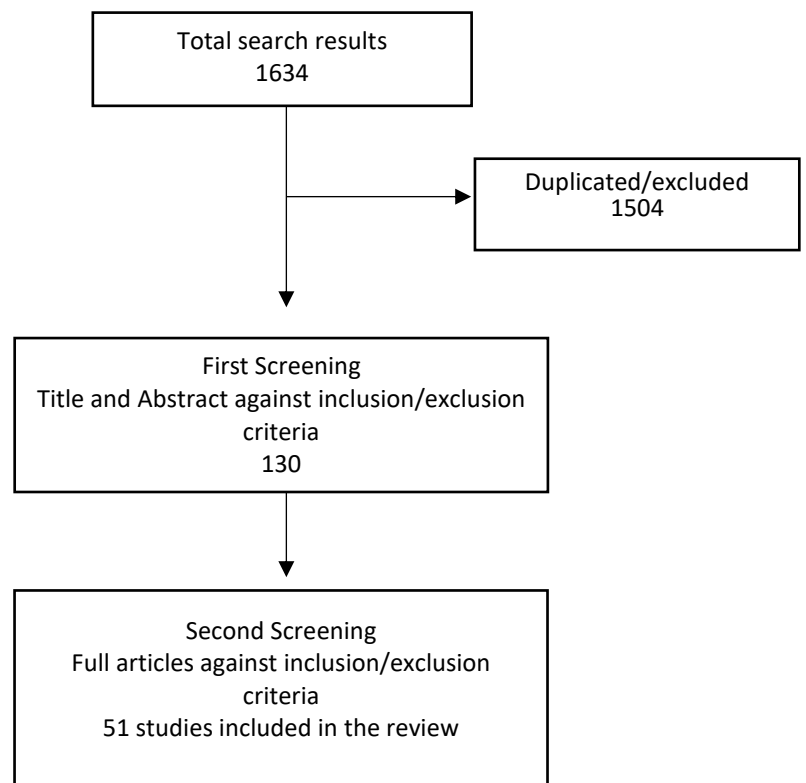
above produced 1634 articles, which included papers across myriad research paradigms and methodologies. An initial sifting process found many duplications and these were discarded at the outset, together with any papers that were not primary research. A significant proportion of articles used the term 'deserve' in the title, not in the context of the theory of desert, but as part of a stimulating article title, and these were also discarded.

The selection process required application of the characteristics of both desert and compassion, as defined previously, to the abstracts, then the full texts to identify those articles that investigated the phenomenon of the desert of compassion. Thus, inclusion and exclusion criteria were developed, based upon the formula 'a person or group of people (S), deserve compassion (M) by virtue of an identifiable desert base(s) (B)', and applied to first the abstract and then the full text. Application of the criteria to the abstract generated 130 articles and following application of the criteria to the full text of all 130 articles, a final total of 51 articles were selected to be included in the scoping review (fig 3.1).

To maximise rigour, Coquhoun et al (2014) recommend that two reviewers independently review abstracts and full text

articles, and that a third is employed in the event of any disagreements. It is worth acknowledging this as a limitation of the review, given that this process was completed by myself alone.

Fig 3.1 Document search



Stage four – chart the data

Charting data is a technique used for the synthesis and interpretation of qualitative data, and involves the sifting and sorting of data according to key issues and themes (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994; Arksey & O'Malley, 2005). To chart the data, a template was developed comprising the key questions

established in stage one of the review, in order to thematically construct the data (see appendix), as follows:

1. What is the population being studied – ie who is/are suffering?
2. What are the aims of the study?
3. Who are the participants – ie who is making judgements about the desert of compassion?
4. What are the emerging themes/key issues?
5. What is the base(s) of desert?

Each study was read once in order to develop a sense of the literature collectively. Following this, each paper was read and re-read a number of times, sufficient to provide a narrative response to the questions on the template above.

Stage five – collate, summarise and report the results

This stage involved three steps: 1) numerical and thematic analysis of the data, 2) reporting the results according to the outputs redefined in stage four (the population being studied, participants, desert bases and themes) and gaps in the research and 3) discussion of findings according to the declared purpose of the review.

The charting template was used to collate, summarise and report the results according to the pre-determined categories. Analysis was both numerical and thematic.

3.3.1. Numerical analysis

Methodologies

The majority (40) of the studies included in the review were concerned with the discovery of the various factors that inform whether or not a person or group deserve compassion. These particular studies favoured scientific research methods, including structured questionnaires, surveys and experiments. These studies did not take into account broader factors that may inform judgements about the desert of compassion, such as stereotypes and political perspectives. A smaller number (10) of studies were concerned with understanding how or why certain groups may or may not deserve compassion, and in consideration of the social contexts in which both individuals and groups subject to investigation and the study participants operate.

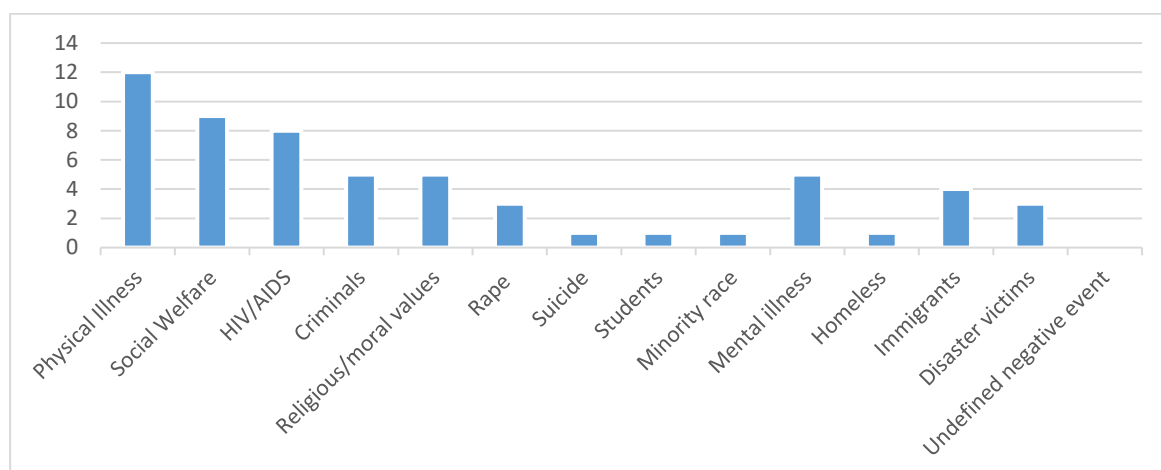
Populations being studied

As shown in figure 3.2, in 42 of the studies (82%), the populations being studied were situated within one or more of thirteen groups defined by social, political, religious or health characteristics; physical illness (12), people with HIV/AIDS

(8), perpetrators of crime (5), people who breached religious or moral values (5), people in receipt of social welfare or humanitarian aid (9), rape victims (3), people with mental illness (5), homeless people (2), immigrants (4), disaster victims (3), people who died by suicide (1), students (1), minority races (1) (fig. 3.2). Of these studies, some were comparative and therefore included subjects of more than one group. The remaining nine studies investigated the desert of people experiencing an undefined negative event.

Nine of the thirteen groups are likely to have been subjected to stigmatising attitudes or actions, or to have experienced marginalisation by society (people with HIV/AIDS, perpetrators of crime, people in receipt of social/humanitarian aid, rape victims, people with mental illness, homeless people, immigrants, minority races and people who died by suicide), or marginalisation from within their own group (people who breached religious or moral values). This suggests a tendency to collectivise individuals according to a shared, negative characteristic, which functions as one basis upon which judgements about their desert of compassion are subsequently established.

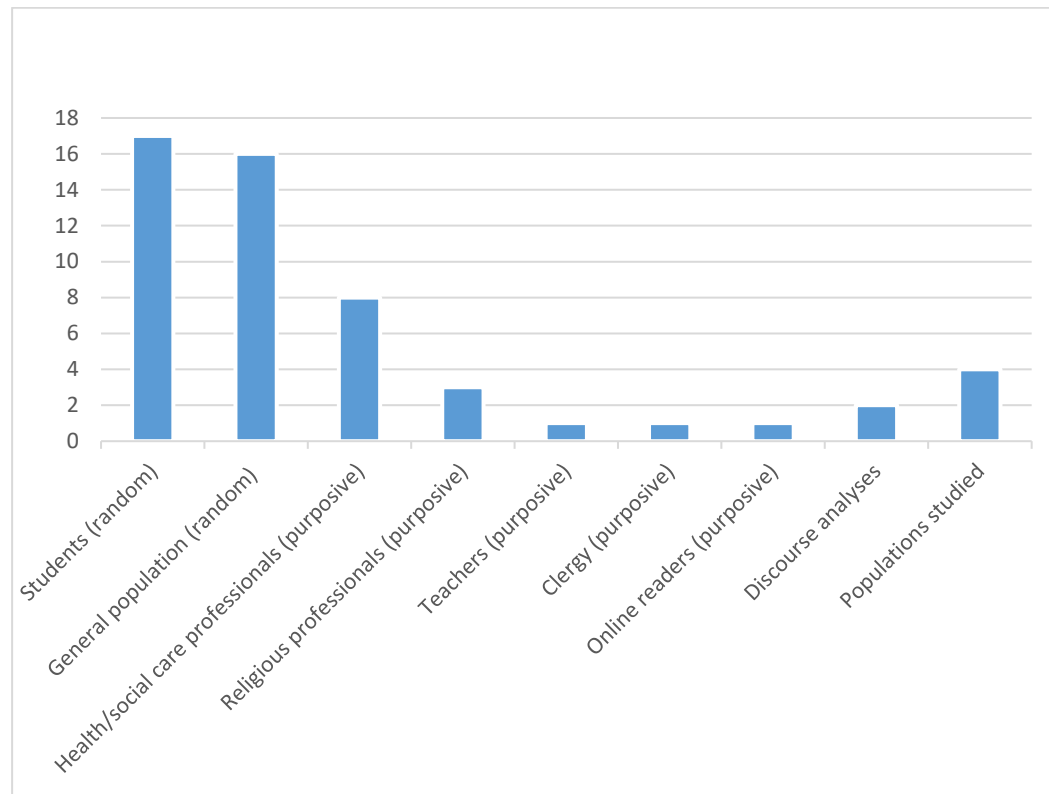
Fig 3.2 The populations being studied



Study participants (judges of who deserves compassion)

Figure 3.3 illustrates that of the 51 studies, 33 (65%) recruited participants randomly, of which 17 were selected from a population of students and 16 were selected from the general population. In 14 (27%) studies, purposive sampling was used within groups of health and social care professionals (8), religious groups (3), teachers (1), clergy (1) and online readers of news articles (1) in order to capture the perspectives of groups of people with specific beliefs. Two studies (4%) were discourse analyses. Four of the studies included the persons' own perspectives of their desert of compassion, of which one study was exclusive of other perspectives. Where more than one category of study participant was used, these have been recorded twice in the data above and in figure 3.3.

Fig 3.3 Study participants



3.3.2. Thematic analysis

Further exploration of the aims and key issues emerging from the study produced five themes, which provided some insight into the scope of the research literature surrounding who deserves compassion and offered some valuable insights to inform a number of potential areas for further, more detailed investigation. Each of these themes is discussed in what follows.

Desert bases

In 25 (49%) of the 51 studies attributions of control, responsibility and/or blame were identified as desert bases for

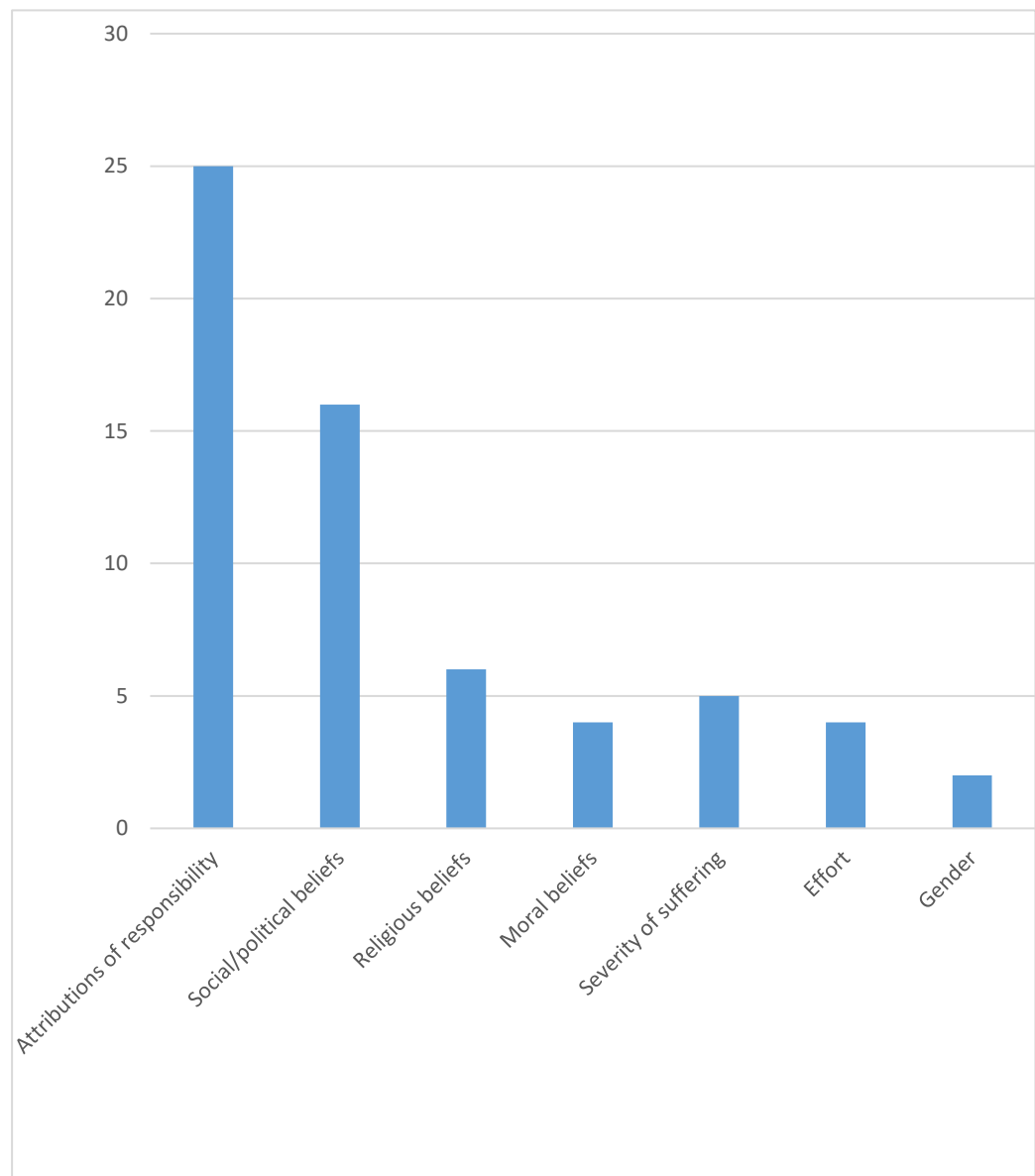
compassion. In 26 of the studies, participants' belief systems informed the bases of desert, in relation to social and political beliefs (16), religious beliefs (6) and moral beliefs (4). In five of the studies, the perceived severity of the subjects' suffering was a basis for desert, four studies identified the subjects' effort as a desert base, and in two studies, gender informed the desert base. Some studies identified more than one desert base and these are included in the data above and in figure 3.4.

Attribution theory

Attributions of control, personal responsibility and blame represented the desert base for compassion in 25 of the studies reviewed (eg. Weiner, 1980a; 1980b; Williams, 1984; Appelbaum, 2001, 2002; Markham & Trower, 2003; Jeene et al, 2013; Simpson et al, 2014; Fehse et al, 2015).

Attribution theory (Heider, 1958; Fiske & Taylor, 1991) is concerned with how the 'man on the street' – the naïve psychologist – explains everyday events, so that they are understandable, predictable and controllable. Thus, attribution theory is not concerned with the *actual* causes of behaviour but the *perceived* causes of behaviour (Heider 1958; Forsterling, 2001).

Fig 3.4 Desert bases



Attribution theory belongs to the cognitive approaches to psychology, and is based on the assumptions that 1) cognitions mediate between stimuli and reactions (such as emotions and behaviours), 2) humans are rational beings, who attempt to develop a realistic understanding of the causes of events through forming and testing hypotheses, and 3) it is functional to make causal attributions (Forsterling, 2001).

Attribution theorists assume that people hold specific beliefs and naïve causal theories that explain how various causes and effects are related. For example, a successful outcome in an exam may suggest a student either is talented, or has worked hard, or, stealing food from a shop may suggest that a person is dishonest, or that he is hungry. Causal explanations trigger emotions and subsequently behavioural responses. A person whose belief suggests the thief in the second example is dishonest is more likely to experience anger and respond punitively, whilst a person whose belief suggests the thief is hungry is more likely to respond with compassion and generosity (Weiner, 1980a; 1985; 1993; 2012; 2013; Forsterling, 2001). In the event that a person's behaviour is unexpected, or inconsistent with established schema, pre-existing causal assumptions become subject to conscious examination in which the observer searches for new information and assumptions may be revised, or supplemented (Forsterling, 2001). So, if a person is informed that his friend (who he regards as neither dishonest nor hungry) has stolen food from a shop, he cannot assimilate this information into his existing knowledge structures, and thus will search for a new, more fitting, causal explanation for his friend's behaviour.

Attributions may be either internal or external (Heider, 1958; Weiner, 1980a; 1993). Internal attributions imply that the person suffers owing to some characteristic of him or herself, and that he or she has some control over the cause of suffering and its alleviation. External attributions imply that suffering is a consequence of the situation in which a person may find him or herself, and that the person has no control over suffering or its alleviation (Heider, 1958; Weiner, 1980a, 1993). According to Weiner (1980a), internal attributions of control infer personal responsibility, and personal responsibility infers blame (Weiner, 1980a).

Thus in the context of the desert of compassion, a social observer engages in a cognitive process to create a causal explanation for a person's suffering. The perceived causal explanation arouses emotions of either anger or sympathy in the observer, which in turn lead to either a condemning or compassionate response. According to Weiner's theory, the cognitive component of this process is influenced by how far the observer perceives the person to be personally responsible for the cause of suffering, the control the person holds over his or her suffering and its continuance. Personal responsibility and control infer blame, which invokes anger and leads to the withholding of compassion or aid, or to condemnation or punishment (Weiner, 1980a). Conversely,

where the observer perceives the cause of suffering to be external to the person, sympathy is invoked, leading to compassion and acts to help alleviate suffering (Weiner, 1980a).

Findings of the scoping review suggested that the discursive construction of populations and their suffering were important in informing attributions of control and responsibility. There was a strong correlation between the causal explanation for a person's physical illness or disability, attributions of personal responsibility and compassionate or condemning responses, in which the higher the perceived personal responsibility for suffering, the less compassion was shown and the lower the perceived personal responsibility, the greater compassion was shown (Weiner, 1980a; Weiner et al, 1988; Cobb & de Chabert, 2002; Gill et al, 2013; Simpson et al, 2014).

In a two-part study investigating perceptions of responsibility and emotions, Weiner et al (1988) found that participants' perceptions of controllability and associated emotions of anger and sympathy influenced the degree of compassion shown towards specified stigmatised groups. Physically based stigmas were perceived as irreversible, elicited sympathy, no anger and judgements to help, whilst mental-behavioural stigmas were perceived as reversible, elicited anger and

judgements to neglect. Similar findings were reported in a scenario-based study carried out by Menec and Perry (1998), in which the controllability of a specified stigma was manipulated within each scenario. Results showed that higher perceived controllability of the specific stigma was linked to greater anger and less pity, whilst greater pity was predictive of a greater willingness to help.

Markham and Trower (2003) asked a sample of mental health nurses to suggest the most likely cause of behaviour and rate attributions of internality, stability, globality and controllability and their level of sympathy and optimism for change, towards descriptions of patients exhibiting challenging behaviour, in which the diagnosis of the patient was given as either depression, borderline personality disorder or schizophrenia. They found that patients with a diagnosis of borderline personality disorder were considered by the respondents to be more in control of both the causes of negative aspects of their behaviour and the behaviour itself, than patients with a label of schizophrenia or depression. This manifested in the nurses reporting less sympathy (leaning towards feeling unsympathetic) towards the patients with a diagnosis of borderline personality disorder than those with a diagnosis of schizophrenia or depression.

There is an extensive body of literature surrounding the deserving and undeserving poor and the role of personal responsibility as a basis for desert of aid. The findings of the studies included in the review suggest that the poor are perceived as either lazy (internal attributions) or unlucky (external attributions), based upon the perceived causal explanations for poverty (Petersen et al, 2012; Reid, 2013; Jeene et al, 2013; Jeene et al, 2014; Aaroe & Petersen, 2014; Huschke, 2014).

Research relating to responses to acts of sexual violence focused largely on participants' perceptions of the victims of rape. Grubb and Turner conducted a literature review that examined the key factors that influenced individuals' attitudes towards rape. Attributions of control, responsibility and blame were found to be important in forming attitudes (Grubb & Turner, 2012). Women who consumed alcohol prior to their attack were attributed more blame (and less compassion) for the rape than women who did not and women who were perceived to violate traditional gender roles were attributed more blame (and less compassion) than those who did not. Men demonstrated higher myth acceptance than women, and attributed higher levels of blame to victims of rape than women did. Grubb and Turner claim that these findings have important implications for final verdicts in rape trials.

In a study conducted by Idisis et al (2007), the authors hypothesised that attributions of responsibility would be influenced by the prior relationship between a rape victim and the rapist. The study presented participants with four narrative scenarios of rape, in which the prior relationship between victim and perpetrator was manipulated (known or unknown). Findings showed a tendency towards participants to blame the victim, more so in the case of female victims and in cases where the victim had a prior friendship or intimate relationship with her attacker. The authors describe their findings in the context of 'rape myths' – false, yet pervasive beliefs that justify the aggression of males towards females (Idisis et al, 2007).

Political ideology

Three studies directly investigated the role of political ideology in attributions of responsibility (Williams, 1984; Skitka, 1999; Arnot et al, 2009). Williams (1984) investigated how political beliefs informed reactions to victims. In the first of two studies, Williams tested the hypothesis that liberals and conservatives differ in the extent to which they attribute responsibility to a welfare client and to a victim of theft, for the cause of their predicaments. In the second study, Williams hypothesised that conservatives would blame an

emotionally upset victim more than they would blame a calm victim, whereas liberals would be more lenient toward the upset victim. From the results of both studies, Williams concluded that reactions to victims were an integral part of ideological orientation, in which conservatives were more willing to blame victims than liberals, less likely to express feelings of sympathy and more likely to express disgust than liberals.

Stitka (1999) investigated how public compassion is influenced by ideological attributions of why people need help, in a study surveying the views of 1015 adults in the USA. Her results showed that conservatives were more likely to respond consistently to suffering in accordance with core values of personal responsibility, blame and deservingness of help, through withholding even immediate humanitarian aid, whilst liberals were more likely to make a considered judgement about whether to respond to attributional information, or whether to respond in accordance with their egalitarian values.

Religious beliefs and moral values

Moral values were found to be a powerful basis of desert, particularly in participants who held strong religious beliefs about sexuality and gender functions (Norman et al, 2006;

Idisis et al, 2007; Hager, 2008; Leavey et al, 2011; Hosseinzadeh et al, 2012; Grubb & Turner, 2012). Norman et al (2006) investigated the knowledge, attitudes and behaviour of a sample of 1252 university students in Jamaica towards people living with HIV/AIDS (PWHA), including homosexual men, heterosexual men, women sex workers, and other women and children. Their results showed that participants were less sympathetic towards homosexual men and women sex-workers with AIDS, than towards heterosexual men and non-sex worker women living with AIDS.

Hosseinzadeh et al (2012) conducted a questionnaire-based survey to a sample of 236 Iranian migrants to assess whether there was any HIV/AIDS related stigma amongst the Iranian population living in Sydney, and if so, why PWHA were stigmatised. The findings showed that 70% of the respondents felt no sympathy towards PWHA. Respondents conceptualised HIV/AIDS as immoral, 48.3% stated that PWHA deserved their illness and 52.3% of respondents were supportive of coercive policies, such as quarantining. The authors drew attention to the potential for cultural and religious values being significant to the findings as the participants mostly supported the Muslim faith, which barely tolerates PWHA infected through homosexuality and drug use.

Hager (2008) conducted a feminist microhistory of depositions, legal documents, inquests and reports of trial proceedings relating to two incidents of infanticide committed by two lower class rural English mothers in the 1870's. Whilst these crimes were committed in very similar circumstances, the contrast in outcomes was evident; the widow was granted mercy, whilst the woman who had committed adultery was hanged. Hager's critical analysis concludes that decisions were made in the context of social and political ideologies of class and morality. Infanticide in the lower classes was quietly accepted by the middle class so as not to add to the problem of poverty. Therefore, what could be exhibited as an act of compassion in the acquittal of one of the women, Ellen, is interpreted by Hager as an act of self-interest for the middle-class. Conversely, the second woman, Selina, an 'adulterer' was hanged, and Hager explains this in the context of an execution of power to demonstrate the consequences of amoral behaviour in women.

Power relations

Two of the studies demonstrated how power relations can inform desert judgements. Huschke (2014) conducted an ethnographic study within a humanitarian aid non-government organisation (NGO) in Germany, providing healthcare to

migrants with no health insurance. In the absence of entitlement criteria, allocation of aid was based upon the physician's judgement of the patient's need. Based upon her interviews with and observations of both physicians and patients, Huschke found that patients performed in a way that was expected of them, and that would emphasise their suffering and need; Huschke described this as stereotypes of docile, destitute, helpless and thus deserving migrants. Patients feared that in showing themselves as empowered persons with a sense of entitlement, they would be perceived as not deserving aid. This study also found that physicians made judgements of desert by perceptions of the persons' wealth and behaviour, and in the context of the physicians' own desert base frameworks.

Similarly, Schneider (2010) investigated the 'discursive construction of worthiness'; the way in which language informs how we perceive others' worthiness of aid. Schneider conducted a study with 1-2 hour, in-depth interviews within a number of agencies that provide housing to people with mental illness. In-depth interviews were held with agency representatives to determine how judgements of housing aid were made. From her findings, Schneider concluded that applicants learned to behave in a certain way and use the

right language for the system that would lead to them being judged as deserving of help.

Willen (2012a) conducted a mixed method ethnographic study, in which she drew attention to the power imbalance in deservingness decisions relating to marginalised groups. She exposed the need for persons' perspectives to be heard, in relation to their own deservingness. Her study explored the experiences of unauthorised immigrants in Tel Aviv and their perspectives of their 'health deservingness'. Participants provided some context to their position through their personal stories and motivation for seeking asylum and, for most of the participants, public assumptions of unauthorised immigrants as 'freeloaders' were not supported. Rather, the participants stated that they did not expect to receive aid for their health, understood their position within the law and did not refute this. Willen highlighted the need for more deserving-related research to be conducted from the persons' perspective, in order to construct a more balanced understanding of their needs (Willen, 2012a).

3.4. Discussion

Mapping the existing literature surrounding the desert of compassion revealed a number of themes and highlighted gaps that provoked curiosity and opportunities for further

research. As anticipated, the scoping review did not find any studies that directly investigated the explicit question of 'who deserves compassion?' However, through the operationalisation of both desert and compassion and the application of a formula of the 'desert of compassion' as previously described, it was possible to identify studies that investigated the desert of compassion as a discrete phenomenon. Numerical analysis of the data revealed some initial insights, particularly in relation to the studies' designs. First, people's desert of compassion was investigated according to their membership of a social group, as determined and assigned by the researcher. Thus, people were grouped together according to this single, shared characteristic, rather than any other characteristic of people as individuals. This presupposes that people make judgements about the desert of compassion according to the social groups to which they perceive themselves as belonging. This creates the potential to reduce the individual to a label of 'homeless', 'mentally ill', 'immigrant' and so on, and for their worthiness to be measured according to these socially determined labels and the meaning attached to them by studies' participants.

Furthermore, the social groups included in the studies would generally be perceived as being worse off than the general

population. This is consistent with traditions of compassion in which the person suffering is perceived as weaker than those making judgements. Since attribution theory is concerned with the perceived causes of events rather than the actual cause of events (Heider, 1958; Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Forsterling, 2001), the researchers' discursive construction of the assigned social group and concepts of homelessness, immigration, poverty and so on, is critical in informing participants' own causal explanations; these subsequently influence their emotional, cognitive and behavioural responses.

Mostly, the study participants were people who could be perceived as being in more privileged positions than the people who were suffering. This is also consistent with traditions of compassion in which the 'strong bestow compassion upon the weak' and replicates the power imbalance that exists within some traditions of compassion. The participants suffering remain largely unrepresented in the research literature, with only four studies concerned with the people's perspective of their own desert of compassion, thus reinforcing the power imbalance.

Finally, numerical analysis demonstrated that the perceived responsibility for suffering and others' behaviour according to

social, religious and political belief systems were found to be desert bases for compassion. Yet this raises a question of how and upon what authority desert bases may be legitimately claimed, and returns us to Rawls' (1985) argument against pre-institutional desert, in which he claims that one desert base cannot be claimed as any more or less legitimate than another outside a framework of mutually accepted conventions, values and principles, negotiated through social and political co-operation. Decisions of what is perceived to be right and wrong morally cannot be claimed with any authority outside of such a framework. So the framework of conventions through which judgements of compassion are determined should be scrutinised, in terms of how it is legitimised.

Thematic analysis of the data supported and added to these initial observations. In all of the studies, the concept of what was perceived to be right and wrong underpinned judgements of the desert of compassion, measured through evaluation of the social groups' behaviour against a particular framework and its criteria. Some were institutional frameworks (e.g. social welfare systems), others pre-institutional (e.g. sexual behaviour), and some both, though the theoretical distinction between institutional and pre-institutional desert was not made within any of the studies.

Consistently, participants did not judge people to be deserving of compassion if they were perceived to be to blame for the cause of their suffering. This finding fully supports Nussbaum's (2001) cognitive tradition of compassion, in which an observer evaluates the perceived circumstances of suffering in making attributions of control, personal responsibility and blame. Indeed, attribution theory dominated the cognitive decision-making process of the desert of compassion and Weiner's theory (1980a) was referenced in many of the studies. However, attribution theory claims that individuals' observations of events are assimilated with their existing implicit causal theories, to inform attributions of control, personal responsibility and blame (Heider, 1958; Forsterling, 2001). In presenting his/her own narrative of suffering, the researcher immediately introduces an element of bias through his/her own linguistic choices and social construction of the populations and the negative events being investigated; sexual violence, poverty, illness and so on. Thus, participants' judgements of the desert of compassion are likely to be influenced by the meaning they attach to these representations.

To illustrate the significance of this, political and social ideologies may offer competing constructs of suffering. For example, liberal and conservative ideologies offer differing

constructs of physical wellbeing, with liberal ideology drawing attention to the social determinants of health, such as poverty, education, access to opportunity and so on. Conversely, conservative ideology emphasises the role of personal responsibility for maintaining one's own physical wellbeing through positive life choices, such as a healthy diet and not smoking (Minkler, 1999; Steinbrook, 2006; Chan, 2019). Thus, liberal framing of physical illness may suggest a social cause of and social responsibility for ill physical health (external attributions), whilst conservative framing is more likely to offer a personal cause of, and therefore personal responsibility for ill physical health (internal attributions). So, the researchers' framing of suffering may be influenced by their own causal schema, either knowingly or unknowingly and so imply the extent of control and personal responsibility a person has over his or her own suffering, thus implying blame. This offers the potential to influence the participant in their evaluation of attributions and subsequently the desert of compassion according to their own constructs of the suffering in question. Given the prevalence of attributions of blame as a desert base for compassion, the discursive construction of the populations involved and the nature of suffering may be regarded as critical in forming causal explanations within a cognitive evaluation of a person's suffering.

3.5. Who deserves compassion, according to whom and upon what basis?

This scoping review was particularly concerned with the population being studied, that is, the 'who' of who deserves compassion, the research participants, that is, the people making judgements about who deserves compassion and the basis upon which judgements about compassion are made. Each of these is now discussed in turn.

3.5.1. Who deserves compassion?

Exclusively, the populations being studied were assigned to a group according to a shared characteristic, which was determined by the researcher and could reasonably be perceived as negative. Such characteristics included people with HIV or AIDS, people in poverty, people with mental illness and people who had been raped. Collectivising people according to such characteristics promotes a position in which they are reduced to those characteristics and other more positive attributes are disregarded by both researcher and study participants. Furthermore, subsequent judgements of the desert of compassion are based on this shared, negative characteristic.

3.5.2. According to whom?

Mostly, the study participants were people who could be perceived as being in more privileged positions than the people who were suffering. The populations being studied were asked to judge their own desert of compassion in only four of the studies included in the review; their voices were largely excluded from the narratives of suffering. This power imbalance is consistent with traditions of compassion in which the person suffering is perceived as weaker than those making judgement. This inequality reinforces the observation made above, an ideological position in which the desert of compassion of certain groups is in question owing to a shared, negative characteristic. Furthermore, it maintains that a group of people who do not share that characteristic have a legitimate claim to make judgements about the desert of compassion of people who do.

3.5.3. Upon what basis?

The desert of compassion was determined according to participants' perceptions of what is right and wrong in keeping with their political, social, religious and moral beliefs. Rawls' (1985) argument that there is no philosophical universal truth is germane here, in terms of what can be legitimately claimed as right or wrong outside the conventions and practices of an

organisation or larger social, economic or political institution. Attributions of the control, responsibility and blame for the cause and continuance of the persons' suffering dominated as a desert base for compassion and consideration must be given to the factors informing those attributions and how they are legitimised.

3.6. Opportunities for research

The aims of the scoping review were to 1) establish and summarise the extent and nature of existing research literature relating to 'who deserves compassion?' (2) identify themes within the research literature that may warrant further investigation, and (3) identify any gaps in the research literature, that may warrant further exploration. An important gap that emerged from the review is the absence of research conducted from the perspectives of those people experiencing suffering, in terms of their own evaluations of their desert of compassion. This gives rise to an evidence base in which the desert of compassion of marginalised groups is determined by people in positions of power and privilege relative to those groups.

An additional observation emerged in relation to the studies' designs and the researchers' own discursive construction of the populations being investigated and the phenomena of

suffering in question. First, the researchers omitted to acknowledge the potential influence of their own construction of the phenomena on participants' subsequent attributions of control, responsibility and blame. According to attribution theory (Heider, 1958; Fiske & Taylor, 1991), people draw on their existing beliefs and naïve causal theories about events to explain how various causes and effects are related. Thus, a person's beliefs about phenomena such as poverty, rape, mental illness, immigration and the various participants involved will inform their emotions, cognitions and behavioural responses. Linguistic choices within researchers' accounts of these phenomena and the characterisation of the populations in question therefore, can introduce an element of bias in terms of how the participants construct causal explanations for suffering and subsequent attributions of control, responsibility and blame. Second, the discursive construction of both populations and phenomena of suffering also contribute to how participants perceive a person's behaviours to be right or wrong according to their own social, political, moral and religious conventions. Accordingly, these findings present two possible opportunities for further investigation, which are translated into the following research questions:

1. How do people construct their own suffering and perceive their own desert of compassion?

2. How are social actors and suffering discursively constructed in ways that (de)legitimise compassion?

The first question is important in the pursuit of achieving a position of balance within the literature, in which the narratives of those who suffer are heard and considered alongside those who are typically in greater positions of power and making judgements of the desert of compassion of others. Expanding the narratives of suffering to include people's own experiences offers the possibility for alternative perspectives to be heard and an opportunity to empower people in marginalised groups.

The second question is also important in understanding how the balance of power exists in public discourses of suffering. Typically, the public learns about global suffering indirectly, through others' accounts of events and via an increasing and competitive network of media channels, television, newspapers, social media and publications and so on (Vicsek et al, 2008). Attribution theory's suggestion that the way in which phenomena are framed has implications for how causal explanations are inferred and attributions of control, responsibility and blame made, has important implications for how events and the people involved are represented (Heider, 1958; Forsterling, 2001). The discursive construction of social groups and events in leading forms of public discourse has the

potential to influence the public in terms of how it understands and responds both emotionally and practically.

3.7. The research focus

In the introduction, I described how in my role as a consultant nurse in mental health, I had observed how judgements appear to be made about a person's or group's desert of compassion, according to how they were described within the context of multi-disciplinary professional discussions. In particular, the collectivisation of people according to diagnoses was observed to be an important factor informing attitudes and responses. The tendency to collectivise people according to a shared, often negative characteristic, was also borne out in the findings of the scoping review. This research thus focuses on the second option and specifically, the discursive construction of social groups in their experience of suffering. Chapter 1 also noted that whilst I work in a mental health context, I am interested in the question of who deserves compassion in its most general sense. Thus, the context for this research study is informed by a phenomenon that held global significance at the time the study commenced in 2016, the Syrian refugee crisis.

The growing scale and reach of the Syrian crisis coincided with a politically critical period for the UK in the run-up to a general

election in May 2015, and towards a national referendum in June 2016, in which the public voted whether to leave or remain in the European Union. During this period, immigration was one of the public's chief national concerns (The Migration Observatory, 2018) and therefore represented a vehicle for persuasion in securing political votes.

The growing scale of the crisis was reflected in the increasing attention afforded by the UK's social and news media and on 2nd September 2015 images of a 3-year-old boy, found by a police officer, drowned on a Turkish beach were published in UK newspapers and shared widely across social media. The images of Alan Kurdi's body transported the humanitarian cost of the refugee crisis into the homes and living rooms of UK citizens, sparking national debate about the UK's humanitarian and political responses to the crisis.

The choice of population to be studied, Syrian RASIM, is thus informed by the global humanitarian, social, historical and political relevance of their circumstances. The choice of language genre is informed by the continuing authority of UK newspapers as a means of communication of global events and finally, the timeframe for investigation, October 2014 to September 2016, is informed by the publication of images of

Alan Kurdi, to include the preceding and subsequent year, and the social and political context of the UK in that timeframe.

The aims of the study are to both understand and describe how Syrian refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants are discursively constructed in UK newspaper reports and to establish how linguistic choices, representational strategies and discourses function to construct Syrian RASIM as deserving of compassion or otherwise. The aims of the study will be achieved through the following objectives:

- a) To create a specialised corpus of UK newspaper reports on the subject of Syrian RASIM.
- b) To establish and describe the extent and composition of the corpus in terms of how much is being reported, by whom and who is reading.
- c) To employ techniques from corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis to interpret and explain how linguistic choices, representational strategies and discourses function to construct Syrian RASIM as deserving of compassion or otherwise, guided by the question 'who deserves compassion, according to whom and upon what basis?'

3.8. Conclusion

This chapter presented a scoping review that was designed to provide an initial indication of the extent of the literature exploring the question 'who deserves compassion, according to whom and upon what basis?' Findings showed that researchers ascribed people to social groups according to shared characteristic(s) and that their desert of compassion was determined by people who are in relatively greater positions of power. Attributions of control, responsibility and blame for a person's suffering were identified as a desert base in almost half of the studies, determined according to participants' perceptions of what is right or wrong in keeping with their political, social, religious or moral beliefs. Gaps in the literature were identified and presented, which informed the focus of a subsequent research study. Next, chapter 4 presents and justifies the methodology for the study and provides a systematic account of the research methods employed.

4. Methodology

4.1. Introduction

Chapter 3 presented a scoping review of the literature, the findings of which informed the focus of this part of the study. The overarching aim of the study is to understand and describe how Syrian RASIM are discursively constructed as deserving of compassion or otherwise in UK newspapers. This involves a number of methodological considerations that include determining and collating media data and conducting quantitative and qualitative analysis by means of linguistic approaches combined with theories of both desert and compassion.

The chapter begins by aligning the aims of the study with the interpretivist research paradigm and specifically, social constructionism. This is followed by a brief overview of the media's role in the social construction of news and its contribution to shaping discourses. The concept of discourse is then presented as it relates to this study, following which the choice of methodology is presented and justified. The study methods are then systematically described and the chapter concludes with a note about ethical considerations and the original contribution that this study makes to research.

4.2. Research paradigms

Research studies are underpinned by the philosophical assumptions about both the nature of knowledge (ontology) and the means by which such knowledge can be produced (epistemology) through research. These worldviews are referred to as the 'paradigms' of research (Taylor, 1997; Clark, 1998).

Research within a positivist paradigm is premised on the notion that an external reality exists independent of the researcher, which can be discovered and explained through empirical observation and measurement (Open University & Royal College of Nursing (OU & RCN), 2008). Positivist research methods are mostly experimental, objective, and typically generate quantitative data, though qualitative data may assist in providing context (OU & RCN, 2008). In contrast, research within an interpretivist paradigm is based upon the belief that reality is constructed through the meanings and understandings developed socially and experientially (OU & RCN, 2008). According to the interpretivist tradition, truth cannot therefore be grounded in a single, objective and discoverable reality; rather, there exists the possibility of multiple, coexisting realities. Research methods in the interpretivist paradigm include observation and

interviews, which typically generate qualitative data, although this may be supported by quantitative data. Regardless, the aims of interpretivist research are to understand rather than explain phenomena (Andrews, 2012; Diaz-Leon, 2015; Burr, 2015).

The scoping review in chapter 3 demonstrated that the desert of compassion was determined in part by the observer's social, political and cultural beliefs, and influenced by the construction of the person's suffering within the research design. Indeed, manipulation of the cause of suffering within a study design was shown to influence the observers' attributions of compassion (Idisis, 2007). Correspondingly, this research is based upon the notion that there are multiple ways in which Syrian RASIM may be represented in media texts. It is also based upon the premise that the social construction of social actors in media texts has implications for how they are perceived by readers. Since the aim of this research is to establish how Syrian RASIM are discursively constructed as deserving of compassion or otherwise, it is aligned with the interpretivist paradigm and specifically, social constructionism.

Social constructionism views knowledge and truth as socially defined through the interactions between individuals and the

social world. In social constructionism, language is positioned centrally as a form of social action, in that it is the medium through which social actors give meaning to the world and thus create, sustain and modify realities (Berger & Luckmann, 1991; Andrews, 2012; Galbin, 2014; Burr, 2015). Moreover, according to Burr (2015: 4), “social constructionism argues that the ways in which we commonly understand the world, the categories and concepts we use, are historically and culturally specific”. This entails that the representations of Syrian RASIM in media texts are products of the social, political and cultural factors of the time. Therefore, this study involves analysis of both the linguistic choices and representational strategies used in media texts to characterise Syrian RASIM, as well as consideration of the social, political and cultural context in which texts are both produced and received. The following section provides a brief overview of the media’s role in the social construction of news.

4.3. The media

The media, of which newspapers and their online editions remain an integral part, occupy a position of both power and legitimacy in the reporting of global events (Fairclough, 2001; van Dijk, 2006; Sulaiman-Hill et al, 2011; Martinez Lirola, 2014; Haider & Olimy, 2019). Newspapers control the news

on both macro and micro levels; on a macro level, they choose which events to write about and which to exclude. On a micro level, they choose how events are constructed and how social actors are portrayed; whose voices to include and whose to suppress (Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017). The selection of certain aspects of a news event in its representation is referred to as framing (Entman, 2001; Chong & Druckman, 2007). The resultant news frames do not simply convey information, but shape meaning, public perceptions and influence attitudes and behaviours (Fairclough, 2001; Bailey & Harindranath, 2005; Boeva, 2016). As a result, newspaper journalism has the capacity to influence how readers engage with and evaluate social actors in their circumstances, and so whether they respond compassionately in terms of both emotions, cognitions and practical actions (Butler, 2009, Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017). Media organisations therefore function as powerful agents in creating public discourses and informing cultural, social and political practice (Reah, 1998; Bailey & Harindranath, 2005; Kosho, 2016). The concept of discourse is discussed in the following section.

4.4. Discourse

The term discourse is used differently in various academic contexts and by different researchers, albeit in interrelated ways (Weiss & Wodak, 2003; Baker, 2006; Burr, 2015). One way in which discourse is understood is as both written and spoken texts in 'situated language use' (Burr, 2015: 73). It can also be used to refer to the types of language used in various spheres of practice, for example, political and media discourse (Baker, 2006). A third use of the term discourse relates to the way in which language is used as a form of social practice (Fairclough, 2001; Baker, 2006; Burr, 2015). This third conceptualisation of discourse has been influenced by the work of Foucault (1972), who was particularly concerned with the use of power and knowledge as forms of social control (Burr, 2015). Foucault describes discourse as 'practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault, 1972:49). When applied to language, Foucault's conception of discourse highlights that social phenomena have a reality that is created through speakers'/writers' linguistic choices when communicating about those phenomena. Audiences are therefore encouraged to create meaning according to a particular framework of interpretation and its particular connotations (Machin & Mayr, 2012). It is this conceptualisation of discourse upon which

this study is based and specifically, Burr's definition of discourse as

a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events

(Burr, 2015:74-75).

Since people are influenced by the social, cultural and political context in which they exist, Burr's definition indicates that there are likely to be multiple ways to linguistically construct a single event. Consequently, there are multiple possible discourses, each offering its own representation of a social phenomenon and each claiming to represent the 'truth' (Fairclough, 2001; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Burr, 2015). Thus, there can be multiple discourses that are themselves made up of consistent and related representations.

When a particular representation becomes constant and persistent, it can become naturalised as a 'dominant discourse', the 'normal' or unmarked way of viewing phenomena. Dominant discourses are formed and sustained through historical, social and political forces which collectively function to represent a phenomenon in a certain way (Fairclough, 2001). As a result, dominant discourses are often aligned with powerful social institutions that can produce and

disseminate texts, and hence dominant discourses hold power in society (Foucault, 1972). However, rather than perceiving power as the property of a single person or group, Foucault maintains that everyone has access to power and so dominant discourses are always under threat from others (Burr, 2015). For example, the consistent and persistent representation of Muslims in some parts of the British press creates a dominant discourse of 'Muslims are in conflict with the UK' (Baker et al, 2013). However, that does not exclude the existence of alternative discourses, which may predominate in certain social and political circumstances. Rather, it acknowledges that a discourse dominates when it is produced and interpreted within a specific set of social and political circumstances that are ideal for it to thrive.

If discourses are coherent representations that construct the social world, then the object of the discourse analysis presented in this thesis is to understand how these discourses are realised through language and what their social implications are. This version of discourse analysis is closely associated with critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

4.5. Critical discourse analysis

CDA takes up Foucault's (1972) model of discourse as a form of social practice that is to be understood within the context of its internal and external relations with 'objects' such as people, power, social structures or physical entities (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Fairclough, 2010; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Baker et al, 2013). Thus, it presupposes a dialectical relationship between discourse and the social world, and whilst each of these is different, they are not entirely discrete, in that they all represent part of a larger social process. Any one of these objects therefore can only be analysed in terms of its dialectical relations with others. Within these relationships, discourse both informs social practice, and is a product of it (Fairclough, 2010; Machin & Mayr, 2012). In order to investigate this dialectical relationship, rather than simply being concerned with the linguistic features of texts in and of themselves, CDA involves a systematic analysis of the relationship between language use, the social processes and structures that produce it, and the social and political contexts, structures, and practices in which it occurs and is given meaning (Fairclough, 1985; Wodak, 2001; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Ajmi, 2013; van Dijk, 2015; Waugh et al, 2015).

CDA is particularly concerned with the relationship between language and power, and investigates how ideologies and power relations are expressed, reinforced, legitimised and perpetuated in language (van Dijk, 1993; Wodak, 2001; Weiss & Wodak, 2003; Breeze, 2011; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Baker et al, 2013; Iqbal et al, 2014; Waugh et al, 2015). A consistent argument in CDA research is that mechanisms of social control such as discrimination, dehumanisation and exploitation are concealed and perpetuated through discourse, not least through those discourses that are dominant within a particular context.

The aim of CDA is to identify such mechanisms for the purposes of social action, social change and ultimately social justice (Machin & Mayr, 2012; Waugh et al, 2015). CDA is therefore typically employed in the interrogation of spoken and written media, political speeches and education materials, in order to establish how linguistic strategies that may appear unremarkable on the surface may actually be ideological in nature. CDA extends beyond the description of linguistic features, to investigating how and why they are produced, and their possible ideological functions (Machin & Mayr, 2012:5).

CDA has been subject to criticism for its academic rigour, with particular regard to the selection of texts and their subsequent

analysis. Given that CDA is commonly utilised in the investigation of the unjust treatment of social groups based upon differences such as gender, race and class (van Dijk, 1993; Waugh et al, 2015: 72), some critics have claimed that CDA researchers select only those texts likely to conceal such discriminatory discourses, thereby substantiating the researchers' preconceptions (Widdowson, 2000; Orpin, 2005; Bloor, 2011; Machin & Mayr, 2012). Furthermore, CDA studies have historically involved the in-depth analysis of one or two texts, or a small section from a longer text. This has raised questions regarding the capacity of such studies to reasonably reveal much about the general linguistic patterns – and therefore widespread social phenomena – from such small amounts of handpicked data (Stubbs, 1994; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Baker et al, 2008, 2013; Waugh et al, 2015; Orpin, 2005).

A second criticism contends that CDA researchers' interpretations are unreliable and biased because their interpretation of the texts is contingent upon their own socio-political leanings (Meyer, 2001:16). Critics of CDA (Widdowson, 2000) argue that researchers seek out discriminatory discourses that support their socio-political inclinations, whilst overlooking other possible interpretations (Stubbs, 1994; Meyer, 2001; Breeze, 2011).

The argument that CDA involves the biased interpretation of texts that have been pre-selected to confirm the analysts' existing political opinions poses a significant threat to the credibility of CDA as a discipline, and hence to studies that seek to examine wider social structures through text analysis. As a result, the present study draws upon a further linguistic discipline, corpus linguistics, as a means to address these issues.

4.6. Corpus linguistics

Corpus linguistics (CL) is the empirical study of language as it occurs in real world texts (McEnery & Wilson, 1996; Baker, 2006; Cheng, 2012, 2013; Baker et al, 2013). As a methodological approach, corpus linguistics utilises specialist software to enable the detailed investigation of extensive samples of naturally occurring written and/or spoken texts. It aims to identify and interpret patterns of language in context and arrive at generalisations about language phenomena (Baker, 2004; Stubbs, 2007; Hasko, 2012; Baker et al, 2013; Cheng, 2013; Biber & Reppen, 2015; Baker & McEnery, 2015). Computer software is used to organise and extract data from a corpus, a large body of naturally occurring language that has been systematically selected to meet the purpose and scope of linguistic research (Biber, 1993; Baker, 2006; Baker &

McEney, 2015; Weisser, 2016). Corpora typically comprise hundreds or thousands of purposively selected texts, representative of the sort of data that research questions are interested in (Baker et al, 2013; Baker & McEney, 2015). The advantage of this approach is that vast amounts of text can be investigated, enabling the empirical description of patterns of language use that may otherwise remain unnoticed (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001; Baker, 2004; Baker et al, 2013; Cheng, 2013; Biber & Reppen, 2015).

The type and the size of a corpus are informed by the aims of the research in question (Biber, 1993; Baker, 2006). The extent of what a corpus is intended to represent determines its size, with corpora that are intended to represent multiple genres and time periods requiring the collection of more data. However, corpus size is also inevitably shaped by practical constraints on how much data a researcher can access and compile within the boundaries of a particular study (Baker, 2006; Reppen, 2010). A single corpus may be divided into smaller parts, sub-corpora, to assist in revealing patterns of language specific to set criteria, such as a particular timeframe or publication.

Corpus linguistics offers a number of unique analytical techniques and methods that allow researchers to interrogate

data to an extent that was simply not possible using previous, manual methods of analysis (Tognini-Bonelli, 2004). The early stages of corpus analysis are typically quantitative in nature and are intended to identify words that occur in the corpus with the most frequency and with the most saliency, supported by measures of statistical significance (Cheng, 2013; Baker & McEnery, 2015).

The most common technique – frequency analysis – examines the frequency with which words (or other features) occur in a corpus, and represents the basis for the course of subsequent analysis. A frequency list is a computer-generated list of every word that occurs in the corpus, which can be sorted according to the frequency with which it occurs, or alphabetically. Frequency lists are useful in that they offer some initial insights into what the corpus is about (Baker, 2006). The most commonly occurring words in a raw frequency list are usually grammatical. However, lexical words are usually the most revealing in terms of corpus content, so creating frequency lists that include only lexical words can be more informative, depending on the aims of analysis.

Frequency can also be examined beyond the occurrence of single words to clusters of words. The software can be used to create a list of the most common 2-word, 3-word, 4-word and so on, clusters in a corpus; this gives some indication of

common linguistic patterns in the corpus and can guide subsequent analysis. For example, investigation of the query word *bar(s)* in a corpus study conducted by Baker (2006), revealed 'all have private' to be the most frequently occurring three-word cluster.

Whilst frequency lists give an indication of the content of the corpus, they offer limited insights into the salience of particular linguistic choices. In order to establish salience, a comparative approach to analysis is required, by means of creating keyword lists. Keyword lists reveal words that are unusually frequent or infrequent in one corpus when compared with another (Baker, 2006; Bondi, 2010; Evison, 2010; Rayson, 2012; Baker et al, 2013). In calculating keywords, a second corpus is uploaded to the computer software to function as a reference corpus. This second corpus provides a benchmark against which the main corpus is compared, in establishing whether, and to what extent, the main corpus deviates from linguistic norms. Since the reference corpus is fundamental in shaping the keyword list, due attention and consideration should be afforded to its characteristics, particularly its size and composition (Goh, 2011).

The software performs statistical tests (log-likelihood is used in this study) on each word as it occurs in both corpora, taking

into consideration both the size of the corpora and the frequencies with which each word occurs. The calculation produces a probability (p) value, which indicates the degree of confidence that a word is key due to chance alone, and a corresponding 'keyness' value is produced; the higher the keyness value, the greater the statistical significance (Baker, 2006: 125). A keyword list, then, includes words that occur with statistically greater frequency in the main corpus than in the reference corpus. Keyword analysis is therefore effective in revealing when linguistic choices to describe a phenomenon may deviate from linguistic norms relative to a particular timeframe, publication, political perspective and so on (Baker, 2006; Evison, 2010). Figure 4.1 shows a keyword list from newspaper articles in the Telegraph newspaper, using a reference corpus of newspaper articles in the Times newspaper.

These data show that whilst *Isil* is not the most frequently occurring word in the Telegraph articles, it has a high keyness value, owing to its relatively high frequency in the main corpus when compared to the reference corpus. This also demonstrates how the choice of reference corpus affects keyness; the keyness of *telegraph* is expected, given that this is the name of the publication, and so would reasonably be

estimated to occur more frequently than in the reference corpus.

Fig 4.1 Keyword list of *Telegraph* newspaper articles about RASIM

Keyword Types: 18		Keyword Tokens: 1118		Search Hits: 0
Rank	Freq	Keyness	Effect	Keyword
1	93	+ 178.67	0.0021	isil
2	51	+ 103.55	0.0012	telegraph
3	37	+ 75.12	0.0008	pc
4	227	+ 52.56	0.0052	mr
5	25	+ 50.75	0.0006	maiziere
6	20	+ 40.6	0.0005	levant
7	54	+ 34.94	0.0012	schengen
8	16	+ 32.48	0.0004	hugger
9	15	+ 30.45	0.0003	garraway
10	118	+ 30.19	0.0027	cameron
11	27	+ 28.92	0.0006	comment
12	14	+ 28.42	0.0003	freital

Frequency, cluster and keyword lists provide the quantitative data that guide the subsequent, more interpretative stages of analysis that typically involve the close investigation of how words are used in context. In most corpus studies, this latter analytical stage involves analysis of collocates. Collocation refers to the phenomenon in which a word 'regularly appears near another word, and the relationship is statistically significant' (Baker, 2006:96). Collocate analysis, then, involves the automatic identification of words that occur either next to or near each other more frequently than would be expected if all of the words in the corpus were organised

randomly (Baker, 2006; Greaves & Warren, 2010; Baker & McEnery, 2015).

In generating a list of collocates, the researcher must first decide on the collocational span – the number of words to the left and right of the query word. Manipulation of the span affects the list of collocates, so a span that is too narrow could overlook significant collocates, whilst a span that is too broad could generate words that are not true collocates of the query word. This study uses a collocational span of five words either side of the query word, this is in order to identify sufficient words that have a relationship with the query word, but not too many to generate unrelated words (Baker, 2006).

As with keywords, statistical tests are also employed in the calculation of collocates and such tests include Mutual Information and the t-test. These tests are conducted by means of an algorithm, which calculates the probability of two words occurring together within the defined span, based upon their relative frequencies and the size of the corpus. This value is compared with the actual value of the co-occurrence and the difference between the two is converted into a figure that indicates the strength of the collocation; the greater the number, the stronger the collocation (Baker, 2006:101). One problem with Mutual Information is that it can give high scores

to relatively low frequency words, particularly in small corpora. To address this, I use the t-test in this study, which takes into account the issue of low frequency and provides a measure not only of the strength of association, but a measure of the confidence with which an association can be asserted (Baker, 2006; McIntyre & Walker, 2019). This provides greater confidence that the collocation occurs in a number of texts that are dispersed throughout the corpus. A t-score of 2 or above is considered to be noteworthy (McIntyre & Walker, 2019:167), so t-scores below this value were not included in analysis.

Collocate analysis offers a significant contribution to understanding the meaning and function of words in context. Words acquire meaning from the words they are associated with, and collocate analysis allows the researcher to identify associations between words which are otherwise difficult to ascertain from analysis of a single text (Baker, 2006: 96). When collocates of a particular word are considered together, they can reveal the presence of a semantic prosody, explained by Stewart as follows:

Semantic prosody is instantiated when a word such as CAUSE co-occurs regularly with words that share a given meaning or meaning(s), and then acquires some of the

meaning(s) of those words as a result. This acquired meaning is known as semantic prosody.

(Stewart, 2010:1)

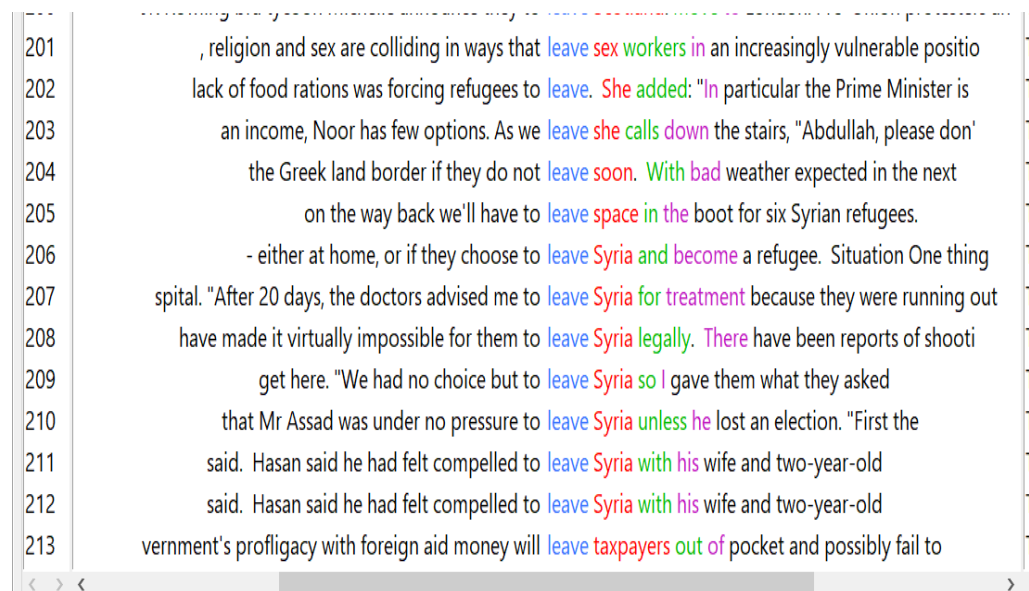
Semantic prosody, then, is the sharing of meaning between a query word and its collocates, such that, in Stewart's example, *cause* has a negative semantic prosody by virtue of consistently collocating with words that denote undesirable events, such as *problems, damage, harm, and death*.

Semantic prosody is important, since lexical items can carry their semantic prosodies across contexts, such that a word with a particularly positive or negative semantic prosody can be used to introduce positive or negative evaluation into a text in ways that readers may not be aware of. This is crucial for this present study since it involves investigation of not only representations of RASIM, but also the relationship between those representations and the cognitive and emotional characteristics that mobilise compassion.

The final technique to consider in corpus analysis is concordancing; concordances provide a display of all the occurrences of a single word or phrase in context, which enables the exploration of how words operate in their textual contexts to create meaning (Baker, 2006). The span of concordance lines can be manipulated through the computer

software in keeping with the researchers' aims. Furthermore, as illustrated in figure 4.2, the function to sort concordance lines alphabetically with the query word in the centre enables the researcher to visualise patterns of language which may have otherwise been overlooked (Tognini-Bonelli, 2004).

Fig. 4.2 Concordance lines of *leave* in a corpus of UK newspapers



So, as well as providing the means of conducting automated quantitative analysis, the ability to manipulate how data is represented on a concordance means that corpus methods also help to enhance traditional qualitative methods. Finally, whilst a concordance offers a limited view of the context in which each instance of a word or phrase appears, concordancing software also makes it easy to access the full text in which each word occurs so that wider discursive

patterns above the sentence level can be identified. The benefits of combining these corpus methods with critical, qualitative analysis are discussed in the following section.

4.7. Corpus assisted critical discourse analysis

Criticisms of CDA highlighted in section 4.5 can be mitigated by combining the quantitative and qualitative approaches of CL with existing CDA methods (Stubbs, 1994; Koller & Mautner, 2004; Orpin, 2005; Baker, 2012; Baker & McEnery, 2015). Whilst corpus linguistics has historically been applied to lexicography and descriptive grammar, more recently, it has been used in critical studies, to reveal relationships between language and the social (Hardt-Mautner 1995; Tognini-Bonelli, 2001; Mautner, 2007; Baker et al, 2008; Kim, 2014). In advocating the use of corpus linguistic methodology to assist CDA, Stubbs (1997) proposes that the benefits of random sampling, the analysis of large quantities of text and comparison of textual features with language norms mitigate a number of the criticisms of CDA. Indeed, amid his criticism of the methodological rigour of CDA, Widdowson (1998: 148) concedes the interpretation of data in two studies conducted using CL approaches to CDA as being 'grounded in systematic language description'.

The capacity for CL to work with large amounts of data, combined with the quantitative characteristics of CL techniques means that corpus assisted CDA studies begin from a greater position of objectivity, thus enhancing credibility, replicability and generalisability of the findings (Koller & Mautner, 2004; Baker et al, 2013; Baker & McEnery, 2015). CL approaches – particularly frequency and keyword lists – are initially employed to establish statistically significant data from which to conduct qualitative analysis via close reading of individual texts or excerpts of texts in the subsequent stages (Baker, 2012). The extent to which collocates can be identified is significantly enhanced by using CL; a CDA approach in isolation typically relies on the manual reading of texts, without the benefits of statistical calculation and the visual identification of patterns enabled through concordancing. Consequently, the capacity to identify collocates on a large scale is considerably impeded and may result in non-adjacent collocates being missed or disregarded, or non-significant collocates being included for analysis (Baker et al, 2008: 275).

The ability to conduct automated quantitative analyses is particularly important for the present study, in which dealing with a vast volume of reporting on the Syrian refugee crisis through manual analysis would be entirely unfeasible.

Instead, a corpus-based approach requires that the qualitative, critical stages of analysis are grounded in objective methods of data selection. A corpus approach thus limits the potential for data selection bias, although it is important to acknowledge that bias cannot be eliminated entirely (Baker & McEnery, 2015). A degree of subjectivity is involved in establishing keyword lists since the researcher sets the parameters, including the choice of reference corpus, and in choosing the cut-off point in statistical significance for further analysis. Furthermore, limits in capacity may mean that not all keywords can be investigated in context, so choices have to be made about which to pursue and why. Finally, it is possible that some keywords may appeal more to the researcher than others and so guide the course of analysis (Baker & McEnery, 2015).

4.8. Data collection: building a corpus of newspaper reports

For this study, LexisNexis © (2014), an online newspaper database was used to build a specialised corpus of texts from eight UK daily newspapers (*Guardian, Telegraph, Mirror, Mail, Sun, Express, The Times* and *Star*), and their Sunday counterparts (*Observer, Sunday Telegraph, Sunday Mirror, Mail on Sunday, Sunday Sun, Sunday Express, The Sunday*

Times and *Star on Sunday*) published between 1st October 2014 and 30th September 2016. This timeframe captures an increasing social, political and economic focus on Syrian refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants, as well as the period leading up to, including and beyond the discovery of Alan Kurdi's body on September 1st, 2015. For the purpose of ease, each newspaper is referred to by its daily publication, yet represents the sum of both daily and Sunday publications. The choice of newspapers for inclusion in the study was informed by National Readership Survey (NRS) data, which estimated these eight newspapers as having the highest number of readers nationally in 2015 (NRS, 2015). As UK newspaper reports represents information that is readily accessible to the public, there were no immediate ethical issues to consider in the study design.

The publications include quality, mid-market and popular newspapers and are representative of both left-leaning and right-leaning political positions (Duffy & Rowden, 2005). The *Guardian*, *Observer*, *Mirror* and *Sunday Mirror* were categorised as left-leaning publications, whilst the *Telegraph*, *Sunday Telegraph*, *The Times*, *The Sunday Times*, *Mail*, *Mail on Sunday*, *Sun*, *Sunday Sun*, *Express* and *Sunday Express* were categorised as right-leaning publications, with the *Star* and *Star on Sunday* expressing no political affiliation,

according to each publication's own claim during the 2015 General Election campaign.

The search terms were chosen to capture texts that were concerned with Syrian refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants and were intended to complement and add to existing research conducted by Gabrielatos and Baker (2006; 2008), who write extensively about the discursive construction of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants. The following search terms were used to locate specific headlines or leading paragraphs within the texts:

Syria! AND refugee! OR asylum! OR immigrant! OR migrant!

The search terms were not case sensitive and the exclamation mark was used as a wildcard to capture any set of characters. There was no minimum word count and all types of texts were included in the corpus as complete texts. A process of data cleaning was undertaken to discard high similarity and duplicate texts and to remove all non-content related text from the corpus. This included the manual deletion of front- and end-matter to leave the date, title, author and the main body of text of each article for inclusion in the final corpus. Some non-content material remained, in cases where this was embedded within the main body of the text.

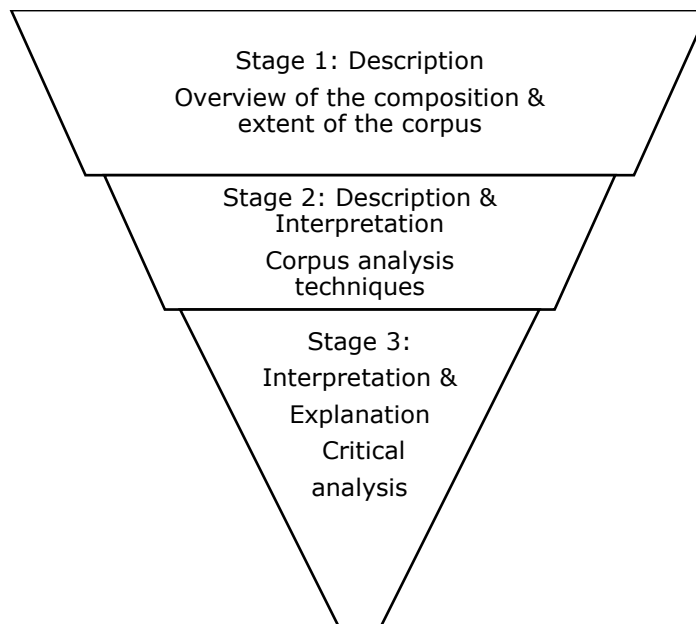
Following data cleaning, the final corpus totalled 1,585 texts, comprising 1,032,843 tokens (words) and 30,170 word types (different words). Texts were converted to .txt format to enable analysis and a database was created in which data were stored in multiple locations in order to maximise possibilities for interrogation. Texts were organised and stored by month, by publication and by political affiliation. Thus, one folder contained texts published by all newspapers in a single month, whilst a second folder contained all texts published by all newspapers in the same month. A third folder contained texts from politically left-leaning newspapers in each month and a final folder contained texts from politically right-leaning newspapers in each month. Organising and storing data in this way enabled analysis of the corpus as a whole as well as from temporal and political perspectives.

The time and practical constraints of a PhD study conducted by a single researcher meant that some publications that may be relevant to the study, for example regional newspapers, could not be included. Any analytical claims therefore are made within these boundaries. However, the eight publications included in the study were selected owing to their high readership and they therefore capture a significant proportion of the newspaper audience.

4.9. Data analysis

There were three stages to data analysis, description, interpretation and explanation (fig 4.3). These stages reflect a course that moves back and forth between quantitative and qualitative analysis, consistent with a methodology of corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis, as described above (Baker et al, 2008).

Fig 4.3 Stages of data analysis



4.9.1. Stage 1: an overview of the composition and extent of the corpus

The first stage involved macro analysis of the corpus, the purpose of which was to gain an appreciation of the extent and composition of the corpus and guide the subsequent selection and interrogation of data. This stage revealed the

landscape within which RASIM are being written about and established who is writing about them, how much is being written and, by examining each newspapers' circulation, who is reading. Macro analysis also reveals patterns of representations that may be more or less dominant in the broader context of newspaper reporting, so that findings can be considered in this context (Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017).

Raw data were analysed to establish the number of texts and the number of tokens by month and by newspaper. These data were subsequently described and charted, to effectively illustrate salient patterns. Findings were triangulated with National Readership Survey data to offer some insights into potential readership reach. Subsequent interrogation of the data was conducted from temporal and political perspectives and is presented in chapter 5.

4.9.2. Stage 2: corpus analysis techniques

The purpose of this stage of analysis was to establish an indication as to which topics are included in the news as well as those which may be omitted. Linguistic choices that are favoured in particular topics or by particular publications were identified, as well as the possible presence of positive or negative semantic prosodies. Frequency, cluster and keyword

analysis techniques from corpus linguistics were used first to establish the most frequent topics covered in the collected corpus. Various computer software programmes are available to analyse electronic texts and in this study AntConc© (Anthony, 2014) was used, which is widely accessible and commonly used in corpus studies (Kubler & Aston, 2010; Aull & West Brown, 2013; Weisser, 2016).

In creating frequency lists, consideration was afforded to the extent of analysis that is realistically achievable within the constraints of a PhD study, balanced with the need to produce findings that are meaningful. It was decided that this balance could reasonably be achieved through frequency lists of 30 words, which were considered to be sufficient in number to indicate patterns in language use, whilst manageable in number to conduct investigation of their use in context.

A list of the 30 most frequently occurring lexical words was generated from which five themes were extrapolated. These themes offered initial insights into what is being written about in the corpus, by whom and to what extent. The thematic organisation of data involved an element of subjectivity, in that preliminary judgements were made about the meaning of words and their interrelation, independent of their use in context. However, this was offset in later stages of analysis,

in which any assumptions about meaning were subject to greater scrutiny and modification as their use was examined as they occur in context.

Given that temporal and political factors were found to be important in preliminary analysis, keyword analysis was employed to interrogate the data from each of these perspectives. As will be discussed in the following chapters, three distinct timeframes were revealed as potentially significant in the extent of reports about Syrian RASIM: October 2014 to August 2015, September 2015, and October 2015 to September 2016. Analysis of the corpus from a temporal perspective can be helpful in revealing how the reporting of a particular issue develops over time (Conboy, 2010). Thus, for each specific timeframe, keyword lists were generated by comparing the sub corpus of articles in that timeframe against a reference corpus compiled from all of the other time periods in the corpus as a whole (table 4.1).

The keyword lists offered some insights into the linguistic choices characteristic of each timeframe, and provided the course for more detailed investigation to be conducted in stage three of the analysis, with regards to their function in context.

Table 4.1 Temporal keyword lists by reference corpus/corpora

Sub-corpus	Reference corpus
October 2014 – August 2015	October 2015 – September 2016
September 2015	October 2014-August 2015 & October 2015-September 2016
October 2015-September 2016	October 2014-August 2015

Keyword lists were also generated by comparing the sub-corpora for politically left- and right- leaning publications. This enabled exploration of linguistic choices according to political affiliation (table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Political keyword lists by reference corpus

Sub-corpus	Reference corpus
Politically left-leaning newspapers	Politically right-leaning newspapers
Politically right-leaning newspapers	Politically left-leaning newspapers

Analysis of keywords relative to timeframe and political affiliation is reported in chapter 5.

4.9.3. Stage 3: critical analysis

The purpose of critical analysis was to interpret and explain how news is controlled at a micro level and was concerned

with establishing how RASIM are discursively constructed within the newspaper reports. It built upon the insights gained in the previous stages to reveal how the various preferred linguistic choices representing identity function in context to create meaning and so direct readers in how they relate to RASIM emotionally, politically, morally and so on.

Representing social actors

A key part of the analysis at this stage was concerned with how Syrian RASIM are represented as participants in social processes. There are many different ways to represent social actors, whether as individuals or as members of groups, none of which exist in the absence of values, ideas or activities (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Van Leeuwen (2008) offers a systematic taxonomy of different referential choices when representing social actors such as collectivisation, functionalisation, aggregation and suppression. Each of these reference strategies emphasise or conceal particular aspects of a person's identity according to psychological, social and political purposes (van Leeuwen, 2008; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Machin & Mayr, 2012). For example, collectivising social actors according to a social group encourages the reader to relate to them primarily according to the characteristics associated with that group. To illustrate,

collectivising people in newspapers as *the Muslim community* (Baker et al, 2013), functions to represent Muslim people as a single, homogenous entity and fails to recognise the individual characteristics of each person within it. Functionalisation involves representing social actors according to what they do, for example, by their status within an organisation or role within a government. This can serve to legitimise their voice, knowledge and actions within a particular context. Finally, aggregation is concerned with the representation of social actors through numbers. Terms such as 'scores of people' and 'thousands of children' draw attention to their collective size whilst suppressing their human characteristics. The choice of a particular representational strategy by a text producer therefore has important implications for how individuals and groups of people are identified to readers, and hence the meanings associated with them.

Analysis began with the construction of a keyword list of nouns, adjectives and pronouns representative of identity, and organised according to statistical significance (highest to lowest), using the British National Corpus (BNC) written wordlist as a reference corpus. A degree of subjectivity is involved in determining which keywords to explore in more detail and seven query words (*refugee, asylum seeker, immigrant, migrant, people, Syrians and children*) were

subsequently selected from this list for further analysis in context. The selection of query words was informed by their statistical significance in the corpus as well as the overarching aims of the research study, which was to understand how the identities constructed for RASIM (de)legitimise compassionate responses to their suffering. The most salient seven identity-related words indicative of nouns were selected, though it was acknowledged at this stage that some forms of the word could function as adjectives in context, for example, *refugee*. Given that 'RASIMPSC' is textually cumbersome, for ease, in reporting findings, the acronym RASIM is used throughout to encompass refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, migrants, people, Syrians and children collectively. This is not to suggest that they are a homogenous group, rather it is to promote a more coherent account of the findings. In the event a distinction is required, the appropriate noun is used to demonstrate this.

Using AntConc, a list of collocates was generated for each of the seven query words, *refugee**, *asylum seeker**, *immigrant**, *migrant**, *Syrians*, *people* and *child**. Here, the * was used to include singular and plural occurrences of the query words. The top thirty collocates for each query word, organised according to the highest t-score value, were included in the analysis. I considered lexical words to be more

likely to offer insights into the construction of identity, and so discounted grammatical words. The list of collocates included words that collocate with more than one query word as well as words that are distinct to a particular query word. This offered a preliminary indication as to the key topics being reported in relation to the query words both collectively, and concerning specific identity groups.

The words were thematically organised into six groups and salient words or phrases from each of the themes were then subject to further cluster, collocate and concordance analysis. Consideration was afforded to how various representational strategies function to construct RASIM within particular social, moral and political frames of references.

Representing social action

The scoping review presented in chapter 3 revealed that the attribution of control, responsibility and blame is a key basis upon which participants are perceived to be either deserving or undeserving of compassion (Weiner, 1980a; Menec & Perry, 1998; Idisis et al, 2007; Gill et al, 2013; Simpson et al, 2014; Fehse et al, 2015). Therefore, the way in which RASIM are represented in action has implications for the extent to which they are perceived to be in control of, and responsible for both their actions and their ensuing circumstances.

Transitivity analysis is a useful tool to explore how control and responsibility are attributed to social actors in text, as it tells us what people are represented as doing, that is, 'who is doing what, to whom and how' (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 104) and plays a key role in meaning making (Fairclough, 1995; van Leeuwen, 2008; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Tsirogianni & Sammut, 2014; Lee, 2016). The representation of transitivity can influence the way we perceive people and their circumstances and align us either with them or against them (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 104). Transitivity analysis helps to identify how agency and passivity are attributed to participants in texts which are important in the attribution of responsibility (van Leeuwen, 2008). So, linguistic choices are likely to contribute to readers' interpretation of participants' actions in the situation being described, including the representation of control, responsibility and blame, ultimately informing decisions about the desert of compassion.

First, a list of two-word lexical verb clusters occurring to the left and right of each query word was created from the corpus in order to establish an initial indication of the processes that RASIM were either carrying out or being subjected to. I chose two-word, rather than larger sized clusters as I was concerned with establishing actions that RASIM were directly associated with. Following this, a list of the top 30 lexical verb collocates

of each query word was created, organised from highest to lowest t-score value. From this, it was possible to identify actions that were both common and distinct to each query word. The words were thematically organised into three groups and salient words or phrases from each of the themes were then subject to further cluster, collocate and concordance analysis. These findings are discussed in terms of how the attribution of agency or passivity in action constructs the extent to which RASIM or other social actors are in control of and responsible for their circumstances and any associated consequences.

In keeping with critical discourse analysis methods, interpretation and explanation of the findings was conducted in the social and political context of the timeframe (Machin & Mayr, 2012; Baker et al, 2013). For example, in the timeframe being investigated, immigration was a key concern in the UK (The Migration Observatory, 2018) and terrorist attacks carried out in Europe, particularly in Paris in November 2015 were widely reported in the mass media. Each of these issues is important in consideration of how events are both constructed and perceived. Thus, the subsequent critical discussion includes how such events may influence readers' cognitive and emotional responses and the consequences this

may have in their judgements of RASIM's desert of compassion.

This final stage of analysis provided a platform for the subsequent application of both compassion and desert theories to the findings to determine how the discursive construction of RASIM influences readers' perceptions about who deserves compassion, according to whom and upon what basis, which is presented in chapter 9.

4.10. Contribution to research

A considerable body of research exists concerning the representation of RASIM in international media (eg. Vicsek et al 2008; Alhayek, 2014; Hanson-Easey et al, 2014; Plascencia, 2017; Patrascu, 2016; Perez-Parades et al, 2017; Haider & Olimy, 2019; Onay-Coker, 2019). However, from conducting a scoping review, it was established that no other studies exist in which the desert of compassion is operationalised within the study design. Therefore, one original feature of this study is in the application of a formula for the desert of compassion, derived from traditions of compassion and theories of desert. Moreover, this study extends beyond the boundaries of representation to consider how the discursive construction of Syrian RASIM may influence readers' perceptions about their desert of

compassion and discusses the corresponding implications for practice in social, political and health domains.

4.11. Chapter summary

This chapter has shown that the aims of the present study are aligned with the interpretivist research paradigm and specifically, social constructionism. The chosen methodology, a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis, has been justified as most effectively achieving the overarching aim of the study, which is to establish how the discursive construction of Syrian RASIM in UK newspapers constructs them as deserving of compassion or otherwise. Relevant analytical techniques of both corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis have been described, and the research design and methods presented. Chapter 5 presents the first stage of analysis; an overview and preliminary analysis of a corpus of UK newspaper reports of Syrian RASIM published between October 2014 and September 2016.

5. An overview and preliminary analysis of the corpus

5.1. Introduction

The previous chapter presented and justified the methodology for the study, a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis and described the data and the methods of data collection and analysis. The overarching purpose of this chapter is to direct the focus for subsequent, more detailed interrogation of the data in keeping with the research question. The aims of the chapter are to 1) establish an appreciation of the composition and extent of the corpus, 2) establish a general overview of what the corpus is about and 3) gain preliminary insights into the linguistic choices used to represent Syrian RASIM. The chapter begins with an overview of the composition and extent of the corpus; findings are presented both descriptively and diagrammatically in order to most effectively illustrate the attention afforded to the Syrian refugee crisis across the newspapers. Frequency analysis is employed to establish the content of the corpus and five themes are discussed: identity, geographical locations, politics and the concepts of both time and numbers. Keyword analysis is subsequently employed to investigate how linguistic choices are made temporally and according to politically left- and right-leaning newspapers.

5.2. The composition and extent of the corpus

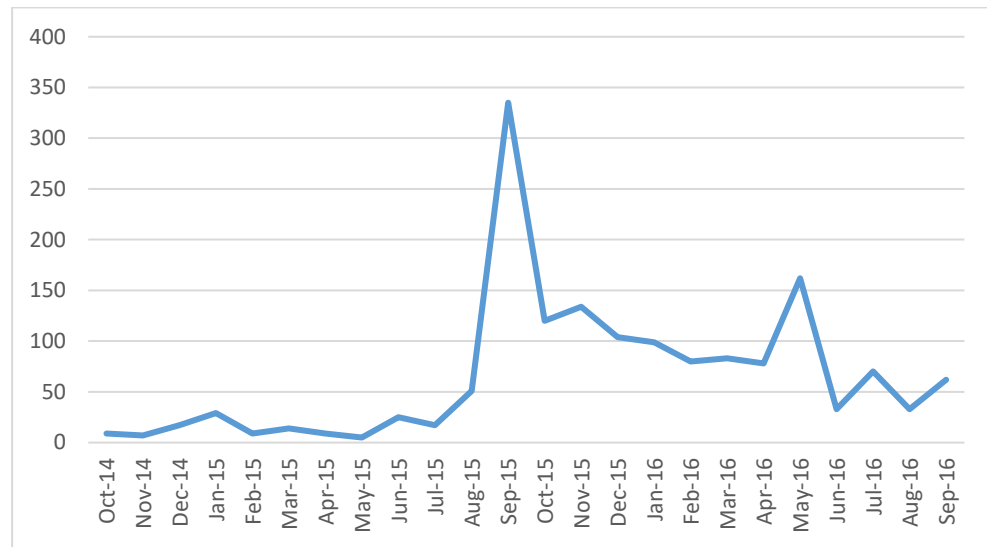
Establishing an overview of the composition and extent of the corpus was guided by the following questions:

1. How much is being reported?
2. Who is reporting?
3. Who is reading?

5.2.1. How much is being reported?

The whole corpus comprises 1,585 newspaper texts, which equates to a mean of 66.04 articles per month, (2.17 per day). Between October 2014 and August 2015, there was a mean of 17.45 newspaper reports per month (0.57 per day). A spike occurred in September 2015, with 335 reports in the single month (a mean of 11.17 reports per day), following which reportage decreased but levelled off to a higher than pre-September 2015 mean of 88.17 reports per month (2.89 per day) in the period October 2015 to September 2016. An additional, smaller spike occurred in May 2016, in which there were 162 reports published. This course is illustrated in the figure 5.1, which effectively demonstrates the presence of three distinct timeframes.

Fig 5.1 Number of texts with headlines/leading article 'Syria' and 'RASIM' 01.10.14 to 30.09.16



The spike in September 2015 suggested an event or events acknowledged collectively as newsworthy during that month. This was the month in which photographs of Alan Kurdi's body were published and the sharp rise in publications reflected the public's response to this.

The size of the corpus, whilst large enough to conduct meaningful analysis, raised questions as to the amount of space afforded to Syrian RASIM. A mean of only 0.57 texts per newspaper per day prior to September 2015 suggested minimal coverage, and despite the spike in the single month of September 2015, reporting reduced from October 2015 to a mean of 2.89 texts per newspaper per day, which did not seem to reflect the magnitude of the humanitarian cost of the refugee crisis. The course of the data suggested that analysis

of texts by sub-corpora, prior to, during and beyond September 2015 could provide insights into how Syrian RASIM were constructed over time, and these data are presented later in the chapter.

5.2.2. Who is reporting?

The *Guardian* newspaper's coverage of Syrian RASIM is consistently more prolific than other newspapers in terms of the number of articles and the number of word tokens, with its content representing 40% of the whole corpus. However, table 5.1 and figure 5.2 reveal a pattern that is largely comparable across all newspapers, illustrating that reporting in all eight newspapers appears to have been affected by common factors at significant points in time. To a greater or lesser degree, the peak in the number of texts in September 2015 was evident across all newspapers with the exception of the *Star* and was particularly evident in the *Guardian*, which had the highest total number of texts. Removal of the *Guardian* newspaper from the data presented in figure 5.2 demonstrates more clearly the pattern in the number of reports across the two-year period (fig 5.3).

Fig 5.2 Number of texts by newspaper with headlines/ leading article 'Syria' and 'RASIM' 1.10.14 to 30.9.16

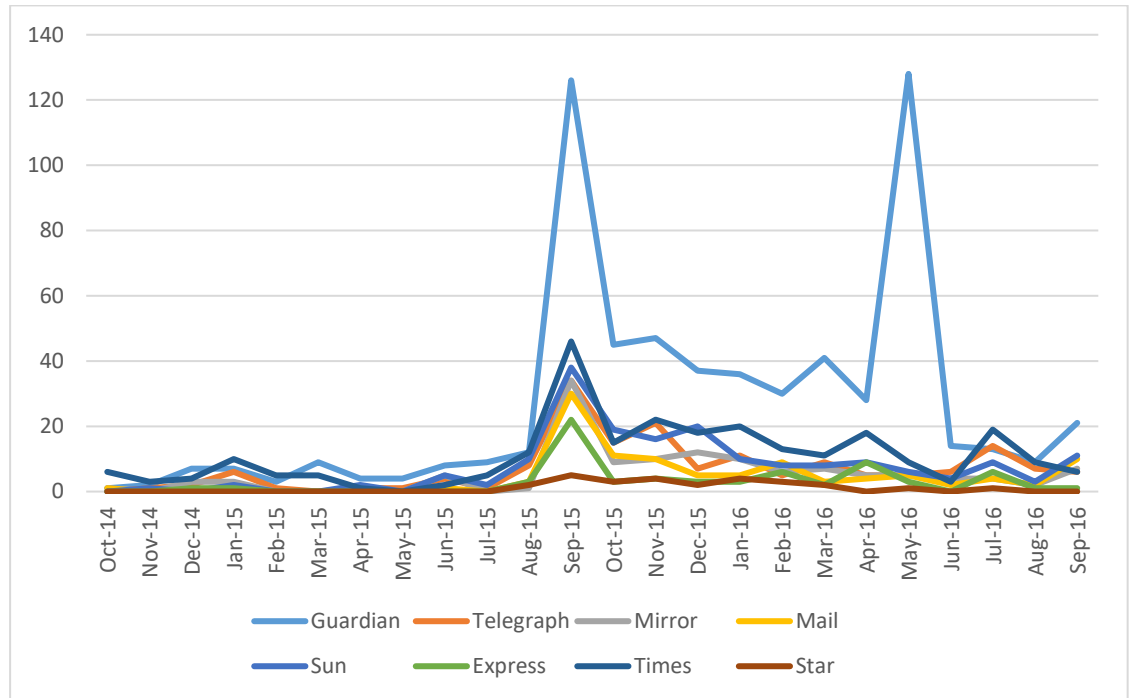


Fig 5.3 Number of texts by newspaper with headlines/ leading article 'Syria' and 'RASIM' 1.10.14 to 30.9.16 (without Guardian)

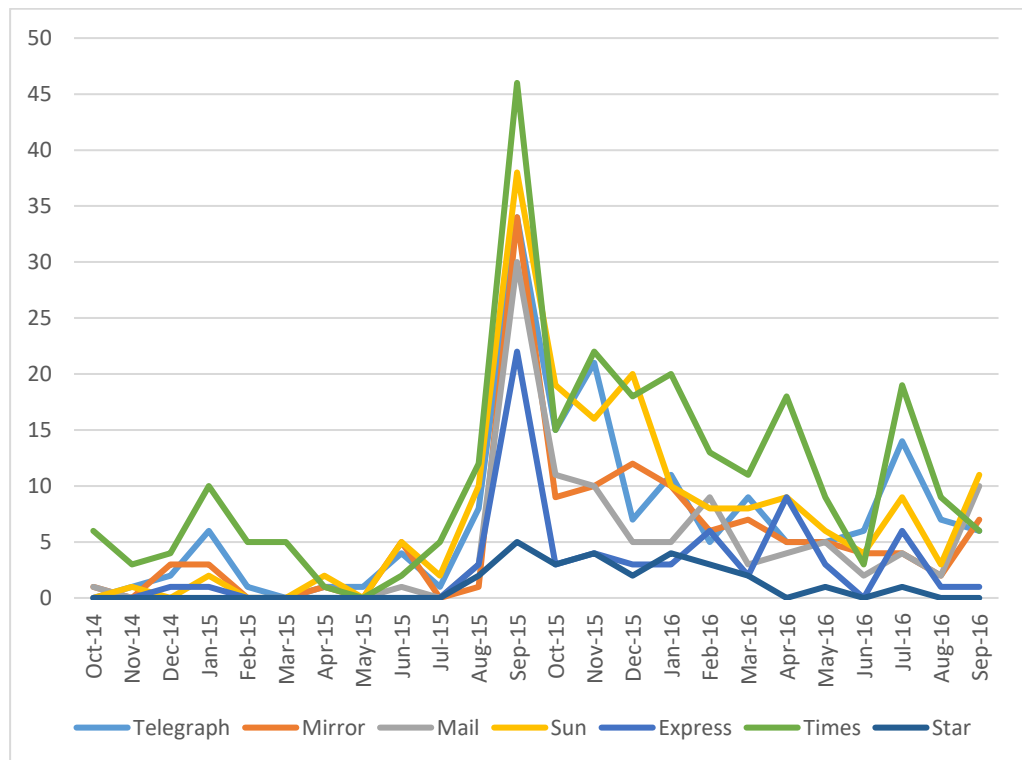


Table 5.1 Number of texts per newspaper per month 1.10.14 to 30.09.16

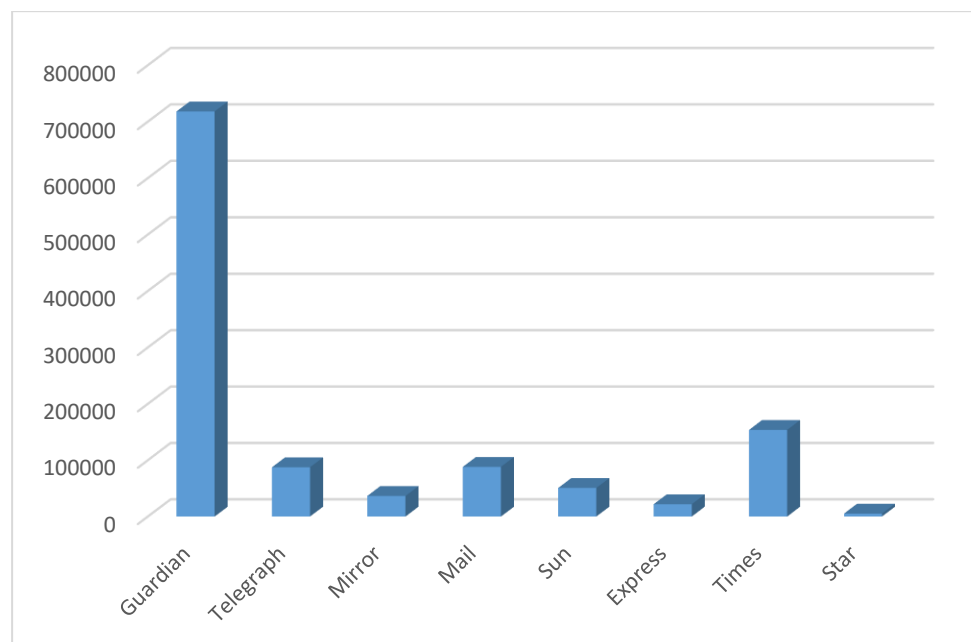
Date/Source		Telegraph	Mirror	Mail	Sun	Express	Times	Star	Total
10/14	1	0	1	1	0	0	6	0	9
11/14	2	1	0	0	1	0	3	0	7
12/14	7	2	3	0	0	1	4	0	17
01/15	7	6	3	0	2	1	10	0	29
02/15	3	1	0	0	0	0	5	0	9
03/15	9	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	14
04/15	4	1	1	0	2	0	1	0	9
05/15	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
06/15	8	4	5	1	5	0	2	0	25
07/15	9	1	0	0	2	0	5	0	17
08/15	12	8	1	3	10	3	12	2	51
09/15	126	34	34	30	38	22	46	5	335
10/15	45	15	9	11	19	3	15	3	120
11/15	47	21	10	10	16	4	22	4	134
12/15	37	7	12	5	20	3	18	2	104
01/16	36	11	10	5	10	3	20	4	99
02/16	30	5	6	9	8	6	13	3	80
03/16	41	9	7	3	8	2	11	2	83
04/16	28	5	5	4	9	9	18	0	78
05/16	128	5	5	5	6	3	9	1	162
06/16	14	6	4	2	4	0	3	0	33
07/16	13	14	4	4	9	6	19	1	70
08/16	9	7	2	2	3	1	9	0	33
09/16	21	6	7	10	11	1	6	0	62
Total	641	170	129	105	183	68	262	27	1585

The second peak in reporting in May 2016 (fig 5.2) was entirely attributable to the *Guardian*; other newspapers showed no evidence of change within this month. To explore this outlier further, a keyword analysis of the *Guardian's* data for May 2016 was undertaken against a reference corpus of the remaining publications' data for May 2016. The words *ISIS*, *Syria* and *Trump* were found to be high in keyness, however cluster analysis of these keywords and a scan of the articles' content failed to reveal any obvious themes, and there did not appear to be any single event in the Syrian

conflict or RASIM timeline, or significant publication to provide insight into this spike. In examination of concordances, duplications of some components of the texts were observed, suggesting problems with the quality of data. However, it was subsequently established that some of the content within the month of May 2016 were reproductions of earlier content published by the *Guardian* and rather than a problem with data quality, this anomaly was found to be part of the corpus. This anomaly was taken into consideration when viewing linguistic patterns in subsequent analysis.

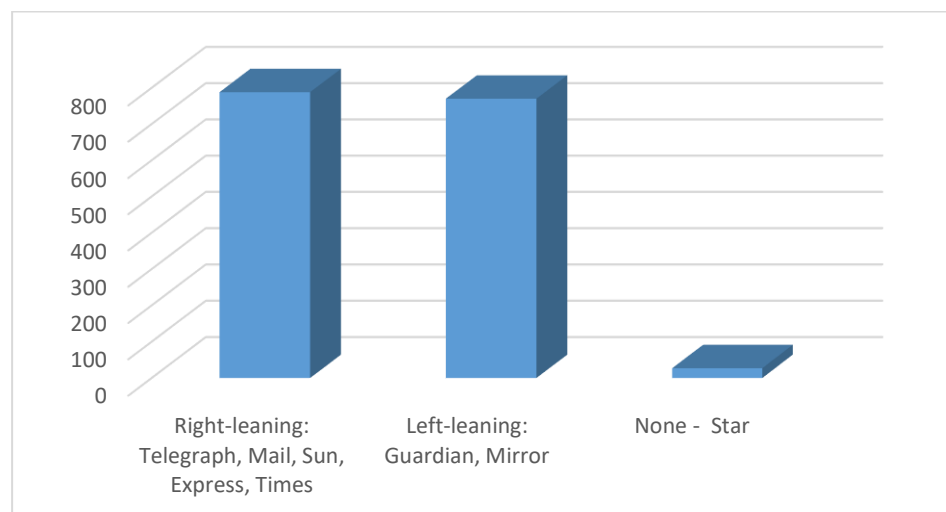
Figure 5.4 shows the distribution of tokens by newspaper, and reveals the *Guardian* as being dominant.

Fig 5.4 Number of tokens by newspaper 1.10.14 to 30.9.16



Of the eight publications included, five were characterised politically as right-leaning (*Telegraph, Mail, Sun, Express, The Times*) and two as left-leaning (*Guardian, Mirror*), determined according to the publications' own statements of political affiliation approaching the UK general election in 2015. In the absence of any clear declaration, the *Star* was characterised as being largely politically neutral. Figure 5.5 shows that the number of texts in left-leaning and right-leaning political positions was balanced, yet the number of left- and right-leaning newspapers was not; more of the newspapers were right- than left-leaning. The implications of this are discussed in the examination of readership data in what follows.

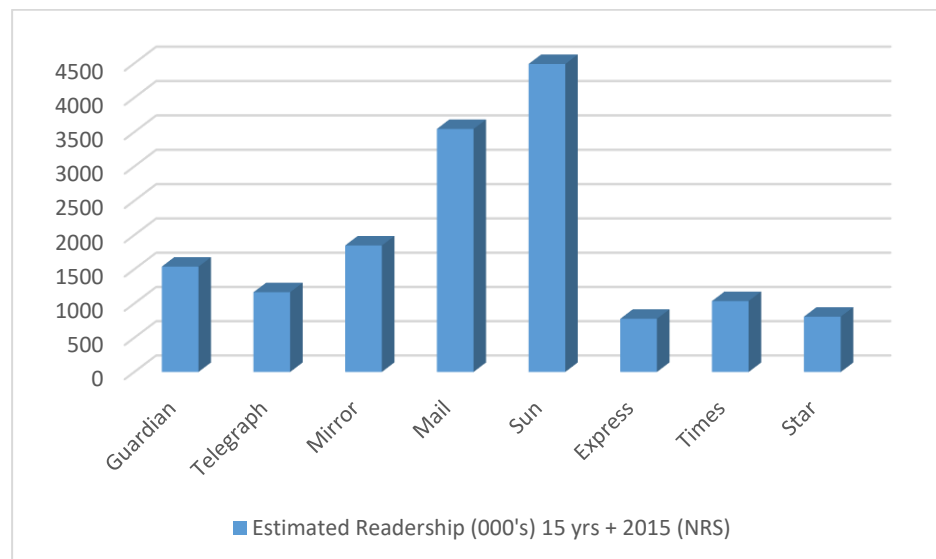
Fig 5.5 Number of texts by politically left-leaning and politically right-leaning newspapers 1.10.14 to 30.9.16



5.2.3. Who is reading?

Figure 5.6 shows that both the *Sun* and *Mail* newspapers have high readership. The *Sun*, *The Times*, *Star*, *Mirror* and *Guardian* have a higher number of male readers, whilst the *Mail* has a higher number of female readers. The *Express* and *Telegraph* are balanced in terms of readership gender (NRS, 2015).

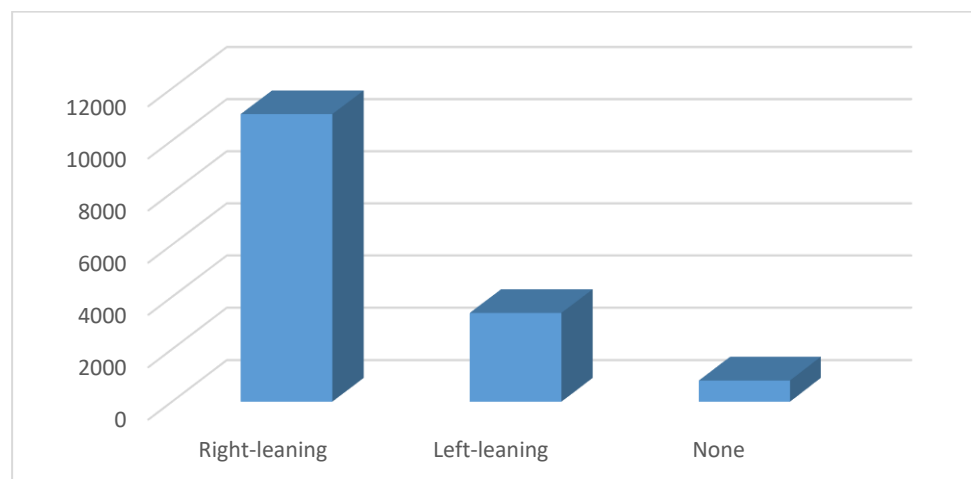
Fig 5.6 Estimated readership (000's) aged 15 years+ (NRS, 2015)



Whilst collectively, there was balance between politically left- and right-leaning reportage, right-leaning newspapers were estimated to have significantly higher daily readership (11,013,000) than left-leaning newspapers (3,387,000) in 2015 (NRS, 2015), illustrated in figure 5.7. Thus, whilst the *Guardian* – a left-leaning newspaper – published a significantly higher number of texts relating to Syrian RASIM across the

twenty-four month period, it enjoyed only 10.12% of the estimated total readership (NRS, 2015) and proportionately, reached a much narrower audience than either the *Sun*, *Mail*, *Telegraph Express* or *The Times*. A right-leaning construction of social history in relation to Syrian RASIM therefore dominated in terms of readership reach.

Fig 5.7 Readership (000's) by politically left-leaning and politically right-leaning newspapers



These preliminary observations revealed that both time and political ideology offered two important perspectives from which to conduct frequency and keyword analyses of the corpus. Thus, the corpus was divided into sub-corpora (table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Corpus and sub-corpora

Corpus name	Period	Number of Tokens	% of Time-frame	% of Corpus
Whole corpus	1.10.14 – 30.9.16	1 032 843	100	100
Pre-Sept 15	1.10.14 – 31.8.15	124 699	46	12.0
Sept 15	1.9.15 – 30.9.15	218 162	4	21.0
Post-Sept 15	1.10.15 – 30.9.16	689 982	50	67
Politically left-leaning	1.10.14 – 30.9.16	625 730	100	60.5
Politically right-leaning	1.10.14 – 30.9.16	401 896	100	39.0

5.3. An overview of the corpus content

5.3.1. Frequency analysis

In order to establish an overview of the topics included in the corpus, a list of the 30 most frequently occurring lexical words in the corpus was generated and is presented in table 5.3.

Table 5.3 30 most frequently occurring lexical words in the whole corpus

Rank	Word	Frequency	Rank	Word	Frequency
1	refugees	6944	16	UK	1788
2	said	5510	17	migrants	1734
3	Syrian	4649	18	documents	1654
4	people	4084	19	crisis	1627
5	more	3308	20	last	1604
6	refugee	2928	21	Syrians	1595
7	Syria	2547	22	now	1540
8	EU	2426	23	many	1519
9	Europe	2399	24	Britain	1489
10	year	2310	25	take	1488
11	Turkey	2209	26	other	1465
12	government	1951	27	new	1452
13	asylum	1902	28	war	1417
14	children	1839	29	only	1402
15	country	1805	30	help	1394

This list was examined to identify whether words may be indicative of a broader theme. For example, the words *Turkey*, *Britain* and *Syria* each suggest a focus on countries, whilst *more* and *many* are words that indicate content relating to numbers. By giving consideration to the possible meaning of each word, five themes were extrapolated from the list, those of identity, geographical locations, politics and the concepts of time and numbers and an overview of each is presented in this chapter. Whilst it is not possible to be certain of themes when considering words in isolation, at this early stage of analysis, grouping words in this way provided a basis for more detailed analysis, presented and discussed in subsequent chapters.

Identity

Findings of the scoping review presented in chapter 3 suggested that the construction of identity can be powerful in the communication and perceptions of the desert of compassion. Socially determined labels can influence how readers perceive others and the extent to which they can relate to and identify with them socially, politically, personally and morally (Markham & Trower, 2003; Norman et al, 2006; Hager, 2008). The presence of the lemmas *refugee*, *Syrian*, *asylum* and *migrant* in the most frequently occurring lexical

words was expected given the search design used to gather data, but the frequency list was explored in more detail to establish what other words were used to represent identity within the corpus. A second list was therefore created, comprising the most frequently occurring nouns that were indicative of identity. These are presented below in their singular and plural forms according to the frequency with which they occur in the corpus.

Table 5.4 Frequency list of nouns suggesting identity

Word	Frequency	Word	Frequency	Total
refugees	6944	refugee	2928	9872
Syrians	1595	Syrian	4649	6244
people	4084	person	147	4231
children	1839	child	460	2299
migrants	1734	migrant	547	2281
women	614	woman	253	867
men	417	man	424	841
asylum seekers	639	asylum seeker	98	737
boys	97	boy	232	329
girls	143	girl	115	258
mothers	46	mother	209	255
fathers	15	father	239	254
immigrants	167	immigrant	71	238

In order to aid subsequent commentary, it is appropriate at this stage to offer definitions of refugee, asylum seeker, immigrant and migrant (table 5.5).

Table 5.5 Definitions of RASIM

Refugee	Someone whose asylum application has been successful and who is allowed to stay in another country having proved they would face persecution back home (Refugee Council, 2019)
Asylum seeker	Someone who has fled persecution in their homeland, has arrived in another country, made themselves known to the authorities and exercised the legal right to apply for asylum (Refugee Council, 2019)
Immigrant	A person who has come to a different country in order to live there permanently (Cambridge English Dictionary, 2019)
Migrant	Any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is. (International Organization for Migration, 2019)

These definitions imply that refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants have more or less agency in their movement. Asylum seekers and refugees are defined as having fled persecution in their homeland and so are represented as having minimal agency or personal empowerment. Conversely, migrants' and immigrants' movement is defined as a more considered process that takes

place in the absence of urgency and in which choice for movement is implied.

These terms are important in how the audience makes sense of the participants and their situation, as according to attribution theory implications about personal agency and empowerment will influence attributions of control, responsibility and blame (Weiner, 1985). Other research notes how these terms are used interchangeably within the media and not necessarily in keeping with their legal definitions (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2006; 2008; Holmes & Castaneda, 2016; Boeva, 2016; Varvin, 2017). The linguistic choices made to represent participants have implications for perceptions of their desert of compassion and thus a detailed exploration of the use of these terms in context would determine how they are applied according to their definitions.

The frequency data presented in table 5.4 suggested a high degree of content relating to refugee(s) compared with the other identity-related terms used in the search strategy. It was supposed that *refugee* would function as a modifier as well as a noun and a review of clusters confirmed this, with *refugee crisis* (599) and *refugee camps* (242) the most prolific. Collectively, *Syrian* and *Syrians* represent the second most frequently occurring nouns. The relatively high

occurrence of the nouns *people* and *children* suggested content that is either about participants who are not RASIM, or that RASIM are represented in ways other than, or additional to their immigration status, not least their young age.

Participants are also represented through their roles within families (as *mothers* and *fathers*) and by their gender, *men*, *women*, *boys* and *girls*. There may be other, less frequent ways in which identities are represented, for example by names. Representation using participants' names would most likely reveal content that relates to individual stories but would not be immediately apparent in raw frequency data. In eight of thirteen instances, the plural form of a word occurred more frequently than its singular counterpart did. Occurrence of the plural words *refugees*, *people*, *children*, *migrants*, *asylum seekers*, *women*, *girls* and *immigrants* suggested a leading reference to participants as members of an assigned social group, rather than to individuals within the texts. Conversely, the nouns *boy*, *man*, *mother* and *father* are higher in frequency than their plural counterparts. A review of concordances of the word *boy* reveals that 84 of the 232 instances of its use occurred in the single month of September 2015 and largely in the context of Alan Kurdi's death. The total distribution of gender was reasonably even, though men

were more frequently represented as individuals compared to women, who were more frequently collectivised according to their gender.

Geography

Syria was expected to be high on the frequency list in keeping with the search strategy. The high frequencies of the geographical locations *Europe, Turkey, UK* and *Britain* suggested content that identifies them as being significant in the phenomenon of Syrian RASIM. The word *Europe* could reasonably relate to Europe either as a continent or as a political entity. A review of the corpus revealed the most frequently occurring two-word clusters of *Europe* as *in Europe* (512), *to Europe* (445) and *of Europe* (120) suggesting prolific use of *Europe* in the corpus in a geographical context. This indicated that reports are concerned with the wider implications of the situation in Syria and a relationship between Syrian RASIM and the collective nations of Europe. Turkey, given its relative geographical position, was important in the movement of Syrian RASIM as numbers increased dramatically from 2015 onwards. Further exploration of the frequency list revealed the presence of *Germany* (1249), *Greece* (892), *Hungary* (360) and *Italy* (331), all of which are significant in terms of the primary routes of travel taken by

RASIM during the timeframe being investigated (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (UNHCR) 2015a).

The high frequency of both *UK* and *Britain* indicated content which draws attention to an association between the country and Syrian RASIM. Relatively, the impact of RASIM on Britain during this period was minimal, in terms of resettlement of numbers of RASIM in the country. However, within its policy, Britain made a significant financial contribution to alleviating the Syrian refugee crisis (McGuinness, 2017). A list of two-word clusters of the word *Britain* was generated, which revealed *in Britain* (255), *Britain's* (210) *to Britain* (158) and *Britain has* (92) as occurring most frequently. In isolation, these clusters were not particularly meaningful, but a review of these in context revealed content relating to Britain's national contribution to the global refugee cause in terms of resettlement of refugees and financial aid. This indicated an interest in UK newspapers concerning the UK's perceived responsibilities in relation to Syrian refugees in particular. At this stage of analysis, it was not possible to determine whether those responsibilities were politically, socially, economically or morally motivated or indeed how those responsibilities were framed.

Politics

The frequencies of *EU* and *government* suggested political content within the corpus. A review of the two-word clusters of *EU*, revealed *the EU* (1338) to be the most frequently occurring cluster, with other clusters including *EU leaders* (110), *EU countries* (95), *EU member* (58), *EU membership* (51) and *EU states* (36). This draws attention to the perceived significance of the European Union in relation to Syrian RASIM. A review of the clusters of *government*, revealed *the government* (823) as the most frequently occurring two-word cluster, with less frequently occurring clusters *British government* (66), *Turkish government* (60), *UK government* (48), *local government* (54), *Syrian government* (43), *federal government* (40), *Greek government* (31) and *Australian government* (27). Collectively, this suggested global politics as being important in the content of the corpus.

The high frequency of the word *war* suggested that Syrian RASIM are contextualised within conflict and a two-word cluster analysis revealed *war in* (144), *war-torn* (97), *the war* (286) and *civil war* (285).

Time

Collectively, the high frequencies of the words *year*, *last* and *now* implied a temporal theme to the corpus. A two-word

cluster analysis of *year* with the search word on the left, showed *year-old* (507) and *year's* (100) to be the most frequently occurring clusters. Analysis in context found that *year-old* is used to state social actors' ages in texts relating to the stories of individual people's experiences, which mostly use the persons' names. Two-word cluster analysis of *year* with the search word on the right showed *last year* (470) and *this year* (414) to be the most frequently occurring clusters, followed by *a year* (230), *the year* (141) and *next year* (88). Viewed in context these clusters indicated progression and comparison along a time continuum in terms of the movement of refugees, financial aid and political position, which may be indicative of measurement.

The word *crisis* confers a sense of gravity of a situation, in which any outcome is likely to be serious or catastrophic and of immediacy, in which a position of catastrophe has either occurred or is being approached, and for which a solution or resolution is required urgently. The high frequency of the word *crisis* suggested that this is how Syrian RASIM's situation is predominantly framed within the corpus. A two-word cluster analysis of *crisis*, with the search word positioned on the right, revealed the most frequently occurring clusters as *refugee crisis* (599), *the crisis* (261), *migration crisis* (113), *migrant crisis* (112), *humanitarian crisis* (103), *this crisis* (65)

and *Syrian crisis* (52). The choice of adjective as a prefix to the noun *crisis* characterises the crisis. Thus, framing the situation as a *migration crisis* draws the readers' attention to the process of migration and positions policy as an important factor in the crisis. Conversely, framing the situation as a *humanitarian crisis* emphasises the human suffering, whilst the frame *refugee crisis* positions refugees as central to the crisis. Indeed, Holmes and Castaneda (2016) draw attention to the ideological motivation for the choice of adjective, suggesting that the term *migrant crisis* delegitimises the call for the protection of RASIM (that is, a response of compassion), whilst *refugee crisis* reinforces it.

Numbers

The words *more*, *take*, *many* and *only* indicate a strong emphasis on content relating to the numbers of Syrian RASIM. A review of two-word clusters for each of these words was conducted to identify any clusters that stood out in terms of their frequency. *More than* (1044) and *to take* (821) occurred with the highest frequency with the next most frequently occurring two-word cluster being *many of* (267). A three-to-six-word cluster analysis was carried out on *more than*. Examination of the list in order of frequency showed that for the most part, *more than* occurs in the context of either

numbers of Syrian RASIM, or monetary contribution. A three-to-six-word cluster analysis on *to take* also showed a focus of quantity of RASIM; *to take in*, *to take more in*, *to take more*, *to take more refugees* and so on. The recurrent representation of RASIM as numerical values or in terms of their number emphasises the scale of the situation but also has the potential to reduce individuals to numbers, thus distancing the reader from the human characteristics of RASIM. Repeated frames of vast numbers could suggest to readers that the arrival of thousands of RASIM has the potential to overwhelm their communities. Moreover, framing the financial element of the situation as a 'cost' draws the readers' attention to the negative impact on the UK, whereas 'aid' draws attention to money as being beneficent. Such frames have the capacity to influence readers' attributions and thus perceptions of others' desert of compassion.

5.4. Linguistic choices

5.4.1. Temporal keyword analysis

Keyword lists were generated for each timeframe, October 2014 to August 2015, September 2015, and October 2015 to September 2016, to establish whether there were any characteristic linguistic choices within each timeframe. A list of

keywords for the pre-September 2015 corpus, compared to the post-September 2015 corpus is presented in table 5.6.

Table 5.6 keyword list for pre-September 2015 (against a reference corpus of post-September 2015)

Rank	Word	Log Likelihood	Frequency
1	migrants	175.24	378
2	Kos	167.01	67
3	ship	166.47	66
4	food	138.34	142
5	Hungary	110.74	81
6	Italy	105.40	114
7	Mediterranean	98.02	80
8	Lebanon	92.11	152
9	Sahlee	86.34	23
10	Amman	75.68	33
11	Aya	74.69	22
12	WFP	73.42	33
13	Hungarian	72.55	32
14	boat	65.08	95
15	Dix	63.82	17
16	Jordan	60.80	138
17	Italian	58.76	50
18	they	57.75	866
19	Libya	57.69	47
20	Egypt	56.85	39
21	smuggling	55.61	51
22	Malvern	52.55	14
23	lorry	50.44	35
24	crew	48.98	20
25	Hashem	48.80	13
26	Serbia	46.60	44
27	money	46.04	113
28	coast	45.44	48
29	children	43.84	326
30	project	41.55	52

Three themes were drawn from the keyword list, identity construction, geographical locations and travel.

The high log-likelihood (LL) value of *migrants* in table 5.6 indicates that the frequency of *migrants* is significantly higher before September 2015 than afterwards, suggesting that content relating to migrants or representation of RASIM as migrants was more common in the earlier time period. The high LL value of the proper nouns *Sahlee, Aya, Amman, Dix* and *Hashem* were attributed to the peculiarity of personal stories within this sub-corpus and highlights the presence of stories about these individuals within this sub-corpus only.

The words *Kos, Hungary, Lebanon, Hungarian, Italy, Mediterranean, Jordan, Egypt, Italian, Libya, Malvern* and *Serbia* suggested that these geographical places were important in reports during this period. Mostly, these words represent countries for which routes of travel from Syria were important, however the presence of *Malvern* also revealed some content relating to refugee resettlement within the UK. In the same table, the keywords *ship, boat, Mediterranean, lorry, crew* and *coast* suggested the reporting focused on travel or movement and in particular, the method and route of movement. The presence of the word *smuggling* denotes an illegitimate form of movement and two-word cluster analysis

revealed *people smuggling* to be the most frequently occurring cluster. The occurrence of *food* and *WFP* (World Food Programme) as keywords, suggested the presence of a humanitarian or aid perspective in the content.

A keyword list was also produced for the September 2015 sub-corpus as compared with pre- and post-September 2015 corpora (table 5.7).

Table 5.7 Keyword list for September 2015 (against reference corpora of pre-September 2015 and post-September 2015)

Rank	Word	Log Likelihood	Frequency
1	Australia	334.55	304
2	Cameron	238.39	390
3	Hungary	209.55	202
4	Aylan	192.56	103
5	crisis	168.34	571
6	Britain	150.44	520
7	Kurdi	137.38	126
8	Budapest	121.21	53
9	Hungarian	108.37	80
10	Abbott	105.27	92
11	take	96.40	477
12	Osborne	87.80	56
13	Croatia	87.40	67
14	Brazil	86.77	37
15	Germany	80.46	400
16	Austria	79.89	106
17	prime	77.47	221
18	refugees	73.01	1763
19	washed	70.57	63
20	intake	69.66	75
21	Australian	69.11	73
22	sir	67.23	77
23	camps	64.21	246
24	stitch	63.68	23
25	minister	63.59	324
26	thousands	61.10	233
27	aid	60.26	295
28	persecuted	58.68	42

29	Manus	57.98	30
30	beach	57.62	91

In this sub-corpus, *refugee* was used with the greatest frequency to represent RASIM, suggesting that there was a relatively greater volume of content about refugees during this time period or else a preference for the term. The words *crisis*, *aid* and *persecuted* indicated an increasing representation of desperation and urgency in reports about Syrian RASIM. Collectively, the keywords *intake* and *take* represented movement in relation to the legal acceptance of RASIM and the representation of agency on the part of the receiving country. The most frequently occurring clusters of *take* were *take in* (101), *take a* (34) and *take more* (27) (keyword on the left), with *to take* (264), *will take* (48) and *would take* (31) occurring most frequently with the keyword on the right. The most frequently occurring clusters of *intake* were *refugee intake* (23) and *humanitarian intake* (21). Together, these clusters implied the movement of people between geographical and political spaces, which is consistent with an increase of the passage of refugees from Syria during this time period.

As anticipated, there were a high number of reports about Alan Kurdi's death during the month of September 2015, with both *Aylan*, (the initial spelling of Alan that occurred in the

media) and *Kurdi* occurring as keywords and each with relatively high frequencies of 103 and 126 respectively. The word *boy* occurred more frequently in this sub-corpus than in the other two combined and was ranked 100th in the keyword list. Exploration of the word *boy* in context revealed this to be largely related to Alan Kurdi and the frame *the boy on the beach*. These numbers are not sufficiently high to conclude a causative relationship between Alan Kurdi's death and the spike in reporting during September 2015. It is perhaps more likely that Alan's death and in particular, the publication of photographs of his body, were instrumental in drawing the public's attention to the plight of refugees and represented a platform upon which to conduct a debate about the humanitarian and political aspects of immigration.

Geographical locations were also evident in this keyword list, which includes an increasing number of Western European countries, *Germany, Croatia* and *Austria*. This could represent an increased interest in the reach of the crisis towards Western nations. Indeed, the presence of the keywords *Cameron, Britain* and *Osborne* suggested a greater focus on Britain and British politics in this sub-corpus. Australia, which is widely recognised as a Western country, and Australian politics were also prominent in this corpus, with the keywords *Australia, Australian* and (Tony) *Abbott*, the Australian prime

minister at the time. This could represent an increasing concern in the British media about the implications for Western countries as the movement of Syrian RASIM extended outwards as the situation in Syria became more severe. Conversely, it could represent an increasing concern for Syrian RASIM from these countries in terms of their suffering. Finally, the post-September 2015 corpus was compared with the pre-September 2015 corpus (table 5.8).

Table 5.8 Keyword list for post-September 2015 (against a reference corpus of pre-September 2015)

Rank	Word	Log Likelihood	Frequency
1	Trump	101.78	336
2	Paris	83.33	397
3	attacks	77.27	488
4	Republican	63.80	192
5	Turkey	63.37	1814
6	minister	61.34	653
7	Canada	54.85	243
8	he	53.60	4331
9	Bute	45.19	136
10	Davutoglu	44.86	135
11	Scotland	44.21	221
12	attack	43.19	267
13	Australia	43.06	217
14	Ankara	42.85	154
15	EU	42.75	1806
16	deal	41.70	531
17	would	39.89	1883
18	presidential	39.87	120
19	may	39.82	658
20	Donald	37.43	137
21	talks	35.84	250
22	US	34.42	1186
23	unaccompanied	33.33	156
24	be	32.95	3899
25	Texas	32.56	98
26	pope	31.42	163
27	Erdogan	30.91	251
28	Cruz	30.90	93

29	Kurdi	30.90	93
30	Russian	30.11	145

The post-September 2015 sub-corpus was dominated by politically related keywords, *Trump, Republican, minister, Davutoglu, EU, presidential, Donald, Erdogan* and *Cruz*. These keywords related to the president and prime minister of Turkey at the time (President Erdogan and Prime Minister Davutoglu), Donald Trump and Ted Cruz, each of whom was running for US presidency during this timeframe.

Geographically related keywords included *Scotland, Paris, Canada* and the *US*, which further expands the global context in which Syrian RASIM were represented during this timeframe. A two-word cluster analysis of the keyword *Paris* (keyword on the left) revealed *Paris attacks* (100) as the most frequently occurring cluster, and cluster analysis of the keyword *attack** revealed *terrorist attacks* (54) and *terror attacks* (34) amongst the most frequently occurring two-word clusters (keyword on the right). This indicated an association between Syrian RASIM and terrorism.

Appearance of the pronoun *he* in the keyword list raised questions about gender representation in the content. A review of the frequency list for the whole corpus revealed *he* (7338) to be positioned 19th, whilst *she* (2549) occurs much

less frequently, and is positioned 61st. Given the apparent political emphasis of texts, this may suggest either that key political actors were predominantly male, or that a bias existed towards male perspectives of events. This represents an opportunity to explore representation from a gender perspective, however is beyond the boundaries of this study.

5.4.2. Keyword analysis of politically left- and right-leaning publications

Keyword lists were generated for the left-leaning newspapers (*Guardian* and *Mirror*) and the right-leaning newspapers (*Telegraph*, *Mail*, *Sun*, *Express* and *The Times*) in order to explore how Syrian RASIM are discursively constructed according to political affiliations. I considered this to be important in establishing how Syrian RASIM are constructed according to broad ideological positions. Keywords from the sub-corpus of articles in politically left-leaning newspapers when compared against the sub-corpus of articles from politically right-leaning newspapers are presented in table 5.9.

Table 5.9 Keywords in politically left-leaning newspapers

Rank	Word	Log Likelihood	Frequency
1	Australia	405.27	512
2	bn	172.06	342
3	Canada	162.37	256
4	resettlement	158.03	440
5	refugees	141.60	4684
6	refugee	126.89	2061

7	humanitarian	124.19	521
8	intake	113.53	138
9	program	94.26	95
10	Abbott	93.94	147
11	government	93.22	1389
12	says	91.92	895
13	work	91.15	766
14	Australian	76.64	127
15	UN	74.36	511
16	community	73.87	383
17	and	69.29	14553
18	Patrick	69.08	114
19	Kingsley	66.48	67
20	labor	66.48	67
21	conflict	61.47	340
22	Trudeau	60.82	70
23	statement	58.57	191
24	Bernardi	57.55	58
25	US	57.11	1144
26	Republican	54.15	173
27	Turkey	51.91	1506
28	Canadians	51.59	52
29	Rubio	51.21	60
30	Texas	49.73	91

The keyness of *refugee(s)* revealed this as the leading means to indicate identity and legal status in left-leaning newspapers, compared to the right-leaning newspapers. This could suggest a number of possibilities; a preference to foreground the characteristics typically associated with refugees, an accurate representation of identity according to legal status or a focus on content relating to refugees rather than asylum seekers, immigrants or migrants.

The keywords *Australia*, *Australian*, *Abbott* and *Bernardi* occur almost exclusively in left-leaning newspapers and, more specifically, the *Guardian* newspaper, which accounted for 97%, 93%, 94% and 100% of their occurrences respectively.

Similarly, *Canada* and *Trudeau* occurred almost exclusively in the *Guardian*, accounting for 94% and 98% of all occurrences respectively. The *Guardian* newspaper, then, demonstrated a largely unique interest in Australian and Canadian politics in the corpus.

Resettlement and *humanitarian* both occurred in the keyword list for the whole corpus and are both high in keyness in the left-leaning newspapers, accounting for 86% and 81% of the total number of occurrences. *Resettlement* is an immigration policy-related term, whilst *humanitarian* indicates a focus on the human component of suffering in this corpus.

Next, the keywords in the sub-corpus of right-leaning newspapers, compared to left-leaning newspapers were reviewed (table 5.10).

Table 5.10 Keywords in politically right-leaning newspapers

Rank	Word	Log Likelihood	Frequency
1	Mr	861.42	650
2	migrants	633.34	1187
3	yesterday	537.95	481
4	cent	391.59	242
5	Mrs	235.24	180
6	per	227.14	304
7	police	197.67	511
8	migrant	189.84	368
9	billion	182.25	144
10	Britain	145.55	809
11	sir	131.22	126
12	Isil	120.59	94
13	Germany	105.16	665
14	night	101.10	302
15	documents	96.56	833

16	ten	87.79	70
17	sex	82.23	80
18	Ms	81.08	70
19	last	78.00	797
20	taxpayers	77.69	46
21	men	72.81	248
22	man	72.04	251
23	page	68.31	135
24	Cologne	62.19	76
25	bishops	61.70	50
26	her	59.55	864
27	Bute	56.08	98
28	Scotland	55.93	163
29	woman	53.29	154
30	Glasgow	53.16	75

This keyword list revealed *migrants* and *migrant* as high in both keyness and frequency, again suggesting a number of possibilities. Either right-leaning newspapers choose to foreground the characteristics typically associated with migrants or they may focus predominantly on content relating to migrants.

The keyness of the words *Mr*, *Mrs* and *Ms* in this sub-corpus, suggested an alternative form of address and these were found mostly to relate to politicians, *Mrs* or *Ms Merkel*, *Mr Trump* and so on and revealed another means to denote identity. This keyword list also showed a preference for the right-leaning newspapers to use the nouns *men*, *man* and *woman* and the pronoun *her* to represent identity. The presence of *police* suggested an increased presence of state authority, and cluster analysis revealed a theme of violence both towards and by the police. *Police said* was the second

highest two-word cluster (on the left), and implies both authority and legitimacy to any claims that follow within a sentence. A review of the word *sex* revealed *sex attacks* as the most frequently occurring two-word cluster, and examination of these in context established these related to sex attacks that were alleged to be carried out by migrants in Cologne.

5.5. Discussion

As a single corpus, frequency and keyword analyses offered initial insights into the extent of reporting, the corpus content and common linguistic representations of Syrian RASIM. Since time and politics appeared to be significant factors in the representation of RASIM, a discussion of the findings of this preliminary stage of analysis is most effectively conducted according to these factors. Illustrative presentation of the composition and extent of the corpus and comparison of the sub-corpora across the three distinct time periods October 2014 to August 2015, September 2015, and October 2015 to September 2016 revealed a temporal pattern of reporting that is largely comparable across all newspapers. This illustrates that the reporting in each newspaper appears to have been affected by common factors at significant points in time. In all newspapers, there was a surge in the number of reports and

tokens in September 2015 and analysis of this sub-corpus revealed a high frequency of occurrences of the words *Alan*, *Kurdi* and *boy*. This finding seems to indicate that Alan Kurdi's death on 1st September 2015 was a significant event that contributed to a collective increase in reports in September 2015. Moreover, whilst reporting rates reduced post September 2015, interest in Syrian RASIM was sustained to some extent and reporting rates did not return to their previous low, seen between October 2014 and August 2015.

Analysis also revealed equally distinct linguistic choices which progressed according to the development of the Syrian conflict, the movement of people and the increasing global political involvement in the situation. Frequency and keyword analyses revealed that in the sub-corpus October 2014 to August 2015 and in the sub-corpus of right-leaning newspapers, *migrants* was the most statistically significant word used to represent participants' identity. In the sub-corpus September 2015 and in the sub-corpus of left-leaning newspapers, *refugees* was the most statistically significant word used to represent participants' identity. This suggested that both time and political perspectives were important factors informing linguistic choices to represent Syrian RASIM in this corpus. It is possible that immigration related terms are used interchangeably in the corpus and not strictly according

to their definitions, as previously suggested (Gabrielatos and Baker, 2006; Holmes & Castaneda, 2016). It is also possible however, that linguistic choices to represent RASIM are ideologically driven, in which the writer emphasises characteristics typically associated with migrants or refugees according to the ideological aims of the article and the publication.

The definitions of *refugee*, *asylum seeker*, *immigrant* and *migrant* provided earlier in this chapter offer some preliminary indications as to the ideological benefits of representing participants according to their immigration status and the characteristics typically associated with each. It was suggested that the characteristics associated with the definition of *refugee* imply passivity and powerlessness, whilst those associated with the definition of *migrant* imply choice and agency. Right-leaning political perspectives are more likely to favour internal attributions (Williams, 1984; Skitka, 1999), in which an individual is perceived to be responsible for the cause of his or her situation, its continuance and its ending. Conversely, left-leaning political perspectives are more likely to search for external causes for an individual's situation and its alleviation (Williams, 1984; Skitka, 1999) Thus, it is perhaps not unexpected that in this corpus, right-leaning newspapers represent RASIM as migrants significantly

more frequently than left-leaning newspapers, which, in keeping with their ideological perspectives, are characterised as refugees. Given that more of the newspapers were politically right-leaning than left-leaning and readership was distributed at a ratio of 3:1 in favour of right-leaning publications, a politically right-leaning construction of social history in relation to Syrian RASIM dominated in terms of readership reach.

Geographical locations and politically related words were also found to be temporally related, in which the course of geographical locations significant in each sub-corpus reflected the reach of Syrian RASIM. In the pre-September 2015 corpus, the geographical focus was confined to countries proximal to Syria; Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt and Libya, as well as some Central and Western European countries; Italy, Hungary and Serbia. As the conflict and subsequent migration situation progressed, the number of articles increased and the focus on geographical locations extended to Western Europe and to other Western countries, Australia and Canada. In the final timeframe, the keyword list was dominated by Western nations, politics and terrorism. Alongside this, an increasing sense of urgency was evident through words such as *crisis* and *persecuted*, and words such as *take*, *intake* and *thousands* indicated increasing numbers of RASIM on the move. Given

the keyness of Western politically and geographically related words, it is conceivable that the increasing sense of urgency related to the outward reach of Syrian RASIM and their potential to impact on Western nations.

Overall, this preliminary analysis of the corpus revealed a chronology describing increasing numbers of RASIM leaving Syria with increasing urgency and desperation and extending geographically beyond nations that are proximal to Syria, towards Western countries and the UK. The preference for the term *refugee(s)* or *migrant(s)* according to timeframe and to publications' political tendencies suggests the possibility of ideological purposes informing linguistic choices to represent identity. This provides an opportunity to interrogate the data in more depth and aided by critical discourse analysis techniques to explore this possibility further. The next three chapters are therefore concerned with how RASIM's identities are constructed in the corpus.

5.6. Conclusion

The overarching aim of this chapter was to provide the basis for subsequent and more detailed interrogation of the corpus in keeping with the research question of 'who deserves compassion, according to whom and upon what basis?' The chapter has presented an overview of the corpus in terms of

the composition, content and some of the linguistic choices used to represent RASIM. The data presented in the chapter have illustrated how both time and political perspectives of publications appear to be factors in linguistic choices used to represent RASIM. These initial insights are valuable in informing the course of investigation and analysis. For example, the scoping review findings indicated political ideology as an important factor informing judgements about the desert of compassion. Since a politically right-leaning construction of events dominates in terms of readership reach in this corpus, it represents a crucial insight informing critical discussion. Chapter 6 builds upon these initial discoveries and aided by techniques from critical discourse analysis, investigates the discursive construction of Syrian RASIM's identities in the corpus.

6. Representation of identity

6.1. Introduction

Chapter 5 provided a descriptive overview of the composition and extent of the corpus. Preliminary analysis revealed linguistic preferences in the representation of identity according to three distinct time frames and to publications' self-declared political tendencies. This chapter is concerned with the representation of RASIM's identities within the corpus. A keyword list is generated, from which seven words indicative of identities are selected for further analysis, based upon their statistical significance in the corpus. Six thematic groups are identified through collocation analysis of these seven keywords: quantities, suffering, geographical places, identities, movement and politics/policy. These themes are investigated further using tools from corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis to establish how words representative of identity function in context. The findings of this analysis are presented in this present chapter and in chapters 7 and 8. This chapter presents findings from the analysis of the word *more* and demonstrates how the use of representational strategies, particularly aggregation, collectivisation and metaphor contribute to discourses of 'RASIM are an overwhelming global problem to be resisted' and 'RASIM are passive victims'.

6.2. Words representing identity

This research is concerned with RASIM as objects of compassion. Thus, the four terms *refugee*, *asylum seeker*, *immigrant* and *migrant* were central to both the search strategy in building the corpus, and the subsequent analysis. However, at this early stage of analysis, it was first necessary to determine whether there were other key terms by which RASIM are represented in the corpus. Therefore, using the written component of the BNC as a reference corpus, a list of keywords was produced from the corpus of UK newspapers October 2014 to September 2016. From this initial keyword list, a further list was produced to include those words presumed to relate to identity (table 6.1).

Table 6.1 List of keywords representing identity

Keyword	Log-likelihood	Frequency
refugees	52765.11	6944
Syrian	37531.67	4649
refugee	22053.41	2928
Syrians	13357.07	1595
migrants	13309.09	1734
asylum seekers	4912.90	686
people	4230.33	4084
migrant	3841.44	547
children	2106.01	1839
we	1556.65	5197
asylum seeker	735.73	113
they	667.22	5537
us	628.95	1647
our	603.70	1794
immigrants	605.17	167
their	434.00	4033
them	267.17	2293

immigrant	247.42	71
human	220.84	485
kids	156.31	134
women	70.28	614
boy	59.49	232
everyone	51.67	228
persons	32.23	90

This list reveals that participants are identified in terms of immigration status, *refugee(s)*, *migrant(s)*, *asylum seeker(s)* and *immigrant(s)*, in terms of age and gender, *children*, *kids*, *women* and *boy*, in terms of the shared characteristic of being human, *people*, *human* and *persons* and in terms of nationality, *Syrian(s)*. These data indicate that participants are more often classified according to the characteristics associated with their immigration status, than by any other means, however it is acknowledged that this is not unexpected given the parameters of the search strategy.

Since the lemmas *child* and *people*, as well as the word *Syrians* occurred with both high frequency and statistical significance, they were included as query words for subsequent analysis. *Syrian* was excluded as a query word in its own right due to its almost exclusive function as an adjective preceding other words, for example *Syrian children*, *Syrian refugees* and so on. However, its use in the corpus is considered via its collocation with these query words. Seven query words were therefore selected for subsequent analysis:

the lemmas *refugee, asylum seeker, immigrant, migrant, child, people* and the word *Syrians*. These query words represent the basis for analysis conducted in chapters 6 to 8 and form the lens through which the textual representation of social actors in the corpus is viewed. In restricting the choice of query words, it is acknowledged that the scope of analysis and subsequent findings are correspondingly restricted to these words. However as previously stated, the time and space constraints of a PhD require decisions to be made about the extent of analysis, and I justify their selection since they occur with the most frequency and with the highest statistical significance in the corpus.

6.3. Collocates of query words

In total, there were 210 lexical collocates for the seven search terms which equated to 93 lexical word types, listed in table 6.2. For clarity, the term lexical collocate relates to every occurrence of a word collocating with the seven search terms, which may include the same word collocating with more than one search term, whilst the term lexical word type relates to the total number of *different* words.

Table 6.2 Lexical collocates for all query words

accept, against, all, amnesty, alternative, anti, arrived, arriving, asylum, back, background, Britain, Britons, Calais, camp, camps, central, children, community, countries, country, crisis, displaced, economic, education, EU, Europe, families, first, fled, fleeing, flow, four, Germany, government, Greece, hate, help, including, illegal, Iraqis, Italy, Jordan, just, killed, labour, last, Lebanon, many, men, migrants, million, more, most, Muslim, need, new, number, numbers, one, only, other, over, party, people, refugee, refugees, save, school, see, smugglers, some, Syria, Syrian, take, thousands, three, Trump, Turkey, two, UK, UN, unaccompanied, undocumented, up, vulnerable, want, war, wife, women, work, year, young.

In isolation, most of the words are neither obviously negative nor obviously positive, however, *against, anti, hate* and *smugglers* could suggest negative semantic prosodies. I organised these collocates into thematic groups according to expectations of their meanings in context: quantities, suffering, places, identities, movement and policy/politics. For example, I expected that the words *million, more* and *most* to be concerned with quantities, and *crisis, fleeing* and *help* to relate to suffering. *Britain, Europe, Greece* and *Lebanon* are each representative of places, *women, wife* and *families* indicate identity, *arrive, accept* and *take* each suggests

movement and finally, *asylum*, *displaced* and *EU* are indicative of policy. In the following sections, collocates in each of these thematic groups are examined in detail.

Despite the similarities in the meanings of the query words, only two of the 93 collocates (*many* and *more*) were common to all query words, and each query word had at least some collocates that collocated exclusively with them and not the other query words. Collocates distinct to specific query words are listed in table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Identity: collocates distinct to query words

Query word	Collocate
<i>refugee*</i>	<i>camps, countries, government, migrants, UN</i>
<i>asylum seeker*</i>	<i>accept, Italy</i>
<i>immigrant*</i>	<i>against, alternative, amnesty, anti, background, Britons, central, community, hate, illegal, Muslim, new, numbers, party, Trump</i>
<i>migrant*</i>	<i>Calais, economic, flow</i>
<i>child*</i>	<i>education, families, including, labour, men, save, school, three, two, unaccompanied, wife, women</i>
<i>Syrians</i>	<i>fled, Iraqis, Lebanon, work</i>
<i>people</i>	<i>just, killed, need, see, smugglers, vulnerable, want</i>

Table 6.3 indicates a more distinct pattern of word type associated with each specific query word and helps to identify the distinguishing topics being reported according to each

group of identities. For example, *camps*, collocating with *refugee** suggests content relating to the impermanency of refugees' living conditions. *People* is collocated with words that suggest suffering or vulnerability, whilst *child** is collocated with words relating to education and relationships. The query word *immigrant** stands out in its collocation with some words that are typically negative, including *against*, *alternative*, *anti*, *hate* and *illegal* which could suggest the presence of a negative semantic prosody in relation to immigrants.

6.4. Themes

Quantities: *all, four, first, many, last, million, more, most, number, numbers, one, only, some, thousands, three, two*

Quantity-related collocates comprise 16 of the 93 word types and 53 of the total 210 different collocates of all the query terms. In addition, as previously stated the collocates *more* and *many* are the only two words collocated with all of the seven query words. Quantity, then, is a central theme of the collocates of the query words. In view of its dominance, the theme of quantities was explored further and is presented later in the current chapter, through cluster and concordance analysis of the word *more*.

Suffering: *crisis, fled, fleeing, help, killed, need, save, vulnerable, want, war*

These collocates draw attention to frames of both desperation and urgency in relation to migrant groups. *Refugee crisis* and *migrant crisis* are the most frequently occurring two-word clusters, and collectively, these collocates indicate the presence of suffering in relation to Syrian RASIM, one of the characteristics of compassion (Lazarus, 1991; Nussbaum, 2001; Solomon, 2008; Simpson et al, 2014).

Places: *Britain, Calais, countries, country, Europe, Germany, Greece, Italy, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, UK*

A collection of collocates related to geographical places, and particularly *Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey* and *Greece* is unsurprising. As discussed in chapter 5, Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey are all proximal to Syria and at the end of 2014, Turkey was host to the greatest number of refugees globally, followed by Pakistan, Lebanon, Iran, Ethiopia and Jordan (UNHCR, 2015b). Furthermore, 2014-2015 witnessed a major increase in the number of refugees and migrants taking the Eastern Mediterranean route from Turkey to Greece, most with the intention of travelling onwards to southern Europe. With limited opportunities for integration in Turkey, Germany was perceived by refugees and migrants as offering greater

protection, a more welcoming environment and easier prospects for integration (UNHCR, 2015b), which led in turn to greater reporting of the arrival and integration of refugees in Germany. The words *Britain* and *UK* indicate the UK's press interest in the relationship between Syrian RASIM, and Britain and the UK.

Identities: *Britons, children, families, Iraqis, men, migrants, Muslim, people, refugee, refugees, Syrian, wife, women, young*

Identities are described in the context of policy (*migrants, refugee, refugees*), in the context of social relationships (*children, families, men, and wife*) and according to nationality (*Britons, Syrian, Iraqis*). These words show that query words often collocate with each other, which may indicate that RASIM are distinguished from each other within the text, for example in the following sentence: 'The UN says it involves a mix of *refugees* and economic *migrants*' (*Telegraph*, 20.9.15). It also suggests that one or more query words may be used to refer to a more specific group, as demonstrated in an extract from the *Guardian* newspaper: 'The Lebanese government has declared that it has taken 207,000 *Syrian refugee children* off the streets....' (*Guardian*, 27.5.16).

Movement: *accept, arrived, arriving, take*

A range of verbs is used to describe the nature of movement, and the use of verbs associated with RASIM identities is investigated and discussed in detail in chapter 7.

Policy/politics: *asylum, displaced, economic, EU, government, Trump, UN*

These words reflect the language of immigration policy, and identify key individuals/agencies involved in decision-making surrounding RASIM. Immigration policy is discussed throughout subsequent chapters, since it persists as a frame in which RASIM are represented.

This chapter explores the first of these six themes, quantities, in more detail and findings are presented and discussed in the following section.

6.5. Quantities: cluster and concordance analyses of *more*

Of the words relating to the theme of movement, *more* stands out in that it is consistently high in both t-score value and in frequency, and thus, was selected for both cluster and concordance analysis. A search of two-word clusters of *more* identified *more than* and *do more* to be the most frequently occurring clusters with the search term positioned on the left

and right respectively, with *more than*, in particular, standing out in terms of its high frequency (table 6.4). A subsequent search of concordances of *more*, with all seven query words, revealed two principal uses, *more than* [+ number] (361) and *do more* (42).

Table 6.4 Two-word clusters of *more*

Search term on the left	Frequency	Search term on the right	Frequency
<i>more than</i>	1044	<i>do more</i>	134
<i>more refugees</i>	163	<i>for more</i>	99
<i>more to</i>	111	<i>in more</i>	97
<i>more Syrian</i>	101	<i>and more</i>	90
<i>more people</i>	83	<i>a more</i>	88

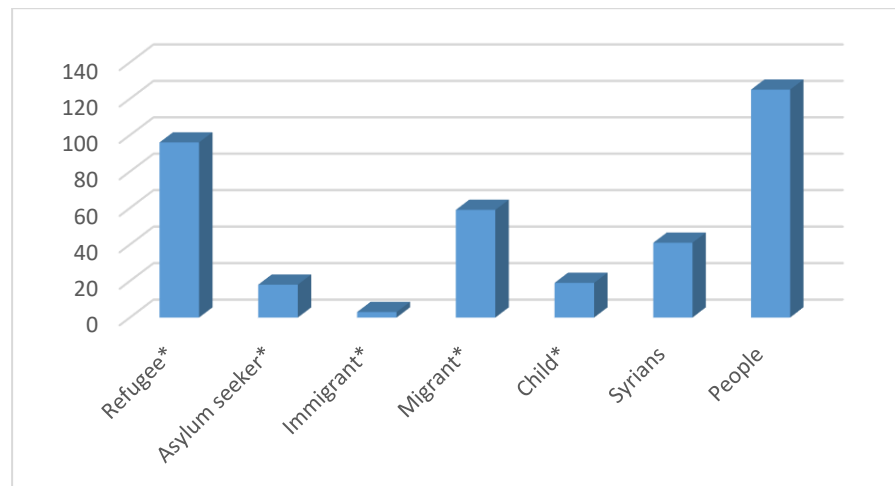
This provided two entry points into the data, the findings of which are presented below.

6.5.1. *More than* [+number]

The distribution of all 361 occurrences of the collocational pattern *more than* [+number] across the seven query words is illustrated in figure 6.1 and occurrences are reasonably proportionate to the frequencies observed in table 6.1, which lists the frequencies of keywords representing identity. In what follows, based on analysis of the concordances of *more than* [+number], I argue that the consistent representation of RASIM through aggregation and metaphor contributes to a

discourse of 'RASIM are an overwhelming global problem to be resisted' situated within a broader discourse of 'immigration is a threat to Europe'.

Fig 6.1 Occurrences of *more than* [+number] for each query word



6.5.1.1. 'RASIM are an overwhelming, global problem'

Concordance lines in which the RASIM query term collocates with *more than* [+ number] show that RASIM are recurrently aggregated, such that human participants are represented as statistics (Malkki, 1996; van Leeuwen, 2008; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Boeva, 2016). Accordingly, quantities of RASIM are foregrounded in the representation of their identity, whilst other associated characteristics are either suppressed or omitted. Aggregation is a common feature to emerge in research investigating the discursive construction of refugees, migrants and asylum seekers in the media (Gilbert, 2013;

Boeva, 2016; Fotopoulos & Kaimaklioti, 2016; Patrascu, 2016; Abid et al, 2017; Goodman et al, 2017). In keeping with this previous research, the use of *more than* [+ number] in the present corpus is used to emphasise the large size of the numbers of RASIM moving across international and particularly European borders. In a significant number of instances, the large number of people is framed as problematic and in some cases, there are instances of repetition of *more than* in close proximity, which function to strengthen the frame, as illustrated in the following extract from the *Guardian* newspaper:

'The situation is even worse in Jordan and in Lebanon, which now houses *more than* 1 million Syrian refugees – *more than* a fifth of the country's total population'
(*Guardian*, 3.1.15)

Here, *more than* is first used to draw attention to the high number of refugees in Lebanon and Jordan and second, to emphasise the proportion of Syrians within the population. The use of *even worse* is explicit in framing the number of Syrian refugees in these countries as problematic. The same strategies are used in the following extract, also from the *Guardian*:

'*More than* 3 million Syrians have now fled the country, with Lebanon alone taking in nearly 1.5 million. In this

small country of just 4 million, that equates to the population growing by *more than* 25% in just a few years. And that number is increasing daily'. (*Guardian*, 5.10.14)

The repetition of *more than*, compounded by the words *alone*, *small*, *just* and *increasing* emphasises the problematic nature of the situation. In these two extracts, these strategies persuade the reader that there are too many Syrians fleeing the country, that Lebanon is too small to take the high number of people arriving and that the problem is worsening daily. Jordan and particularly Lebanon are represented as being overwhelmed by the vast number of Syrian refugees and the situation is implied to be both critical and unsustainable, requiring an urgent response.

Whilst aggregation suggests scientific credibility, in many examples within the corpus specific statistics are not provided (van Dijk 1991, in Machin & Mayr, 2012). In aggregating participants, the authors could have chosen to provide accurate statistics, for example, the first extract above could be replaced by

'Jordan and Lebanon now house 1, 253, 000 Syrian refugees'

And the extract:

'More than 3 million Syrians have now fled the country,
with Lebanon alone taking in nearly 1.5 million.'

could be replaced by

'3.2 million Syrians have now fled the country, with
Lebanon taking in 1.45 million'

In each case, the use of the quantifier *more than*, draws the readers' attention to the problematic nature of such high numbers, whereas factual information would describe the position more neutrally. It also leaves the readers unclear as to exactly how much more and focuses on the fact that the number exceeds an arbitrary benchmark of quantity, which is indicated as being unacceptably large. Similarly, in the second example above, the use of *nearly* indicates that numbers of Syrians arriving in Lebanon is close to an arbitrary benchmark, which is implied as being too high. Whereas, if this was replaced with *less than* 1.5 million, the implication would be that this is a reasonable number. The author's choice not to use accurate statistics functions to collectivise refugees, so that they are more likely to be perceived as a single, anonymous mass, depriving them of their individuality and contributing to their dehumanisation (Malkki, 1996; Nyers, 1999).

Further examination of *more than* [+number] indicates a persistent representation of the movement of refugees as out of control, with host countries being overwhelmed by the arrival of RASIM. Metaphor was found to be a common means through which this is represented, as illustrated in the following three extracts:

‘Germany is on course to take in *more than* a million asylum seekers this year after the onset of winter failed to stem the flow of newcomers’ (*Sun* 8.12.15)

‘The family are among tens of thousands who have been displaced in the past week – the latest wave in a conflict that has driven *more than* 11m people from their homes and unleashed a wave of refugees across Europe’ (*The Times*, 7.2.16)

‘ In Germany, states have began demanding at least another (EURO) 10 billion from the government to cope with the influx of *more than* a million migrants last year’ (*The Times*, 2.4.16)

These extracts demonstrate the use of metaphors in representing refugees, migrants, people and asylum seekers as a single, overwhelming force that cannot be stopped, and supports the findings of other research into the representation

of refugees and asylum seekers (El Refaie, 2001; Baker et al, 2013; Boeva, 2016; Patrascu, 2016; Abid et al, 2017).

Metaphors are used as a “means of representing one aspect in terms of another” (Fairclough, 2001: 99), and can be an effective way of influencing people’s understanding of, and response to, events (Fairclough, 2001; Charteris-Black, 2006; Machin & Mayr 2012, Abid et al, 2017). Metaphors can be used to highlight some aspects of the target of the metaphor and suppress or omit others, and can be persuasive in making arguments more or less plausible. They are an effective tool in political persuasion in that they can simultaneously communicate political myths (eg. immigration is out of control), evoke strong emotions (eg. fear) and communicate political arguments (eg. immigration should be stopped) (Mio, 1997; Charteris-Black, 2006). Ultimately, through repeated use, metaphors can normalise a specific way of understanding the world (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Once such representations are well established within a culture or society, they may become concealed and/or very difficult to challenge, and affect not only the way in which an issue is understood, but how institutions and societies are organised (Baker, 2006; Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Kovecses (2010) describes two conceptual domains in metaphors, the source domain and the target domain. The

source domain is typically a concrete concept, for example a body of water or a building, and is utilised to provide meaning to the target domain, which is typically a more abstract concept, such as movement or an idea (Kovecses, 2010). In doing so, the target domain assumes characteristics of the source domain. Numerous studies have revealed the use of water-related metaphors in media representations of refugees and migrants, most commonly used to afford meaning to the process of movement between geographical spaces (Gale, 2004; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; KhosraviNik, 2009; Abid et al, 2017). Thus, when refugees and migrants are described in terms of water metaphors, the audience can be expected to understand them in terms of the characteristics associated with the choice of water-related word (Charteris-Black, 2006; Baker, 2006).

As will be illustrated below, these water metaphors appear pervasively alongside uses of *more than* and other references to RASIM in the corpus. *Stem the flow, latest wave, unleashed a wave* and *influx* are examples of water metaphors used in the corpus, the source and target domains of which are indicated in table 6.5.

Table 6.5 Water metaphors

Word	Source Domain	Characteristics	Target Domain
<i>flow</i>	a moving river or stream	single entity gathers in pace and force calm to cascading forward direction	asylum seekers
<i>wave</i>	a wave in the sea or ocean	height depth speed engulfing constant repeating	refugees
<i>influx</i>	a moving body of water entering a river	single entity	people and migrants

Of note is that the characteristics of the source domains are inanimate, and yet the target domains are groups of people, which serves to dehumanise asylum seekers, refugees and migrants (Charteris-Black, 2006; Abid et al, 2017). The implication of this is that readers are less likely to relate either emotionally or cognitively with RASIM, so creating a barrier to compassion, since people do not typically feel compassion towards inanimate objects. *Stem the flow* occurs in relation to *people, migrants and asylum seekers*. The word *flow* occurs 179 times in the corpus, with a keyness (log-likelihood) of

144.35. *Flow* occurs in the list of the top 30 collocates of *migrant**, and collocates reliably (t-score = 7.02857) with *refugees* (t-score = 7.32250) and *migrants* (t-score = 6.66341). The lemmas *stem*, *stop* and *halt* have the highest t-score values of verb collocates of the lemma *flow*, which suggests that the movement of RASIM is characterised as a flow of water that needs to be stopped, and strengthens the argument that RASIM are represented as problematic and overwhelming in the corpus.

Likewise, the word *wave* occurs 121 times in the corpus, with a log-likelihood of 91.8 when compared against the written section of the BNC, and the highest lexical collocates of the lemma *wave* are *refugees* and *migration*. *Influx* occurs 160 times in the corpus, with a log-likelihood value of 773.3, and its most frequent lexical collocates are *refugees* and *migrants*. Other collocates of *influx* with high t-score values, such as *huge* (t-score = 3.99191) and *cope* (t-score = 3.43802), once more draw attention to a discourse of refugees and migrants as problematic, as well as an emphasis of the size of the problem. These metaphors above are consistently negative and, from an ideological perspective persuade the reader that immigration, and therefore RASIM as the participants of immigration, are undesirable. This offers implications for how

RASIM are subsequently perceived as deserving of compassion or otherwise, which are discussed in chapter 9.

6.5.1.2. 'RASIM are an overwhelming global problem to be resisted'

In addition to a discourse of 'RASIM are an overwhelming, global problem', cluster and concordance analyses of *more than* [+number] also exposed a discourse of 'RASIM are an overwhelming global problem *to be resisted*'. So not only do they represent a problem, but their resettlement should be resisted. The argument of who is taking and who should take responsibility for the resettlement of refugees is repeated from global to local levels within the texts. The argument is evident between non-EU and EU nations, between nations within the EU and between regions within the UK. In each case, RASIM are constructed as being someone else's problem. This is illustrated in the following extract:

'EU countries have said they expect to see 12,000 refugees relocated from Turkey, well below the 72,000 places that are available under EU law, and far below the expectations of Turkey, which is sheltering *more than* 3.1 million refugees in total' (*Guardian*, 18.5.16)

This extract reports on the tension between Turkey and the collective EU countries. The *Guardian* draws attention to the disparity between the high numbers of refugees in Turkey, compared to the relatively low number of refugees expected to be relocated to EU countries. The *Guardian* situates its argument in a legal framework, suggesting that EU countries could take an additional 60,000 refugees according to EU law, thus legitimising the claim.

The following extracts from the *Sun* and the *Mail*, show how this global tension is replicated between the UK and other EU countries:

'Granting more people asylum would open the floodgates, as it has in Germany, where *more than* 300,000 refugees have applied for asylum in the past year, compared to 25,000 in the UK' (*Sun*, 4.9.15)

Here, the *Sun* newspaper makes a comparison between the numbers of refugees granted asylum in the UK to those in Germany. The terminology in this sentence is inaccurate according to the legal definitions of RASIM, as refugees are not granted asylum, rather asylum seekers are granted refugee status. This could be an example of how immigration terms are used interchangeably or inaccurately in the media

(Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Holmes & Castaneda, 2016; Boeva, 2016; Varvin, 2017), or it could be ideologically motivated, or both.

Whilst there is no explicit reference to immigration policy, this statement points towards an ideological position in which asylum applications should be kept to a minimum in the UK. The function of *more than* is to alert the reader to the high number of asylum applications in Germany, compared to the UK. The *Sun* warns the reader, through use of a floodgate metaphor, that immigration could represent a similar threat to the UK, if it, like Germany, opens the floodgates. The floodgate metaphor implies a position in which there is a large body of refugees seeking entry to the UK, currently controlled by an effective immigration policy. Relaxing the immigration policy would result in a flood of people seeking permanence in the UK.

Charteris-Black (2006) identifies flooding as the most frequently occurring natural disaster metaphor in a corpus of right-wing political communication in the 2005 general election campaign. He draws attention to the widespread flooding that occurred in the UK in 2001 and the negative connotations of this. On this premise, consideration can be given to how natural river flooding has become more frequent

in the UK since his research was published, and the devastation that this is associated with, such as people having to leave their homes, financial hardship and so on. The metaphor of 'RASIM is a flood' can therefore stimulate readers' associations between the effects of immigration and the social and economic effects of the floods in the UK in recent years. Since these effects are typically negative, this strategy is likely to stimulate fear in readers, meaning that compassion towards RASIM is less likely to be mobilised (Lazarus, 1991).

Comparison and water metaphor are also used in the following extract from the *Mail* to defend UK immigration policy:

'We may not be taking as many Syrians as some other countries, but over the past few years we have absorbed *more than* eight million immigrants.' (*Mail*, 13.10.15)

Use of the pronoun 'we' characterises the *Mail* and its readers as collectively distinct from both Syrians and immigrants, firmly characterising them as an outgroup. The verb *absorb* represents another water metaphor in which it is implied that the ingroup has collectively soaked them up, as a sponge soaks up water. Whilst this could reflect the process of integration, the overall frame of the article is more suggestive of Syrians and immigrants being undesired. Collectively,

these strategies represent Syrian RASIM as a problem to be resisted by the UK.

Finally, the argument about who should and should not take responsibility for the resettlement of RASIM is enacted between regions within the UK as illustrated in the following quote from Rochdale's Labour MP, Simon Danczuk in the *Express* newspaper:

"Since 2012, when the contract for managing the distribution of asylum seekers was handed to Serco, the number of asylum seekers in the North-west has risen by 50 per cent but fallen by 20 per cent in London. Rochdale supports *more than* 1,000 asylum seekers. For years the town has been used as a dumping ground for vulnerable people that other towns don't want to deal with. David Cameron talks of honouring our 'moral responsibilities', but even in times of crisis his constituency does not provide shelter to a single asylum seeker. This unequal distribution is neither fair nor sustainable." (*Express*, 13.9.15)

Contextual use of the words *managing*, *distribution*, *dumping ground*, *deal* and *unequal distribution* establishes a negative semantic prosody in which the resettlement of asylum seekers

in Rochdale represents a problem for the town, and one in which the asylum seekers are dehumanised. However, interspersed within this quote are the words *supports*, *vulnerable* and *shelter*, all of which suggest a more human and empathic approach to asylum seekers. There is therefore incongruence between what at first appears to be supportive of refugees and asylum seekers and the choice of language to describe them. However, the overall frame is one which conveys that the number of asylum seekers in Rochdale is undesired.

A repeated association between migrants and terrorism contributes to the discourse of 'RASIM are a problem to be resisted', an observation made in other research on the construction of refugees and migrants (Gale, 2004; Charteris-Black, 2006; Boeva, 2016). The following extract refers to a series of co-ordinated terrorist attacks that occurred in Paris on November 13th, 2015:

'In an indirect jibe at her defence last year of Germany's open door to asylum seekers, Mr Tusk blamed "political correctness" for delays in closing Europe's borders, allowing *more than* one million migrants, including Paris and Brussels attackers, to enter the EU unchecked' (*The Times*, 17.9.16)

The Times newspaper identifies the Paris and Brussels attackers as migrants and thus creates an affiliation between migrants and terrorists. The claim that more than one million migrants enter the EU unchecked is strengthened through the use of the metaphor 'open door' and indicates that migrants represent an uncontrollable danger of terrorism to Europe. The combination of 'more than' and 'one million migrants' once more draws attention to the scale of immigration, and in this case is used as a measure of the risk of terrorism since any of those 'more than one million unchecked migrants' is constructed as a potential threat. The discourse of 'migrants are terrorists' thus engenders fear in communities and reinforces the ideology that immigration is undesirable and should be resisted. Given this threat to their own safety, readers are more likely to be concerned with self-preservation than showing compassion to RASIM.

In this analysis, the representation of RASIM as people with personal histories, experiences, strengths and aspirations is notably absent from the texts. It is these stories and characteristics that humanise RASIM and reduce the cognitive and emotional distance between them as social actors and the reader. In doing so, readers are more able to empathise with RASIM's experiences and feel compassion for them

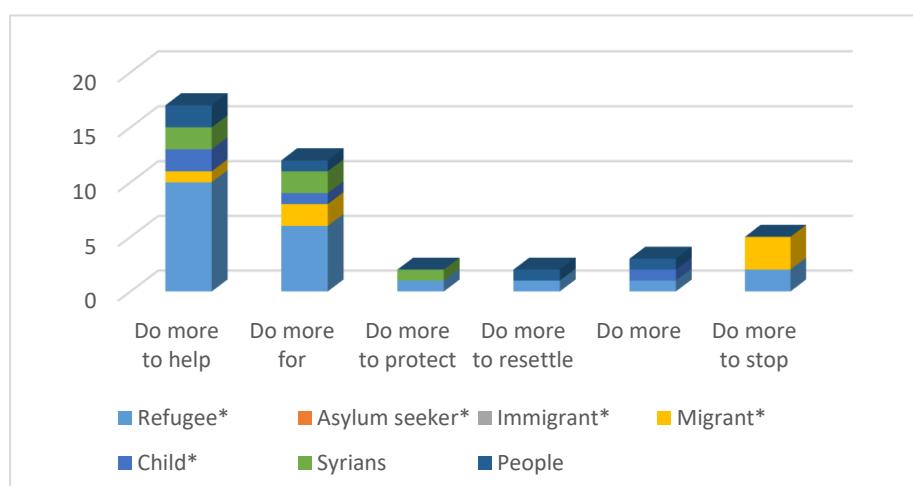
(Nussbaum, 2001). Most noticeable in its absence is a frame in which *more than* [+ number] RASIM are safe and free from persecution, a frame in which RASIM are represented as survivors, and a frame in which the value of human life is prioritised above the cost to host countries. The implications of this for judgements about RASIM's desert of compassion are discussed in chapter 9.

6.5.2. Do more

There are a total of 42 occurrences of the cluster *do more*, which include 36 occurrences of 5 different phrase types indicative of the act of helping, and 6 occurrences of the phrase *do more to stop*. These phrase types, illustrated in figure 6.2, draw attention to the possibility of an alternative, more positive – albeit less dominant – discourse to that which was identified in the analysis of concordances of *more than* [+number].

This illustration suggests a predominant focus on *doing more* for refugees, whereas there appears to be little call to *do more* for either asylum seekers or immigrants. The data also suggest an appeal to *do more to stop* migrants more than any other group.

Fig 6.2 Concordances of *do more*



The words *help* and *protect* each suggest benevolence, whilst *stop* has negative connotations. Closer analysis revealed both a discourse of 'RASIM are passive victims' and a recurrence of the discourse 'RASIM are an overwhelming global problem to be resisted', each of which is discussed below.

6.5.2.1. 'RASIM are passive victims'

Analysis of these concordances as they occur in the texts reveals the repetition of a structure that comprises four participants, the report author, a champion who advocates on behalf of RASIM, a decision-maker and RASIM. Typically, the report author is providing an account of a third party individual or group (champion) in their appeal to another individual or group perceived to be in a position of power (decision-maker), to help RASIM. The champion is commonly

named, identified by his/her role, or associated with an organisation and in doing so is afforded some credibility in terms of his/her claims (Machin & Mayr, 2012). The decision-maker is typically a minister, country or government, and both of these participants are foregrounded over the subjects of help, RASIM. The choice of words to represent RASIM's situation consistently characterises them as weak and in need of others' help, for example *stranded, protecting, vulnerable, safe haven, desperate, poor, fleeing, plight, traumatised* and *victims*. The absence of words associated personal strength and resilience in the characterisation of RASIM is notable. There are a number of articles in which the champion is a celebrity, or group of celebrities. The following is an excerpt of a citation from a letter, constructed by 80 public figures from the worlds of literature, theatre, music and business, addressed to, and published in the *Guardian* newspaper:

“We are seeing the reality of this human crisis played out on our TV screens week after week. Families are desperate to reach their loved ones. Traumatized children have no one to protect them. Men, women and children are putting their lives at risk to seek safety. We know the UK has a proud history of protecting the victims of war. As the UNHCR convenes a high level meeting calling for world leaders to step up and *do more*

to help Syrian refugees, we urge David Cameron to continue that legacy by urgently *doing more* to help these vulnerable refugees” (Guardian, 25.3.16).

In this extract, the use of *human, families, loved ones, children, men and women*, positions refugees within social and relational structures with which the reader can identify, and with which they are likely to connect on both cognitive and emotional levels. Whilst participants are categorised as refugees, they are also identified as humans, involved in loving relationships and in families of men, women and children. This encourages the reader to attribute the familiar characteristics of families, men, women and so on to the refugees, thus humanising them and reducing the cognitive and emotional distance between the reader and the social actor. The humanisation of RASIM functions as an enabler of compassion, whilst their additional characterisation as vulnerable represents a desert base, so that they are represented as deserving compassion by virtue of their vulnerability as humans. Moreover, this representation of refugees as human beings creates an image of people's lives beyond their role of refugee.

However, the participants are also characterised as *desperate, traumatised* and *vulnerable*, which emphasises their fragility

and suppresses their strengths. Whilst representing RASIM in such a way may emphasise their need to be helped, many readers will not have been subject to similar experiences and the associated suffering. This reduces their capacity to relate to RASIM personally or to fully empathise with their circumstances; in the absence of empathy, readers are less likely to feel compassion (Nussbaum, 2001; Gilbert, 2010). Moreover, the capacity to tolerate the distress associated with another's suffering is a key enabler of compassion (Gilbert, 2010), yet some readers may lack this resilience and therefore choose not to attend to particularly graphic accounts of suffering, so that compassion fails to be mobilised.

Celebrity status functions to legitimise opinions, whereas in reality, these celebrities are unlikely to be involved in national or international policy or to have direct influence over EU leaders' decision-making. However, their status is elevated through use of their names, and through reference to their celebrity roles, for example *GAME of Thrones stars* and *public figures from the world of literature, theatre* and so on. There are examples in which the champion is not a celebrity; however, their status is elevated through nomination and functionalisation, or their views are legitimised by means of their association with various organisations as demonstrated in the following extract from the *Mirror* newspaper:

'Lisa Doyle, of the Refugee Council, said "Britain must *do more* to help refugees arriving in Europe. It is vital the British Government proactively offers to help share responsibility for protecting the vulnerable men, women and children arriving on Europe's shores'" (*Mirror*, 19.9.15)

Here, the champion – Lisa Doyle – is nominated and associated with a non-government organisation (NGO) to draw attention to her position as having both knowledge and authority on what is right for refugees. In her (quoted) statement, she humanises refugees and yet constructs them as vulnerable and without strength, and uses this to morally shame the British government. The use of 'responsibility' suggests that the government is currently failing in its duty to refugees, whether this is a legal or moral responsibility isn't explicit. The phrase *vulnerable men, women and children arriving on Europe's shores* provokes an image of people in boats coming ashore onto the beaches of Europe and suggests both urgency and disorder. Whilst in her statement Lisa Doyle draws attention to the needs of refugees, they are simultaneously reduced to the passive role of victim and exploited in a political argument between two participants that are more powerful, Refugee Council and the British government. The refugees' voices are suppressed and so

whilst refugees are constructed as deserving of compassion by virtue of their victimhood, this is achieved at the cost of their dignity.

The following extract from the *Guardian* illustrates use of the same strategy, in which Lliana Bird is nominated and associated to an NGO to emphasise her authority as a champion for refugees:

'Lliana Bird, who co-founded Help Refugees last August, showed the MP's the hut where young teenagers gathered in the afternoons to play table-football. She said the government urgently needed to *do more* to help the children.' (*Guardian*, 22.3.16)

In this extract, RASIM are first personalised as teenagers and then as children, and they are described as participating in a game of table football. This additional detail interacts with both the MPs' (the decision-makers) and the readers' existing schemas of normal teenage behaviour, and so appeals to their conscience in an associated plea to the government to urgently *do more to help*. Of note, the addition of the determiner *the* before *children*, identifies the children in the sentence as the recipients of help, not other children. This helps the decision-makers to remain focused on the children that they observed playing table-football in the hut, with

whom they have possibly already made some degree of emotional connection. The RASIM participants in this extract are similarly constructed as passive victims, the characterisation of teenagers as young is unnecessary, and emphasises their representation as vulnerable. The champion in this extract exploits the teenage participants in the course of a political statement to the British government.

The discourse 'RASIM are an overwhelming problem' identified earlier in the investigation of *more than* [+number] is also evident in the analysis of *do more*, illustrated in the following example from the *Guardian*:

'The prime minister of Norway, Erna Solberg, who is also co-chairing the conference said it was in Europe's self interest to *do more* to help Syrians. "If we don't invest more in the neighbourhood and neighbouring countries we will have an even bigger problem than we have today" she said.' (*Guardian*, 4.2.16)

Erna Solberg is functionalised as the prime minister of Norway and described as the co-chair of the conference (an international donor conference to address the consequences of the Syrian civil war), thus she is doubly legitimised in terms of her authority and expertise. Ms Solberg constructs Syrian people as a problem through abstraction, stating that in the

absence of investment *we will have an even bigger problem*, in which Syrian people represent the existing problem which will become larger.

In each of the above examples, RASIM are constructed as victims in order to draw attention to their powerlessness and thus emphasise the governments' moral or legal responsibilities to *do more* for them. Positive characteristics that are more suggestive of personal strength or resilience, as well as RASIM's self-representations are suppressed. Thus, in efforts to establish actions to help them, RASIM are reduced to helpless individuals with nothing positive to offer.

It is also notable that the champions in these extracts attribute responsibility for *doing more* exclusively to the political leaders of a state or country, identified through either name, role or through objectification (eg. Britain). This frames RASIM as a political problem to be resolved through policy alone, with responsibility for their suffering and its alleviation attributed exclusively to the government/state. The champion fails to acknowledge either his/her own individual responsibility, or the responsibility of other members of society or indeed RASIM themselves to *do more* to help RASIM. Furthermore, these extracts demonstrate a sense of urgency for action by governments to *do more*, and yet the actual detail of what this comprises is omitted.

6.5.2.2. 'RASIM are an overwhelming global problem to be resisted'

The discourse of RASIM are an overwhelming global problem to be resisted that was discussed in section 6.5.1.2 was also evident in analysis of the phrase *do more to stop*. This phrase most frequently occurred in the context of stopping RASIM in their journeys and collocated with the verbs *coming, crossing, travelling, arriving* and *resettling*, as shown in the following example from the *Guardian* newspaper:

'The German chancellor gave a strong signal that she supported doubling aid for Syrian refugees in Turkey, as the EU bargained with Ankara to *do more to stop* migrants and refugees arriving on Greek shores'
(*Guardian*, 8.3.16)

This is one of a number of examples in the corpus of how political leaders use financial incentives to manipulate the movement of refugees, discouraging them from leaving Turkey and from travelling to European member states. The principal frame of *do more to stop*, was one of maintaining geographical distance between RASIM and Europe.

6.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, concordance analysis of *more* has demonstrated that RASIM's identities are most commonly represented in the corpus according to their immigration status. RASIM are constructed by other social actors so that their own narratives are excluded, and positive accounts that demonstrate RASIM's human qualities and potential to contribute to host nations are notably absent from the corpus.

The chapter has drawn attention to two discourses in which RASIM are positioned at either end of a continuum of threat and in the context of a socio-political debate about immigration. Representational strategies, notably aggregation, collectivisation and metaphor function to dehumanise RASIM and construct them as an overwhelming problem for actual and potential host nations, which is to be resisted by Europe. Conversely, concordance analysis of *do more* demonstrated how the extent of RASIM's human suffering is emphasised. Whilst they are humanised and represented sympathetically in some texts, they are also constructed as passive victims, without personal resilience or strength and their suffering exploited for the purposes of political argument.

The construction of RASIM at the extremities of victim and threat presents implications for the extent to which they are perceived as deserving of compassion. The representation of RASIM as extreme victims portrays them with characteristics of helplessness and contextualises them in experiences that many readers cannot personally identify with or may not wish to attend to, whilst representation of RASIM as an extreme threat involves strategies that function to dehumanise them. Each extreme of the continuum reduces the capacity for readers to relate to RASIM on emotional and cognitive levels and removes them from their realms of recognition (Chouliaraki, 2013). These implications are discussed in detail in chapter 9 in the context of theories of desert and compassion. Meanwhile, transitivity analysis is employed in chapters 7 & 8 to establish how RASIM are represented through actions, beginning with the process of movement, which is explored and presented in chapter 7.

7. Representation of action: movement

7.1. Introduction

The previous chapter was concerned with the discursive construction of RASIM according to the theme of quantities and specifically through concordance analysis of *more*. Two discourses were identified situating RASIM along a continuum of threat; 'RASIM are an overwhelming global problem to be resisted' and 'RASIM are passive victims'. This chapter investigates the representation of RASIM in action through transitivity analysis. As a reminder, transitivity analysis investigates the use of verbs in texts and tells us 'who is doing what, to whom and how' (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 104). This functions as a means to explore how social actors are represented as more or less agentive in action. Agency offers implications for the attribution of control and responsibility, which has already been established as an important factor in judgements about the desert of compassion.

The chapter begins by establishing the most frequently occurring lexical verb clusters and verb collocates for each query word, from which an overview and commentary of the key actions with which RASIM are associated is presented. As will become apparent below, verbs associated with movement dominated the list of collocates and this chapter explores the

use of the verbs *take, allow, flee* and *arrive* in the discursive construction of RASIM. A critical commentary follows which demonstrates how representational strategies and the choice of verb function to construct RASIM more or less favourably and with more or less agency in a political debate concerning immigration.

7.2. RASIM in action

The analysis of transitivity in relation to RASIM begins with establishing the processes in the corpus in which *refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, migrants, children, Syrians* and *people* are most frequently represented as being involved. Thus, the lexical verbs most frequently clustered with each query word were first established and these are illustrated in table 7.1.

Each of these verbs represents a material process, in which participants are doing something, or having something done to them. The verbs positioned on the left of the query words indicate actions performed by other participants that affect RASIM, while verbs positioned on the right signal material processes in which RASIM are the agents.

Table 7.1 Most frequently occurring two-word lexical verb clusters to left and right of query word

Verb to the left	Query word	Verb to the right
<i>help</i>	<i>refugee*</i>	<i>fleeing</i>
<i>returning</i>	<i>asylum seeker*</i>	<i>arriving</i>
<i>accepting</i>	<i>immigrant*</i>	<i>eating</i>
<i>stop</i>	<i>migrant*</i>	<i>arriving</i>
<i>help</i>	<i>child*</i>	<i>fleeing</i>
<i>help</i>	<i>Syrians</i>	<i>fleeing</i>
<i>helping</i>	<i>people</i>	<i>fleeing</i>

* Query words marked by asterisks denote both plural and singular use lemmas, e.g. *refugee* and *refugees*.

Thus, these clusters indicate that *refugee(s)*, *child(ren)*, *Syrians* and *people* are affected by other participants' positive actions; *help*, whilst the word *stop* preceding *migrant(s)* may be indicative of a resistance to migrants. Further exploration of the cluster *returning asylum-seeker** was carried out to establish the function of *returning*. This showed that in each case, *returning* functions as a main verb, in which asylum-seekers are being returned by other participants in the text, rather than *returning* functioning as a participle to pre-modify a noun such as *the returning asylum seekers*. This is illustrated in an extract from the *Guardian* newspaper: 'Human rights groups say returning asylum seekers from Greece to Turkey would be illegal...' (*Guardian*, 8.3.16). Thus, this

suggests that *asylum seeker(s)* are affected by less positive processes than *refugees, children, Syrians* and *people*, insofar as they are being returned to countries from which they are seeking asylum.

Where RASIM are the agents of a process, *refugee(s), child(ren), Syrians* and *people* are most frequently represented as *fleeing*, whilst *asylum seeker(s)* and *migrant(s)* are represented as *arriving*. The verb *fleeing* emphasises movement away from a place, and whilst it suggests agency on behalf of the social actors, it is commonly used in the context of fear and urgency and thus in such circumstances, true agency can be called into question; van Leeuwen (2008: 66) calls this deagentialisation. The verb *arriving* suggests a less urgent form of movement, and is indicative of more deliberation and volition on the part of the participants. Moreover, the verb *arriving* emphasises social actors' movement to a place. These two verbs then, suggest a focus on refugees, children, Syrians and people fleeing a place of danger, and a focus on asylum seekers and migrants getting to a place of safety.

In order to explore these initial observations further, a list of the top 30 lexical verb collocates was created for each of the query words, organised from the highest to lowest t-score

values. It must be acknowledged here that what at first appear to be verbs may in fact be nouns when examined in context, for example *support, flow, welcome* or *attack*. This is subsequently established through examination of the words in context, in their concordance lines, and forms part of the ensuing commentary. From a total of 194 collocates for the seven query words, there are 71 verb lemmas, listed in table 7.2.

Table 7.2 Lexical verb collocate lemmas for all query words

<p><i>accept, agree, aid, allow, apply, arrive, attack, blow, call, carry, claim, come, continue, create, cross, deport, die, do, drown, ensure, enter, face, fail, find, flee, flow, force, get, give, go, grant, hate, help, house, include, kill, know, like, live, lose, make, need, offer, open, plan, provide, put, reach, receive, refuse, register, resettle, return, risk, say, save, see, send, share, smuggle, stem, stop, support, take, think, travel, try, use, want, welcome, work</i></p>

These words were organised according to their anticipated meanings, and grouped into themes of movement, help and violence/suffering. Of the 71 lemmas, three were common to all query words, *arrive, say* and *take*. Collocates distinct to specific query words are listed in table 7.3.

Table 7.3 Verbs: collocates distinct to query words

Query word	Verb collocate
<i>refugee*</i>	<i>agree, plan</i>
<i>asylum seeker*</i>	<i>blow, deport, face, fail, house, receive, refuse, register</i>
<i>immigrant*</i>	<i>attack, call, create, find, hate</i>
<i>migrant*</i>	<i>carry, cross, flow, find, reach, send, share, stem, stop, travel, use</i>
<i>child*</i>	<i>ensure, force, lose, provide, put, save</i>
<i>Syrians</i>	<i>continue, get, grant, open</i>
<i>people</i>	<i>die, kill, know, smuggle</i>

These words begin to draw out what actions may be taking place that are specific to each identity (Orpin, 2005). For example, the verbs *deport, fail, refuse* and *register* collocating with *asylum seeker** suggest a focus on failed applications for asylum (*fail, refuse* and *register*) and of movement according to immigration policy (*deport*). This suggests an emphasis on both the bureaucratic treatment of asylum seekers, and a focus on the reporting of failed, rather than successful asylum applications. The unique collocates of *immigrant**, *attack* and *hate*, point towards a strongly negative semantic prosody connected with this group, in which they are described in the context of violence and/or hatred. The distinct collocates of *migrant** include *stem* and *stop* each of which is indicative of attempts to prevent movement. The words *save, die* and *kill*,

collocated with *child** and *people*, suggest an emphasis on human suffering that is particular to texts about these two groups. These distinctions appear to support the conclusions made in relation to the verb clusters above, in which *asylum seeker**, *immigrant** and *migrant** collocate with words that emphasise the undesirability of these groups, and *people* and *child** are collocated with words that emphasise the plight of these groups. In what follows, I comment briefly on each of the themes, before presenting a more detailed analysis of verb collocates shared by each of the query words, those representing movement.

7.3. An overview of themes

Movement: *accept, allow, arrive, come, cross, deport, enter, flee, flow, go, reach, receive, refuse, return, send, smuggle, stem, stop, take, travel*

Verbs related to movement dominate the list of collocates, with 20 of the 71 total lemma type words potentially indicative of material processes of movement. Each of these words has connotations of both agency and authority in travel although, out of context, it is not possible to establish who has agency and who holds authority, such as which individuals or organisations permit the *accepting, deporting* or *refusing* of RASIM. This is therefore explored and presented in

subsequent analysis. Illustration of the verb lemma collocates in table form shows a tendency for authors to favour specific verbs in describing movement according to each query word (table 7.4).

Table 7.4 Movement: lexical verb lemma collocates of each query word listed by highest t-score value

Refugee*	Asylum Seeker*	Immigrant*	Migrant*	Child*	Syrians	People
<i>take</i>	<i>take</i>	<i>take</i>	<i>take</i>	<i>take</i>	<i>flee</i>	<i>flee</i>
<i>accept</i>	<i>arrive</i>	<i>enter</i>	<i>flow</i>	<i>arrive</i>	<i>take</i>	<i>come</i>
<i>flee</i>	<i>accept</i>	<i>accept</i>	<i>arrive</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>arrive</i>	<i>smuggle</i>
<i>arrive</i>	<i>allow</i>	<i>allow</i>	<i>stop</i>	<i>flee</i>	<i>return</i>	<i>take</i>
<i>come</i>	<i>deport</i>	<i>come</i>	<i>cross</i>	<i>accept</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>go</i>
	<i>return</i>	<i>arrive</i>	<i>reach</i>			<i>arrive</i>
	<i>refuse</i>		<i>come</i>			
	<i>receive</i>		<i>flee</i>			
	<i>flee</i>		<i>stem</i>			
			<i>travel</i>			
			<i>enter</i>			
			<i>send</i>			
			<i>return</i>			
			<i>accept</i>			

Take occurs as a collocate for all query words and has the highest t-score values for lexical verb collocates relating to movement in relation to all but *Syrians* and *people*, which is *flee*. The verbs *accept*, *allow*, *deport*, *refuse* and *stop* each imply movement according to a framework of permission, and suggest the presence of a decision-maker in the movement of RASIM. These verbs are only collocated with *asylum seeker**, *immigrant** or *migrant**, suggesting mechanisms of control in relation to the movement of these groups. Furthermore, *flow*, *stop* and *stem* are exclusively collocated with *migrant**;

collectively these words are indicative of a discourse of migrants as an overwhelming problem to be resisted that is not instantiated through the collocational profile of the other query terms.

Helping: *aid, give, help, house, offer, provide, save, support, welcome*

There are nine lexical verbs that are indicative of material processes of helping (table 7.5).

Table 7.5 Helping: lexical verb lemma collocates of each query word listed by highest t-score value

Refugee*	Asylum Seeker*	Immigrant*	Migrant*	Child*	Syrians	People
<i>help</i>	<i>support</i>		<i>welcome</i>	<i>save</i>	<i>help</i>	<i>help</i>
<i>welcome</i>	<i>help</i>		<i>help</i>	<i>help</i>	<i>aid</i>	<i>support</i>
<i>support</i>	<i>house</i>			<i>support</i>	<i>give</i>	
<i>aid</i>				<i>provide</i>	<i>offer</i>	
<i>offer</i>				<i>give</i>	<i>welcome</i>	

The word *help* is strongly collocated with all query words except *immigrant**, and it is notable that there are more verbs associated with the theme of helping collocated with *refugee**, *child** and *Syrians** than with *asylum seeker**, *immigrant** and *migrant**. This supports the contention made previously: the presence of a positive semantic prosody in relation to refugees, children and Syrians. In view of earlier observations, however, it is unexpected to find that *people* is only collocated with two verbs indicative of helping. The word

aid is indicative of official aid, and *house* is indicative of organisations rehoming RASIM, whereas *welcome* suggests a social response, and the use of some of these words is subsequently explored in context.

Violence/suffering: *attack, die, drown, fail, force, hate, kill, lose, risk*

A total of nine verb lemmas were collocated with the query words, from a possible 71 (table 7.6). The verbs *attack, force and kill* are suggestive of material processes of violence, whilst the verbs *lose, die and risk* indicate processes of suffering. *Hate* represents a mental process of violence.

Table 7.6 Violence/suffering: lexical verb lemma collocates of each query word listed by highest t-score value

Refugee*	Asylum Seeker*	Immigrant*	Migrant*	Child*	Syrians	People
	<i>fail</i>	<i>hate</i>		<i>risk</i>		<i>kill</i>
		<i>attack</i>		<i>lose</i>		<i>die</i>
				<i>drown</i>		<i>risk</i>
				<i>force</i>		

This table indicates that when participants are identified by way of their immigration status, they are less frequently collocated with verbs indicative of either violence or suffering. Conversely, on the evidence of these collocates, readers' attention is drawn to the suffering associated with both children and people in a more general sense. Concordance analysis demonstrates how participants' roles are attributed in

processes of violence and suffering, presented in the next chapter.

These preliminary observations provide a platform from which a more detailed analysis can be carried out. There are indications of asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants being represented as undesirable, and a tendency to represent people and children through processes associated with human suffering. In this and the next chapter, the three themes, movement, helping, and violence and suffering, are explored in turn to establish how verbs are used in context and how this contributes to the ideological representation of RASIM. Clusters and concordances are reviewed and key findings are supported with commentary. The analysis establishes who the participants are, the representation of agency and passivity, which participants are affected by the verb processes and how.

7.4. Movement

Based upon the preliminary observations presented above, the verbs *take*, *allow*, *flee* and *arrive* were explored through both cluster and concordance analysis, the choice of which is informed as follows. *Take* is collocated with all seven query words and is the verb suggestive of movement that is most strongly collocated with *refugee**, *asylum seeker**,

*immigrant**, *migrant** and *child**. The verb *allow* is one of a few verbs that suggest movement in a framework of official permission, whilst *flee* is a verb that could be suggestive of RASIM agency or disempowerment, or both, and its use may be revealing in terms of how agency is attributed in the text. Furthermore, *flee* is the most frequently collocated lexical verb (to the right) in clusters of *refugee**, *child**, *Syrians* and *people*. Finally, *arrive* is the most frequently collocated lexical verb (to the right) in clusters of *asylum seeker** and *migrant**, and it is interesting to explore any similarities or differences in how *flee* and *arrive* contribute to the representation of agency in the movement of RASIM.

7.4.1. Take

Table 7.7 illustrates the most frequent two-word clusters of *take* are *to take* (821) and *take in* (262).

Table 7.7 Ten most frequently occurring two-word clusters of the lemma *take*

Cluster			Frequency
to	<i>take</i>		821
	<i>take</i>	in	262
will	<i>take</i>		118
	<i>take</i>	a	93
has	<i>taken</i>		88
	<i>take</i>	the	87
would	<i>take</i>		73
	<i>taken</i>	in	71
should	<i>take</i>		65
	<i>taking</i>	in	61

The cluster *to take* may suggest the use of *take* in its infinitive form, whilst *take in* implies a process that involves benevolence and therefore perhaps indicative of compassion. Next, I present the findings of analysis of concordances in which each query word was collocated with *take in*, to determine how RASIM are represented through a process which may be indicative of compassion.

A review of the concordances of *take in* (positioned on the left), revealed examples of identification (eg. *men, women, families*), aggregation (e.g. numbers of RASIM) and functionalisation, in which persons are categorised by their immigration status (e.g. *refugees, migrants*). As discussed in chapter 6, identification helps to humanise participants and so enable compassion whilst conversely, aggregation contributes to dehumanising participants and functions as a barrier to compassion. A review of the concordances of *take in* (positioned on the right), indicated numerous occurrences of *can/could, cannot/could not; will/would, will not/would not* and *must/should, must not/should not*. As modal verbs, these collocates are indicative of the capacity, intention and obligation of a participant to *take in* RASIM. Given that aggregation was explored at length in the previous chapter, the current focus is on occurrences of *can, could, cannot,*

could not, will, would, will not, would not, must, should, must not and *should not* immediately preceding *take in* RASIM.

Table 7.8 Occurrences of modal verbs preceding *take in* [+RASIM]

Modal verb	Occurrences (n)	Modal verb	Occurrences (n)
<i>Can</i>	1	<i>Cannot</i>	1
<i>Could</i>	2	<i>Could not</i>	1
<i>Must</i>	2	<i>Must not</i>	0
<i>Should</i>	13	<i>Should not</i>	5
<i>Will</i>	19	<i>Will not</i>	2
<i>Would</i>	9	<i>Would not</i>	2

Of the 262 occurrences of the cluster *take in* that are followed by RASIM, 57 are immediately preceded by a modal verb (Table 7.8). Mostly, occurrences of *should* relate to appeals to David Cameron and the British Government to take in more refugees, whilst occurrences of *will* most frequently refer to David Cameron’s statement that Britain will take in more refugees. In these occurrences, then, RASIM are affected by the appealed for or proposed actions of David Cameron and the British Government, who represent the agents of the process of taking in.

Almost exclusively (98%), the material process of *take in* appears within a debate about whether or not to take in RASIM to a host country. Thus, the process of taking in is not actually happening, rather, either politicians, countries or the

newspaper report author are making declarations about whether a country could, must or should take in RASIM. Rather than the prevalence of *take in* in the corpus recording instances of RASIM receiving asylum, the notion of taking in RASIM is one constrained to political rhetoric of obligation and possibility. In the meantime, whilst RASIM are central to an argument about them, they are not actually benefitting from any tangible actions or outcomes.

In these arguments, RASIM are framed as either victims to be taken in, or as an undesirable problem and/or a national security threat not to be taken in. In each case, RASIM are passive participants and bear the effects of others' decisions. In arguments to take in RASIM, comparisons are made with other countries to morally shame Britain, and particularly David Cameron's contribution to the refugee crisis, as illustrated in the following extract:

'David Cameron's announcement yesterday that Britain will *take in* 20,000 Syrian refugees over the next five years is a gesture which will make next to no impact on the human tragedies in the Middle East and North Africa (*Express*, 8.10.15).

In this extract, David Cameron is afforded agency in his decision on behalf of Britain to take in 20,000 Syrian refugees.

This statement contends that 20,000 represents too low a number and so Cameron is attributed responsibility for the continuation of suffering of those refugees that will not be taken in by Britain. This extract identifies refugees as objects of suffering, whilst Cameron is constructed as the cause of their suffering, so signalling to the reader that refugees deserve compassion by virtue of Cameron's stringent immigration policy.

In arguments not to take in RASIM, they are either implicitly or explicitly framed as a threat to an in-group, 'us', and so afforded agency, for which 'we' bear the consequences and implied negative effects. This is illustrated in the following extract from the *Mail* newspaper, in which a German café owner was interviewed following sex assaults, allegedly carried out by migrants in Cologne:

"Of course I am worried", she replies. "This country cannot *take in* everyone, from everywhere. I fear for women and what will happen to them" (*Mail*, 16.1.16).

In this extract, the speaker claims that Germany cannot take in everyone, and whilst she fails to qualify this statement explicitly, she subsequently implies that to do so would represent a threat to the sexual safety of women in Germany.

The choice of modal verb can be used to construct a position of truth that supports the authors' stance in subsequent arguments, which have ideological effects. The following extract illustrates how the modal verb *cannot* helps to legitimise the Danish prime minister's claim about how many refugees the country can take in:

"I'm not looking after Denmark and the Danes properly if I do not ensure that we can cope", responded the premier. "We have to acknowledge that we *cannot take in* all the refugees who want to come to Europe"
(*Guardian*, 4.6.15)

Here, Helle Thorning-Schmidt represents herself with agency by claiming responsibility as the prime minister of Denmark to look after the Danes. She suggests that refugees represent an unspecified threat to her country's ability to 'cope'. She subsequently attributes responsibility for the decision not to 'take in all the refugees who want to come to Europe' to 'we'. This suggests to the audience that the people of Denmark have made the decision collectively and that they are a single entity. It is unlikely that this statement reflects the views of all the people of Denmark, but the use of 'we' suppresses the possibility of opposing views. The use of *cannot* suggests the absence of alternatives and yet, in reality, there is no physical

entity that is preventing more refugees going to Denmark, only the decision itself. Her statement also implies a hierarchy of worth, in which the lives of the people of Denmark are more important than refugees' lives. This is compounded by omission in the text of the consequences for refugees of Thorning-Schmidt's decision, which is that they will remain in refugee camps. In omitting the material effects of her decision, the plight of the Danes remains the subject focus, and any consequential suffering experienced by refugees is excluded from readers' subsequent evaluation of the situation. Thus, in this extract the Danes are represented as the objects of the desert of compassion, rather than refugees.

The modal verbs *must* and *should* are used to persuade the audience of an obligation to either take in or not take in RASIM and to convince the audience that there is no alternative solution. The following extract is a headline in the *Guardian* newspaper, which makes a direct association between Syrian refugees and a series of co-ordinated terrorist attacks in the city of Paris on 13th November 2015:

'Marco Rubio: US *should not take in* more Syrian refugees after Paris attacks; Florida senator, who had previously suggested openness to the possibility, says

there is no way to conduct background checks on those fleeing Syria' (*Guardian*, 16.11.15)

In this extract, the US is attributed agency in the decision whether or not to take in more Syrian refugees. The refugees are represented as passive in this process, once more bearing the effects of others' decisions. The use of *should not* in this extract asserts a duty not to take in refugees; a causative relationship between taking in more Syrian refugees and the Paris attacks is implied through use of the preposition *after*. The association between Syrian refugees and terrorism is further substantiated by stating that background checks cannot be conducted; there is an assumption that these checks would reveal terrorists. Framed within indirect representation of Rubio's speech, these strategies direct the reader to conclude that Syrian refugees are terrorists, that they represent a security threat to the US and so to US citizens, who are not terrorists. In doing so, US citizens become the objects of suffering, whilst refugees represent the cause of that suffering, so that US citizens are constructed as deserving compassion by virtue of the threat posed to them by refugees.

Use of the modal verb *could* represents an effective strategy to offer proposals to take in RASIM without making any

definite commitment to execute these proposals, and thus avoid taking responsibility for them. For example:

'So far Britain's response to the refugee crisis seems pretty minimal compared to Germany which says it *could take in* 500,000 refugees each year' (*Guardian*, 9.9.15)

As with previous examples, refugees are represented as passive in a process of taking in, and both Britain and Germany are agents. The author emphasises the relative generosity of Germany compared to Britain, in that the word *could* suggests a possibility and an ability to contribute positively to the refugee crisis. The description of Britain's response as *pretty minimal* further enhances the contrast. However, *could take in* does not assert a definite position in which Germany will take in 500,000 refugees a year, and any evidence of this is omitted from the claim. Rather, this comparison is used to persuade the reader of the inadequacy of Britain's own political response.

In these examples, modal verbs function as mechanisms of persuasion in relation to arguments about moral and political obligations and responsibility to take in RASIM. The prevailing frame in which the debate takes place is one of immigration policy, but writers and speakers simultaneously appeal to

readers' moral and/or political beliefs and emotions of fear (threat) and compassion (suffering) in advancing their argument. Readers are thus directed to evaluate social actors' behaviours according to moral and/or political conventions, and so make attributions of responsibility for suffering and corresponding judgements about both the objects of suffering and the basis upon which they do or do not deserve compassion.

Agency is attributed according to the wider ideological argument being made. In texts that represent RASIM as victims, agency is attributed either to individual politicians, for example David Cameron, or to countries, such as Denmark, Britain, US or Poland. Where countries are identified as the agents, decisions are framed as being made unanimously by the citizens of a country, thus making them legitimate, democratically realised, and a decision for which the country's citizens take responsibility. This conceals the identity of individual decision-makers (Machin & Mayr, 2012), transfers responsibility to the people and omits alternative views that constitute the fabric of a democratic society, as illustrated in Helle Thorning-Schmidt's statement. RASIM are attributed agency in texts where they are represented as an undesirable problem or threat to actual or potential host nations and to the reader.

7.4.2. Allow

Inherent in the meaning of 'allow' is a decision-making process that takes place within a hierarchy of power. It also implies that a participant is seeking permission for the object of allowing. For example, the sentence 'he was allowed entry' suggests that the participant 'he' was actively seeking permission for entry and that another participant had jurisdiction over granting or denying entry. It was assumed that *allow* would be used in the corpus in relation to the global movement of RASIM and within a context of permission. This was confirmed by examination of the 233 concordances in which the lemma *allow* collocates with the seven query words, of which 163 (69.96%) were found to relate to a process of allowing movement of RASIM. Other, less frequent uses of *allow* collocating with RASIM included access to work, access to the NHS and access to legal advice. A review of these 163 concordance lines drew attention to two main uses of *allow* in relation to the movement of RASIM; 'allow into the UK/Britain' and 'allow into the US'. Analysis is focused on the occurrences of *allow* in relation to RASIM and the UK to establish how RASIM identities are represented to UK readers. The discourses 'RASIM are powerless' and 'RASIM are actively trying to enter the UK' emerge from the analysis of these concordances, each of which is explored in what follows.

The phrase 'allow into the UK' implies the involvement of two participants; the first situated in a position of power with the authority to either allow or not allow a second participant into the country, who is relatively powerless. In these concordances, power is attributed to the UK policy-makers, and most commonly reduced to a single individual, David Cameron, the country's prime minister, rather than other officials, for example immigration officers. Many of the concordances either involve a plea to David Cameron to show more generosity, or otherwise shame him for his policy stance, as illustrated in the following example:

'Shamed David Cameron will bow to pressure and *allow* more Syrian refugees into Britain after mounting criticism of his cruel stance.' (*Mirror*, 4.9.15)

The number of Syrian refugees to be resettled in Britain is determined through policy, which is democratically realised within political conventions. However, in this excerpt, Cameron is represented as being isolated in his decision and individually responsible for the number of Syrian refugees allowed into Britain. The metaphor *pressure* implies a growing external force that must be relieved before an inevitable explosion. That Cameron is described as bowing to pressure suggests that he does so reluctantly or unwillingly, as well as

the presence of a more powerful agent in this process. *Mounting criticism* also implies growing opposition to his policy, and yet the agents who exert pressure and who criticise are concealed. Thus, the audience is persuaded that extensive opposition exists to David Cameron's policy stance, but in the absence of corresponding substantiation. Moreover, the writer appeals to the readers' moral sensibilities in its claim that Cameron's stance is *cruel* and implies intention to harm on his part. Thus, in this extract, in representing Syrian refugees as victims and Cameron as agentive and responsible for their suffering, Syrian refugees are discursively constructed as deserving of compassion by virtue of Cameron's cruelty.

The extract below includes two uses of the verb *allow* and also implies moral responsibility on the part of David Cameron:

'David Cameron will be guilty of *allowing* Syrian children to "freeze to death" on Britain's doorstep unless he *allows* at least 10,000 refugees into the UK over the next year, Yvette Cooper is to say.' (*Guardian*, 13.10.15)

Here, the *Guardian* newspaper claims that Yvette Cooper is to attribute personal responsibility to David Cameron for the potential deaths of Syrian children in the absence of policy

change. She is quoted as describing them as 'freezing to death' on Britain's doorstep, a metaphor that suggests Syrian children are waiting at Britain's front door, whilst David Cameron stands on the other side refusing them entry. This constructs Cameron as personally cruel and the word *guilty* suggests his inaction is criminal in nature.

Cooper is also described as attributing personal responsibility to David Cameron for the decision whether to 'allow at least 10,000 refugees into the UK'. In doing so, Cooper herself is represented by the *Guardian* as blaming Cameron personally for causing their suffering through inaction. This is an example in which the consequences for the object of the verb *allow* are included in the text, so that readers' attention is drawn to refugees' suffering and they are encouraged to evaluate this situation according to moral, rather than political principles. Thus, judgements about the desert of compassion are made according to what is perceived as morally acceptable.

The 'doorstep' metaphor in this extract suggests a situation in which refugees are actively seeking entry to the UK, and this was observed in other examples within the analysis, as in the following excerpt from the *Mail* newspaper:

'But yesterday, in a blaze of publicity, the 84 bishops released a letter they had sent privately to Mr Cameron

in September urging him to *allow* at least 50,000 refugees into the country over the next five years, saying that this would bring Britain into line with the generosity of other countries'. (*Mail*, 19.10.15)

This extract suggests that at least 50,000 refugees have requested permission to enter Britain, yet there are other participants involved in the movement of refugees that are omitted from the text. During this period, the British government was facing considerable pressure from Europe and from the United Nations, from both economic and humanitarian perspectives to increase the number of refugees it would resettle in Britain. Thus, whilst refugees appear to be attributed with agency in wanting to come to Britain, the reality is that they have limited, if any agency in the immigration process. The following extract also uses the metaphor of Britain as a house and implies a more sinister intention of migrants:

'Mr Cameron later insisted the word [swarm] was fair and does not dehumanise migrants, adding, "What we can't do is *allow* people to break into our country"'. (*Express*, 29.8.15)

The metaphorical *break into* is associated with forced entry, especially for the purposes of theft. In choosing the verb

allow to precede the act of breaking in, David Cameron is quoted in the *Express* newspaper as representing migrants as a swarm of people actively trying to break into the UK for the purposes of theft, an act which 'we', as a country, must not allow. Refugees are represented as agents in the process of breaking in, of which the UK will bear the effects. The choice of the pronoun *we*, and the possessive pronoun *our*, is intended to unite British citizens as it implies that they are all potential victims of migrants' breaking in. Migrants are thus represented as burglars, intent on raiding the country rather than fleeing war. They are simultaneously represented as not deserving compassion by virtue of their potential threat to British Citizens, who are represented as victims.

7.4.3. Flee

It was assumed that *flee* would be used to describe movement in the context of urgency and of escaping danger or persecution. According to their legal definitions, it is not unexpected to find that *refugee** is the most frequently occurring collocate of *flee*, and that both *immigrant** and *migrant** have relatively low collocational frequencies. However, the low frequency of collocations between *flee* and *asylum seeker** is unexpected, given that this term is used prior to refugee status being granted; many of the people

leaving Syria would not yet have been granted refugee status. This may suggest an overlap in the use of terms (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008).

Table 7.9 illustrates that *fleeing* is the most frequently occurring verb form, which implies a process which is being reported as it occurs, and a sense of urgency.

Table 7.9 Frequency of the verb forms of *flee*

	<i>fled</i>	<i>flee</i>	<i>fleeing</i>
Refugee*	49	24	130
Asylum seeker*	1	1	7
Immigrant*	0	0	2
Migrant*	1	1	22
Child*	18	2	13
Syrians	33	9	62
People	41	25	110

This is in contrast to *take* and *allow*, which were more indicative of political rhetoric than action. Table 7.10 shows *fleeing the* to be the most frequently occurring cluster, and indicates the presence of more details of the circumstances from which RASIM are fleeing.

Table 7.10 Ten most frequently occurring clusters of the lemma *flee*

Cluster			Frequency
	<i>fleeing</i>	the	135
to	<i>flee</i>		90
refugees	<i>fleeing</i>		87
people	<i>fleeing</i>		74
those	<i>fleeing</i>		73
	<i>fleeing</i>	war	64

	<i>fleeing</i>	Syria	55
Syrians	<i>fleeing</i>		44
are	<i>fleeing</i>		43
forced to	<i>flee</i>		28

Of the 551 occurrences of the lemma *flee*, 239 instances were used in accounts of RASIM fleeing from a situation of conflict, eg. *war, war-torn country, fighting, civil war*, towards a place of safety, most frequently Western countries. Consistent with findings in chapter 6 and analysis of *take in*, a review of concordances revealed that *fleeing* RASIM are frequently represented as a large number through aggregation. However, instances of *flee* also feature in a greater number of personal stories, constructed sympathetically and representing refugees, children, Syrians and people as human beings situated within social and familial roles with which the reader is likely to relate, such as family relationships, jobs, personal interests and so on. Furthermore, there are more examples of RASIM being identified by their names and occupation, which encourages the reader to create an image of the person, rather than functionalising them by way of their immigration status. As previously discussed, this encourages readers to identify with human characteristics, so that compassion is more likely to follow (Nussbaum, 2001; Gilbert, 2010). In the following extract, Khalif, a Syrian refugee is represented as somewhat heroic:

'Khalif *fled* Syria in August 2013 with his wife and six children, taking nothing but the clothes they were wearing. The quietly spoken 42 year old now lives in Darashakran refugee camp, where he has become a father figure, helping more than 300 families access clothes, food and medicine' (*Guardian*, 1.7.15)

Whilst the motivation for Khalif's leaving Syria is not included in the text, it is implicit in the choice of verb *fled*, which constructs him as authentic. Khalif is described as a respectable citizen; his role as husband and father to six children emphasises the responsibility he takes for his family, and 'taking nothing but the clothes they were wearing' highlights the desperate nature of their plight. He is portrayed as gentle – 'quietly spoken' – and his integrity is further emphasised through his assumed role as a father figure to others, voluntarily helping the refugee camp community. This extract again illustrates how the term *more than* is used, in this case, to draw the readers' attention to the extent of Khalif's generosity, indicating that 300 is a large number of families to help.

In other examples, graphic vocabulary is used, particularly in relation to refugees, children and people, to describe the situation they are fleeing and the experiences they face. For

example, the cluster of metaphors in the following alliterative headline capture the horrors of war and the impact of the separation of children and parents:

'Little lives crushed by snow and squalor; children fleeing Syria face a battle to survive as winter grips their flimsy camps in Lebanon' (Headline, *The Times*, 11.1.15)

Elsewhere, phrases such as *grinding brutality*, *the horrors of conflict and persecution*, *unimaginable atrocities* and *worst violence on earth* are used frequently in accounts of refugees, children and people fleeing. These linguistic choices emphasise the plight of refugees, children and people and in turn account for their decisions to flee, constructing this action and its consequences as non-voluntary and as legitimate.

Whilst the verb *flee* represents RASIM as agents in their own movement, its use within the corpus and the co-occurring ways that RASIM are represented imply that they had little choice to do otherwise. This is evident in the use of *flee* throughout the corpus, in which RASIM's movements are triggered by other, concealed or omitted agents. This is illustrated in the following extract:

'This is not an issue of open borders. It is a call to take more seriously the plight of millions of people *fleeing* terror and conflict.' (*Express*, 5.9.15)

The *people* who are *fleeing* are constructed sympathetically, with responsibility for their *fleeing* attributed to *terror and conflict*, though the identities of those responsible for the terror and conflict are omitted. The potential for the choice of verb to represent agency and so influence readers' perceptions is effectively demonstrated in the following extract from the *Mail* newspaper:

'If the British public were given a choice, they would surely rather offer a home to genuine Syrians *fleeing* a terrible war, than Eastern European migrants drawn here by the prospect of higher wages and, in some cases, generous welfare' (*Mail*, 4.9.15)

Here, the *Mail* condemns an immigration policy in which it proposes to the reader – 'the British public' – that Eastern European migrants are claiming UK citizens' jobs, wages and benefits. The extract begins with 'If the British public were given a choice, they would surely rather....'. This claims authority in knowledge that this would be the British public's position, and so aligns the British readers with the claim. Syrians are then constructed sympathetically; their homeless

status is highlighted and 'fleeing a terrible war' deagentialises them, reattributing responsibility for their situation to the war.

In contrast, the writer constructs Eastern European migrants less sympathetically; the use of *genuine* to characterise Syrians implies that the migrants are not genuine. They are constructed as greedy, tempted by the economic benefits of the UK and the reader is encouraged to make a direct contrast between Syrians and Eastern European migrants in terms of which is perceived as worthy. These strategies function to construct Syrians as objects of suffering and deserving of compassion by virtue of their authenticity, whilst Eastern European migrants are constructed as a threat and not deserving compassion by virtue of their dishonest intentions. Furthermore, this representation promotes an unnecessary tension between the needs of the two groups and encourages the reader to make a comparison and a choice as to which group is authentic in their suffering. In doing so, the reader is discouraged from concluding that each could be legitimate in their movement to the UK and that each could be considered with compassion.

A review of the concordances of *flee* also highlighted a number of references to Nazi Germany, the Holocaust, World War II and Hitler. Further exploration revealed that the words *Nazi*,

Nazis, *Nazism* and *Hitler* occurred 64, 30, 6 and 17 times respectively in the corpus and these concordances were also examined. An association between Jewish refugees in the 1930's and Syrian refugees is made in most of the 100 articles that include the words *Nazi* or *Nazis*, either in the context of their circumstances, their suffering, the response, or all three. The Nazi persecution of the Jews during World War II is a historical phenomenon which epitomises the capacity of human beings to inflict prolonged and extensive suffering upon others, and the personal cost of war. Thus, any associations made between Syrian and Jewish refugees or between ISIS and the Nazis are likely to represent a basis from which more sympathetic arguments about immigration can be made. This is both morally and ideologically powerful; Jewish refugees' desert of compassion is implicitly legitimised through its global and historical significance, so when Syrian refugees become synonymous with Jewish refugees in World War II, suggestions that they do not deserve compassion, or arguments against immigration could be perceived as defending the historical persecution of the Jews.

This strategy is illustrated in the following extract in which Yvette Cooper, the Shadow Home Secretary between 2011 and 2015, uses Britain's generosity towards Jewish children in

World War II as a moral benchmark from which to criticise the then British Government's offer to Syrian refugees:

'She [Yvette Cooper] contrasted Britain's offer to take a few hundred Syrian refugees to the 1930's when, in a few months, the country took 10,000 Jewish children *fleeing* the Nazis.' (*Express*, 2.9.15)

Here Cooper makes the association between the suffering of Jewish and Syrian refugees and makes reference to the Kindertransport, an organised rescue effort that took place during the nine months before the outbreak of World War II. The United Kingdom took in nearly 10,000 mostly Jewish children from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Free City of Danzig, and Cooper uses this as an opportunity to shame the British government.

7.4.4. Arrive

The verb *arrive* implies agency on the part of the traveller and intent on reaching a particular place. It was therefore supposed that *arrive* would be used in the corpus to describe a planned journey, rather than one of urgency or desperation. There are 641 collocations of the lemma *arrive* for all seven query words, distributed as illustrated in table 7.11.

Table 7.11 Frequency of collocations of the lemma *arrive* for each query word

Query Word	Occurrences of lemma <i>arrive</i>
Refugee*	306
Asylum seeker*	40
Immigrant*	3
Migrant*	109
Child*	37
Syrians	55
People	91
	641

The relatively high number of instances in which *arrive* is collocated with *migrant** is consistent with the legal definition of migrant, which relates to planned travel. The frequency with which *refugee** is collocated with *arrive* is unexpected, given the difference in legal status between refugees and migrants.

Arrive occurs most frequently in its past tense form, consistently for each of the query words (table 7.12). This suggests a focus on events that have already happened.

Table 7.12 Frequency of the verb forms of *arrive*

	<i>arrive</i>	<i>arrived</i>	<i>arrives</i>	<i>arriving</i>
Refugee*	91	123	8	84
Asylum seeker*	10	15	0	15
Immigrant*	0	3	0	0
Migrant*	21	47	0	41
Child*	5	24	1	7
Syrians	13	22	0	20
People	26	39	0	26

Examination of the concordances of the lemma *arrive* once more drew attention to aggregation as a principal means to represent RASIM, with content relating to where they are arriving and where they are travelling from. The timeframe within which RASIM arrive is also a focus in the corpus, with news articles also focusing on the means by which they arrive, for example the geographical route, by sea, by boat and so on, an observation also made in other research (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008). Earlier analysis of *take in* revealed mostly occurrences in which participants were talking about taking in RASIM. Consequently, the focus of subsequent analysis is on the past tense of the verb, *arrived*, in relation to arrival in the UK. This is to reflect the frequency with which it occurs and in order to establish how RASIM are represented where the process of arriving has actually happened, and whether this is likely to promote compassionate responses or otherwise. There are 266 collocations of *arrived* with all seven query words, of which 72 relate to arrival in the UK (table 7.13). These data suggest there are relatively few reports of RASIM having arrived in the UK and this is perhaps reflective of the low number of RASIM resettled in the UK, compared with some other European countries.

Table 7.13 Occurrences of the collocate *arrived* with each query word

Query word	Collocation frequency	Related to UK
Refugee*	123	42
Asylum seeker*	15	1
Immigrant*	3	0
Migrant*	47	2
Child*	24	5
Syrians	22	10
People	39	12

The number of occurrences of *arrived* compared to the total number of occurrences of the lemma *arrive* (41.5%) indicates that more than half of the content relates to the possible arrival of RASIM in the UK, rather than reports of them having actually arrived. Indeed, Gabrielatos and Baker (2008: 22) comment on 'a preoccupation on the part of the UK press (seen as a whole) with RASIM entering and staying in, the United Kingdom'. Analysis of the concordances supports this; many of the reports of RASIM having arrived in the UK relate to a small number of instances in which a small number of refugees arrived on the Isle of Bute, in Northern Ireland and in Ireland. Reports of these arrivals are used to alert readers as to what to expect with the arrival of more refugees, with RASIM repeatedly represented according to how they differ from British citizens. The following extracts relate to the arrival of a group of refugees on the Isle of Bute:

'The refugees who *arrived* yesterday will be rehoused around Scotland, with 15 families being moved to the picturesque Isle of Bute. In one seaside town Rothesay, a local church will be used as a makeshift mosque.'

(*Mail*, 18.11.15)

'A large donation of halal products was made soon after the refugees *arrived* and now the community centre hosts prayers every Friday from 11am to 1pm.'

(*Guardian*, 2.12.15)

Each of these extracts describes how the local residents responded to the religious needs of the arriving refugees, and in doing so, emphasises their differences, whilst omitting other characteristics or customs that may be shared by refugees and the people of the Isle of Bute. This functions as a barrier to compassion as readers are less likely to relate to them according to their own social practices (Nussbaum, 2001). Whilst demonstrating the generosity and compassion of the residents, in the first extract from the *Mail*, refugees are attributed agency in using the local church as a mosque and draws attention to RASIM characteristics that will disrupt the norms of the local population. This draws the readers' attention to the possible sacrifices or accommodations that

they may be expected to make in the event that refugees are resettled in their own communities.

Whilst the focus of some of the reports relates to refugees' personal experiences of loss and suffering, other articles were more concerned with the associations between RASIM and crime, particularly terrorism. The extract from the *Mail* newspaper cited above, continued:

'Home Secretary Theresa May has said those *arriving* in the UK will be screened to ensure they do not pose a security threat, as it was reported that one of the gunmen at Paris's Bataclan concert hall, where more than 80 people were killed had sneaked into Europe through Greece.' (*Mail*, 18.11.15)

This subsequent paragraph illustrates a direct link made between the gunmen responsible for a terrorist attack in Paris and the families arriving on the Isle of Bute. The inclusion of the number of people killed emphasises the potential risk to life, whilst the verb *sneak* suggests there may be a terrorist hidden within the refugees. This extract contributes to a discourse of 'RASIM are terrorists' and introduces the idea that they may be living in picturesque islands and seaside towns in Britain.

The following report of sexual assault in *The Times* newspaper also draws the readers' attention to the problems associated with refugees arriving in the UK and is politically motivated:

'A Syrian refugee who recently *arrived* in Britain under David Cameron's high-profile resettlement programme has been charged with sexually assaulting a 14-year old girl.' (*The Times*, 12.6.16)

This Syrian refugee is represented with agency through his arrival in Britain but also in sexual assault. His identity is categorised according to his refugee status and country of origin to contribute to the ideological argument that Syrian refugees represent a threat to vulnerable people, even when they arrive through legitimate means. Responsibility for the resettlement programme under which the refugee arrived in Britain is attributed to David Cameron and in doing so, he is implied as having some responsibility for the enabling of a Syrian refugee to sexually assault a 14 year-old girl. This is consistent with earlier findings in which David Cameron is constructed as personally responsible for policy and for refugees' suffering.

7.5. Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that in this corpus, RASIM's movement is represented within a prevailing frame of

immigration policy and according to an ideological debate about immigration, from which RASIM's own voices are notably absent.

In arguments that advocate leniency in immigration policy, the British Government and particularly David Cameron, is represented as agentive in restricting the resettlement of Syrian RASIM in the UK through action or inaction. Whilst immigration policy is determined through a democratic process, attributing responsibility for policy decisions directly to David Cameron implies that he is personally responsible for their effects. Indeed, such texts commonly include details of the consequences of his ascribed decisions, which typically relate to RASIM experiencing further suffering.

In arguments to advocate stringency in immigration policy, RASIM are typically constructed as an agentive threat to the host countries' citizens. In these texts, the reader is directed to focus on the consequences of leniency in immigration policy for the host citizens, whilst simultaneously omitting the consequences for RASIM.

Whilst these arguments are constructed within a frame of immigration policy, social actors are constructed in ways that appeal to readers' moral beliefs and emotions. Modal verbs function as a means to reinforce moral or political obligations,

whilst synonymising RASIM with Jewish refugees of WWII appeals to readers' moral principles and broader, social conventions of acceptable/unacceptable behaviour.

The representational strategies discussed in this chapter have significant implications for whether RASIM are perceived as deserving of compassion or otherwise. The choice of verb is a key feature that shapes how RASIM's movement is represented and how agency is attributed. Agency in movement is tied up with causative explanations and attributions of responsibility for the consequences of movement. The examples included in this chapter have illustrated how the inclusion and omission of social actors and consequences can direct how readers engage with the text according to moral, social and political principles, all of which influence judgements about the desert of compassion. Chapter 8 extends transitivity analysis to verbs associated with acts of helping and in actions related to both suffering and violence.

8. Representation of action: helping, violence and suffering

8.1. Introduction

Chapter 7 was concerned with how RASIM are constructed in the process of movement. This chapter expands the scope of analysis to verb processes in the themes of helping, suffering and violence. The verbs *help*, *welcome*, *risk*, *drown*, *kill* and *die* are each explored in turn to establish their functions in the discursive construction of RASIM.

8.2. Helping

Based upon preliminary observations from cluster and collocate analysis, the theme of helping was explored in more detail through cluster and concordance analysis of the verbs *help* and *welcome*. The verb *help* was selected as it collocates with all seven query words, with the exception of *immigrant**. *Welcome* collocates with *refugee**, *migrant** and *Syrians* and I was interested in exploring how this was utilised as a verb. Findings and analyses of *help* and *welcome* are presented below.

8.2.1. Help

Help may function as a verb or a noun. In its verb form, *help* suggests the presence of a relationship in which there is a power differential, involving a helper and another participant

who is experiencing difficulty. Each occurrence of *help* was examined in context to determine its functionality (table 8.1).

Table 8.1 Frequency of collocations of *help for each query word**

Query Word	Occurrences of <i>help</i> *	Occurrences of <i>help</i> as a verb
Refugee*	375	305
Asylum seeker*	18	17
Immigrant*	4	4
Migrant*	30	25
Child*	88	77
Syrians	52	50
People	166	139
Total	733	617

Help functions as a noun in 116 of the occurrences, with the charitable organisation Help Refugees accounting for 30 of these. The low frequencies of *immigrant** and *migrant** is not unexpected as it was supposed that in keeping with the legal definition of the words, movement would take place in a planned context, perhaps less necessitating of help than would be expected for refugees.

Table 8.2 Frequency of the verb forms of *help*

	<i>help</i>	<i>helped</i>	<i>helping</i>	<i>helps</i>
Refugee*	225	17	55	8
Asylum seeker*	8	0	4	5
Immigrant*	2	1	0	1
Migrant*	16	6	3	0
Child*	51	7	14	5
Syrians	40	2	5	3
People	102	12	22	3

Table 8.2 shows that *help* exists most frequently in its present or future tense form, whilst the frequency of the past tense form of the verb is relatively low, suggesting few cases where help has actually happened.

The most frequently occurring two-word cluster is *to help* and its infinitive form may suggest a predominant use to express intent or purpose. Concordance analysis was carried out on the cluster *to help* to determine how it collocated with each of the seven query words and findings are presented in what follows.

8.2.1.1. *To help*

Of the 560 total occurrences of the verb *help* as a collocate of the seven query words, 292 occurrences are in the infinitive form *to help*. It is notable that only 292 of a possible 756 instances of *to help* collocate with the seven query words which suggests other participants exist as recipients of help. A review of the concordances revealed that *to help* also collocates with pronouns and with host countries or the governments thereof, as illustrated in the following example:

'Another campaigner....said Europe needed *to help* Turkey with its refugee burden.' (Guardian, 10.4.16)

This indicates that other participants involved are represented as suffering in the context of RASIM's circumstances, and so become potential objects of the desert of compassion.

Examination of the 292 concordances revealed the presence of direct or indirect speech, the content of which draws attention to the help needed, proposals of ways to help, or demands of others to help. Participants talking about help are mostly governments or their representatives and public personalities. There are few occurrences in which any direct acts of help are described, or in which any immediate, tangible benefits of help are defined or realised. Rather, comparable to the findings observed in the analysis of *take in*, much help is being talked about, yet little help appears to be happening. Notably, RASIM's voices are again excluded from the dialogue.

Verbs that commonly immediately precede *to help*, include *appeal, pledge, do something, do more* and *want*. These verbs suggest a prevalent perspective that the current response to the refugee crisis is inadequate. However, many of these examples do not identify what exactly needs to be done to help, and so suggest an additional quality of helplessness in the demand to *do more*. Appeals to help are mostly directed at the UK and the British government:

'The UK was yesterday urged to do more *to help* desperate refugees searching for a safe haven after figures showed we took just one in 30 of all asylum claims made in the EU between April and June.' (*Mirror*, 19.9.15)

In this extract, refugees are identified as objects of suffering through use of the adjective *desperate*. *Do more*, immediately preceding *to help* highlights to the reader that the UK's current response to the refugee crisis is inadequate, so indicating that the UK has at least some responsibility for refugees' suffering. This claim is legitimised by 'after figures showed'; in the absence of their source, figures are attributed agency in the clause (Tsirogianni & Sammut, 2014).

However, no additional context is provided against which to evaluate the UK response, for example, how many claims would be reasonable and according to whom.

The context in which more help is urged is that of immigration policy; the UK government has the power to accept or decline asylum applications through its policy. However, the subsequent use of *we* appears to be more inclusive and suggests that the British people, and thus also the reader, are attributed some responsibility for the purported inadequacy of the UK's response to refugees.

There are examples in which responsibility for the UK Government's response is attributed directly to David Cameron, the UK prime minister. The following is an extract from the *Guardian* newspaper, in which Cameron made a statement in the days following Alan Kurdi's death:

'Cameron said: "We have already accepted around 5,000 Syrians and we have introduced a specific resettlement scheme, alongside those we already have, to help those Syrian refugees particularly at risk"'.
(*Guardian*, 4.9.15)

Cameron uses the pronoun *we* throughout this extract, the context of which suggests he is referring to the UK government's policy response to the Syrian refugee crisis. His opening remark that 'we have already accepted around 5,000 Syrians' suggests to the audience that 5,000 Syrians have moved to the UK, to demonstrate the government's generous policies. He also emphasises the government's ongoing contribution to Syrian refugees through use of the adverbial phrase 'alongside those we already have' to demonstrate that any proposals are in addition to an already generous contribution. In this statement, Syrians are represented as without agency; they are passivised as the recipients of the British government's help. However, Cameron restricts help

to 'those Syrian refugees particularly at risk' whilst failing to specify the criteria for being particularly at risk. In this statement, Cameron draws attention to the British government's previous, existing and future generosity to Syrians, whilst clarifying that this generosity is to be directed towards a specific group of refugees considered to be at the greatest risk, whilst failing to characterise the risk. Thus, the nature of help is ambiguous and is available to some, but not others, suggesting that some, but not all refugees deserve compassion, by virtue of an unquantified risk status.

Verbs commonly following *to help* include *remain, stay, keep, stop* and *resettle*. There are examples in which the goal is to help RASIM remain in countries close to Syria. The following extract is a statement made by David Cameron at an emergency EU summit held in Belgium on 23rd September 2015, in which he pledged £40 million on behalf of the UK for the World Food Programme for Syrian refugee camps in Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey:

"We need to do more to stabilise the countries and regions from which these people are coming," Mr Cameron said, "Not least *to help* them but also to stop people wanting to make or thinking of making this very,

very difficult and very dangerous journey to Europe.”

(*The Times*, 24.9.15)

Here, Cameron uses the pronoun *we* to encourage a collective consensus from European leaders attending the summit that financial investment in Syria’s neighbours is the most sensible way to help Syrians, but also Europe. In emphasising the ‘very, very difficult and very dangerous journey to Europe’, Cameron suggests that to act otherwise, would be to ignore the serious risks to human life, using this to account for efforts to stop ‘people’ travelling towards the UK, and presenting this alongside an aim to ‘help’ them. The consequences of not making the journey are omitted, yet these may represent an even greater threat to life. However, this would be inconsistent with the aims of Cameron’s argument, so he maintains the audience’s focus on preventing them from coming to England. The following extract represents a further example of Cameron offering help to RASIM whilst actually meeting his own political aims of reducing migration of refugees to or towards the UK:

‘David Cameron has decided that the best course of action is *to help* refugees from the Syrian civil war stay near their home country in the expectation they will one day be able to return’. (*Telegraph*, 13.10.15)

Here, the writer suggests that David Cameron's decision is a personal one, rather than a decision made through a framework of political governance. Thus, responsibility is attributed to David Cameron and not to the wider government. The word *home* is used to emphasise the social connection refugees have with Syria and to legitimise his proposals as being in their best interests. Moreover, the expectation that they will be able to return suggests that this is inevitable, though the timeframe of *one day* negates any future responsibility for realisation of that expectation. In this extract, Cameron is described as helping refugees, but helping them to stay near their own country, and thus reducing any expectations on the government for their resettlement in the UK.

8.2.2. Welcome

Examination of the collocates showed that 67% (254) of the 379 total occurrences of the lemma *welcome* function as a verb. I anticipated that the verb *welcome* would relate to the positive reception of RASIM by host countries and their citizens. The 254 occurrences of *welcome* in its verb form were examined more closely and findings are presented in what follows.

Within the articles in the corpus, the verb *welcome* has a tendency to be used as part of arguments that seek to highlight the perceived ineffectiveness of immigration policy. *Welcome* is used to draw attention to the purported compassion of one nation compared to another and is particularly evident in criticisms of the UK, in which Germany is constructed as more accepting and compassionate. In a number of examples, *welcome* is used to relocate the linguistic representation of RASIM's movement from the rational domain to the emotional domain. For example, Germany's policy on immigration is frequently represented in the corpus as the personal sentiments of Germany's First Minister, Angela Merkel, rather than as national policy.

Some instances make direct reference to Germany's and particularly Merkel's actions being driven by guilt derived from the country's role in the Second World War, rather than by rational politics. As an example, the following illustrates how Germany's immigration policy is represented as Merkel's personal responsibility:

'Many more including potential jihadists and opportunists pretending to be refugees are suspected of slipping in under the radar since August, when German Chancellor Angela Merkel controversially announced she

would *welcome* all Syrian migrants who knocked on the door' (*Mail*, 9.1.16)

Here, Merkel is attributed individual responsibility for the decision to welcome all Syrian migrants, implying that the decision is a personal rather than national one. The choice of verb *welcome* is incongruent with the political context in which it is used, and suggests that it is emotionally, rather than politically motivated. The adverbial 'controversially' implies that Merkel stands alone in her decision and further undermines its credibility. This is reinforced by the claim that Merkel 'announced she would welcome all Syrian migrants who knocked on the door'. This metaphor is more indicative of an informal social event than a national policy, in which guests arrive at the door – Merkel's door – and she invites them in. This is incongruous with the former reference to 'potential jihadists and opportunists', who would not be typically considered as guests, and thus emphasises the recklessness of her actions and the threat to Germany that they represent.

Collectively, these linguistic strategies both undermine Merkel as a political leader and conceal any other participants involved in the decision-making process. This is one example of a number, across the whole corpus, in which Merkel is

attributed personal responsibility for welcoming RASIM, and in which she is constructed as responding according to her emotions and within a domestic sphere. The same strategy can also be seen to undermine Sweden's Prime Minister, Stefan Lofven in the following extract from the *Sun* newspaper:

'Four months ago Sweden's left-wing PM *welcomed* Syrian refugees with open arms, grandly pronouncing that his liberal regime would not "build walls" to keep out anyone fleeing war. How foolish he now looks with his swamped country abandoning the Schengen agreement and imposing full border checks' (*Sun*, 5.1.16)

As observed in the previous extract, here the verb *welcome* relocates the linguistic representation of RASIM's movement from the rational domain to a highly evaluative and emotional domain. The metaphor 'with open arms' is used to emphasise the emotional and nurturing qualities of the process of welcoming. Other linguistic choices are notable in this extract; *grandly*, *regime*, *foolish* and *abandoning* each adds an evaluative quality to Lofven's actions, for which he is subsequently humiliated. His country is described as *swamped*, another metaphor, and he reverts to the

emotionally detached action of 'imposing full border checks'. The contrast of the verbs *welcome* and *impose* highlight polar responses to the movement of refugees, in which the process of *welcoming* (without barriers) is represented as ineffective and thus erroneous and in which the process of *imposing* (with barriers) is represented as effective.

These two examples reveal a position that favours a dispassionate approach to immigration and implies that the UK should not make the same mistake. While *welcome* ostensibly anticipates the favourable reception of RASIM into a country, the co-text in which it appears consistently constructs RASIM as a political problem for host nations and their own problems and suffering are excluded from the narrative. The relative humanitarian consequences of immigration for host populations and the refugee population are incomparable. However, the needs of the host population are prioritised over the immediate human suffering of RASIM. This contributes to an ideological position in which the value of host nationals' lives is greater than RASIM's, whilst foregrounding them as potential objects of the desert of compassion by virtue of the problems immigration poses for them.

As noted in chapter 7, there are a number of articles that report on the resettlement of Syrian refugees on the Isle of

Bute. The refugees were expected to arrive on the Isle in the days following terrorist attacks in Paris on 13th November 2015. Many of these articles discuss the possibility of terrorists being concealed amongst the refugees and in response, Nicola Sturgeon, the First Minister of Scotland seeks to reassure the Scottish public:

“We are due to *welcome* Syrian refugees to Scotland tomorrow and we need to show that we are a country of compassion and acceptance. These people are fleeing their homes in the search for protection and security, and we are their refuge. We cannot let the actions of the few destroy the safety of the many”, Sturgeon said.’
(*Guardian*, 16.11.15)

In her statement, Sturgeon constructs the refugees sympathetically, reminding the audience that they are fleeing their homes and seeking refuge in Scotland. *Welcome* complements her statement that Scotland is a compassionate and accepting country and Sturgeon portrays refugees as deserving of compassion by virtue of their fleeing threat. However, in making reference to the Paris attackers, she publically announces an association between refugees and terrorism, which suggests that not all refugees deserve compassion, since some of them are terrorists.

In contrast to the *Guardian's* article, which provides an extensive quotation from Sturgeon's speech, the following extract, from the *Daily Mail*, describes the worries of an Isle of Bute resident:

'Claire Leonard, a 32-year-old mother, has been similarly concerned. "Half of the islanders want to *welcome* the refugees, while the other half are worried," she said recently. "Originally, I felt sorry for them, but after the Paris attacks, I am genuinely worried that some undesirables could slip through the net. I'm not racist or callous, but want to make sure my children are safe". (*Mail*, 19.12.15)

The resident is named and her role as a mother highlighted to demonstrate her family's potential vulnerability. She describes a tension in which one-half of the islanders wishes to welcome the refugees, whilst the other half is worried about the refugees. Whilst she provides no corroboration of these proportions, her status as a mother and reference to the safety of her children gives the reader cause to perceive her vulnerability and to trust her. She proceeds to explain her own concerns in the context of the terrorist attacks in Paris and suggests that one or more refugees may pose a threat to the safety of her children. Ms Leonard's statement not only

implies an association between refugees and terrorism, but it also indicates that her views are shared by half the islanders. This suggests to the reader that collectively, the islanders have engaged in a dialogue concerning the resettlement of the refugees and Ms Leonard is communicating the outcome of that dialogue. In this extract, refugees' suffering is diminished by the implication that they represent a threat to the islanders, who then become the objects of suffering and so compassion.

8.3. Violence/suffering

In view of the relatively small number of verbs relating to the theme of violence/suffering, all nine lemmas were subject to cluster and concordance analysis and findings are presented in what follows.

As previously highlighted, *child** and *people* are collocated with the most words associated with violence and/or suffering (table 8.3). *Risk* and *drown** are the only words that collocate with more than one query word.

Table 8.3 Violence/suffering: frequency of lemmas for each query word

	<i>risk</i>	<i>kill</i>	<i>die</i>	<i>lose</i>	<i>drown</i>	<i>force</i>	<i>attack</i>	<i>hate</i>	<i>fail</i>
Refugee*	0	0	0	0	21	0	0	0	0
Asylum seeker*	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	14
Immigrant*	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	4	0
Migrant*	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	0
Child*	33	0	0	26	22	19	0	0	0

Syrians	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
People	41	91	70	0	22	0	0	0	0

It was anticipated that not all occurrences would exist in verb form and this was confirmed through analysis of concordances. All four instances of *hate* were used as an adjective immediately preceding *crime*. The lemma *fail* collocates with asylum seeker 14 times, of which ten are in adjective form, i.e. *failed asylum seeker**. Both *attack* and *attacks*, collocates of *immigrant**, are nouns and only 13 of the 26 occurrences of the lemma *lose* and 18 occurrences of *force* were verbs. Seventy-six occurrences of *drown* were in verb form, and finally, 90 of the 91 occurrences of *kill* and all 70 occurrences of *die* were verbs. As in the foregoing analysis, space limitations mean it is necessary to be selective over which collocates are analysed in more detail. In what follows, findings are presented from the analysis of *risk* on the basis that it is the only collocate of two query words, *drown*, in view of its collocation with all but one of the query words and from the analysis of *kill* and *die*, on the basis of their higher overall frequencies.

8.3.1. Risk

The collocate *risk** functioned as a verb in 33 of the total 74 occurrences and a preliminary review of the concordances

revealed that people and/or children appear to be attributed agency in 28 of those occurrences and appear to be affected by the process of risking in four cases. A more detailed exploration established that people appear to be mostly represented as risking their own or their children's safety or lives in travelling to Europe, particularly by way of the Mediterranean Sea. However, the immediate context indicates or at least implies the presence of additional participants who may influence their actions, as demonstrated in the following extract from the *Telegraph*:

'...Germany, clearly believing it owed the world restitution for its historical crimes, summarily announced that it was prepared to take 800,000 refugees. Unfortunately, it failed to accompany this promise with any provision for their safe transport, so its offer of welcome was, in effect, an invitation to yet more thousands of people to *risk* their lives, as well as being a gift to the people-smuggling industry.' (*Telegraph*, 6.9.15)

Whilst grammatically, people are agents in risking their own lives, Germany is a key participant in this extract and in announcing that it was prepared to take 800,000 refugees, is attributed responsibility for an 'invitation' to people to risk

their lives travelling to Germany. Thus, *people* are partially deagentialised in their actions and Germany is implied to be causally responsible for the risk to thousands of people's lives. So in externalising responsibility for their suffering to Germany, refugees are represented as deserving of compassion by virtue of Germany's irresponsible immigration policy. The presence of additional agents is also implied in the following extract:

'But the fact that these people *risk* death by dehydration or ambush in the Sahara desert, or kidnap and forced labour in Libya, in the hope of one day reaching Europe by sea suggests that their motivations are not trivial'.
(*Guardian*, 4.9.15)

Here, people are represented as objects of suffering and deagentialised in risking death, dehydration, ambush, kidnap and forced labour, through the implication that their motivations for doing so are 'not trivial'. This directs the reader to consider the wider context in which they are travelling to Europe and the possibility that they may have limited options to do otherwise. However, the article fails to offer additional causative explanations for their risk behaviour. There are only five occurrences in the concordances examined in which people are represented as risking their safety or their

lives in the absence of additional participants. The remaining 27 examples either explicitly identify or imply the presence of additional participants or forces that represent motivating or causative factors in people's risk behaviour and hence serve to mitigate the notion that RASIM enter into risks by their own responsibility. These additional participants include 'the international community', which is not doing enough to help countries on Syria's border and a UK immigration policy that accepts Syrian refugees who have already arrived in Europe. The suggestion here is that refugees are motivated to make the perilous journey across the Mediterranean Sea because the UK's immigration policy invites them to do so. Conversely, European countries are also identified as causative in that their immigration policies do not make adequate provision for the numbers of refugees that need resettling. Analysis of *risk* in its verb form therefore reveals that RASIM's actions of risk are used as a means to conduct a debate about immigration policy. In some cases RASIM are represented as the object of risk and in others, populations of the host countries are represented as the object of risk, in terms of how the arrival of RASIM in their country affects them. The attribution of responsibility has implications for who is perceived as the objects of suffering and so who deserves compassion, upon what basis.

8.3.2. *Drown*

Of the 76 total occurrences of the verb *drown*, 41 relate to reports of RASIM drowning during their passage to European places of safety via the Mediterranean Sea. The remaining 35 instances relate to Alan Kurdi, either in direct reports of, or in reference to his death. There is a universal acknowledgement within these 35 texts that Alan's drowning was a tragic loss of human life. But rather than his death being significant as a news item in and of itself, it is contextualised within a broader debate and employed as a means of persuasion about the merits of a particular humanitarian or policy stance. That is to say, Alan's death is used as an instrument of ideological persuasion. The following extract is from an article in the *Sun* newspaper, published in the weeks that followed Alan's death:

'No we shouldn't take in thousands of refugees. The tragic boy drowned on a beach was *drowned* by IS'
(*Sun*, 13.9.15)

This writer acknowledges Alan's drowning as tragic, and attributes the cause and responsibility for his death directly to IS. In doing so, he diverts the frame of reference for subsequent action away from immigration policy. As the article continues, the writer advocates that the UK joins the 'international community' in air strikes against Syria based

upon the premise that military action will promote safe zones for Syrians and so prevent the deaths of more children. The reader is therefore persuaded that since IS is causally responsible for Alan's death, military action is the most appropriate response to prevent further deaths. This proposal is reinforced by reference to an 'international community', which suggests that to do otherwise would mean that the UK would stand alone in its decision.

These linguistic strategies function to legitimise military action as the common-sense response, whilst simultaneously suppressing any responsibility that the UK government may have in providing a safe haven for asylum seekers through immigration policy. This demonstrates how the representation of cause and responsibility for suffering can shape readers' sense-making, judgements about social actors' desert of compassion and corresponding responses towards the alleviation of suffering.

The idea that policy should not be influenced by emotions is suggested in the following extract about immigration:

'...the picture of Aylan Kurdi has had some effect on people's views, though nearly two-thirds of respondents think that photos of *drowned* children risk distorting rational debate'. (*Mail*, 10.9.15)

In the wider context of the article, this statement normalises the stance in which immigration should not be influenced by emotions, but should be an entirely rational process. This argument is consistent with those made in analysis of *welcome* in section 8.2.2, in which Angela Merkel was accused of and criticised for compassionate policy stance towards immigration.

Alan's death was found to be employed as a means to attribute responsibility to various social actors in other articles in the corpus, including people smugglers, Alan's parents and European governments. In each case, this strategy functioned as a means of persuasion surrounding the relaxation or restriction of immigration policy.

8.3.3. Kill

All but one of the 91 occurrences of *kill* collocating with *people* function as a verb. The verb *kill* indicates a transactive process in which there are at least two participants, one who carries out the act of killing, and at least one other who is affected by the action. Thus, use of the verb *kill* in the corpus denotes to the reader the presence of an agent within the process of killing who is responsible for another's death. Of the 90 occurrences of the lemma *kill*, 34 relate to terrorist attacks, 15 of which are specifically about the Paris terrorist attacks. A

total of 10 are concerned with the number of people killed in the Syrian war. As terrorism appears as the main focus of the collocates *kill*, these concordances were explored in more detail to establish how RASIM are represented through the process of killing.

In all 34 occurrences of *kill* in the context of terrorism, *people* are the object of the process of killing, where *people* represent citizens who are not RASIM. This could suggest to the reader that RASIM and people are distinct identities and so RASIM are not potential victims of terrorism. Of note, the associated headlines of the articles of ten of the occurrences of the lemma *kill* identified the agents of terrorism according to their immigration status, as demonstrated in the following examples:

‘Istanbul suicide bomber registered as Syrian refugee’.
(*Telegraph*, 14.1.16)

‘Twelve people have been injured after a rejected Syrian asylum seeker blew himself up in a ‘deliberate explosion’. (*Guardian*, 25.7.16)

‘Migrant’s revenge on Germany: Syrian pledged allegiance to IS and blew himself up when told he’d be deported.’ (*Mail*, 26.7.16)

The choice to foreground the immigration status of the agents of killing in headlines contributes to a discourse of 'RASIM are terrorists'. Other headlines are less direct in the association between RASIM and terrorism, but still it is implied, as demonstrated in the following example:

'Philip Hammond to press Turkey over refugee crisis on Ankara visit; Foreign Secretary will discuss with Turkish leaders what more can be done about migrants and offer message of solidarity after Isis attack in Istanbul.'

(*Guardian*, 14.1.16)

This headline in the *Guardian* implies an association between the refugee crisis, migrants and terrorism in an article of which the chief focus is the Isis attack. Similarly, whilst the following headline in the *Sun* does not directly identify killers as Syrians, it nevertheless makes an association between killers and refugees that introduces the possibility that other killers may pose as Syrian refugees and thus present a future, concealed and unknown threat to others.

'Killers pose as refugee Syrians.' (*Sun*, 15.11.15)

Exploration of concordances of *kill* revealed that in 14 instances, agency is attributed to the method of killing, for example, *suicide bombing, bomb attacks, car bomb* and *shootings*. In these examples, the object of killing is *people*

and in some cases, the participants responsible for the instrument of killing are omitted from the immediate context. It is therefore people – who are not RASIM – who are represented as the objects of suffering. Further exploration of the articles revealed that two distinct issues are being discussed, the refugee crisis and terrorism. But these two issues are conflated; there is no demarcation between the two and so the relationship between the refugee crisis and terrorism is consolidated.

Agency for killing was attributed to the killer's role in ten occurrences, for example *attackers*, *suicide bomber* and *crazed killer*. This could be because the identity of the killer was at this stage unknown, or it could be to draw attention to the violence associated with terrorism, whilst omitting the identity of the killer:

'The suicide bomber who *killed* 10 people in Istanbul registered as a refugee in Turkey just one week before the attack after entering the country from Syria, according to Turkish media.' (*Telegraph*, 14.1.16)

In the above extract from the *Telegraph*, the killer is identified by the instrument of killing, his role within it and by his immigration status. These characteristics are foregrounded to draw the readers' attention to a threat that individuals

registering as refugees are suicide bombers. Moreover, there is a temporal reference, 'just one week before the attack', which implies that refugees represent an imminent threat as they enter host countries. These patterns of representation direct readers to normalise an association between immigration and terrorist acts, so that both the process of immigration and RASIM themselves are more likely to engender fear and resistance, than inclusivity and acceptance.

8.3.4. Die

Of the 70 occurrences of the verb *die*, 20 relate to RASIM dying during or because of their journey to Europe and 13 relate to RASIM's personal experiences of the conflict in Syria, as well as their experiences before, during and beyond their journeys to Europe. In addition, fifteen occurrences of *die* relate to a report that Syrian refugee families resettled on the Scottish Isle of Bute wanted to leave the island. This was reported in the context of the families complaining that the island is "full of old people waiting to *die*." (*Express, Telegraph, Sun, The Times*, July 2016), so people in this context are distinct from RASIM. In each of these reports, the above quotation provides the basis for the claim that the refugee families are ungrateful for the hospitality offered to them by the residents of Bute. Neither the source of the

quote nor the context in which it was alleged to have been made is revealed in any of the reports; its legitimacy therefore is not verified and yet it functions as the basis for subsequent evaluation by readers. These unsubstantiated claims appeal to readers' sense of fairness, moral principles and institutional conventions of entitlement.

In contrast to the verb *kill*, which suggests a transactive process, the verb *die* suggests a nontransactive process which involves only one participant or group of participants. Thus, additional agents to whom responsibility for a person's or persons' death may be attributed are not immediately evident, as illustrated in the following extract:

'...more than 2,000 people have already *died* attempting to cross the Mediterranean this year.' (*Express*, 8.9.15)

This sentence uses 'more than' to emphasise the large number of people who have died while the addition of 'already' implies that more will die. The article continues:

'Aylan's story is all the more tragic in that by the time he and his family set off on their doomed attempt to reach Greece they were already safe from the Syrian civil war.....their lives were not in danger' (*Express*, 8.9.15).

This subsequent context implies that Alan's family was responsible for his death, as they had no need to travel from Turkey to Greece. Further, it introduces the possibility to the reader that if Alan's family did not need to cross the Mediterranean to reach safety then nor did the other 'more than 2,000 people' who have already died making the journey, nor do those who are yet to make it. The implications of this linguistic strategy are that Alan's family does not deserve compassion by virtue of being responsible for taking unnecessary risks, and that other people who have already died, or may die in the future, do not deserve compassion by virtue of their journeys being unnecessary.

The *Mirror* uses the same strategy to emphasise the high number of deaths and the potential for more deaths:

'In total more than 3,560 people have *died* in the waters of the Mediterranean this year' (*Mirror*, 31.12.15)

This statement is positioned centrally in an article about how people-smugglers profit from the refugee crisis and in which refugees are represented as helpless victims of a ruthless trade. An association is therefore suggested between the deaths of more than 3,560 people in the Mediterranean and the people-smuggling trade. Rather than RASIM themselves, then, the information provided by the wider context of the

Mirror's article implicates people-smugglers as responsible for the deaths.

8.4. Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how verbal processes related to themes of helping, suffering and violence function to represent RASIM as victims of the Syrian conflict, as a threat to the status quo of actual or potential host nations, and as responsible for their own deaths while seeking to travel to Europe. Various social actors including RASIM, heads of government and Isis are represented as causally responsible for suffering according to the ideological aims of a debate about immigration. These representations offer ramifications for how corresponding actions to alleviate suffering are determined and legitimised. Finally, normalising a stance in which immigration policy is constructed from an exclusively rational perspective, has enormous consequences for the UK's identity as compassionate or otherwise and for how RASIM experience the immigration process.

The next chapter presents a critical discussion of the findings of this study, presented in chapters 5 to 8, according to the theories of compassion and desert, the findings of the scoping review and the existing literature on the discursive construction of RASIM.

9. Who deserves compassion, according to whom and upon what basis?

9.1. Introduction

This chapter begins with a reminder of the operational formula for the desert of compassion presented at the end of chapter 2. Then, drawing on traditions of compassion and theories of desert, it follows with a critical discussion of how Syrian RASIM are discursively constructed within this corpus as deserving of compassion or otherwise. The chapter demonstrates how RASIM are constructed within a frame of immigration and argues how this limits readers' interpretation to this sphere of understanding and the implications for how they subsequently perceive RASIM of deserving of compassion or otherwise. It is proposed that in extending refugee discourse to include RASIM's own narratives, the frames in which the desert of compassion are evaluated are correspondingly expanded, creating conditions in which a universal tradition of compassion can flourish.

9.2. The desert of compassion

As discussed in chapter 2, the operational formula for the desert of compassion, drawn from the various traditions of compassion and theories of desert was established for the purposes of this research study as:

'A person or group of people (S), deserve compassion
(M) by virtue of an identifiable desert base(s) (B)'

The role of language in determining whether or not a group or individual is deserving of compassion in keeping with this formula is crucial, since linguistic choices and the representational strategies they result in are in effect mechanisms by which to foreground certain characteristics, appeal to people's social, moral and political beliefs and imply causal explanations for suffering. Collectively, within this corpus, these strategies function to construct Syrian RASIM as more or less deserving of compassion within a polarised debate about immigration.

9.3. Linguistic choices to normalise identity

In the corpus examined over the previous four chapters, collocate, cluster and concordance analyses have revealed a pattern of language use that collectively construct RASIM as the objects of a social, political and moral debate about immigration, conducted and controlled by people in relatively greater positions of power and from which RASIM are excluded. Throughout this corpus, RASIM's own narratives are almost exclusively suppressed and their histories and experiences are recounted through the filtered lenses of politicians, celebrities and activists. Where there is evidence

of RASIM's own stories, these are confined to the boundaries of others' narratives about them and their associated purposes. Whilst RASIM are represented more or less sympathetically, they are nevertheless always discursively constructed by others who provide the language used, present an understanding and interpretation of their histories, identities and experiences and adopt particular ideological stances. These observations are supported by extant research investigating the discursive construction of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants in news media. Rajaram (2002) notes how refugees' experiences are constructed according to Western ways of knowing and by Western 'experts', whilst refugees' own stories are simultaneously excluded. Mohd Don and Lee (2014) find that dialogue is restricted to the writer and relevant political leaders, whilst refugees' and asylum seekers' voices are absent. Similarly, Chouliaraki and Zaborowski (2017: 620) state that politicians speak in European press – not refugees and that irrespective of how they are portrayed, refugees are marginalised and almost fully silenced across European news. Accordingly, RASIM are denied the opportunity to construct their own identities, histories, experiences and aspirations through the suppression and constraint of their own narratives.

The contents of the corpus have thus been shaped and constructed by people in positions of power about people who are powerless; an elite group, the media, constructs realities about a marginalised group, Syrian RASIM, from which another relatively powerful group, UK readers, make judgements about RASIM's desert of compassion. The power imbalance is subsequently sustained through controlled access to storytelling and representation. That is, in the absence of RASIM's own narratives, public opinion and policy is shaped according to others' perceptions and purposes and based upon Western ways of knowing. RASIM are excluded from contributing to their own futures and the power imbalance is sustained.

Examination of the patterns of collocation has revealed how the consistent use of various representational strategies throughout the corpus, including aggregation, collectivisation and metaphor, construct RASIM either as passive victims or as an agentive threat to others' personal and national security, according to the ideological aims of a polarised debate about immigration. In articles that are sympathetic to Syrian RASIM and their plight and that favour leniency in immigration policy, RASIM are largely constructed as helpless victims and passivised in the context of others' actions or inaction. Conversely, in articles that advocate for more stringent

immigration policies, RASIM are constructed as an agentive threat to the West, and particularly to the UK. In particular, they are constructed as a threat to the social and cultural norms of the UK and as terrorists.

Throughout the corpus, certain linguistic choices are favoured by politically left- and right-leaning publications and in relation to three distinct time periods in which the Syrian conflict mounts in urgency, and extends in reach towards Western nations. Keyword analysis has shown that participants are more often classified according to their immigration status, than by any other means. Thus, whilst they are also men, women, people and children, RASIM are for the most part collectivised as a generic group of immigrants. In doing so, the movement of RASIM is framed as a political issue rather than a human one. In the period covered in the study, polls conducted in the UK and Great Britain identified immigration as one of the most important issues facing the nation. Specifically, in October 2014, 40% of people surveyed raised race relations as one of the major issues in the UK. In September 2015, this statistic increased and peaked at 56% of people surveyed and in September 2016, the figure was 39% (The Migration Observatory, 2018). Accordingly, in a period in which immigration was a significant concern for the British public, a dominant representation of Syrian RASIM by

way of their immigration status encourages readers to relate to them within that sphere of concern. The political contextualisation of RASIM extends beyond the immediate issue of RASIM's circumstances as objects of these texts towards the broader consequences of immigration and the potential impact upon the reader and upon society. It is within this political frame that readers' perceptions about the desert of compassion are formed.

The research literature presented in chapter 3 established that people's beliefs about what is right or wrong, in keeping with various institutional conventions is an important basis for desert (Williams, 1984; Norman et al, 2006; Grubb & Turner, 2012; Hosseinzadeh, 2012). The idea that people typically adhere to a universal tradition of compassion, in which compassion is deserved by virtue of being human, was not supported in the literature. Thus, a political frame encourages readers to relate to RASIM in keeping with constructs of immigration and its causes, and is likely to inform their subsequent perceptions as to RASIM's desert of compassion.

The literature also suggests that politically conservative individuals are more likely to make attributions of personal responsibility for suffering, whilst people who are politically liberal are more likely to consider the broader social context

and make judgements accordingly (Williams, 1984; Skitka, 1999). Normalising the representation of RASIM in relation to their immigration status therefore suggests that politically left-leaning readers are more likely to perceive RASIM as deserving of compassion than politically right-leaning readers.

All traditions of compassion require the presence of suffering for compassion to be mobilised. One means of establishing legitimacy of suffering is through foregrounding a person's legal immigration status with the use of a particular referential strategy. Each of these terms is ascribed meaning according to the legal, social, political and moral conventions in which it is contextualised and subsequently interpreted (Moloney, 2007; Hanson-Easey et al, 2014). According to the legal definition (chapter 5, table 5.5), an asylum seeker is legitimised in fleeing persecution and in exercising a legal right to apply for asylum in another country. Refugees are yet more legitimate in that their persecution has been substantiated and their asylum application has been successful, affording them the legal right to remain in a country. Each of these definitions alludes to the presence of an additional agent or agents that are causally responsible for asylum seekers' and refugees' suffering, so externalising attributions of control and responsibility, absolving asylum seekers and refugees of blame for their persecution and for

their subsequent need for immigration. Correspondingly, they are legitimised within political, social and moral conventions; in pursuing the lawful route to legalise their political status, they are socially, morally and legally perceived as legitimate in their suffering and thus more likely to be perceived as deserving of compassion.

The legal definitions of both migrant and immigrant exclude language that suggests characteristics of urgency, suffering or legitimacy in movement. Rather, they imply movement conducted in the context of both agency and choice and in the absence of other social actors or forces. The presence of choice indicates the existence of alternatives and the choice to act otherwise. In the event that migrants experience suffering or some negative event as a consequence of the choice to leave their own countries, causal explanations are therefore unlikely to extend beyond migrants themselves and they will accordingly be attributed blame for their plight.

Blameworthiness indicates that they are less likely to be perceived as deserving of compassion.

The specific terms representing the immigration status of people fleeing Syria were found to be used with strikingly different frequencies in the corpus. A preference for the word *migrant* to represent RASIM was found in right-leaning

newspapers and in the period October 2014 to August 2015, whilst a preference for the word *refugee* was found in left-leaning newspapers and in the month of September 2015. These patterns of representation are not neutral, since both their legal definitions and semantic preferences are different. Rather, these linguistic preferences confer more or less agency and responsibility onto people moving from Syria into Europe.

In this corpus, *refugee(s)* is the most frequent and statistically significant noun used to account for identity; other immigration-status related nouns, *asylum seeker(s)*, *immigrant(s)* and *migrant(s)* are used with considerably less frequency. The prolific use of *refugee(s)* suggests that within a collective group of immigrants, in the event that the reader affords consideration to the legal and policy peculiarities of immigration status, RASIM may be perceived as deserving of compassion (Yarris & Castaneda, 2015; Varvin, 2017). It has been noted in other research (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Holmes & Castaneda, 2016; Boeva, 2016; Varvin, 2017) however, that the terms *refugee*, *asylum seeker*, *immigrant* and *migrant* are at times used interchangeably and not always in keeping with their legal definitions. Furthermore, findings presented in chapter 5 demonstrated a preference for the term *refugee* in politically left-leaning publications and a

preference for *migrant* in right-leaning publications. This suggests either more extensive content relating to refugees or migrants in left- and right-leaning publications respectively, or else two diverging preferences for the respective terms used to represent RASIM as a group. Finally, if readers read either left- or right-leaning newspapers but not both, then they are only exposed to the representation of RASIM in those particular newspapers. In either case, these choices have ideological consequences in which RASIM are perceived more or less favourably.

A temporal shift from a preference for the term *migrant* in the period October 2014 to August 2015 to *refugee* in the single month of September 2015 coincides with the extensive publication of photographs of Alan Kurdi. This may have been motivated by a media desire to appear more sympathetic towards RASIM during a period in which public sympathies for the human suffering of refugees were heightened, and indicates that media reporting can be shaped by public opinion.

In foregrounding their immigration status, RASIM are not immediately identified as people but as a generic 'other' (Malkki, 1996; Hall, 1997; Bailey & Harindranath, 2005; Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017). Only a small proportion of

readers are refugees, migrants and so on, and so the majority of readers are unlikely to consider RASIM's plight as significant and part of his or her own scheme of goals (Arendt, 1973; Nussbaum, 2001). As a result, they are distinct from those who are not RASIM. Indeed, Rousseau (1970) argues that categorising people in this way sets them apart and impedes compassion because it is difficult for us to see how their suffering is relatable to our own lives. Moreover, in simultaneously backgrounding the human characteristics of RASIM, emotional and cognitive distance is created between reader and RASIM, which also functions as a barrier to compassion (Goetz et al, 2010; Nussbaum, 2001; Johnson, 2011; Perez-Parades et al, 2017).

Other frequently used nouns to represent people leaving Syria include *Syrians*, *people* and *children*. These nouns categorise people by way of their nationality, their humanity and their age, respectively. By so doing, the reader is likely to be more concerned with assimilation of information according to their existing schemas about Syrians, people and children than with immigration status. In highlighting nationality through the use of *Syrians*, social actors are still characterised as a generic other, as only a limited number of UK readers are likely to be Syrians themselves or had direct contact with Syrians.

According to some traditions of compassion, this makes it less

likely for readers to identify with Syrians in relation to their own lives and so it is correspondingly less likely that they will feel compassion for them (Nussbaum, 2001; Goetz et al, 2010; Johnson, 2011). However, the nouns *people* and *children* exemplify characteristics with which all readers can relate; even when these nouns are modified to provide additional characterisation, such as *refugee* or *Syrian*, the reader is reminded that they are still people and children.

Evolutionary theories of compassion propose that people are more likely to feel compassion for those who are genetically linked to them, are important to their own wellbeing and are relevant to their own goals and values (Lazarus, 1991; Nussbaum, 2001; Goetz et al, 2010; Gilbert, 2013). Whilst people can also feel compassion for those who are unknown to them, they are more likely to do so where the people suffering are similar in terms of their values, preferences, behaviour or physical characteristics (Nussbaum, 2001; Goetz et al, 2010). Thus, in collectivising social actors as people and children, the reader is more able to identify with their common human characteristics, can imagine experiencing similar suffering and so draw social actors into their own circle of concern (Nussbaum, 2001: 319). Subsequently, they are more likely to perceive them as deserving of compassion.

The noun *children* also implies a vulnerability that is legitimised through social and legal conventions. In using the terms *child* and *children*, their vulnerability is immediately emphasised and control, responsibility and blame for their suffering is unlikely to be attributed to a child because of those conventions. This can be observed in the corpus, in which the responsibility for children's suffering is attributed to either adults, for example exposing their children to the dangers of crossing the Mediterranean, or to civil conflict itself, as discussed in section 8.3.1. This also represents a possible contributory factor in the surge in reporting evident across newspapers in September 2015 following the publication of photographs of Alan Kurdi.

In a content analysis of the Syrian refugee crisis carried out by Chouliaraki & Zaborowski (2017), a 'humanitarian' phase of content was observed following publication of the photographs, which also included an increase in direct quotes from refugees, which rose by 4% from 17% to 21%. The photograph of a dead child has the capacity to relocate readers' focus of concern from a political to a humanitarian arena. Such an image magnifies the exceptional vulnerabilities of children, the shared experience of suffering and impermanence of life; key enablers of compassion (Rousseau, 1970; Nussbaum, 2001). The label *children*, then,

constructs social actors as passive victims of others' actions and so in the absence of responsibility or blame for their suffering, they are deserving of compassion.

It is of course doubtful that the majority of readers possess an intricate knowledge and understanding of the immigration process and the legal definitions of its corresponding terms, or that they draw upon this knowledge to inform causal explanations for RASIM's circumstances. It is more probable that people's beliefs about immigration are shaped through alternative and more accessible means, for example TV, social media, political discourse, peers, parental opinions and so on. So, whilst the choice of nouns used within the corpus to represent identity offers some insights into the question of who deserves compassion, it is necessary to explore how these are used in context. Ideological arguments are made within the context of the texts and it is here that the practice of persuasion is performed and the discourses identified in chapters 5 to 8 are produced. These discourses are discussed later in the chapter.

9.4. Linguistic choices to represent action

Chapters 7 and 8 were concerned with how RASIM are represented in action. Transitivity analysis revealed the choice of verb as being fundamental to the representation of

RASIM as agentive or passive in the corpus, and demonstrated agency as being a strong indicator of responsibility for action.

Since the scoping review presented in chapter 3 demonstrated that the attribution of control, responsibility and blame for suffering is a central factor in subsequent judgements about the desert of compassion, the representation of RASIM as agentive or passive in movement in the corpus has implications for how readers perceive them as deserving of compassion or otherwise. Verbs that assign RASIM as passive in movement, for example *flee*, externalise responsibility to other social actors or forces, whilst verbs that represent RASIM as agentive in movement for example *arrive*, correspondingly represent them as responsible for the consequences of their movement.

Moreover, in addition to the choice of verb itself, the extent to which other social actors are included or excluded and positioned in the surrounding text contributes to how readers – the naïve psychologists in attribution theory – construct causal explanations. To illustrate, the verb *fleeing* suggests other social actors or forces that are responsible for RASIM's fleeing Syria. As described in chapter 7, section 7.10, RASIM's fleeing is described in the context of leaving circumstances of danger, *war*, *conflict*, *terror* and so on, which

encourages the reader to attribute responsibility for suffering externally and correspondingly legitimises RASIM's fleeing. Conversely, verbs that describe RASIM as agentive in movement represent them as arriving in or travelling towards Europe. In these accounts, there is typically an increased focus on other social actors, particularly those for which RASIM's arrival will have consequences. The reader is therefore directed to consider a wider range of social actors in the construction of causal explanations, each of which represents a potential candidate for suffering. The representation of RASIM as an agentive threat to host countries characterises the corresponding host citizens as potential objects of compassion, who are perceived as deserving of compassion by virtue of the threat posed by RASIM's arrival in Europe.

RASIM are more frequently represented as passive in movement in texts which favour a lenient immigration policy which occur more frequently in politically left-leaning publications. Conversely, in texts that supported stringent immigration policy, which were most often in politically right-leaning publications, RASIM's movement was described with verbs affording them with agency. That is to say, transitivity analysis in relation to movement found RASIM to be more often represented as deserving of compassion in politically

left-leaning newspaper articles, whilst in politically right-leaning publications, host citizens were more often represented as deserving of compassion. Since right-leaning publications dominate in terms of readership reach, the analysis of verbs representing movement revealed a prevailing representation in which UK citizens deserve compassion by virtue of the threat posed to them by the effects of immigration in this corpus.

9.5. RASIM constructed first and foremost as an overwhelming global problem

A central discourse of 'RASIM are an overwhelming global problem' permeates the corpus. This representation was found to be evident in articles that construct RASIM either more or less sympathetically and independent of any ideological stance about immigration or timeframe. Both in articles that advocate for RASIM resettlement and articles that resist RASIM resettlement in actual or potential host countries, the number of RASIM on the move is first and foremost framed as too great and as problematic. Representational strategies, most notably aggregation, collectivisation and metaphor collectively function to construct RASIM as a vast, homogenous, inanimate and advancing form; essentially

symbolising the broader, social and political phenomenon of immigration while also backgrounding their human qualities.

Aggregation is a central representational strategy used in the corpus, which is employed to emphasise to the reader the large number of RASIM leaving Syria and crossing international – and particularly European – borders. As found in other research (Malkki, 1996; Rasinger, 2010; Bleiker et al, 2013; Boeva, 2016; Patrascu, 2016), in this corpus the use of aggregation avoids constructing the movement of RASIM as a human issue since people are assimilated as numbers, representing them as a single, vast mass. Frequent use of the terms *more than* and aggregation of RASIM by *hundreds of thousands* and *millions*, and in the absence of factual statistical data, consistently draws the readers' attention to their large numbers. Their movement is therefore characterised as both out of control and overwhelming to a public that already overestimates the numbers of refugees in the UK (Patrascu, 2016). Newspapers tend to utilise similar macro-structures in representations of RASIM (Haider & Olimy, 2019) and in this corpus, the aggregation of RASIM by vast numbers is typically employed as a means to provide context in the opening paragraphs of most articles. This was found to be independent of political tendencies and in articles that proceed to advocate for more or less stringent

immigration policy. Thus, the aggregation by way of large numbers in a textually salient position forms the basis for readers' assimilation of the subsequent content. In dehumanising RASIM from the outset, their suffering is to some extent objectified as immigration itself and generalised so that readers are less likely to respond as they would when relating to human beings (Esses et al, 2013). However, this leads to a contradiction in some newspaper articles whereby representational strategies that function to collectivise and dehumanise RASIM at the outset are ideologically incongruent with subsequent appeals for both leniency and compassion.

Traditions of compassion typically describe compassion in the context of the individual, the noticing and desire to alleviate suffering of another or the self. The idea of showing compassion towards large numbers is not evident within theoretical accounts of compassion (Johnson, 2011). Arendt draws attention to this, arguing, "[c]ompassion can comprehend only the particular, but has no notion of the general and no capacity for generalization" (1973: 85).

Similarly, Slovic (2007) claims that humans are incapable of perceiving the humanity behind vast numbers of people in the same way they do with individuals or small groups. He refers to a phenomenon of "psychophysical numbing", in which the sensitivity to the value of human life diminishes as numbers

increase. Single stories of suffering involving individuals or small families or groups tend to generate the conditions for empathy, but as numbers grow the capacity for compassion diminishes (Slovic, 2007: 84-86). People are simply unable to appreciate the suffering of huge numbers in the way they are able to for individuals (Arendt, 1973; Slovic, 2007; Johnson, 2011). Consequently, in this corpus, the frequent aggregation of RASIM by means of very large numbers constrains the readers' capacity to identify with single individuals within millions of RASIM. Instead, they are perceived as a statistical representation of a vast and single problem. Compassion therefore fails to be mobilised.

The repetitive use of metaphor in the corpus further compounds a discourse of 'RASIM are an overwhelming global problem'. In particular, the recurring use of water metaphors through words such as *flow* and *wave* was found to construct RASIM as a single entity, emphasising characteristics that represent great size, force and forward movement, whilst suppressing the qualities of being human. The representation of RASIM through water metaphors is a commonly noticed trope in other corpus-based critical discourse analysis studies of immigration and news reporting (El Refaie, 2001; Charteris-Black, 2006; Abid et al, 2017). Just as a vast body of water is conceived in its entirety rather than the particles within it,

RASIM are conceived as a single, inanimate mass, thereby depriving them of their individuality, their experiences, their strengths, their suffering and the qualities that distinguish them as human. Due to the prevalence of this representational strategy throughout the corpus, this vast, powerful, inanimate force symbolises the process of immigration to host countries, particularly to the West and to the UK. These water metaphors contribute to the construction of immigration as both agentive and uncontrollable, so representing a threat to the readers' social stability, identity and cultural norms. Furthermore, the frequency and consistency with which water metaphors are used within the corpus renders them neither noticeable nor remarkable, and so they become a naturalised constituent of immigration discourse (El Refaie, 2001).

The social and political context in which these newspaper articles were published is important in how immigration is represented (Charteris-Black, 2006). Immigration involves the arrival of new identities, religions and cultural practices (Charteris-Black, 2006: 572) and news media provide a forum in which to represent this process more or less favourably according to ideological perspectives. The pervasive use of water metaphors was found to exist across all publications and in articles representing RASIM more or less sympathetically.

This demonstrates a dominant discourse that portrays immigration first and foremost as problematic for Western countries - and particularly the UK - irrespective of left- or right-leaning political stance and irrespective of the subsequent content of the article. Politically, the data on which this study is based come from a critical time period for the UK that was characterised by increasing national concern surrounding immigration (The Migration Observatory, 2018) and leading up to a national referendum on the UK leaving the European Union. Thus, a prevailing frame of immigration being problematic for the UK contributes to a condition in which UK citizens feel threatened, and so respond with behaviours that are more concerned with self-preservation than the welfare of others (Chilton, 2004; Charteris-Black, 2006). Indeed, following the UK referendum in June 2016, in which the nation voted to leave the EU, the public's concerns about immigration reduced from a peak of 56% of people polled in September 2015 to 21% in December 2017 (The Migration Observatory, 2018).

Collectively, representational strategies employed in this corpus reinforce earlier observations that the movement of RASIM is constructed as a political issue rather than a human one. This dominant representation is evident in other critical discourse analysis studies investigating the discursive

construction of RASIM (Vicsek et al, 2008; Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017). The phenomenon being described is immigration, rather than the movement of millions of human beings from their home countries as a consequence of war and persecution.

The presence of suffering is a pre-requisite in all traditions of compassion. However, in suppressing the human lives within the process of immigration through collectivisation in the aggregation of numbers and metaphorical reference, RASIM's human suffering is also suppressed (Malkki, 1996; Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017; Varvin, 2017). Thus, compassion for them is less likely to be mobilised. In constructing immigration as an agentive threat, other-oriented emotions are likely to be superseded by anxiety or fear which are more associated with responses of self-preservation (Chilton, 2004; Goetz et al, 2010). Instead, readers are urged to perceive themselves as potential victims of immigration and the associated suffering in terms of the threat that vast numbers of immigrants represent to their social stability, identity and cultural norms. Thus, the discursive construction of RASIM as an overwhelming global problem indicates that readers – UK citizens who are not immigrants – deserve compassion by virtue of their suffering as a consequence of mass immigration.

9.6. RASIM are situated at either end of a continuum of threat

The finding that RASIM are represented as either victim or threat in the context of a political debate about immigration is upheld by other studies (Moore et al, 2012; Mohd Don & Lee, 2014; Patrascu, 2016; Varvin, 2017; Haider & Olimy, 2019). As highlighted earlier, articles that describe RASIM and their circumstances more or less sympathetically do so from the perspective of people in relatively more powerful positions than RASIM. This dynamic resonates with a tradition of compassion in which the strong bestow compassion upon the weak (or withhold it from them); RASIM are assigned to roles of passive victim or agentive threat by other social actors, most notably the article author, politicians, celebrities and leaders of humanitarian organisations. Thus, whilst they are the object of debate, they are powerless within that role and employed as a means to persuade readers to adopt a specific position in relation to immigration policy. RASIM's assigned roles as either victim or threat are instrumental in how readers subsequently make sense of their circumstances and their corresponding perceptions about the desert of compassion. This power imbalance in which their circumstances are constructed by groups in relatively greater positions of power than RASIM, echoes observations made

earlier in this thesis, in which research studies investigating the desert of compassion were designed and conducted according to the researchers' own discursive construction of the population being investigated. RASIM's desert of compassion is therefore largely informed by how the media and political elites choose to represent them more or less favourably in keeping with social, political, moral and cultural conventions and in keeping with their ideological purposes surrounding immigration.

9.7. RASIM as passive victims

While a minority in the corpus as a whole, articles that argue for a more lenient immigration policy typically construct RASIM as passive victims; they are more likely to contain examples of RASIM being humanised, with greater emphasis on their vulnerabilities and representations of RASIM as passive or deagentialised. RASIM are humanised by means of individual stories in which they are named, attributed ages, and in which they are contextualised within familial, occupational and social structures and roles. Personal stories extract individuals from the mass and offer alternative forms of identity beyond the confines of immigration status. Instead, in these examples RASIM are constructed as human beings with identities and personal characteristics. In focusing

on individuals and representing them in ways that emphasise parallels between RASIM and readers in terms of their humanity, experiences and emotions, the cognitive and emotional distance between RASIM and readers is reduced and they are drawn into the readers' circle of concern. Thus, conditions are more conducive to readers recognising the value of individual human lives and conceiving the potential for similar possibilities in their own futures, an essential cognitive ingredient for compassion to be mobilised (Arendt, 1973; Nussbaum, 2001; Johnson, 2011). Nevertheless, when RASIM's vulnerabilities are overstated they are correspondingly denied the agency, power and personal resources that are of value to society. Thus, their desert of compassion is achieved at the expense of their dignity.

Readers are encouraged to perceive RASIM as victims through linguistic choices that emphasise the severity and extent of their suffering. This was particularly evident in concordance analysis of the term *do more*, the predominant use of which constitutes part of an appeal by an advocate to a decision-maker to *do more to help refugees*. In these articles, each social actor is represented within a dynamic that collectively functions to attribute blame for refugees' continued suffering. The role of the speaker or the writer of the article is to alert the reader to the extreme nature and extent of refugees'

suffering by means of linguistic choices that render them helpless and powerless. In their representation as helpless, RASIM are deagentialised and so readers are directed to search for external causative factors for their suffering (Forsterling, 2001). The original source of suffering – persecution in their home countries – is omitted from the narrative; rather, the source of its continuation is the focus of concern. This strategy is ideologically motivated as it provides the opportunity for the speaker or writer to direct the readers' attributions of responsibility to the decision-maker. Most commonly, this role is fulfilled by the government, or one individual who is perceived to represent the government and its collective policy – David Cameron, the Prime Minister. David Cameron is represented as having the power, the authority and the choice to end suffering by relaxing immigration policy. Cameron is represented as being personally in control of RASIM's continued suffering and so he is both personally responsible and blameworthy for their current suffering by refusing to resettle more refugees. The intentional omission of the wider context of RASIM's migration ensures that UK immigration policy and undermining the Conservative government are the sole focus of readers' concerns, not the context from which RASIM have fled. The nature of RASIM's suffering is therefore confined to the

boundaries of the writers' purposes and used to attribute blame to the UK government and effect political change. In excluding the broader context in which RASIM's suffering occurs, their personal histories and experiences are erased and so concealed from readers' evaluation of their circumstances.

In these articles, RASIM are discursively constructed as deserving compassion by virtue of the serious nature of their suffering and by virtue of them being the helpless victims of Cameron's inaction. However, their desert of compassion is achieved through exploitation of their experience of suffering, in that the focus of concern is one of political persuasion rather than alleviating their suffering.

The verb *flee* was found to be associated with a greater number of individual descriptive stories about refugees' journeys, thus emphasising the human experiences associated with fleeing conflict. *Flee* functions to deagentialise refugees in their leaving Syria, contributing to their construction as passive victims. Its use therefore encourages the reader to reflect on the force(s) causing refugees to flee which, in this corpus, is largely attributed to conflict in Syria. The majority of people reading UK newspapers do not have direct lived experience of war, and so are equally unlikely to imagine

similar possibilities in their own lives. However, it is typically the characteristics of war, for example, terror, persecution and brutality that are specified as the agentive force responsible for refugees fleeing Syria. These characteristics are more familiar to readers as they occur across other, shared experiences. Readers can more readily understand the problems of others when they have similar experiences, so they are likely to empathise with the emotion of terror and the experience of brutality far more readily than with the experience of war, or with the agents who are actually involved in the decision-making of war (Lazarus & Lazarus, 1994). Collectively, these linguistic choices function to emphasise the seriousness of refugees' suffering, the potential for readers to be exposed to similar experiences and refugees' lack of control, personal responsibility and blame for their own suffering. Thus, refugees deserve compassion by virtue of them fleeing Syria, for which the terrors of war are to blame.

Constructing refugees as passive victims has other ideological functions in some texts in the corpus, such as constructing refugees sympathetically in order to emphasise the undesirability of the migrant population. Hence, in section 7.4.3, the example from the *Mail* refers to passivised 'genuine' refugees 'fleeing a terrible war'. However, the aim of this representation is to provide a benchmark of both legitimacy

and deservingness against which to compare the less desirable characteristics of 'Eastern European migrants', whose motivation to travel to Britain is money, achieved through both legitimate ('wages') and contextually less legitimate ('generous welfare') means. This intends to persuade the *Mail's* reader that the suffering of millions of Syrian refugees in September 2015 did not justify immigration policy being relaxed. The demarcation between refugees and migrants is explicit, each being represented at either end of a continuum of threat to Britain. Whilst refugees are constructed as deserving compassion by virtue of their legitimacy in suffering, the principal aim of the article is to persuade readers that migrants do not deserve compassion by virtue of their intent to purloin British citizens' wages and the welfare system. Refugees' suffering is therefore exploited as a means to promote stringent immigration policies.

A comparison between Jewish refugees in World War II and Syrian refugees was made in 100 texts in the corpus, a strategy that is intended to appeal to the public's moral values in persuading them that immigration policy should be more lenient. Morality is a fundamental standard against which people judge what is right or wrong and is a powerful basis for the perceived desert of compassion (Norman et al, 2006; Hager, 2008; Hosseinzadeh, 2012). The persecution of the

Jewish population in World War II is acknowledged as amongst the most extreme abuses of power and crimes towards humanity in history. In associating Syrian refugees with Jewish refugees, as a naïve psychologist, the reader is encouraged to assimilate Syrian refugees' circumstances and experiences within his or her existing knowledge and belief frameworks about the Nazi persecution of the Jewish people. Accordingly, a connection between the two populations is established and Syrian refugees are correspondingly perceived as passive victims of the most heinous persecution carried out by others and attributions for their circumstances and their suffering are externalised.

This strategy was employed by Yvette Cooper, the shadow Home Secretary in September 2015, in her criticism of the number of Syrian refugees offered resettlement by the British Government, reported in the *Express* newspaper on 2nd September 2015 and discussed in chapter 7, section 7.4.3. This is an effective strategy to utilise politically, as to contest it in the public domain could reasonably be perceived as the government condoning Nazi Germany's persecution of the Jewish population. Syrian refugees are thus constructed as deserving compassion by virtue of their parallels with the Jewish people persecuted in Nazi Germany.

Articles that discursively construct RASIM as deserving of compassion do so within a familiar dynamic in which RASIM are relatively powerless. Other, legitimised social actors appeal to political decision-makers or readers – all of whom are in relatively greater positions of power – to show compassion to RASIM by virtue of the seriousness and extent of their circumstances and in the absence of personal responsibility or blame for their suffering and/or its continuation.

In order to achieve this, RASIM's vulnerabilities are emphasised and they are represented without characteristics that are typically associated with strength or resilience. In order to elicit compassion, they must be constructed as somehow inferior to other social actors. Indeed, Nussbaum comments that to protect victims is to presume that they are weak and unable to protect themselves and this undermines their dignity (Nussbaum, 2001: 406). This entails that to be deserving of compassion RASIM must be deprived of their dignity and their potential as equal citizens; rather than being framed according to their capacity to contribute positively to the economic and cultural landscape of a nation, they are constructed as powerless victims who need the help of other, more powerful agents. Thus, whilst RASIM are constructed as deserving of compassion, this is achieved through the

exploitation of their suffering as a means to make gains in a political argument about immigration.

9.8. RASIM as an agentive threat

At the threat end of the continuum, instead of RASIM's plight being the focus of concern, the impact RASIM's resettlement presents to Western societies and, in particular Britain, is centralised. RASIM are constructed in ways that the reader is able to identify him or herself as a potential social actor within the texts. Representational strategies and linguistic choices that emphasise difference and agency function to construct RASIM as a threat to the social, political and cultural identity of Western nations, particularly the UK. This trope has been found in other corpus assisted critical discourse analysis studies of immigration and news reporting (El Refaie, 2001; Bailey & Harindranath, 2005; Rasinger, 2010; Mohd Don & Lee, 2014; Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017).

Notably, emphasising difference is not confined to right-leaning publications or texts that are overtly anti-immigration. For example, in the extract from the *Guardian* newspaper, discussed in section 7.4.4, refugees are characterised according to their religious practices. Whilst this occurs in the context of the islanders of Bute welcoming the refugees' arrival, it nevertheless draws attention to practices that

distinguish them from the resident population, rather than to characteristics or practices that may be shared. The choice to employ such a strategy in articles and publications that claim to be sympathetic to immigration therefore suggests an ideological purpose that is incommensurate with those claims.

There are various examples within the corpus in which RASIM are represented according to characteristics which are typically different to those that dominate within Western societies whilst simultaneously suppressing shared characteristics. Social markers such as class, race and religion contribute to how people evaluate likeness and difference (Fiske, 2004). Whilst similarities tend to encourage sympathy and compassion towards others, social markers have been found to be more effective in emphasising difference than likeness (Williams, 2008). Social markers that draw attention to difference can function as a barrier to compassion.

One clear example of emphasising difference was illustrated in chapter 8, section 8.2.2, in which a group of refugees resettled on the Isle of Bute were represented according to their religion and its associated practices. The dominant ethnicity of the Bute population is British White; the Muslim population represents a minority (City Population, 2019). The island of Bute functions as an ideal vehicle to emphasise the

perceived detrimental effects of immigration on the British way of life. The population demographic is one to which the majority of UK readers can relate and so they more readily relate to the Bute residents on a social and cultural plane. The majority of readers are able to imagine the potential for similar possibilities in their own futures, and this encourages them to conceive the sacrifices they may have to make themselves, as a consequence of the resettlement of refugees. This is rather than affording consideration to any benefits that the resettlement of refugees may entail, both for the refugees themselves and for the wider communities. The parallels between Bute and the UK thus function as a powerful ideological instrument to direct readers to consider how immigration may impact negatively on their own communities. As well as construing RASIM as a large and significant danger to the UK, the prolific use of water metaphors throughout the corpus is also an effective strategy to attribute agency to RASIM, with the added characteristics of force and relentlessness. In employing metaphor to describe RASIM's movement, they are constructed as not only agentive in their actions, but also unstoppable. When afforded these additional characteristics, RASIM's actions are portrayed as representing a threat, which implies the presence of a corresponding actual or potential victim. Consequently, the reader is urged to

search for additional social actors, which in this context is Western societies, including the UK and by association, the reader. Thus, in constructing RASIM in this way, the reader identifies him or herself as a potential victim and so compassion is directed inwards (Esses et al, 2013).

At the extreme end of the threat continuum, RASIM are constructed as actual or potential terrorists. Two key strategies are employed to normalise the relationship between immigration and terrorism: first, direct statements are made that nominate terrorists by way of their immigration status. This provides an overt message – commonly through the headline – that a particular terrorist who has conducted a particular act of terrorism is a refugee or migrant. The second strategy implies that RASIM are terrorists; terrorists are described as being concealed amongst groups of RASIM and thus their identities and whereabouts are unknown. The implication that any refugee could potentially be a terrorist, but that it is not possible to know this definitively, is a powerful strategy for generating public anxiety and even fear. Despite their relative infrequency, acts of terrorism engender fear in the public because they are characteristically unpredictable and indiscriminate in their target population. They are not confined to environments in which the practices of politics and war are undertaken, rather they are carried out

in public and social places; work places, shopping centres, concerts and so on. Consequently, no persons are out of reach or immune to terrorist attacks, including the reader.

The suggestion that terrorists may be concealed within a group of refugees therefore signals to the reader that the arrival of refugees in the UK represents a major threat. The specific detail of threat is unknown owing to the indiscriminate and unpredictable nature of terrorism or, indeed, the terrorists' identities; the reader is therefore unable to undertake corresponding proportionate precautions as a means of self-protection. From an evolutionary perspective, fear supersedes compassion as an adaptive emotional response, as the overriding objective when faced with threat becomes self-preservation (Goetz et al, 2010). Elimination of the threat of terrorists can be achieved through elimination of the source of access. Terrorists are thus represented as entering the UK through legitimate means, the immigration process, with a corresponding right-wing ideology maintaining that the only way to stop terrorists entering the country is to close borders to immigrants (Varvin, 2017). Collectively, UK citizens have the power to influence this; in campaigning for more stringent immigration policies, one source of terrorist threat can be eliminated. In doing so, readers are empowered to believe that they can exercise some control over their

personal, social and national security. The representation of RASIM as terrorists then, elicits fear in UK citizens, so that compassion is directed inwards and motivating actions that are concerned with self-preservation, rather than compassionate acts towards RASIM.

The discourse 'RASIM are terrorists' offers fertile ground for right-wing xenophobia and an associated crusade for anti-immigration policies (Varvin, 2017). Terrorist discourses execute an ideological objective that prevents immigration by means of generating fear in the public. In this corpus, the context in which terrorism is enacted is also excluded from the narrative, thus the possibility of terrorists being human beings, themselves victims of an ideological agenda executed by fanatical leaders is excluded. Furthermore, the agency in killing by means of terrorist acts is mostly attributed to the weapon of killing or through terms such as 'suicide bomber' in the corpus. This functions to dehumanise terrorists through functionalisation and metonymy and terrorism itself becomes agentive, in the same way that immigration was afforded agency in the discourse 'RASIM are an overwhelming problem'. Indeed, a prolific conflation of forms of migration and terrorism minimises the possibility of open debate, as to sympathise with RASIM may be perceived as sympathising with terrorism. Thus, a terrorist discourse functions as a

barrier to compassion, instead eliciting self-oriented emotions and responses.

9.9. Who deserves compassion, according to whom and upon what basis?

The aim of this study was to respond to the research question 'who deserves compassion, according to whom and upon what basis?' in a corpus of UK newspaper reports about Syrian RASIM published between October 2014 and September 2016. The discursive construction of Syrian RASIM in this corpus was not found to align with a universal tradition of compassion in which all people are perceived to be deserving of compassion by virtue of being human and the shared experience of suffering. Rather, RASIM are positioned along a continuum of threat and relative to other social actors, promoting a hierarchy of worth and a tradition of compassion in which people are perceived to be deserving of compassion by virtue of factors other than their shared humanity. Characteristics typically associated with either end of the continuum are emphasised as a means of ideological persuasion about immigration. A balanced representation, in which RASIM are situated at the centre of the continuum, as equal to the reader, or in terms of their potential to contribute to the social and cultural fabric of host societies was absent from the

corpus. Rather than balance, representations are polarised and in accordance with the broad political stance of the newspaper, the rhetorical aims of an individual article and other political news events themselves.

9.9.1. Who deserves compassion?

In this corpus, it is 'victims' who deserve compassion, though who qualifies as a victim varies; at times this is RASIM, whilst at others it is UK citizens. The overall representation of RASIM identified in the corpus implies roles of both victim and threat, which are constructed in ways that simultaneously suggest causal explanations and the control over and responsibility for suffering. Typically, in texts that advocate for lenient immigration policies, RASIM are constructed as victims. Conversely, but not exclusively, texts in pursuit of more stringent immigration policy construct RASIM as a relative threat to the West, particularly UK citizens and by association, the reader. In constructing RASIM as a relative threat, UK citizens are correspondingly allocated the role of victim and so deserving of compassion. This was an unexpected finding, as it was not supposed at the outset of this study that the discursive representation of the population being investigated would lead to the construction of the desert of compassion in another population.

RASIM are represented as both worthy and unworthy of compassion, at times by the same publication but at different points in time. The question of who deserves compassion is therefore contextual and contingent on other factors.

9.9.2. According to whom?

The desert of compassion in this corpus is ultimately determined by the reader, yet it is informed and shaped by others' constructions of social actors and their circumstances. The familiar power dynamic of the desert of compassion is reproduced within this corpus since it is individuals and groups in positions of greater power relative to RASIM who shape how the reality of the Syrian refugee crisis is construed to the reader. The media provides a platform for politicians, celebrities and activists to present their own versions of various aspects of the phenomenon. It is from that platform that RASIM's identities are shaped, their vulnerabilities and strengths foregrounded, backgrounded or omitted, and their impact on Western society and the reader put forth. RASIM's own narratives are all but excluded from the text; where personal stories are reported, they are positioned within others' narratives about them. Thus, within this corpus, the media functions as a vehicle for ideological persuasion and

ultimately shapes readers' perceptions of the desert of compassion.

9.9.3. Upon what basis?

As previously suggested, the basis for the desert of compassion in this corpus is rarely explicit. Rather, it is implied through the discursive construction of social actors and events. This study has demonstrated that this is achieved through the choice of referential strategies (how RASIM are referred to, including the use of metaphor and aggregation), in the construction of social actors as either passive or agentive in their actions, and through how they are constructed in relation to other social actors. Each of these strategies offers cues to the reader about causality, control and responsibility for social actors' circumstances, all of which are fundamental in indicating a desert base for compassion.

In this corpus, Syrian RASIM are mostly represented within a frame of immigration and so beliefs about immigration - and particularly legitimacy in immigration - are key desert bases. Furthermore, the desert of compassion is contextualised within social, cultural, religious, political and moral conventions and readers are also directed to evaluate social actors' desert of compassion in keeping with behaviours that are normalised as right or wrong within these conventions.

A discourse of 'RASIM are terrorists' directs readers to make judgements about the desert of compassion on the basis of violence and nationalism and the corresponding threat to personal safety and national security. In representing social actors according to their shared human characteristics, the reader is drawn to the common human experience. However, the characteristic of being human rarely functions as a desert base for compassion in isolation; rather, it is mediated by the presence of other textual markers. For example, refugees may be constructed as deserving compassion by virtue of their human suffering, but an additional marker may be that they are not causally responsible for their suffering. The desert of compassion by virtue of being human, irrespective of causality and responsibility for suffering, was not evident in the corpus.

9.10. Absent representations of RASIM

In this corpus, the discursive construction of Syrian RASIM is ideologically motivated to persuade readers about the merits of a particular stance to immigration. Immigration discourses are created, legitimised and perpetuated by individuals and groups in positions of social and political power.

In constructing RASIM within a social and political frame of immigration, judgements about their desert of compassion are made within that frame. Causal explanations, emotional,

cognitive and behavioural responses related to compassion, therefore, are all informed by the boundaries of immigration policy and readers' values and beliefs surrounding immigration. Within that frame, there is a fundamental discourse in which large numbers of RASIM leaving Syria is first and foremost problematic. This discourse simultaneously suppresses the positive effects of immigration, so normalising immigration as both problematic and undesirable.

The migration of Syrian refugees can entail the alleviation of suffering for millions of people; their movement to safer countries liberates them from the perils of war and persecution. Their arrival in host countries provides them with hope and possibility for their own futures, as well as contributing to the diversity and economy of host countries. Yet whilst there are some examples of this idea within the corpus, it is largely overwhelmed by a dominant discourse that portrays immigration as undesirable. This demonstrates that within these UK newspapers, the value of RASIM's lives is represented as secondary to the possible (negative) effects of immigration on host countries, and particularly to residents of the UK.

An alternative possible frame exists in which the movement of RASIM represents their liberation from war and persecution.

This frame would relocate the process of sense making from a political to a humanitarian domain. Social actors would be characterised by way of their humanity and so the value of life would be foregrounded above all else. Expanding the frame of reference beyond immigration in the opening paragraphs of an article to reflect the wider context in which RASIM travel between countries would simultaneously expand the frame of subsequent sense making. For example, linguistic choices that contextualise RASIM's migration within their liberation from persecution, rather than as a crisis or burden for other countries, could guide readers to evaluate subsequent content based upon these additional factors to immigration.

Foregrounding what is shared between RASIM and reader at the most fundamental level, contributes to creating the conditions for universal compassion, in which all people are valued equally, by way of their humanity and universal propensity for suffering.

Frames beyond the subject of immigration are notable in their absence from this corpus. Particular frames that are human-centric, frames of strength, resilience, freedom and the positive contribution that RASIM can offer to host countries are omitted. In order to achieve a more balanced representation, RASIM's own narratives are an essential component of the refugee discourse. These narratives must

extend beyond the perfunctory quotations from refugees, towards narratives that are constructed autonomously and in accordance with RASIM's own purposes. This is likely to expand the content beyond the boundaries of immigration; possibilities include details about their personal and cultural histories, their lives in Syria, their experiences, fears, hopes and so on. RASIM will write about issues that are salient to them; suffering is thus defined and contextualised by RASIM, using their own language and shaped by their own values and beliefs, instead of by others, for others' purposes or on RASIM's behalf.

The addition of RASIM's own stories would effect some progress in redressing the power imbalance between the media and political elite and RASIM, and would provide a broader frame for the public to make sense of their experiences. Moreover, stories narrated in the first person assist the reader in relating to the narrator on a human level; in reading their own words, they are engaging directly with them, and in the absence of a medium.

One of the characteristics that distinguish compassion from similar other-oriented emotions is the desire in the observer to alleviate suffering (Lazarus, 1991; Nussbaum, 2001; Chochinov, 2007; Solomon, 2008; Williams, 2008; Gilbert,

2010; Simpson et al, 2014). Thus, the context in which the desert of compassion is discursively framed is important in informing corresponding prosocial responses. For example, in framing refugees' desert of compassion as being by virtue of Britain's inaction to resettle them in greater numbers, the reader is directed towards corresponding, alleviating actions in the context of immigration policy. The relaxation of immigration policy would lead to the resettlement of greater numbers of Syrian refugees, thus alleviating one kind of suffering. Similarly, UK citizens' desert of compassion is framed elsewhere in relation to RASIM being a potential terrorist threat and so corresponding alleviating actions could include more stringent immigration policies or even closing borders to placate the anxieties of the British public.

Refugee discourses that are inclusive of RASIM's own narratives would expand the context in which the desert of compassion is evaluated. The reader would thus be guided to make sense of the situation within additional frames of understanding, and it is within that broader context that the corresponding responses intended to alleviate suffering would be determined. To illustrate, refugees' narratives describing their experiences of ill health in cramped refugee camps would contextualise both suffering and the corresponding responses within that sphere of concern. The reader is directed to

possible causal explanations which may include overcrowded and unsanitary conditions. Corresponding remedies are likely to relate to improvements in hygiene, protected spaces and access to basic healthcare. Or, a story explaining the frustrations asylum seekers experience in not being able to work and provide for their families, makes way for an alternative discourse to asylum seekers as 'scroungers' of the welfare state, which provokes different emotional and cognitive responses. Corresponding solutions may be more concerned with enabling productivity in the refugee community, instead of restricting immigration numbers.

In expanding the refugee discourse to include RASIM's own narratives, they are more likely to be positioned more centrally on a continuum, in which they present neither obvious threat, nor are to be dehumanised through pity.

Stories that focus on human experiences are likely to include content and characteristics with which readers can more readily relate through the shared experience of being human. Thus, the power imbalance is moderated, enabling conditions in which universal compassion can thrive.

9.11. Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how RASIM are constructed as deserving of compassion or otherwise within a frame and

according to a debate about immigration policy. Whilst RASIM are central to the debate, they are simultaneously marginalised and excluded from it. It has also been shown that UK citizens - and by association UK newspaper readers - are constructed as deserving of compassion by virtue of the threat that RASIM pose to their social, cultural and political norms. This chapter has argued that the expansion of narratives to include RASIM's own perspectives would simultaneously expand readers' frame of understanding, interpretation and explanation of events to shape judgements about the desert of compassion. The next, final chapter summarises the study findings and offers implications for practice and opportunities for future research.

10. Concluding remarks

10.1. Introduction

In this final chapter, I revisit the key claims of the study, apropos the question of 'who deserves compassion, according to whom and upon what basis?' in a corpus of UK newspaper reports about the Syrian refugee crisis. I subsequently contextualise these claims within the existing research relating to both the desert of compassion and the discursive representation of RASIM and demonstrate the additional, original contribution this thesis makes. I then discuss the study findings in terms of their implications for public policy, and draw attention to opportunities created by the study findings for healthcare practice to create the conditions for a universal tradition of compassion. I conclude by acknowledging limitations of the study and offering recommendations for further research.

10.2. Key claims

The findings of this study demonstrate that in a corpus of UK newspaper reports concerning Syrian RASIM published between October 2014 and September 2016, it is 'victims' who are constructed as deserving compassion by individuals or groups in positions of power, specifically news media writers, politicians or activists. The desert base for

compassion is represented through linguistic strategies that attribute social actors with more or less agency and responsibility in relation to suffering and which construct the extent to which RASIM behave in accordance with 'acceptable' social, moral and political norms within a broader frame of immigration.

10.3. Contextualising findings within existing research literature

The studies included in the scoping review were concerned with how study participants perceived various groups as more or less deserving of compassion, whereas this study investigated how language choices construct RASIM as deserving of compassion or otherwise. Findings can therefore be discussed in both contexts; research investigating the representation of RASIM in news media and research investigating the desert of compassion, each of which will be discussed in what follows.

10.3.1. The representation of RASIM in news media

This study's finding that RASIM's own narratives are absent from the corpus supports claims made in other research investigating the representation of RASIM in news media (Rajaram, 2002; Mohd Don & Lee, 2014; Chouliaraki &

Zaborowski, 2017). Furthermore, the dehumanisation of RASIM through the representational strategies of aggregation, collectivisation and the emphasis of difference to host nation citizens is also consistent with other research studies (Bailey & Harindranath, 2005; Lueck et al, 2015; Boeva, 2016; Abid et al, 2017). Metaphor, which functions in this study to construct immigration as an overwhelming problem and a potential threat to host countries is another common referential strategy found in other research (Charteris-Black, 2006; Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017). Finally, the representation of RASIM as terrorists is also evident in the research literature, with particular reference afforded to the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the USA and more recent attacks carried out in Paris (Plascencia, 2017; Vollmer & Karakayali, 2018). That my own study's findings are largely consistent with these other studies underlines how narrow the representation of RASIM has been across a decade's worth of data, and shows how their representation hinges around a few central linguistic tropes. Furthermore, this study has revealed that even in those publications that claim to be sympathetic to Syrian refugees and overstate their status as victims, they are nonetheless represented first and foremost as a collective burden to other countries.

10.3.2. The desert of compassion

Findings of this study are consistent with the existing literature in a number of ways. First, it is implicit in the existing literature that the desert of compassion is determined by people in positions of power and privilege. In the present study, the media's control over access to storytelling entails that RASIM are represented through the lenses of powerful individuals or groups. In the scoping review literature, study participants, that is, those making judgements about the desert of compassion were predominantly individuals who could reasonably be perceived as being in more privileged positions than the subject populations (Markham & Trower, 2003; Idisis et al, 2007; Hager, 2008; Brandt, 2013).

Second, in the existing research, study participants' attributions of responsibility for the cause of suffering represent a significant desert base for compassion. Where the objects of compassion judgements were perceived to be in control of and so responsible for their suffering, they were more frequently distinguished as undeserving of compassion. Conversely, where other agents or forces were perceived as the cause of suffering, responsibility was externally attributed and the objects of the study were more frequently determined as deserving compassion (Appelbaum, 2002; Channon et al,

2010; Aaroe & Petersen, 2014; Simpson et al, 2014). This present study identified various referential strategies that function to construct RASIM as more or less agentic in action, where agency implies responsibility for their own or others' suffering and where passivity characterises victimhood. In this study, it is victim status that qualifies a social actor as being deserving of compassion, even though this status is the product of linguistic choices used in the representation of news events rather than inherent in the events themselves.

The scoping review also revealed that study participants made judgements about the desert of compassion in keeping with what is perceived acceptable or otherwise, within various social, political, cultural and religious conventions or belief systems. For example, people with HIV or AIDS were perceived as undeserving of compassion by participants who judged them as behaving contrary to their beliefs about homosexuality and gender roles (Norman et al, 2006; Grubb & Turner, 2012; Hosseinzadeh et al, 2012). This indicates how dominant discourses can legitimise behaviours as 'right' or 'wrong' within various societal conventions. In my own study, RASIM are represented within a principal frame of immigration, so judgements about the desert of compassion are likely to be made within constructed accounts of immigration and its participants. This demonstrates how a

powerful social institution such as the news media can create a particular discourse that presents immigration and its participants in a particular way, and so shape readers' judgements about RASIM according to that version of the truth.

10.4. Contribution to research

The original contribution that this study makes to the existing literature is in combining the research disciplines of linguistics and health and social sciences. Techniques from corpus linguistics have enabled the examination of a large number of texts to identify patterns of collocation repeated over hundreds of texts, which would otherwise go unnoticed. These patterns, when used again and again function to link concepts in the minds of readers to produce the discourses identified in this corpus (Baker, 2006).

Whilst these findings add to the existing literature base investigating the representation of RASIM in news media, the study extends beyond linguistic research to include a critical analysis of how referential strategies employed in the corpus function to construct social actors as deserving compassion or otherwise. This study has drawn on traditions of compassion and theories of desert to construct a formula for the desert of compassion. This formula has provided the basis for a critical

discussion, in which I have shown how linguistic choices represent RASIM as more or less agentic and according to social, religious and cultural practices. These representations appeal both cognitively and emotionally to readers to promote the formation of causal explanations, direct attributions of responsibility and ultimately, shape judgements about the desert of compassion.

Since the construction of phenomena such as health, illness, poverty and so on, and the institutions in which they are both produced and legitimised have the capacity to inform social practice, the implications of this study for practice as well as the opportunities for developing practice are discussed in the following section.

10.5. Implications for practice

As previously discussed, the news media is a powerful social institution in the production and dissemination of texts (Foucault, 1972). It is therefore well positioned to inform cultural, social and political practice through its representation of events and Syrian RASIM (Reah, 1998; Fairclough, 2001; Bailey & Harindranath, 2005; Kosho, 2016).

This study has demonstrated how the representation of RASIM has the capacity to contribute to discourses about immigration. Two discourses prevailed in this corpus; 'RASIM

are passive victims', typically occurring in politically left-leaning publications and 'RASIM are a threat to UK citizens', typically occurring in politically right-leaning newspapers. Since in this corpus right-leaning publications dominate in terms of readership reach, a discourse in which immigration – and by association RASIM – represents a threat to UK citizens more easily becomes the normalised way of both framing and understanding RASIM. The implications for practice offered by each of these discourses are discussed in the following section.

10.5.1. RASIM as an agentive threat

I have claimed in this thesis, that a dominant discourse in which RASIM represent a threat to UK citizens is likely to stimulate fear in readers, and to promote attitudes and behaviours that are more concerned with self-preservation than compassion towards RASIM (Chilton, 2004; Goetz et al, 2010). Since RASIM's threat is presented within a frame of immigration, the most obvious means by which UK citizens can alleviate their fear is through exercising their right to vote for political parties whose manifestos embrace stringent immigration policies. Rather than being concerned with developing processes that humanise and show compassion to RASIM, restrictive immigration policy favours practice that

promotes strict border control, a restriction in the numbers of asylum seekers being granted refugee status, and rigorous security processes intended to respond to potential terrorist threats. Collectively, these processes create a 'hostile environment' for asylum seekers, in which the process of seeking and obtaining refugee status is plagued by obstacles and exposure to additional and often prolonged suffering (Goodfellow, 2019).

A hostile immigration policy functions to limit the provision of, and RASIM's access to, services that enable the immigration process and meet their fundamental needs (Goodfellow, 2019). When asylum seekers are unable to access education, they have fewer opportunities to learn English. Living conditions in which they are ghettoised means that they are isolated from the wider community and less able to form relationships beyond the refugee population, which correspondingly functions to sustain their segregation. Since asylum seekers are not permitted to work, lengthy asylum processes contribute to a public perception of them as parasites of the state. That is to say, restrictive immigration policy functions to sustain and perpetuate the idea that RASIM represent a problem to the UK and so they remain marginalised.

A restrictive immigration policy stance is incommensurate with the fundamental principles of public service provision; the NHS is based on principles of inclusivity and includes 'everyone counts' in its constitutional values (Department of Health & Social Care, 2015). Professionals working within public service practice according to principles of compassion and are professionally obliged to challenge disadvantage and discriminatory attitudes and behaviours (Nursing & Midwifery Council, 2015; Social Work England, 2019). Consequently, public policy that is incommensurate with such values creates a tension between personal and professional obligations and the interests of the state; human practice becomes political (Arnot, 2009).

Despite the conflict between policy and personal and professional values, policy nevertheless has the capacity to influence the perceptions, behaviours and attitudes of people working in public services. Thus, when influenced by a discourse that constructs RASIM as a threat, whilst some professionals may adhere to practice that is consistent with their core obligations of inclusivity and compassion, others may concede to the normalised view and to practices that are more consistent with self-preservation than compassion. This can lead to hostile policy manifesting in public service provision, and uncompassionate practice.

10.5.2. RASIM as passive victims

Whilst the dominant discourse in this corpus was one of RASIM as a threat to UK citizens, there nevertheless exists a discourse in politically left-leaning publications in which RASIM are victims and accordingly represented as deserving compassion. Since in restrictive immigration policy, resettlement and access to health and social care services are limited to the most vulnerable and 'at risk' people seeking asylum, it is in RASIM's own interests to be perceived as victims.

For example, in accessing Europe, children, people with disabilities or mental illness, victims of torture and sexual violence are granted specific rights and safeguards in the asylum process under EU law (European Council on Refugees and Exiles, 2017). The UK's Syrian Vulnerable Person Resettlement Programme similarly prioritises elderly and disabled refugees and victims of sexual violence or torture for resettlement in the UK (McGuinness, 2017). It is thus beneficial to RASIM to perform in ways that suppress their strengths and emphasise characteristics and behaviours that are indicative of helplessness, in order to be granted asylum (Huschke, 2014).

Whilst characteristics of victimhood may aid the pursuit of gaining asylum, they are inconsistent with strategies that positively support the integration of refugees into UK communities. Such strategies are concerned with developing language skills, social connections, leaders in refugee communities and access to the labour market (Coley et al, 2019). This necessitates that to persuade those in positions of power and authority that they deserve compassion, RASIM must simultaneously suppress the qualities that promote their health and wellbeing, for to demonstrate autonomy and agency is to remove them from their role as victims.

10.5.3. Implications for mental health practice

Many asylum seekers and refugees have been exposed to traumatic experiences, whether in their own country, during their journey or following arrival in a host country (Regel & Joseph, 2017). These experiences can lead to mental health problems including anxiety, depression and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Regel & Joseph, 2017). Restrictive immigration policy is therefore likely to affect RASIM's access to therapies, interpreting services, social support and specialist knowledge and interventions surrounding survivors of torture and organised violence. In other words, restrictive immigration policy limits RASIM's access to those services and

support systems that contribute to mental wellbeing and alleviate mental illness. Since social support has been identified as one of the most important factors mediating the development of mental health problems as a consequence of trauma (Regel & Joseph, 2017), an environment in which asylum seekers and refugees face marginalisation and discrimination is likely to lead to a poorer prognosis.

Since in this corpus, RASIM are represented within a principal frame of immigration, it is conceivable that in the absence of alternative frames, RASIM are politicised in mental health practice. A predominant representation of RASIM as a political threat to UK citizens creates a tension between the values that underpin the NHS constitution and mental health professional practice, and immigration policy. This tension plays out in mental health practice, in which practitioners seek to either challenge discriminatory policy or practices or conform to the prevailing societal representation of RASIM as less deserving of compassion and care than UK citizens.

It is helpful to discuss this phenomenon in the context of my observations made in the introductory chapter of this thesis; that people with mental health problems appear to be perceived as more or less deserving of compassion, according to a prevailing discourse of mental illness and diagnosis.

Whilst psychiatry is the normalised way of constructing and responding to mental health problems, there nevertheless exist competing views, for example, one in which mental health problems are understood in the context of trauma histories (Dillon et al, 2012). Whilst this competing account of mental health problems exists, it is suppressed to a large extent by institutions that occupy power in mental health practice and legitimise the psychiatry model through policy, substantially funded research and professional discourses.

Many professionals in mental health accept the psychiatry model as normal and are unaware of competing discourses. However, there are also many practitioners who support this alternative frame of understanding, yet are unable to penetrate the discourse of mental illness, so that practitioners have little option but to conform to what is perceived as the normative way of understanding mental health problems. It is reasonable to think that a discourse which represents RASIM as a threat to the UK is likely to shape practice in similar ways. That is, some practitioners may accept this prevailing view that RASIM pose a threat to the UK and practice in ways that perpetuate it. Or, practitioners may be at odds with the view but feel powerless to challenge it in their own practice.

The representation of RASIM as victims, whilst less apparent, was nevertheless evident in the corpus. The aim of mental health care is to promote independence and self-efficacy in people who access services (National Institute for Health & Care Excellence, 2011). Since it is victims that deserve compassion, this would suggest that RASIM are perceived as deserving of compassion when passive, helpless patients. As they gain agency and autonomy in their mental health, they simultaneously progress along the continuum towards a perceived position of threat to those who hold power in mental health practice, the professional 'experts'. This resonates with my earlier observations in mental health practice, wherein people who behave in ways that do not conform to practitioners' belief systems about the use of substances for example, are represented as undeserving of compassion.

The implications for RASIM then, are that whilst they conform to the expected norms of behaviour in terms of their status as refugees or asylum seekers, as well as the norms of the helpless patient, they are more likely to be perceived as deserving of compassion and so benefit from compassionate mental health practice. This produces a situation in which in order to remain deserving of compassion, RASIM must also remain victims.

10.6. Opportunities for practice

As previously described, CDA is concerned with investigating how power relations are expressed, legitimised and perpetuated through language for the purposes of social action (van Dijk, 1993; Weiss & Wodak, 2003; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Baker et al, 2013; Waugh et al, 2015). This study has revealed that Syrian RASIM's desert of compassion is represented through the lens of other, more powerful social actors, and according to ideologies about immigration.

Considered in the context of the aims of CDA, the knowledge that a power differential exists in judgements of compassion represents the basis for subsequent action; in knowing what is unjust, the pursuit of justice is enabled through social action.

As previously described, a key factor informing social action is the understanding that multiple possible discourses can exist at any one time (Fairclough, 2001; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Burr, 2015). Whilst the representation of RASIM as a threat prevails in this corpus, it is nevertheless one of many. Since particular discourses dominate in particular social conditions, the capacity therefore exists for competing discourses to come to power through social change (Foucault, 1972; Burr, 2015).

Social action in this context, involves creating spaces and gaining access to forums that provide opportunities for other

participants to have their say. Despite the powerful position that news media occupies as a producer and distributor of news, alternative social platforms exist through which RASIM and other, marginalised groups are represented. The proliferation of various social media platforms such as Twitter as a means to distribute news provides one such opportunity to publish narratives from a wider range of perspectives. Furthermore, access to these platforms is not restricted to those in positions of power and so they provide a more equal basis upon which news is produced and disseminated. Many community-based initiatives also exist, which create a medium through which RASIM's own narratives can be expressed through art, poetry, photography, stories and so on. Refugee week, held at the time of World Refugee Day on 20th June provides an opportunity for RASIM to actively participate in a nationwide programme of arts, cultural and educational events that celebrate the contribution of refugees to the UK. Furthermore, this event aims to promote a better understanding of why people seek sanctuary (Refugee Week, 2015).

These vehicles provide an opportunity for alternative ways of knowing RASIM that go beyond the frame of immigration and account for RASIM's own perspectives. In creating space for these perspectives to be both produced and received, there

corresponds the possibility for RASIM to be represented in ways other than by their differences, to include their human qualities, experiences, and the ways in which they perceive themselves. They are thus constructed as neither threat nor victim but aligned with the shared characteristics and experiences of being human. This representation is more affiliated to a universal tradition of compassion, in which a person is perceived as deserving of compassion by virtue of their humanity and the shared potential for suffering.

The dominance of a medical frame of understanding mental health problems can be diffused by means of the same principles. This thesis has demonstrated how language choices are fundamental to shaping perceptions about the cause of suffering and subsequent judgements about deserving compassion. Supported by both vision and leadership, these insights offer an opportunity to develop and introduce alternative ways of understanding and responding to mental health problems. A narrative approach to practice, in which mental health problems are produced and understood within the person's own frame of reference, expands the possible ways in which mental health professionals both relate and respond to them (Charon, 2001). Narrative-based practice offers the potential to create more humanistic ways of understanding people and their experiences, to challenge the

hostile environment and create or contribute to alternative discourses of the desert of compassion.

10.7. Study strengths

One strength of this study is the operationalisation of the desert of compassion as a discrete phenomenon. The scoping review presented at the outset of this research study revealed how, in the existing literature, the desert of compassion is only loosely defined. Establishing a formulaic definition of the desert of compassion has enabled a critical discussion as to its application in newspaper reports about Syrian RASIM, according to the characteristics of both desert and compassion as described in their respective theories.

A second strength of the study is the combination of corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis as a methodology. A corpus-assisted approach has enabled the analysis of a substantially greater number of texts than would have been feasible in conducting a critical discourse study methodology alone. Moreover, I am able to claim with confidence that my decisions to follow the various courses of analysis were informed by the objective data generated through keyword, cluster and collocate lists. These early stages of data analysis and particularly collocate analysis, in which repeated occurrences of patterns of language were identified, were

fundamental in directing the subsequent qualitative analysis and the identification of the various discourses described within this thesis.

10.8. Study limitations

There are some limitations to this study that require acknowledgement. Firstly, findings revealed that people are represented first and foremost by means of their immigration status. Since the search design included *refugee*, *asylum seeker*, *immigrant* and *migrant* as query words in creating the corpus, any claims about prevailing representation must take this into account. However, the benefits of an inductive approach to corpus analysis drew attention to additional words, notably *people* and *children* that occurred with high frequency and saliency and so were included in analysis. Furthermore, findings demonstrated that a prevailing representation of RASIM as immigrants extended beyond the use of specific legal terms to include how these function in context by means of representational strategies such as metaphor and aggregation.

The time limitation of a PhD study and space limits of a thesis inevitably required decisions to be made regarding which linguistic patterns to explore and which to omit. These decisions were largely informed by the corpus driven analysis,

in which the most frequent and salient linguistic patterns directed the course of investigation so that findings were grounded in objective data on word frequencies. However, the large amount of data meant that each keyword list and collocate list generated multiple opportunities for interrogation and the choice to pursue some patterns rather than others unavoidably resulted in missed opportunities. Some of these opportunities for investigation have been identified and acknowledged through the course of the thesis. For example, the word *crisis* was high in both frequency and keyness and interrogation of how this word functioned in context could offer additional insights in relation to how the crisis was characterised and any associated implications for agency and responsibility. Alternatively, fewer query words could have been included for investigation and analysed in more detail. For example, I could have explored the words *migrant* and *refugee*, to compare and contrast how each was represented as more or less deserving of compassion.

Although the study is only concerned with newspaper publications there are other forms of media prevalent in communicating global events, as previously highlighted. These other media provide a platform for subsequent public debate surrounding RASIM, which enable a real-time dialogue between multiple participants that is absent in newspaper

reporting. Thus, the context in which RASIM are discussed in these media may extend beyond the subject of immigration and include a greater range of voices than was found in this corpus.

Finally, the Syrian conflict began in 2011 and continues at the time of this thesis submission; this study therefore does not capture the full scope of newspaper representation of RASIM within the duration of the conflict. Since findings in this study demonstrate a temporal variation in linguistic choices, it is likely that events of great political significance, such as Brexit and the Trump presidency, will have informed how newspapers represent RASIM beyond 2016 (Maccaferri, 2019).

10.9. Opportunities for research

Given some of the study limitations described in section 10.7 future research could investigate both how RASIM are constructed in other forms of media, and beyond the timeframe included within this thesis. Furthermore, multiple opportunities remain to interrogate the corpus according to the choices acknowledged in the previous section.

This study could be replicated to investigate how Syrian RASIM are represented in social media content. This would reveal whether or not the desert of compassion is determined within unequal power relations in this context, or whether a

greater range of voices is included. Particularly, it would reveal the extent to which RASIM's own narratives are included in social media. Since social media offers the capacity for real-time dialogue, this also provides the opportunity to investigate how the representation of RASIM is perceived by others. Moreover, it would be interesting to establish the frames in which Syrian RASIM are represented and whether these extend beyond the sphere of immigration.

The timeframe of texts included in the corpus ends shortly after the UK voted to leave the European Union in a national referendum, a decision that is likely to be fundamental to public perceptions about immigration and RASIM. Since this study identified a pattern to linguistic choices as the timeframe progressed, it is expected that this political event would be reflected in news media's linguistic representation of RASIM in the period following the referendum, up to and beyond execution of Brexit. An extension of the study in terms of the timeframe would therefore be helpful in establishing how this event shaped news media discourses and their representations of RASIM as deserving of compassion or otherwise.

Since this study has established that leading representations of RASIM offer implications for both policy and practice, there

is an opportunity for research to investigate the consequences for RASIM, in terms of their experiences and their mental wellbeing. Studies that explore RASIM's experiences of mental health services, practitioners' attitudes as well as clinical outcomes, could contribute to our understanding of how prevailing linguistic representations of RASIM as more or less deserving of compassion have the capacity to inform their subjective and objective experiences of mental health care.

Finally, since the Syrian refugee crisis remains an ongoing humanitarian catastrophe, an ongoing programme of research is needed to understand the multiple ways in which it is represented to global publics, the way these representations are mediated by other political events, and the far reaching consequences of those representations in numerous areas of social organisation in countries where Syrian refugees are received and may eventually settle.

Glossary of technical terms

Aggregation	The representation of social actors by means of statistics.
Cluster	When one or more words occur adjacent to the query word in a text. For example, a search for two-word clusters of the query word <i>more</i> , would include <i>more than</i> , whilst a search for three-word clusters would include <i>more than enough</i> . Computer software can be set to identify the size of cluster
Collectivisation	The representation of actors according to a shared characteristic
Collocate	A word that regularly appears near to a query word in a corpus to the extent that the relationship is calculated as statistically significant
Collocation	The occurrence in which a word is situated near to a query word in a corpus to the extent that the relationship is calculated as statistically significant
Collocational span	When searching for collocates, the collocational span determines the number of words to be included to the left and right of a query word

Concordance	A list of a single word or phrase as it occurs in context within the corpus. Computer software can be set to include the number of words included to the left and to the right of the word or phrase, and the function to sort adjacent words alphabetically aids the identification of patterns in texts
Corpus	A body of naturally occurring written or spoken language
Frequency list	A computer-generated list of every word that occurs in a corpus, which can be sorted according to the frequency with which it occurs, or alphabetically
Functionalisation	The representation of social actors according to what they do, for example as politicians or as journalists
Keyword	A word that occurs with unusual frequency or infrequency in one corpus when compared with a second, reference corpus
Lemma	The 'headword' of a set of words in its various forms. The lemma is the form in which a word will occur in a dictionary. For example, <i>allow</i> is the lemma of the words <i>allows</i> , <i>allowed</i> and <i>allowing</i>

Lexical word	A word that relates to the vocabulary of a language, including nouns, adjectives and verbs
Log likelihood	The statistical probability that a word occurs with greater/lesser frequency in a corpus, when compared to a reference corpus
Query word	The word in a corpus being used as the focus for analysis. For example, in a search for collocates of the word <i>refugee</i> , the query word is <i>refugee</i>
Reference corpus	A second corpus against which the main corpus is compared, in order to establish whether, and to what extent, the main corpus deviates from linguistic norms
Semantic prosody	The negative or positive meaning acquired by the repeated association of a particular (query) word with other word(s). For example, when the query word <i>cause</i> collocates repeatedly with negative words such as <i>problems</i> , <i>difficulties</i> or <i>conflict</i> , it suggests a negative semantic prosody
Specialised corpus	A corpus comprising purposively-selected texts that represent a specific genre of language
Sub-corpus	The main corpus may be divided into a smaller sub-corpus (plural sub-corpora) according to specific criteria.

	For example, each sub-corpus may include texts of a specific language, media publication, or time period
Suppression	The omission or backgrounding of social actors or characteristics from representation
Text	A newspaper article (in this context)
Token	A word within a text. For example, the sentence 'half the islanders want to welcome the refugees, while the other half is worried' contains a total of 14 tokens.
T-score	The statistical probability of two words occurring together within a defined collocational span
T-test	A statistical calculation to determine the t-score value
Word type	A distinct word within a text. For example, the sentence 'half the islanders want to welcome the refugees, while the other half is worried' contains 11 word types as <i>the</i> and <i>half</i> occur three times and twice respectively

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Appendix: Scoping Review Chart

Author	Population studied	Aims/nature of study	Participants	Themes	Desert base
Aalberg et al, 2011	Immigrants	To establish the basis upon which people evaluate the case for immigration in individuals	Quasi-representative national sample of Norwegian population (1000)	Economic factors more important than cultural	Personal responsibility for economic background
Aaroe & Petersen 2014	Welfare claimants	Investigate stereotypes in recipient effort	parallel online web surveys, USA (1009) & Denmark (1006)	USA – welfare recipients 'lazy' Denmark – welfare recipients 'unlucky' But stereotypes are overridden by specific information about individuals	Personal effort
Andreychik & Gill 2012	Racial outgroups	Hypothesises that external explanations of outgroup status and action shapes 'negative' associations as prejudiced- or empathy-based	4 studies: 1. 69 white Uni grads 2. 44 white Uni grads 3. 50 white Uni grads 4. 57 Uni grads	Hypothesis supported – attitudes influenced by explanations of suffering	Attributions according to social norms/stereotypes/ prejudices
Appelbaum 2001	The 'poor'	How do participants distinguish between deserving and undeserving poor	sample of 170 from respondents of surveys distributed at shopping malls/car	Disabled – deserving Able-bodied –undeserving Liberal – deserving Conservative – undeserving	Attributions of responsibility for poverty

			centres /airports/train stations		
Appelbaum 2002	People in need of social aid	Hypothesised that people perceived as responsible for circumstances would be perceived as undeserving, whilst those perceived not responsible, would be deserving	1881 students responding to surveys distributed across 14 universities in Germany	Hypothesis upheld	Attributions of responsibility for circumstances
Arnot et al 2009	Asylum-seeker & refugee children	To explore teachers' concepts of compassion and responses to the needs of asylum-seeker and refugee children	4-5 teachers from each of 3 schools	Incommensurate moral and political agendas lie at the heart of society	Education policy Morals
Batson et al 1997	3 studies: 1. women with AIDS 2. Homeless man 3. convicted murderer	Hypothesised that feeling empathy for an individual member of a stigmatised group can improve attitudes towards the group as a whole	1. 96 Uni psychology students 2. 46 Uni psychology students 3. 60 Uni psychology students	Hypothesis supported	Empathic connection with the individual
Batson et al 1999	Homosexual men	Investigate the relationship between conventional religious values and compassionate acts	90 undergraduate Uni students	Participants scoring high on measures of devout, intrinsic religion helped the gay discloser less than the non-gay, even when their help would not promote homosexuality	Religious beliefs/conventions

Batson et al 2002	Drug addict	Hypothesised that the eliciting of participants' empathy towards an individual drug addict would influence attitudes towards the group as a whole, and that this would translate into actions on behalf of the stigmatised group	54 psychology students	Hypothesis was supported	Empathic connection with the individual
Batson et al 2008	Religiously closed-minded people	Investigate whether those high in quest religion will fail to show compassion to those who espouse religious intolerance	60 psychology students	Quest religion is associated with antipathy towards the act of closed-mindedness, not antipathy towards closed-minded people	Religious conventions
Borchard 2000	Homeless men	Establish how homeless men are represented with fear or sympathy in media texts	News media	Represented with characteristics that suggest either fear or sympathy Influenced social policy	Attributions of responsibility for homelessness
Brandt 2013	People experiencing home foreclosures	Who deserves assistance in home foreclosures	Representative population sample (1225)	Ideological differences in perceived controllability, anger, and sympathy mediated the relationship between ideology and personal assistance and partially mediated the relationship between ideology and government assistance.	Political perspective Attributions of responsibility for circumstances

Channon et al 2010	Car drivers involved in accidents	To examine reasoning in wrongdoing	20 participants with Autistic Spectrum disorder (ASD) 20 'healthy' participants	Judgement and sympathy for a car driver causing harm to another was moderated in accordance with perceived degree of control (driver explanation more significant for ASD participants)	Perceived degree of control over actions
Christenson 1976	People/groups perceived to be 'in need of help'	Does religious involvement instill a greater sense of social compassion	3115 survey respondents of 'heads of households'	Church attendance not a basis for compassion, but the moral value of helping others was	Moral values
Cobb & de Chabert 2002	People with HIV or AIDS (PWA)	To examine the beliefs of social service providers who work directly with PWA	46 HIV/AIDS service responders	Increased anger, blame and less willingness to help towards those perceived to be responsible for illness	Attributions of responsibility
van Dijk et al 2009	High/low achieving students	Hypothesises that people experience less schadenfreude and more sympathy toward high achievers with deserved achievements who suffer misfortunes as opposed to those with undeserved achievements	92 representative of general population	Hypothesis supported	Effort/misfortunes (ie. internal & external attributions)
Fehse et al 2015	People experiencing events generally	Investigate the neural correlates of compassion, particularly in relation to attributions of responsibility for suffering	18 subjects	Regulatory mechanisms of compassion are related to the perception of responsibility	Attributions of responsibility

	perceived as negative				
Gill & Andreychik 2007	Black people	Investigates whether social explanations are associated with prejudice-related compunctions	121 undergraduate students	Participants who believed in external explanations for suffering are more likely to feel guilt for prejudices	Attributions of responsibility
Gill et al 2013	African Americans	Examines why explanations affect emotions, with a specific focus on how external explanations for negative aspects of an outgroup can create compassion for the outgroup	2 studies: 1. 105 white undergrad students 2. 84 white undergrad students	Whilst attributions of control of suffering mediate compassion, so do external explanations for suffering	Attributions of control Extent of suffering
Goldfried & Miner 2002	Religious fundamentalists	Explores whether religious questing orientation is unprejudiced showing tolerance for people to a degree that suggests universal, rather than circumscribed, compassion	90 undergraduate students	Participants scoring high in religious questing helped the discloser who held a religious fundamentalist belief style less than the discloser who did not, irrespective of whether they promoted religious fundamentalist behavior or not	Religious conventions
Gollust & Lynch 2011	Individuals with diabetes and heart disease	Investigates the impact of cues about ascriptive group characteristics (race, class, gender) and the causes of ill health on	Survey respondents representative of American adults (3010)	Beliefs about social groups and causal attributions are tightly intertwined	Attributions of responsibility Race, class gender

		deservedness for medical aid			
Greitemeyer & Rudolph 2003	People experiencing various negative events	To provide a synthesis of the analyses of prosocial and antisocial behavior from an attributional viewpoint	408 students	<p>A positive relation existed between perceived controllability and anger, and a negative relation between controllability and sympathy.</p> <p>Help-giving thoughts determined what we feel, feelings determine what we do, whilst for aggression, an additional influence of thoughts on action was present</p>	Attributions of control
Grubb & Turner 2012	Rape victims	A literature review examining the effects of key factors that influence individuals' attitudes to rape	Literature review	<p>Men showed higher rape myth acceptance and attributed higher levels of blame to victims than women</p> <p>Women who violate traditional gender roles and consumed alcohol prior to attack attributed more blame.</p>	Attributions of responsibility
Guimond et al 1989	Poverty, unemployment & inferior	Two studies tested predictions derived from a theory proposing that judgments about the	2 studies: 1. 675 students 2. 188 social science students from study 1	Attributions are constructed in accordance with the ideology of the social group	Attributions of responsibility Social conventions

	economic circumstances	causes of a social problem do not merely reflect various motivational or cognitive biases but result from socialization in a particular culture	& 110 young, unemployed individuals	with which one is associated.	
Hager 2008	Perpetrators of infanticide (2) in 1870's	Microhistory of depositions/ documents & reports – An exploration of the attitude of the English legal system toward mothers who killed their offspring in the late nineteenth century	English legal system	Higher levels of compassion shown to middle class widow than lower class unmarried woman	Class social conventions
Higgins & Shaw 1999	6 different negative situations	Investigate how individuals' attributional styles informed perceptions and helping behaviours to people in need	160 university students	Non-negligent subjects were helped more than negligent subjects under conditions of high and low controllability Attributional style of potential helpers moderated helping	Attributions of control Attributional styles
Hosseinzadeh et al 2012	PWHA	Explores the factors that contribute to the formation of stigma in HIV/AIDS population	236 Iranian adult migrants of Muslim faith in Sydney, Australia	Overall, participants had negative feelings toward people with HIV/AIDS (PWHA); they were in favour of punitive policies against them and were	Moral conventions Religious conventions Cultural conventions

				more likely to avoid having contact with people who had contracted HIV/AIDS.	
Huschke 2014	Latin American Migrants in Germany with no health insurance	Hypothesises that power inequalities between volunteers/physicians and migrant patients, the patients have to behave in ways that show they are helpless in suffering, rather than empowered individuals to receive aid	25-30 NGO volunteers & 35 Latin American migrants	Patients performed in ways to emphasise their need Physicians make judgements about desert according to perceptions of wealth/behaviour & other social markers	Social conventions
Idisis et al 2007	Rape victims	Explore attributions of blame in four rape scenarios	36 therapists 36 non-therapists 50:50 gender	Overall slight general tendency to blame the victim Men attributed less blame to male victims than women did Women attributed less blame to female victims than men did	Gender Attributions of blame
Jeene 2013	Disability pension recipients	To determine the influence of structural and cultural factors on deservingness criteria	1760 representative sample of Netherlands adult population	Age, lower levels of education, unemployment and lower income influences desert	Attributions of control, moderated by social conventions
Jeene et al 2014	Disabled, elderly, people needing social assistance	Investigates how deservingness opinions react to changing socio-economic, political and		Economic growth/downfall & unemployment rates influenced perceptions of deservingness of aid	political and social conventions

		institutional developments in society			
Lawson 2003	Pregnant women	Deservingness of sympathy and social aid amongst pregnant women who chose to/not to use prenatal diagnostic testing to establish presence of disabilities	281 Uni employees 341 physicians	Women who chose not to continue a pregnancy following a diagnosis (of disability) were judged more responsible, more to blame and less deserving than women to whom testing was not made available	attributions of control
Leavey et al 2011	People who died by suicide	A needs assessment of clergy's pastoral response to mental illness and suicide	37 Clergy of Christian denominations in Northern Ireland	Participants believed in life being sacred in accordance with Christianity but reframed suicide as a product of mental illness, showing compassion and forgiveness with sin and shame absent	Religious conventions
Markham & Trower 2003	Patients diagnosed with borderline personality disorder	To evaluate the effects of the label Borderline Personality Disorder on staff attitudes and perceptions	50 mental health nurses & 21 health care assistants working within mental health inpatient facilities of an NHS Trust	Patients with a diagnosis of Borderline Personality Disorder were perceived to be more in control of their negative behaviour than patients with schizophrenia or depression	Attributions of control
Menec & Perry 1998	Across 9 stigmas: Blindness Drug addiction	To test the attribution – affect – help judgements towards people across 9	133 introductory psychology Uni students	Higher controllability was linked to greater anger and less pity, and greater pity	Attributions of control (of cause)

	Lung cancer Heart disease Unemployment AIDS Cancer Leg amputation obesity	stigmas, with causation for stigma manipulated		was predictive of greater willingness to help. Anger did not predict help judgements for the majority of the stigmas.	
Norman et al 2006	PWHA	To examine the attitudes of university students in Jamaica toward persons living with HIV, including homosexual men, heterosexual men, women sex workers, other women, and children.	1252 Uni students	Less sympathy towards homosexual men and women sex-workers with AIDS than towards heterosexual men and non sex-worker women living with AIDS	Attributions of control Moral conventions
Paruk et al 2006	PWHA	Investigate the influence of religiosity on attitudes towards PWHA	90 Muslim Uni students	High tolerance towards PWHA though some element of desirability evident No gender differences of tolerance	Social conventions
Petersen et al 2012	Welfare recipients	Hypothesised that the desert of welfare is moderated not only by politics but by anger and compassion in context of evolutionary psychology Investigated phenomenon in countries of different political climate	4 studies: 1. 1537 Danish population 2. 207 Danish Uni students 3. 1537 Danish population	Anger and compassion are causally implicated in the formation of welfare opinions, which have evolved from evolutionary effort & independent of political perspectives	Effort

			4. 274 USA undergraduate students		
Reid 2013	Survivors of hurricane Katrina seeking rental assistance	To investigate how aid is allocated in the contemporary US welfare state (in the context of deservingness) and what consequences this has for marginalised populations	71 people seeking assistance as a consequence of hurricane Katrina	Policies and practices employed by FEMA (government aid) were middle-class oriented, excluding populations culturally characterised as less deserving (poor black people) Policies served to marginalise and exert power over already impoverished cultural groups and populations	Class Social conventions Race
Rokeach 1969 (2 papers, parts 1 & 11)	General population	To determine whether those who are religious have a pattern of values that is distinctively different from those who are less religious and nonreligious	1400 Americans over 21, obtained by the National Opinion Research Centre 300 college students taking an introductory psychology course at Uni	Religious people rated salvation as a value higher than the non-religious and were conservative, generally more indifferent and less sympathetic	Social conventions Race Religious conventions
Rusch et al 2010	People with mental illness	To explore the link between meritocratic world views and mental illness stigma	85 people with mental illness	An endorsement of the protestant ethic is associated with more negative attitudes towards people with mental illness	Justice Religious conventions

				Just world belief for self may help people with mental illness better cope with discrimination, perhaps at the cost of increased blame towards their 'own' group	
Schneider 2010	People with mental illness	To find out how written and spoken language are used to categorise potential residents for supported housing designated for people with severe mental illness	Housing agency representatives (n not given)	Agency representatives 'fit' applicants into the organisation's predetermined categories. The categorisation of the agency representatives produces the meaning of the categories themselves.	Social/illness & helath conventions
Simpson et al 2014	Flood victims (AUS) Orphanage volunteers (UK)	To consider the legitimacy of both receivers and givers of compassion in user comments of news media about two 'events'	News media Courier Mail (AUS) Guardian (UK)	Worthiness of compassion is inversely proportionate to the perceived level of the subject's responsibility for suffering – ie. the more responsible, the less worthy of compassion	Attributions of responsibility
Skinner et al 2007	Dependent drug & alcohol users	Examined the role of values, affect, and deservingness judgments in health professionals' views of patients with stigmatized conditions	277 nurses	Positive affect (sympathy, concern) was correlated with desert of high quality care and negative affect (anger, disappointment) was correlated with desert of low quality care	Social conventions

Skitka 1999	Flood victims	To investigate how public compassion is influenced by ideological attributions of why people need help	1015 adults in USA households	<p>Both conservatives and liberals pay attention to attributional information in making decisions about helping others</p> <p>Conservatives were more likely to respond consistently to suffering in accordance with core values of personal responsibility, blame and deservingness of help, through withholding even immediate humanitarian aid, whilst liberals were more likely to make a considered judgement about whether to respond to attributional information, or whether to respond in accordance with their egalitarian values.</p>	Attributions of responsibility Political conventions
Small 2010	Natural disaster victims	Investigates emotional and prosocial responses and deservingness of sudden and ongoing 'loss', and tests whether victims identified as people or as statistics modifies results	3 studies 1. 121 students/staff at Uni 2. 190 people (population not stated) 3. 165 people (population not stated)	Responses of sympathy, prosocial behaviour, perceptions of deservingness of help were greater from those participants who were faced with victims of sudden loss than those faced with victims of chronic loss	Emotional connection with the subjects suddenness of suffering

				When asked to compare two cases – no differences in sympathy Identifiable victims generated greater sympathy than statistical victim reporting	
Sperry & Siegel 2013	Rape victims	To apply Weiner's attribution model to the literature on rape blame to understand why victim blame impacts credibility and verdict		Sympathy mediated the relationships between perceived victim responsibility and: (a) willingness to help the victim, (b) credibility, and (c) verdict	Attributions of responsibility and blame
Weiner 1980	Students	Six experiments examined the relations of causal attributions and affect to judgments of help giving	3 studies: 1. 30 psychology students 2. 40 psychology students 3. 28 psychology students	Attributions guide our feelings but emotional reactions provide the motor and direction of our behaviour. Lack of effort = perceived controllability = anger = neglect. Lack of ability = perceived uncontrollability = pity = help	Attributions of responsibility Effort Ability
Weiner et al 1988	10 stigmas: Alzheimer's Disease Blindness Vietnam War Syndrome	To examine the perceived controllability and stability of the causes of 10 stigma	2 studies 1. 59 Uni students 2. 320 Uni students	Physically based stigmas were perceived as onset uncontrollable, and elicited pity, no anger, and judgments to help.	Attributions of control (cause of stigma)

	AIDS Cancer Obesity Child abuse Drug abuse Heart disease Paraplegia			<p>Mental-behavioural stigmas were perceived as onset-controllable, and elicited little pity, much anger, and judgments to neglect</p> <p>Physically based stigmas were perceived as stable, or irreversible, whereas mental-behavioural stigmas were generally considered unstable, or reversible. When perceptions of causal controllability were manipulated, attributional shifts resulted in changes in affective responses and behavioural judgments.</p>	
Willen 2012	Unauthorised migrants & immigrants in Tel Aviv	Investigates subjects' moral and juridical rights to healthcare	Unauthorised migrants & immigrants in receipt of healthcare	For most of the participants, public assumptions of unauthorised immigrants as 'freeloaders' were not supported. Rather, the persons stated that they did not expect to receive aid for their health, understood their position within the law and did not refute this.	Humanity Social conventions
Williams 1984	2 studies: 1. Welfare client	Investigate attributions of responsibility and blame	163 students	Attributions for victims are an integral part of ideological orientation	Attributions of responsibility & blame

	2. Victim of theft	according to political ideology		Conservatives more willing than liberals to derogate and blame victims Conservatives are less likely than liberals to express feelings of sympathy and more likely to express disgust	Political conventions
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