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UNIVERSITY OF EAST LONDON

Examining Media's Discursive Constructions of the Windrush Scandal and Affected Commonwealth Citizens

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ABSTRACT

From 2017 onwards it emerged that 1000's of older racialised Commonwealth Citizens had been mis-categorised as 'illegal immigrants' under ever-tightening immigration laws. This 'illegal' status caused holistic harm to the lives of those affected and led to detention and deportation for some. First reported by the Guardian, newspapers were instrumental in exposing what became known as the 'Windrush Scandal'. Due to media and political pressure the 'Windrush Scandal Review' was commissioned and later published in 2020, providing an explanation of the factors leading to the Scandal. With the causes confirmed, this research is interested in how the 'Windrush Scandal' was constructed and those affected positioned in the wake of the report.

A Foucauldian informed discourse analysis was performed on articles published between 2020 and 2023. Four main discourses were interpreted from the analysis concerning Culpability, Injustice, Destruction and lack of Resolution. Those affected were positioned in both passive and active roles with an emphasis on positive attributes implying societal acceptance. Overall, the 'Windrush Scandal' was presented as a limited event, separate from wider questions of racism and immigration. News coverage indicated that the 'Windrush Scandal' was not resolved, causing ongoing distress and further undermining the trust in authority of those affected. The implications of these factors for continued social inequality are discussed and recommendations for further support are made. It is hoped that this research questions taken for granted assumptions; encouraging further enquiry into the impact and further resistance to the contributing factors associated with the 'Windrush Scandal'.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Terms and Abbreviations

Directly affected by the Windrush Scandal (DAWS): This term has been chosen as those affected were not all from the UK Caribbean community.

Home Office (HO)

Post War Caribbean Arrivals (PWCA): This descriptor will be used instead of the 'Windrush Generation'. This term has been chosen as many of those affected by the 'Windrush Scandal' were descendants of the 'Windrush Generation'.

Racialised**:** Where possible, this term will be used to acknowledge race as a construct. It is recognised that 'White' people can also be racialised but, in the context of this paper, this term refers to race as a construct that is used to 'other' those that are not in the dominant group.

United Kingdom: (HO)

UK-Caribbean**:** This descriptor will be used for the wider community, although it is recognised that it is reductive as it does not account for inter-racial heritage and marriage.

'Windrush Scandal' ('WS') This will be abbreviated and marked by apostrophes in recognition that this is a construct.

Windrush Scandal Review (WSR)

Conventions

Terms which are either social constructs or have been lifted from historical analyses using language that may be problematic will be marked by apostrophes. For example, 'Black' or 'White' as an indication of 'race.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Thesis Introduction

Three sisters were walking by a river.

They looked over and saw many babies floating along.

The first sister jumped in to bring the babies to shore but there were too many.

The second sister jumped in to teach the babies how to swim.

The third sister did not enter the water but walked upstream to find out what was causing the babies to fall in.

Adapted parable of the confederated Tribes of Seletz, (Pullam, 2020)

The above parable was chosen as it felt applicable to the profession of clinical psychology. Firstly, we can be asked to respond in the moment of crisis. Secondly, we can be asked to work alongside individuals to help them overcome adversity. Thirdly, we can aim to identify and collectively address systemic factors contributing to conditions that cause distress. In the case of this thesis, I will attempt to emulate the third sister by considering the ways in which mainstream media has constructed the 'Windrush Scandal' ('WS') in the wake of the Windrush Scandal Review ('WSR'). I will also consider how those affected by the 'WS' have been positioned by the coverage. Based on the premise that social inequalities can be constructed and maintained by discourse, it is hoped that this research will provide a space to think about the power relations present in the coverage of the 'WS' and the implications of these for those affected.

1.2. Overview of Introduction

In the following paragraphs, I will begin by providing an overview of the political background and emergence of the 'WS' followed by consideration of both historic and contemporary social inequalities and associated distress experienced by many of those affected. Experienced social inequalities provide the basis for the conceptual framework that underlies this research, based on the idea of inequality as a discursive construct. To illustrate this, I will use ideas taken from Bourdieu and Foucault followed by consideration of the role of newspapers in social inequality. The first part of the literature review will focus on analyses of the way in which historic news coverage has constructed negative events involving UK Caribbeans and positioned those affected. The second part will explore studies and public discourse arising from the 'WS' itself. This will include the construction of the idea of 'Windrush' and prior analyses of newspaper coverage of the scandal.

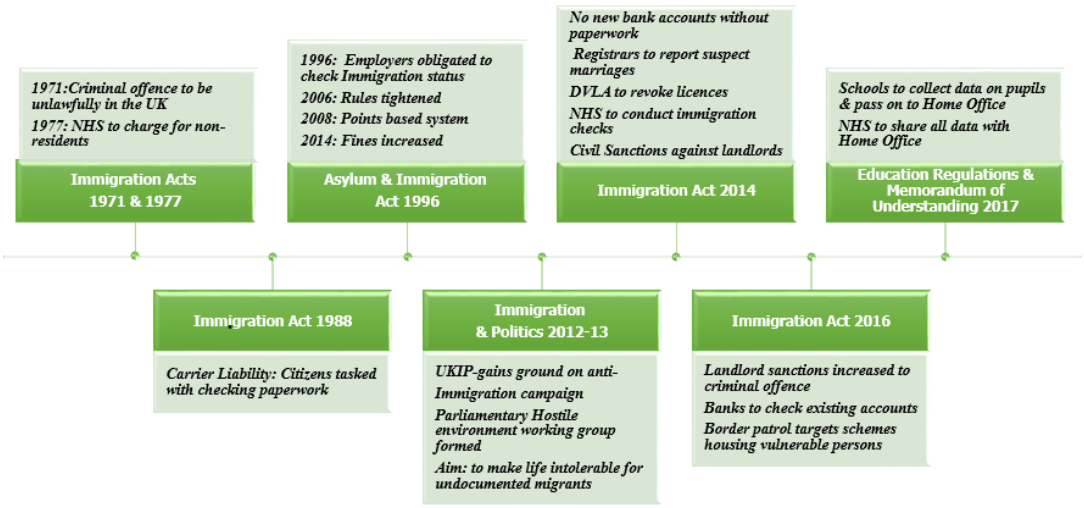
1.3. Background

1.3.1. Immigration Policies Leading to the 'Windrush Scandal'

A confluence of factors led up to the 'WS'. These included the political landscape and the immigration policies of successive governments. Slaven (2022) argues that immigration policies shifted from an aggregate approach prior to 1963 to a policing of immigration based upon mounting individualised scrutiny. The onus was increasingly placed on the health service, civil service and private businesses to check and report undocumented immigrants. This move away from border controls to societal policing of immigration was to lay the foundations for what became known as 'The Windrush Scandal' (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

Immigration policies in the decades prior to the Windrush Scandal



1.3.2. From Policies to the Personal: How the 'Scandal' Became Possible

Whilst not the intended recipients of policies linked to the 'Hostile Environment, a sequence of events spanning decades rendered the Commonwealth citizens that had arrived prior to 1973 and their descendants vulnerable to the increasingly restrictive immigration regulations. Successive immigration acts were introduced in response to public opinion and populist politics in which immigration was identified as a top issue over the last six decades (Blinder and Allen, 2016). The mounting number of immigration regulations and changing terminology under successive governments led to a call for simplification of immigration laws that are '*confusing, hard to follow and overly expensive*' (Law Commission, 2020).

1.3.3. The Hostile Environment

Between 2009 and 2015 the volume of negative coverage of immigration in the British press made the topic increasingly salient (Allen, 2016). In 2012, against a backdrop of austerity measures, immigration had once again become a contentious political issue driven, in part, by the press and the rise in popularity of UK Independence Party (Evans & Mellon, 2019). The then home secretary, Theresa May, gave an interview pledging to cut the number of immigrants to tens of thousands by announcing her intention to make the United Kingdom a '*really hostile environment for illegal immigrants'* (Kirkup & WInnett, 2012).

1.3.4. Emergence of the 'Windrush Scandal'

In 2014, several elderly UK Caribbeans were interviewed as their immigration status was being questioned and, at the time, they were labelled 'surprised Brits' rather than 'Windrush Generation' (Bawdon, 2014). These middle-aged UK Caribbeans had resided in the UK since childhood and no longer thought of themselves as migrants. After living '*quiet*' lives in which they married, raised their children and paid their taxes, they found they were asked to prove their status and blocked from accessing services such as benefits and healthcare. In 2014 and 2016, delegates from Commonwealth high commissions tried to raise the alarm about what was happening to Post War Caribbean Arrivals (PWCA) under the 'Hostile Environment' (Hewitt, 2020). The government assured the delegates that these were just anomalies and not something to be concerned about. An initial request to discuss these concerns at the Commonwealth summit in 2018 was rejected as the agenda of discussions had already been finalised. However, the prime minister reversed this decision in response to the mounting media attention and political furor over what became known as the 'WS'.

Whilst the impact of the 'Hostile Environment' on Commonwealth citizens had been building for years, public awareness of the scandal was initially raised in 2017 when the Guardian newspaper published an interview with Paulette Wilson, under threat of deportation to Jamaica despite leaving there at the age of 10 (Gentleman, 2017). In

early 2018, further cases were reported including long-serving NHS workers, transport workers and teachers. Like the findings by Bawdon (2014), due to lack of documentation many of the PWCA, their descendants and other Commonwealth citizens were facing severe challenges including refusal of benefits, charges for healthcare, homelessness and threatened or actual detention and deportation. Due to immigration policy, the burden of proving status lay with those whose legality was being questioned. This put further financial and emotional strain on this group of people and their community. In 2018, there was further outcry in the press and in parliament when it emerged that the landing cards of those who arrived as children, proving 'right to remain' had been destroyed in 2010 on the orders of the Home Office (HO) (Gentleman, 2018).

1.3.5. Windrush Scandal Review

During a period of heightened activity during the 'Black Lives Matter' movement, and five days after the start of the first COVID lockdown, the *'Windrush Scandal: Lessons Learnt*' review ('WSR') was published to explore the causes and consequences of the 'WS' (Williams, 2020). Interviews with some of those affected showed a history of experienced inequality and discrimination in addition to the emotional and material hardship caused by the scandal. An exploration of changing immigration policies and document requirements demonstrated the foundations from which the 'WS' arose. While the report did not make a definitive finding of institutional racism in the HO, it did acknowledge certain elements, such as institutional ignorance about the history of PWCAs descent and the impact of colonialism. In conclusion, Williams (2020) made several recommendations including cultural change in the HO, greater oversight of the immigration process and redress for those affected by the scandal. The Home Secretary at the time, Priti Patel, promised to honour the recommendations and put right the wrongs experienced by the 'Windrush Generation'.

1.4. Socio-Political Background of PWCA and Their Descendants

1.4.1. The 'Windrush Era'

The 'Windrush era' is a term commonly used to define a period of immigration of people from former 'West Indian' colonies to the United Kingdom. In response to a shortage in the labour market following World War 2, the British Government passed the 'British Nationality Act 1948' providing the right to enter, settle and claim citizenship by those living in the former British colonies (Williams, 2020). It is estimated that approximately 500,000 people arrived from the Caribbean between 1948 and 1973. A significant portion of the arrivals filled roles in public services comprising the country's infra-structure including the NHS and British transport services (Williams, 2020; Elahi & Khan, 2016). During the 1950s, those who did not have a father born in the UK could register as Commonwealth citizens applying for Citizen of the UK and Colonies (CUKC) status after 12 months of UK residency. As this status afforded the legal right to travel to the UK, there was no obligation to attain documents to travel, work or go to school.

1.4.2. Political Reception of PWCA

Despite many of the PWCA viewing Britain as the 'mother-country' and themselves as 'British subjects', they were greeted by a hostile reception which continued into the subsequent decades (Williams, 2020). Communications exchanged between the then Labour government and the Jamaican High Commission demonstrated consternation at the arrival of racialised Commonwealth citizens (Saroukhani & McLeod, 2023). The communications highlight the political difficulties in excluding racialised migrants in favour of 'White' workers as Britain was in desperate need of labour. In 1950, a cabinet committee was set up to explore ways to curb the influx of racialised migrants to the United Kingdom (Hansen, 2014). Census results indicate that anti-immigration views amongst the public have remained consistently above 20% since 1964, spiking to 90% in 1970 (Blinder & Allen, 2016). It has been suggested that Enoch Powell's 1968 'Rivers of Blood Speech' and anti-immigrant sentiment amongst the 'White' British public was

the driving factor for the 1968 Immigration Act which restricted British Citizenship to those born in the UK (Hansen, 2012).

1.4.2. Historic Social Inequalities

As a community, the PWCA and their descendants faced housing shortages, discrimination in all areas of public life and explicit prejudice from a significant proportion of the 'White' British public (Williams, 2020). Despite some efforts to improve race relations in the 1950s, a combination of structural inequalities and discriminatory policing gave rise to several episodes of unrest across subsequent decades. Three police reports commissioned by the HO in the 1950s stereotyped 'Black' people as 'mentally sub-par', 'suspicious of White people' and 'lacking in education, cultural knowledge and socialisation' (Whitfield, 2006). In 1981, there were riots following the suspicious deaths of 13 'Black' teenagers in a house fire and the advent of racist 'stop and search' policies targeting racialised males (Ebke, 2016). The subsequent enquiry attributed the unrest to complex political and socio-economic factors leading to an outburst of resentment (Scarman, 1981). The report found no link between the riots and institutional racism on the part of the police but did advocate for positive discrimination to redress the balance. It was not until the Macpherson report in 1999 on the police handling of the Stephen Lawrence murder (discussed later) that structural racism in the police force would be acknowledged (Macpherson et al., 1999).

1.4.4. Contemporary Social Inequalities for Descendants of PWCA

Whilst more recently lauded for their achievements and contributions to the UK, many of the PWCA and their descendants have faced continuing discrimination and inequality in the decades that followed the 'Windrush Era' (Wardle & Obermuller, 2019; Williams, 2020). An analysis of the 2011 Census results revealed significant social inequalities in various aspects of UK life for first and second-generation descendants of PWCA (Wallace et al., 2022). The study found overall lower educational attainment, with males experiencing poorer outcomes than females. Both males and females were more likely to live in deprived housing. Additionally, males across generations were less likely to be employed in managerial or professional occupations. A particularly concerning finding

was that, contrary to the authors' predictions, overall inequality was increasing across generations. Wallace et al. (2022) offer, as a tentative explanation, the incremental effect of limited access to quality services, historic poor housing and discrimination in the fields of education and employment. The results indicate that, despite the celebration of 'multi-cultural Britain', social inequalities persist for some of this cohort of people to the present day.

1.4.5. Disparities in Mental Health Outcomes of PWCA and Their descendants

It is well-documented that social inequality is linked to poor mental health outcomes (McDaid & Kousoulis, 2020; Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010). Research indicates that people from racialised backgrounds are more likely to experience poverty, poor housing and discrimination; factors which were linked to poor mental health outcomes (Devenport et al., 2023; McDaid & Kousoulis, 2020). In comparison to their 'White' counterparts, racialised males experience higher levels of severe mental health diagnoses, detention under the mental health act and subjection to control and restraint measures (Halvorsrud et al., 2019). The experience of coercive mental health treatment and consequent mistrust of authorities amongst UK Caribbeans has fed into a vicious cycle, further delaying access to appropriate support (Bansal et al., 2022; Keating & Robertson, 2004;). In addition to the social determinants of mental health Nazroo et al. (2020) argue that institutional racism may be a major factor in these findings. When experiencing mental health difficulties, people from racialised backgrounds in the UK may face inequities in care from mental health services. A recent review by Bansal et al. (2022) found a lack of person centred care incorporating consideration of lived experience, complex trauma, spirituality and intersectionality. People racialised as 'Black' were more likely to report negative experiences in accessing services than their 'White' counterparts. Furthermore, anti-racist practices had not been implemented in many of the services reviewed. These barriers to accessing services carry severe implications for mental health outcomes and may explain why racialised groups are underrepresented in primary care services, over-represented in psychiatric settings and are more likely to access mental health care due to enforced hospitalisation or criminal justice settings (Bansal et al., 2022; Barnett et al., 2019).

1.4.6. Linking social inequalities to Mental Health Outcomes

Qualitative research that has consulted racialised communities provides a contextual picture of the higher rates of poor mental health amongst UK Caribbeans linking these findings to environment, treatment and perception of services. A review of qualitative studies indicated that the historical impact of slavery and experience of ongoing educational and economic injustice led to a fear of being re-traumatised by Euro-centric services (Bansal et al., 2022). Limited material resources meant that racialised cohorts prioritised needs such as housing, work and childcare above their own health. McClean et al. (2004) highlighted three factors linked to social exclusion that may affect help-seeking amongst the UK Caribbean communities. Firstly, cultural exclusion refers to predominately 'White' services misinterpreting UK Caribbean language and gestures which risked misunderstanding needs and misdiagnosis of psychiatric illness. Secondly, institutional exclusion refers to mental health services replicating the treatment of UK Caribbeans by other institutions such as police and courts, thereby acting as a social control. Stereotypes of 'dangerousness' can mediate the relationship between mental health professionals and racialised service users (Keating & Robertson, 2004). Cultural speech, behaviour and beliefs are then pathologised leading to higher use of medication and restraint. Lastly, socio-economic exclusion can have a two-pronged effect due to the stress caused by economic and social marginalisation and by the impediment that limited resources can place on help-seeking. Overall, there are not linear causes for poor mental health in UK Caribbean communities but an amalgamation of historical, social and economic factors.

1.4.7. Impact of the 'Hostile Environment' on Experienced Distress

Confirmation is emerging that the 'WS' caused psychological distress to the PWCA and the wider UK Caribbean community. A recent large scale longitudinal study explored the prevalence of emotional distress between different 'ethnic' groups following the introduction of the 'Hostile Environment' and exposure of the 'WS' (Jeffery et al., 2024). Measures of distress were compared from interviews conducted before the introduction of the 2014 Immigration Act, between 2014 and 2017 (before exposure of the 'WS') and between 2017 and 2020. Results indicated higher levels of distress were found in first-

generation PWCA post-2014 than were found before the introduction of the 2014 Immigration Act. Higher levels of distress were found across all age groups in the UK Caribbean group following the exposure of the 'WS'. Higher levels of distress were not evident amongst the other racialised groups included in the study. The authors argue that these findings indicate that political policies can worsen inequalities with a deleterious effect on the mental health of those affected and the wider community. They call on government and institutions to introduce primary prevention policies aimed at addressing the social and economic injustices instigated by long-term discriminatory practices.

1.5. Background Conclusion

The previous paragraphs demonstrate that the 'WS' did not occur in a vacuum but arose, instead, from historical factors including increasingly restrictive immigration controls and confusing bureaucracy. Following the exposure of the scandal in the media there was a public outcry leading to a review and the promise of reform. Despite considering themselves 'British Citizens, many PWCA and their descendants were vulnerable to these immigration policies and as a result suffered severe emotional and material hardship, with little help initially forthcoming. However, as research has shown, hardship and injustice were not a novel experience for many PWCA and their descendants who had faced decades of social inequality across every domain. Social inequality and discriminatory practices have undermined trust in institutions and have carried severe repercussions for the mental health of PWCA and their descendants. Indeed, given the longevity of social inequality in the lives of PWCA and their descendants, it could be argued that the 'WS' was another iteration of social injustice further compounding inequality.

1.6. Conceptual Framework

The initial section of this thesis outlined the political background and emergence of the 'WS' in the British Press. I then considered the social inequalities experienced by PWCA and the wider UK Caribbean community. Lastly, I drew some links between social inequalities and psychological distress. For this research, I take the view that reality is not static but constructed, maintained or resisted through discourse from topic to topic (Potter 1998). From this stance, social inequalities are not rigid truths with clear linear causes, but are produced through multiple, sometimes contradictory, discourses which have different action orientations depending on time and context (Edwards & Potter, 2005; Harper, 2003). Inequality itself is made possible through an imbalance of power which can be reinforced and normalised through public discourse (Nieminen, 2019).

In the following paragraphs, I will begin by introducing Foucault's ideas on the relationship between power and knowledge. I will then outline Bourdieu's ideas on symbolic power and symbolic violence in relation to news media and positioning (epistemological differences between Foucault and Bourdieu are further discussed in the critical evaluation 6.4.4). Following this I will outline the possible role of news media in maintaining or challenging social inequality. Finally, I will briefly describe the importance of deconstructing news media through analysis.

3.1.2. Foucault and Knowledge/Power

Foucault (1982) described 'knowledge' and power as inextricably linked through power/relations. Through a reciprocal process, the production of accepted 'knowledge' denotes power, and the dissemination of this power is asserted through the creation and repetition of this 'knowledge'. From this view, 'truth' about human experience does not exist as static and unitary, but as a notion that is multiple, mutable and wielded by power (Foucault & Howard, 1988). The knowledge/power relation creates subject positions, denoting how people and objects are controlled, organised and understood (Allen, 2013). These systems of 'knowledge' provide the context in which human relations take place. However, Foucault suggests that these relations exist between

systems of knowledge; shaped and linked by the objectives of power within society. The influence of power lays the foundation for new objects of 'knowledge' to evolve through resistance to accepted 'truths' creating the conditions of possibility for different types of knowledge to emerge (Rouse, 1994).

1.6.1. Symbolic Power and the Media

For this research I have found it helpful to view the construction of media discourse from Bourdieu's perspective on symbolic power. Bourdieu's concept of symbolic power refers to specific fields in which cultural capital, alongside economic capital, can be accrued to allow one group to be dominant over another (Bourdieu, 1968; 1986). Exercised, through institutions and social interactions, symbolic power places people within social hierarchies which are reinforced by historically accumulated and taken for granted cultural knowledge within a stratified society (Barker, 2004). Social and cultural privilege allows a group or structure to impose a 'legitamised' view of events or other groups which is then accepted by others (Christensen, 2023; Garcia-Jimenez et al., 2014). Like the Foucauldian view of 'power', Bourdieu asserts that power operated at all levels of discourse and could be gained or lost over time or in novel situations (Navarro, 2006). In relation to mass news media, consideration of what views are legitamised and what views are suppressed can afford insight into broader power-relations within society (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2014). However, this is not to say that media power is held by a singular group or organisation. Rather, news media faces competing demands from shareholders, advertisers and readerships (Richardson, 2007). In both media and broader settings, power is constantly in flux, allowing new and resistant discourses to arise (Blackmore & Hodgkins, 2012).

1.6.2. Positioning

According to Davies and Banks (1992) people are positioned within collective narratives which operate under the influence of power. From this stance, positioning is an outcome of discourse which, through a circular process, can serve to maintain and reinforce positions (Davies & Harre 1990). Those affected by the 'WS' are, for the main part, descendants of people who were indentured or enslaved in the British colonies. It is

possible to historically trace the ways in which discourse has positioned this current group and their predecessors as having less power and rights within society (Hall, 1997). The language used to replicate and maintain these positions may have changed over the last 50 years, yet pervasive structural inequalities for some members of racialised cohorts persist (Elahi & Khan, 2016, HM Government, 2017). According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) symbolic violence refers to the use of cultural capital to impose social hierarchies and maintain social inequalities, presenting them as the natural order. Unlike violence committed through threatened coercion and physical attack, symbolic violence is more insidious as it internalised not only by those who have power, but also by those who are subjugated.

1.6.3. The Role of Newspapers in Constructing Social Inequality

The 'WS' was exposed by British news media who largely shaped the subsequent narratives about the scandal and those who were involved. Mainstream news media has the potential to disrupt or support politics and policies and the power to unite or divide society (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2014). The power to define issues and promote some voices whilst silencing others is often linked to the economic and social privilege of those who own and produce the news (Van Dijk, 2015; Couldry & Curran, 2003). Furthermore, the views expressed in news media are often reflective of the views of dominant groups in society (Barnett et al., 2007). The distal nature of 'knowledge' carried by newspapers, particularly when representative of institutional and dominant group views, render it more likely to be taken for granted and less likely to be included in formulations of individual distress (Smail, 1995; Bourdieu, 1984). These taken for granted representations can then influence government policies which aim to satisfy public opinion (Hodgetts et al., 2008). Government policies alongside negative portrayals may carry significant consequences, including material deprivation and social exclusion for marginalised groups whose voices are heard less often in public discourse (Barnett et al., 2007). This is not to say that news media is universally representative of dominant institutions and groups (Hodgetts and Chamberlain, 2014). News media also carries the potential to carry resistant discourses which can lead to policy change and a reduction in social inequalities (Hackett & Carroll, 2008).

1.6.4. Deconstructing the News

Newspaper analysis provides a method of exploring power/relations in public discourse with consideration of the wider societal and historical context**.** Additionally, deconstruction and scrutiny of newspaper representations affords the opportunity to consider which views are privileged and whether the people whose lives these issues affect have had an opportunity to contribute to and debate the dominant narrative (Wallack, 2000). Identifying which stories are promoted or suppressed, and how social issues are framed, can provide valuable insights into ways of resisting constructed inequalities and developing important counter-narratives (Hodgetts et al., 2008). Deconstruction of discourse can challenge taken for granted 'knowledge and inform a contextually sensitive approach for those working with communities (Barnett et al., 2007).

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Outline of the Literature Review

The following literature review will take two parts. In the first part, I will explore historic analyses of media discourses about PWCA and their descendants. As this research is concerned with Newspaper coverage of the Windrush Scandal. I have chosen to explore media research focused on four widely publicised events concerning race and specifically PWCA and their descendants in the UK; The riots in the 1980's and the murder of Stephen Lawrence in the 1990's In the second part of the review, I will focus on qualitative research and commentary related to discourse about the 'WS' that was published between 2017 and May 2023. The literature search will use search engines Google Scholar and EBSCO, and hand searches based on references from other papers. For the second part of the literature review grey literature was included due to the relative recency of the 'WS' and the limited number of research papers that have been published. The search terms used were 'Windrush scandal' OR 'Hostile Environment'' AND 'Windrush generation' OR 'victim' OR 'survivor'.

The aim of this review will be to consider how historic and current events have been constructed in news discourse and the subjects positioned in relation to these events. Where covered by previous publications, I will also focus on the implications of these positions for the subjects both in behaviour and societal treatment. Furthermore, the literature review will consider how events involving the UK Caribbean community are framed both in relation to cause and culpability.

2.2. Section 1: Historical Analyses of Coverage of PWCA and Their Descendants

Before exploring research on the coverage and impact of the WS, it is important to consider historic representations of UK Caribbeans in the press. Whilst there is a wealth

of media analysis that could be included, I have chosen research that offered a critical lens in the consideration of the British Press and 'race' across four highly publicised events involving the UK Caribbean community. Whilst differing in methodology and context, the studies address issues of power, representation and 'race' at different time points. The following paragraphs will show that the shift in discourse and positioning moves the racialised UK Caribbean community from 'criminalised other' to the possibility of highly conditional membership of 'British' society.

2.2.1. Constructing Racial Tension in the British Press

In 1985, there were three 'race' riots in Brixton, Tottenham and Handsworth involving young UK Caribbean males. Each riot was triggered by the treatment of racialised persons by the police. The Brixton riot started after the shooting of Dorothy Groce by police when searching her home for her son. The Tottenham riot was said to be triggered by the stroke and subsequent death of Cynthia Jarret occurring during a police search of her home in relation to an alleged traffic offence. The Handsworth riot was said to be triggered by the attempted arrest of a man for a traffic violation. Whilst these may have been the triggers for unrest, they occurred in the context of decades of inequalities, discrimination and police harassment linked to the criminalisation of 'black' youths (Hall et al., 1978, Jefferson, 2012, Scarman, 1981). Van Dijk's (1989) analysis of news coverage of the riots provides a valuable interpretation of themes and the function of editorial discourse in constructing an event. A major theme arising from this analysis is the propagation of the idea of 'US' ('White' UK majority) and 'THEM' (racialised people).

2.2.1.1. *Positioning in the riots:* The right-wing press assign clear positions to members of the different groups involved in the riots. In Handsworth, following the death of two UK Asians in a fire during the riots, Asians are represented as 'hardworking victims' in contrast to young UK Caribbean males who were portrayed as 'murderous rioters'. They are further described in threatening terms such as 'mobs', 'thugs' and 'hooligans'. Van Dijk (1989) highlights the ways in which, in this context, Asians are defined as part of

the ‘US’ group. He suggests that this is possibly due to lighter skin and Indo-European culture. The police involved in the riots were portrayed as the ‘guardians’ of society with minimal reference to the actions of the police that triggered the riots.

2.2.1.2. *Discursive Constructions of the Riots*: Perhaps, unsurprisingly, reports on the riots focus on conflict and threat; following an established script of ‘urban unrest’ that would be familiar to the reader. Described as an ’orgy', emphasis was placed on the violence, looting and arson that took place during the riots. The unrest was described by the press as ‘vicious premeditated violence’ with little or no editorial space given to the context of unrest or triggers that sparked the violence. According to Van Dijk (1989) there was no adherence to objectivity on the part of the editors; allowing them to present facts based on their opinions of the events. The articles made it clear that the predominant instigators of the riot were young ‘Black’ males and only the Guardian mentions that young ‘White’ males were also involved. Moralising about what needed to change was a further feature of the coverage. Calls were made for an increase in police power and a concerted effort to bring the perpetrators to justice. The newspapers carried an admonishment, urging UK Caribbean leaders to teach their youth ‘obedience and love of their country’ to avoid further alienation from the ‘White’ majority. Ironically, many caught up in the ‘WS’ fulfilled precisely the values called for, yet they remained unprotected.

Van Dijk (1989) offers some further observations on the language used in newsprint to describe what occurred during the riots. Some phrases are weighed to be specific about certain derogatory details irrelevant to the event. Conversely, details that may indicate culpability on the part of the establishment are often phrased ambiguously. For instance, in the description of Cynthia Jarrett's death in Tottenham, her weight is mentioned, which diverts attention from the circumstances. However, in the account of the unrest in Brixton, whilst the perpetrators are clearly identified, there is no mention of the police shooting or the name of Dorothy Groce.

2.2.1.3. *Whose voice do we hear?* Van Dijk (2015) conducted a further analysis of newspapers printed between 1985 and 1986 to investigate whose voices and which topics were prioritised in articles about race. The study found that racialised groups were quoted less than half as often as their White counterparts in articles focusing on race-related issues. When a wrong was done to racialised groups, 'White' authority figures were often quoted to plead their case, with the racialised individuals viewed as subjective and the politicians or lawyers viewed as neutral. The voices of racialised groups and their community leaders were conspicuously absent, both when they were portrayed as perpetrators and when they were portrayed as victims. In events negatively affecting a racialised group, the opinions of those affected were rarely heard. Additionally, when quotations containing accusations by racialised individuals were included, they were frequently followed by a quote from a 'White' individual that served to minimise or deny the accusation.

2.2.2. Coverage of the Stephen Lawrence Murder

In 1994, an 18-year-old student, Stephen Lawrence, was attacked and killed by six ‘White’ youths at a bus stop in Southeast London. Emerging details indicated that the attack was on the grounds of Stephen’s ‘race’ and, despite 6 initial arrests and unsuccessful prosecutions, only two of the attackers were convicted of murder 19 years later. The racist motivation and subsequent police mishandling of the murder led to media outrage across the political spectrum and the commissioning of the Macpherson report into institutional racism. The media coverage of both the murder and subsequent police response represented a shift in both discourse and policy concerning ‘race’ (Cottle, 2005).

2.2.2.1. *Positioning in Coverage of the Murder of Stephen Lawrence:* Mclaughlin (2005) examined Daily Mail constructions of the men who attacked Stephen Lawrence. In a departure from previous reporting on issues of race, the newspaper racialised the ‘Whiteness’ of the men accused. The author reflected on how the papers pursued this angle in contrast to a construct of ‘Middle England’ as the ideal under threat from inner city violence. The attackers were positioned as ‘racist savages’ and ‘moronic thugs’ who

were ‘uneducated and jobless’; the antithesis of middle England. Conversely, Stephen Lawrence was portrayed as a ‘model student’ and his parents as representing ‘morality and respectability’. In this scenario the Lawrence family were incorporated into the folds of a familiar Middle England moving the family from ‘THEM’ to ‘US’. This indicated that groups racialised as ‘Black’ could qualify as ‘British’ on condition that they possessed the ‘right’ qualities and values (Yuval-Davis, 1999).

2.2.2.2. *Reporting racism in coverage of the murder of Stephen Lawrence*: The Macpherson report delivered findings of institutional and individual racism alongside a catalogue of errors and incompetence in the handling of the murder of Stephen Lawrence. The report also found evidence of a cover-up in an internal enquiry conducted by the police (Mclaughlin & Murji, 1999; Neal, 2003). The widespread recommendations based on the report were intended to eliminate racism and increase fairness in police practice. The Macpherson report represented a significant shift in public discourse on racism. It is of note that members of public attending the enquiry were active participants, commenting on the proceedings and speaking with the journalists and campaigners who were also in attendance (Mclaughlin & Murji, 1999).

The response of the right-wing press to findings of institutional racism was less emphatic (McLaughlin & Murji 1999). The issue of the role of institutional racism in the failed prosecutions was not fully explored nor decried in the right-wing press. Whilst the press took a stand against individualised racism, they advocated for caution against widespread reforms, describing them in disparaging terms such as ‘politically correct purges’. The Daily Mail reassured their readers the UK was not inherently racist (Neal, 2003). Whilst Neal acknowledged that there had been a shift in newspaper discourse on race in comparison to the preceding decade, they expressed less certainty as to whether this shift would be permanent.

2.2.3. Considering New Racism in the British Press

As the above paragraphs have demonstrated, the positioning and language used to describe racialised people shifted from the 1980s to the end of the twentieth century. However, Van Dijk (2000) speaks of a concept of 'new' racism in comparison to the explicit racism that was prevalent in the past which took the form of slavery, segregation and overt discrimination in public and private discourse. New racism is more subtle but equally damaging through the focus on differences and deficiencies separating racialised groups from the dominant 'White' population. According to Van Dijk, new racism is present at every level of discourse by the dominant group effectively normalising injustice and inequality. Rather than using openly racist terms, inferences are used in reference to members of the racialised group such as 'illegal migrant' or 'absent father'. Van Dijk (1994) observed that the left-wing press present racialised cohorts as 'having problems' and the right-wing press as 'problems to be solved'. The media have an unparalleled position in the production of mass discourse and the potential propagation of discriminatory ideologies. Mainstream media is owned and driven by the elites of society alongside politics, business and academia. This discourse serves as a major source of knowledge, driving beliefs, ideologies and opinions of 'ordinary' citizens.

2.2.4. Section One Summary

The above paragraphs considered how PWCA and their descendants have been portrayed in the news. Analyses have indicated that these portrayals are constructed by the descriptive language used, what details are specific or vague, whose voice is heard or not heard and what is left unsaid. These representations may also be guided by factors such as news value in which negative news is more likely to attract the attention of the reader. The analyses also suggested a shift in the way that racialised cohorts are positioned over time, from overtly negative depictions to conditional acceptance (McLaughlin, 2005). The right-wing press showed a tendency to individualise racism but were more tentative in associating racism with institutions. Furthermore, Van Dijk (2000) highlighted those discriminatory portrayals, whilst less explicit, persist through implicit associations and an emphasis on differences.

2.3. Section Two: Discourses Related to the 'Windrush Scandal'

The following paragraphs will explore research and commentary about the discourses surrounding the 'Windrush Scandal'. I will start by considering the way in which the idea of 'Windrush' has been constructed in public discourse. This will be followed by studies that focused on the discourses and language used by the British Press to construct the 'WS' and associated subject positions.

2.3.1. The Construction of 'Windrush'

Prior to 1998, the term 'Windrush' was not commonly used in the English vernacular (Peplow, 2019). Taken from the name of the ship that docked at Tilbury carrying, amongst its passengers, 492 men from Jamaica, the term has become synonymous with the start of post-war Caribbean immigration to Britain. Credited as the symbolic starting point of multiracial Britain, Windrush evokes a celebratory image of the positive contributions by Commonwealth citizens to all aspects of British Society (Wardle & Obermuller, 2019). The narrative presented in 1998 was that of pioneers overcoming poverty and prejudice in monoracial Britain to reach a state of acceptance in British Society 50 years later (Peplow, 2019).

Over the past 25 years, the term 'Windrush' has been increasingly adopted by the establishment, firmly incorporating it into public discourse. As part of the 50-year celebrations of the arrival of HMS Windrush, an area in Brixton was renamed Windrush Square which became home to the Black National Archives. In the same year the BBC released a documentary series name 'Windrush' which documented the history and the contributions of the Caribbeans arriving between 1948 and 1973. The opening ceremony of the 2012 Olympics included a representation of the Empire Windrush. Through images, music and descriptions, the name became linked with celebration, triumph over adversity and contribution to the UK. These positive associations were invoked by politicians as news of the 'WS' broke in 2018. MPs referred to the appalling treatment of the 'Windrush Generation' in parliament. In response to the scandal an

annual ‘Windrush Day’ was established as an event to celebrate the contribution of Caribbean Commonwealth citizens to Britain.

However, this narrative of celebration does not fit with repeated political and institutional events that illustrate ongoing discrimination against UK Caribbean people. Akala (2018) uses the term ‘The Great British Contradiction’ to describe the historical dichotomy between the way in which the British institution presents itself and the way in which it acts. Taking the slave trade as an example, the author emphasises the tendency of historians to focus on the small anti-slavery movement in England whilst minimising the size and involvement of Britain in the slave trade. In the case of the ‘WS’, the Windrush generation were venerated as having ‘earned’ their ‘Britishness’ whilst their descendants and portions of the wider community were vilified by institutions and the British press. In addition to discrepancies in representation, theologian Anthony Reddie (2020), draws attention to the historical ‘othering’ of racialised people by the church and the Eurocentric superiority emphasised by missionary excursions. Despite historical evidence to the contrary, the ‘WS’ is often presented as an isolated anomaly rather than an iteration of institutional policies and actions which discriminate against racialised cohorts.

2.3.2. ‘Windrush Scandal’ in Historical Context

Wardle and Obermuller (2019) present the ‘WS’ as the latest event linked to a series of immigration policies that have served to separate, exclude and deport PWCA and their descendants. At the time that the scandal broke, the authors were already conducting research with PWCA who had been deported to Jamaica decades before. Case studies documented examples of UK Caribbeans losing their right to British citizenship, despite long-term settlement and a British passport. Since the exposure these PWCA can now contest the HO decisions. These examples indicate that the problems associated with discriminatory immigration laws may be more deep-rooted than the scandal alone.

2.3.3.The ‘Windrush Scandal’ and the Media

2.3.3.1. *Emergence of the scandal in the British Press:* To explore the political and media processes by which the WS came to the attention of parliament and the public,

Younge (2023) traces the articles and response to Gentleman's initial story about Paulette Wilson in 2017. Following this first article, the story about what became known as the 'WS' was not picked up by the mainstream press for over 18 months. Carr (2003) theorises that an accepted history is reliant on repetition that allow the reporting of an incident to be amplified and confirmed as fact. From this stance, 'history' is not singular and immutable but a matter of an interpretation that is accepted at a certain time, in a given political climate. This outlook is reminiscent of the idea of '*Regimes of Truth'*, meaning that what is accepted as historical 'fact' can be disrupted given enough support and a confluence of contextual factors that allow resistant discourse to be produced (Foucault, 1980).

Younge (2023) postulates that there were three main reasons for the absence of initial interest in what came to be known as the 'WS'. Firstly, the scandal was nestled in the context of Britain's separation from the European Union, which itself was made possible by a strong anti-immigration sentiment amongst the British public. Against this setting, the plight of a group of mainly working class, racialised people may not have initially elicited much outrage or sympathy from the public. Secondly, the government moved to swiftly rectify the initial cases of commonwealth citizens reported upon. Thirdly, most reporters are from 'White' private school backgrounds affording little identification with those who were affected by the 'WS.

What, then, made the 'WS' so newsworthy in 2018? Younge (2023) reiterates the adage that 'a dog biting a man' is not news, whereas a 'man biting a dog' is unusual and therefore newsworthy. The author suggests that the suffering of a marginalised group, however worthy, was easily ignored by the authorities and the public, precisely because this was not considered too far out of the ordinary. In March 2018 opposition leader Jeremy Corbyn raised a question to the then Prime Minister about a commonwealth citizen denied healthcare despite paying taxes for decades. This moved the narrative from immigration to healthcare and was picked up by The Times for a couple of weeks before the interest again died down. Then the term 'Windrush Generation' was associated for the first time with this group of people by Patrick Vernon, petitioning to protect their rights. This term was subsequently adopted in articles, linking those

affected to the established notion of ‘Windrush’ as a celebrated and accepted group in Britain. Consequently, those affected were now distinguished from the broader public perception of 'immigrants' for whom the ‘Hostile Environment’ policies were originally designed.

2.3.3.2. *Framing the ‘Windrush Scandal’:* Smellie (2023) explored the content of media coverage of the WS supplemented by interviews with a small number of journalists who covered it. The two dominant narratives were divided into ‘impact’ and ‘blame’. The impact narratives included stories of the Windrush Generation and British values. The ‘blame’ narratives focus on Teresa May, Amber Rudd, the HO and immigration policies. Consideration is given to the way in which the narratives changed as the coverage and public interest grew. The early Guardian articles featured in-depth stories of those affected. The next narrative stage was marked by a shift in empathy in the government attitude towards those affected by the ‘Hostile Environment’. Connected to a widespread media outcry over the treatment of the 'Windrush Generation' under ‘Hostile Environment’ policies, the final narrative focused on the demand for facts and figures related to the emerging scandal. This ultimately led to the resignation of Home Secretary Amber Rudd.

Smellie (2023) describes the extent to which the scandal is firmly rooted against the backdrop of ‘Windrush’, though many affected were, in fact, descendants of PWCA or from Commonwealth countries outside the Caribbean. The focus and voice of political actors dominated the coverage, followed by those who had been affected by the scandal. The author comments on the amount to which the ‘scandal’ narrative was driven by journalists and community groups such as ‘the Windrush Coalition’. This was further enhanced by journalist Amelia Gentleman placing stories of the people affected at the center of her articles, thus giving public voice to a group who may otherwise have been silenced.

2.3.3.3. *Constructing the immigrant:* The media construction of 'Windrush' was explored further by Ring (2020) through analysis of British newspapers between 2017 and 2020. Their findings indicated increasingly positive depictions of the 'Windrush Generation' as 'good migrants', a position agreed across the political spectrum. These depictions feed into the reductive, binary representations of racialised cohorts which can obfuscate more nuanced, underlying problems (Hall, 1997; Yuval-Davis, 1999). Ring (2020) highlights that the emphasis on the 'British Values' of those who were 'wrongly' classified as 'illegal', tacitly accepts the construction of the category of 'illegal immigrant'.

Ring (2020) suggests that this representation of the 'good migrant' was made possible by the preceding discourses about the 'Windrush' as a familiar and unproblematic story of social inclusion and multicultural contribution. This may have made the story more acceptable to the reader as this was a frame which was well established and accepted by the British public (Hartman & Husband, 1971). The term 'Windrush' could be said to represent a taken for granted, constructed history of multi-cultural inclusion and social membership (Ring, 2020). The author further suggested that attaching the term 'Windrush' to the scandal had the effect of distracting attention from historical problems linked to migration and racialisation.

The theme of inclusion and conditional membership was further explored by Bhattacharyya et al. (2021). The use of inclusive collective terms was used in the coverage and commentary on the 'WS. Those affected were positioned as 'our' nurses, 'our' transport workers and 'our' veterans. Emphasis was placed on the fact that those affected were a law-abiding and deserving group. The naming of this scandal as 'The Windrush Scandal' further entrenched this idea in the minds of the public. This depiction served the purpose of collecting this group of people into a conditional category, separating the scandal off from the wider debate about immigration and institutional racism. Consequently, instead of challenging the narratives of 'illegal' and 'undeserving' immigrants the presentation of the 'WS' may have reinforced this idea.

2.3.3.4. *The Changing use of metaphors*: Taylor (2020) tracked the metaphors used in the British Press and parliamentary debates to describe the 'Windrush Generation' from 1948 to 2018, when the 'WS' broke. Metaphors can serve to increase or decrease compassion for an individual or group. Taylor's (2020) analysis found a wide disparity between the metaphors used for this group of people in the 1950s and the present day. In the 1950s, negative metaphors were used including portraying commonwealth migrants as 'animals' and 'invaders'. This is contrast to contemporary discourse, which portrays the 'Windrush Generation' as 'builders'. However, metaphors used for present day migrants resemble the 1950s representations of the 'Windrush Generation'. Discourses about migrants often employ binary constructions to categorise migrants as 'deserving' or 'illegal' (Rowe & O'Brien, 2014). Taylor (2020) highlights that modern discourse continues this tendency portraying the 'Windrush Generation' positively in comparison to the 'illegal, undeserving' immigrant'.

2.4. Literature Review Summary

Viewing social inequalities as discursive constructs with reciprocal material repercussions, I considered the role of newspapers in constructing, maintaining and resisting social inequality through descriptions of events and the positioning of those involved. Whilst there was a shift in the narrative about UK Caribbeans over successive decades, there was a reluctance to attribute culpability for their mistreatment to the institutions involved. Valuable research and commentary have highlighted the ways in which associating the term 'Windrush' with the scandal has limited the acknowledgement of injustice to only a portion of the Caribbean Community that are portrayed as 'good deserving migrants' lauded for their contribution to society. Ring (2020) argues that this is problematic as it tacitly implies that other immigrants that are not in that category are undeserving. Furthermore, it may be that applying discourses about social inequality to the 'Windrush Generation' alone risks the continued silencing of discourses about social inequalities and injustices experienced by the wider Caribbean Community and other racialised cohorts.

3. RATIONALE AND AIMS

3.1. Rationale

The literature review considered changing representations of racialised cohorts and the UK Caribbean community in the British Press. It further considered how the idea of an unproblematic concept of ‘Windrush’ had been constructed and subsequently linked to the scandal. The analysis of newspaper coverage of the scandal considered the process by which the 'WS' became newsworthy, the focal points of the coverage and how the media constructed the image of the 'deserving migrant'. Following political and public outcry about the scandal the current research is concerned with news discourse following the publication of the Windrush Scandal Review (‘WSR’), which provided answers about what factors contributed to the scandal and made recommendations to avoid future harm and redress the damage done. Analysing news media in the years following the 'report will afford the opportunity to explore the construction of the ‘WS’ in light of this ‘knowledge’ and consider whether there has been a shift in discourse about the marginalised groups affected by the scandal.

3.2. Clinical Relevance

The ethical codes outlined by the British Psychological Society (2021) advocate an awareness of issues of power and consideration of the contribution of broader environmental and societal factors to mental health outcomes. Rahim and Cooke (2020) go further by saying that, given the impact of discrimination and inequality on mental health, it is the ethical responsibility of clinical psychologists to make a stand on socio-political issues. If psychologists aim to consult on ways to address existing distress and preventing further distress, it is important that there is an awareness of the influence of news discourse on their own subject position and understanding of historical and current

factors that contribute to distress; particularly in racialised groups The role of the clinical psychologist lies in addressing the individual harm caused by social inequality and discrimination but also challenging societal inequalities through research, service design and collective action (Patel, 2003).

This research will focus on newspaper representations of the ‘WS’ rather than the direct experiences of those harmed by the scandal. However, the ‘WS’ is viewed as an iteration of the historic, intergenerational and systemic harm perpetrated against racialised people. Viewed through an intersectional lens, the Scandal can be regarded as a further dimension of power operating against a margianalised cohort in addition to existing inequalities. These could include colonial history, individualised and institutional racism, sexism and immigration status; all combining to influence experiences and opportunities for both individuals and groups (Crenshaw,2013). Heberle, Obus and Gray (2020) suggest that cumulative trauma caused by inequality and oppression is passed down through generations, commencing in early childhood. This is offered as an explanation for the higher prevalence of poor mental health outcomes in racialised cohorts. Research indicates that trauma is passed from parent to child through attachment difficulties, poor parental mental health, and other Adverse Childhood Experiences (Burke et al., 2021; Kostova & Mattanova, 2024)

The findings of Jeffery et al. (2024) indicate that increased distress related to the Scandal was not limited to those affected by the Windrush Scandal or the ‘Windrush Generation’. The authors postulated that the widespread publicity around the scandal impacted the community as a whole. There is emerging evidence that viewing race-related traumatic events happening in the media can have a negative impact on mental health (Chae et al., 2020; Curtis et al., 2021; Tynes et al., 2019). Williams, Walker and Wyatt (2022) suggest that racialised people can experience systemic trauma through not only systemic barriers (such as institutional discrimination and economic disparity) but also contextual factors (such as media). This moves beyond the concept of trauma as an individualised response to isolated events, to consider the impact of exposure to detrimental environments experienced historically and throughout racialised communities. From this perspective the impact of the ‘Windrush Scandal’ and

subsequent media publicity carries implications not only for those affected but for their entire communities and for generations to come.

The introduction aimed to outline the contribution of public discourse to social inequality for PWCA and the links between social inequality and distress. This perspective aligns with the community psychology view, stressing the importance of the societal context when considering the wellbeing and health of individuals and communities (Orford, 2008). This approach represents a departure from more traditional psychological approaches which adopt a positivist model, locating difficulties within the individual or their immediate family (Prilleltensky, 1994). Orford (2008) argues that the psychologist should be concerned with identifying and challenging ideological and power-based practice that privileges the interests of one group of people over those of another group of people. Deconstructing newspaper coverage in the wake of the 'WS' offers the opportunity to question taken-for-granted 'knowledge' about the scandal, those it affected and the wider 'UK Caribbean community'. Identifying dominant and resistant narratives could contribute to a contextually sensitive approach informing both consultation and direct clinical work with those affected by the scandal and the wider community.

3.3. Aims

The aim of this research is to analyse newspapers articles about the 'WS' written in the three years following the publication of 'WSR'. I have chosen this period because the report not only confirmed the impact of the scandal on those affected, but also placed these experiences in the context of decades of social inequality. By including articles from newspapers from across the political spectrum I will focus on how the 'Windrush Scandal' was constructed in the wake of the report. I will also consider how those affected by the Scandal are positioned within the discourse and the implications of this positioning for practice. Furthermore, I am interested in the extent to which the views of those affected have been reported or whether the discourse serves to maintain the previously established status quo.

3.4. Research Questions

Following publication of the Windrush Scandal Review, how is the Windrush Scandal constructed in the British press?

Following the publication of the Windrush Scandal Review, how are people directly affected by the Windrush Scandal positioned by the British press?

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. Methodology Overview

The present research is concerned with newspaper discourses about both the 'WS' and those affected. The following paragraphs will outline my epistemological and ontological approach to the research followed by my rationale for choosing a critical realist social constructionist approach. I will then describe my reason for analysing news articles and sampling approach and how the Corpus of data was constructed. Following this I will provide a rationale for choosing a Foucauldian-informed Discourse Analysis (FDA). I will finish by describing the analytic steps I took and how I aimed to incorporate 'quality into the analysis.

4.2. Epistemology and Ontology

Epistemology is the study of knowledge, which considers the questions of 'what can we know' and 'how we can acquire knowledge' (Burr, 2015). Ontology concerns the nature of knowledge itself, what exists, and in which categories (Willig, 2013; Harper & Thompson, 2011). Ontological views of knowledge range from realism to relativism. The realist school of thought suggests that a reality exists and can be measured reliably through observation, which, in turn, can provide causal explanations (Elder-Vass, 2012). The relativist school of thought posits that knowledge and truth are not absolute but exist in cultural, social and historical contexts (Willig, 2013).

4.2.1. Main Tenets of Social Constructionism

There has been a large body of work offering differing definitions of social constructionism and a similarly large number of ways that social constructionism has been applied to research (Holstein & Gubrium, 2008). However, Burr (1995) outlines

four areas that may characterise this epistemological approach. Firstly, by challenging the concept that it is possible to gain knowledge through unbiased observation, social constructionism encourages a critical stance on knowledge that we take for granted. Secondly, the way in which knowledge is constructed is informed by both history and culture. Thirdly, knowledge is created and sustained through social processes rather than being an accurate, and absolute, reflection of the world as it is. Lastly, constructed knowledge is linked to social action; the way in which an object or event is understood can influence societal response.

4.2.2. Macro Social Constructionism

Stemming from the works of Michel Foucault, the macro approach takes the view that our understanding of people or objects are constructed and reinforced through privileged discourse and representations (Foucault, 1982). Contemporary discourses and representations are produced in the context of cultural, political and historical knowledge. Consideration of the way in which power operates is central to this approach. Macro social constructionism focuses on deconstructing discourse to examine the cultural and historic contributions to accepted ‘knowledge’, towards increasing the potential to produce resistant power and social action (Burr, 2015). Micro social constructionism is concerned with everyday linguistic practices and the way language is used to construct events, and the self as befits the conversational setting (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The present study is concerned with public discourse (in the form of newspapers) about the ‘WS’ and those affected with an aim to focus on power/relations and the implications for social inequality. Therefore, it is more fitting to adopt a macro social constructionist approach towards the analysis.

4.2.3. Critique of Social Constructionism

One criticism levelled at social constructionism is that this approach discounts the material world in which society is placed. Cromby and Nightingale (1999) outline potential problems inherent to a relativist social constructionist approach. The discounting of embodied factors and personal experiences outside of discourse may

shape a reality not entirely related to discourse. Furthermore, social constructionism risks overlooking the constraints of the material world which, in themselves, may shape discourse. A further consideration is the structural power of institutions which can lead to material inequality. In relation to this inequality, Burr (1998) and Willig (1999) warn that social constructionists risk becoming spectators shying away from contributing to discourse which may invoke change and emancipation. These criticisms are pertinent to the present study as I suggest that there is a reciprocal relationship between constructed social inequalities and material deprivation. As an example, a person labelled as an 'illegal immigrant' can be denied access to health and financial services and even deported. This treatment is justified by public discourse and laws concerning 'illegal immigrants'. However, the embodied experience of being classed as an 'illegal immigrant' will also shape behaviour and discourse. This reciprocal view aligns with Bourdieu's assertion that both symbolic and economic power can impact peoples' lives and Foucault's view that experience of the material is shaped by discourse (Christensen, 2024; Bourdieu, 1990)

4.2.4. Critical Realism

Critical realism acknowledges that discourse alone cannot wholly account for the influence and constraints exerted on individuals and groups by material and social realities (Willig, 1999). Whilst accepting that discourses can provide information about an underlying 'reality', they are not a direct reflection of said reality and require interpretation (Willig, 2013). A researcher would need to consider the influence of factors including history, politics and cultural norms which are not explicitly contained within the data (Bhaskar, 1975; Harper & Thompson, 2011). In the consideration of the contribution of external events to shaping discourse there is an acceptance of causal contribution from multiple historical, societal and political powers within this approach (Roberts, 2014). However, in his later works, Bhaskar moved away from a 'concrete history' contributing to social structures (Archer et al., 2013). Bhaskar instead acknowledged a dialectical relationship between history and social structures which can contain refracted and sometimes contradictory elements of history undermining a direct causal relationship.

4.2.5. Critical Realist Social constructionism

Critical realist social constructionism adopts the critical realist ontology of Bhaskar (1998) proposing that a reality exists but that it can only be accessed through the perception of those living in relation to said reality. The constructionist element recognises that social entities and their multiple interacting parts can act as a causal influence on the social reality we are attempting to explore (Elder-Vass, 2012). Moving away from a radical relativist position, critical realist social constructionism is concerned with the wider social and historical context beyond a selected text which may limit or shape what is said in relation to a specific socio-political phenomenon (Willig, 2013). Whilst discourses are socially constructed, the practices and actions stemming from them are considered 'real' in as far as they are embodied. It could be said that critical realist social constructionism is ontologically realist and epistemologically relativist (Harper& Thompson, 2011). A potential benefit of this approach is that it allows consideration of the reciprocal influences between available discourses and the material world.

4.2.6. Methodological Rationale

I have chosen a critical realist social constructionist approach to conduct this research. The analysis will adopt a Foucauldian informed approach to focus on the macro social construction of discourse whilst acknowledging that a material world exists which can be both be impacted and constrained by discourse. This approach recognises that the impact of the 'WS' was embodied through material deprivation, health consequences, detention and deportation. It could be said that it was the embodied experience or threat of embodied experience that caused distress to those affected because of the discourse and policy related to the 'Hostile Environment' and 'WS'. To present the experiences of those directly affected by the 'Windrush Scandal' (DAWS) as mere constructs would be to do a disservice to both them and the wider racialised communities. Van Dijk (2000) suggests that racist constructions of events in the press can hold material consequences for those that are margianalised by the discourse.

4.3.Newspapers as a Data Source

This study will use newspapers articles about the 'WS' as a data source for the analysis. The rationale for analysing newspaper articles were outlined in the introduction. To summarise, analysing newspaper articles affords an opportunity to explore power relations in public discourse in the context of historical and cultural factors (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2014). Deconstructing newspaper articles about the 'WS' will allow consideration of which views are privileged and whether those affected have had an opportunity to participate and contribute to the construction of the event (Wallack, 2000). According to Burr (1995), analysing newspaper articles may help to highlight and resist social inequality by critically considering 'truth claims' that serve to maintain power relations that serve the dominant group. If one group holds more power than another it is important to deconstruct discourses which may maintain this disbalance (Quayle & Sonn, 2009).

4.4. Building the Corpus of Newspaper Articles

Coyne (1997) stresses the importance of providing an explicit description of the sampling approach used for research towards a robust and replicable methodology. Purposeful sampling was chosen over theoretical sampling as the intent of this research is to consider the way in which a specific event and group of people are presented, as opposed to developing a theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Given the constraint on resources linked to this research, a selective approach offered a systematic way of sifting through a large amount of data (Patton; 2015).

4.4.1. Sample size

When deciding on the number of articles to include, I found that there was no agreed amount of data recommended for discourse analysis. Some authors assert that the main consideration of sampling is whether the data provides sufficiently rich information to answer the research question/s (Patton; 2015; Crouch & Mackenzie, 2006; Potter

and Wetherell 1987). The inclusion criteria aimed to select articles that could provide varied and detailed discourses about the topic area but not so restrictive as to exclude newspapers presenting alternative discourses. However, aiming for too large a size, given the restriction on time and resources, risked undermining the quality of the analysis (Guetterman, 2015).

4.4.2. Saturation

Saturation is a concept that proposes analysis of data will reach a point where no new themes or information will emerge about the phenomenon being studied (Schwandt, 2001). Saturation has been presented as a gold standard to strive for to ensure the validity of the research (Constantinou et al., 2017; Fusch & Ness, 2015; Mason, 2010). However, Braun and Clarke (2021) argue that setting a fixed sample size to meet saturation resembles a neo-positivist approach that relies on objectivity and coding reliability. This is at odds with the interpretive nature of this qualitative research which aims to interpret 'knowledge' and 'meaning' rather than revealing absolute 'truths' existing in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Mason, 2010).

4.4.3. Variation in Discourses Available

Because this research aimed to explore a variety of discourses available within the British Press about the 'WS', articles were selected from national newspapers with different political affiliations. However, it is important to note that certain factors may limit the variations between public discourses available meaning that similar discourses may be present in samples derived from politically diverse sources. It is also recognised that the variation of the newspapers selected could be limited as they are subject to conventions of language (English), culture (British) and the social norms of the period in which they are written. Variability will be further diminished as the corpus will be constructed from national newspapers rather than publications limited to specific geography or targeting specific groups. This is necessary as the aim is to consider discourses about the 'WS' that are generally available in UK society. For publications and political affiliations, see Appendix A.

4.4.4. Publication Type and Location

I chose news articles featured in UK newspaper publications as the 'WS' occurred in the UK and affected people who had the 'right' to live in Britain. Furthermore, the 'WS' was initially exposed in the British Press. In relation to the 'WS', public perception and the potential of policy change would be most relevant in the UK. There is an argument for including local and specific interest newspapers to maximise the number of discourses explored. However, this research is interested in the discourses about the 'WS' that were widely available in UK society and implications of the way in which those spoken about are positioned. For this reason, nationally published broadsheets and tabloid newspapers with the widest circulation both online and in print were included in the data search (Appendix A).

4.4.5. Time Parameters of Articles

I am interested in exploring the coverage of the 'WS' following the publication of the 'WSR' in March 2020 (Williams, 2020). The reason for setting this as a starting date is that this report confirmed the social inequality and injustice of the 'WS' whilst also outlining historic political and social factors that allowed it to happen. Alongside the media outcry and widespread selective dissemination of the 'WSR' in the British press it could be said that understanding of elements the 'Scandal' was, at this point, accepted 'knowledge' in public perception. Selecting articles published after the 'WSR' allows an exploration of the discourses available in the aftermath of the 'WS'. The decision to include articles published in the three years from the report allows consideration of discourses set in different contexts and affords time for a variation of discourses to develop.

4.4.6. Initial Search Strategy to Build the Corpus

I conducted an initial search across newspaper publications about the 'WS' to further understand the general content and structure of the articles to inform an improved search strategy. From the initial round of sampling, it became clear that the newspaper articles were not all exclusively focused on the people affected by the 'WS' as

considerable print space was allocated to describing the context and circumstance of the scandal itself. Furthermore, there was considerable variation in the length of articles between newspapers. Therefore, the inclusion criteria needed to be broad enough to include newspapers with different political ideologies, styles and reader demographics and specific enough to ensure that the articles contained information relevant to the research questions.

4.4.7. Constructing a Selection Protocol

An approach to selecting news media documents for analysis is through construction of a protocol that asks questions of the data (Altheide et al., 2017). I was keen to keep the protocol broad to avoid precoding the data thereby leaning towards a positivist approach to sampling (Braun and Clarke, 2019). The aim of the protocol was to aid in selecting texts that were able to answer the two research questions. To begin drafting the protocol, I read a random sample of initially selected articles from across publications. Originally, I planned to only include articles with substantial quotes from DAWS. However, right-wing publications contained less quotes but, at times, more descriptions of the 'WS' itself. Given the different lengths of the articles, I decided to include articles that dedicated at least a third of their copy space to either a description of the Windrush Scandal and/or quotes and descriptions of DAWS. I then began to construct a protocol table for included articles including case number, publication, date, title, main themes and 'whose voice' (Appendix B)

4.4.8. Inclusion criteria

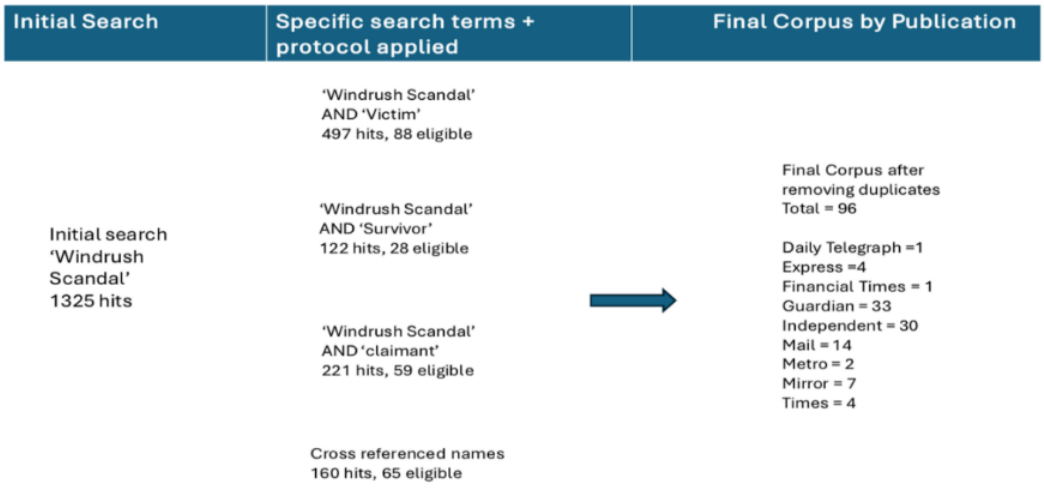
1. Published between 19/03/2020 and 15/05/2023.
2. Published as an article in a national newspaper.
3. A third of text concerns those effected by the scandal and/or the Scandal itself.

4.4.8. Data Search Process

I used Lexis Nexis as the database to conduct the data search as this is the main database available at the University of East London to search for newspaper publications. The dates specified fell between 19/03/2020 (the date of the publication of 'WSR') and 17/05/2023 (the date I commenced the literature search). Using the search term 'Windrush Scandal' generated 1,325 results. To narrow the search and find articles about the people affected by the 'WS', I used the search terms 'Windrush Victim', 'Windrush Survivor' and 'Windrush Claimant'. Whilst text focusing on Windrush Claimants was not in the inclusion criteria, it was hoped this search term would retrieve articles that spoke more broadly about the objects of interest. Following this, I scanned the selected publications for specific names of people affected by the 'WS' and repeated the search by each individual name. I did this to ensure I had not missed relevant articles that did not use the term 'Windrush'. After removing duplicated articles, I conducted an initial readthrough of the articles according to the protocol described above. 96 articles were selected for analysis and entered into the table (Appendix B).

Figure 2

Workflow for newspaper article search



4.5. Analytic Approach

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4.5.1. Choosing a Foucauldian-Informed Discourse Analysis

Though there are many ways to conduct a discourse analysis (Wetherell et al., 2001) several considerations led me to choose a discourse analysis based on Foucauldian principles. Discursive psychology takes a 'micro' approach focusing on the intricacies of language and dialogue (Khan & MaCeachen, 2021). Comparatively, Foucauldian-informed Discourse Analysis (FDA) takes a macro approach viewing power as omni-present within discourse; including or excluding statements and providing conditions of possibility to maintain or challenge institutions and ideologies (Khan & MaCeachen, 2021).

4.5.2. Considering Power

I did consider using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as an alternative to FDA as both approaches are interested in how power operates through discourse. CDA adopts a social constructionist approach to analysis, interested in the discursive practices that mediate between sociocultural conditions and the text produced for mass media consumption (Fairclough, 1995). From a CDA stance, discourse is viewed as a deliberate imposition of power and ideology by dominant groups (Liao & Markula, 2009). This contrasts with the Foucauldian pluralist view of power at all levels which asks the question 'how is power implemented through discourse?' (Cole et al., 2004). Foucault (1972) did not view discourse as a tool used exclusively by dominant groups to influence those with less power. Rather, he saw power as operant at all levels of discourse, productive in that it produces reality through processes of dominance and resistance.

4.5.3. Foucauldian Informed Discourse Analysis

I use the word 'informed' as there is no one prescribed way of conducting an FDA. It has been observed that Foucault's approach to discourse varied between publications (Mills, 2003; Powers, 2013). Foucault himself was reluctant to commit or endorse a single interpretive approach as the act of doing so could reinforce existing power-

relations (Foucault, 1991). Researchers applying FDA use multiple different approaches which are guided, to an extent, by their research questions and epistemology. As a novice researcher who is relatively new to Foucauldian ideas, I followed Willig's (2013) steps to conduct the analysis.

4.6. Analytic Process

Willig (2013) provides a helpful outline of stages that can be applied to an FDA. These stages are particularly helpful as they outline a clear way to approach the data. After reading a sample from the initial selection, the selection protocol was applied, and the table was completed (Appendix B). The data was then read multiple times prior to coding to aid familiarisation with the data (Willig, 2013; Potter & Weatherell, 1987). I then coded the data following Willig's proposed steps (example in Appendix C). These codes were then read through recording initial thoughts on discourses. The codes were then migrated under four main discourse headings and the themes printed out for further reading for congruence (Appendix D). For a full step-by-step outline of the analytic process, see Appendix E.

4.7. Quality Control

Incorporating trustworthiness and quality into the research approach is an essential part of the qualitative research process. For this study, I was guided by ideas put forward by Yardley (2000), Morrow (2005) and Willig (2008) on principles and guidance to ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research. Given the large range of qualitative research approaches, the evaluation of quality should be guided by the epistemological and theoretical underpinnings of the study in question (Willig, 2008; Yardley, 2000). I used questions adapted from Yardley (2000) to interrogate my research, addressing factors of sensitivity to context, commitment & rigour, transparency and impact & importance (Appendix F). These will be discussed further in the Critical Evaluation in Chapter Four.

4.7.1. Reflexivity

Reflexivity is a practice by which a researcher can evaluate and critique their own position, experience and subjectivity and the influence that this may have on the qualitative research process (Olmos-Vega, 2022). As a researcher I cannot step outside of discourse to take objective stance to facilitate the search for a static 'truth'. Both Foucault (1993) and Bourdieu (2001) posit that the way we think, speak and write is influenced by social, political and historical context. The credibility of research findings is enhanced by the acknowledgement of one's own beliefs, bias and values (Cutcliffe, 2003). Reflexivity is integral to qualitative research allowing the researcher to reflect on how their position may affect the production of knowledge emerging from the research (Clarke & Braun, 2013). By practicing and demonstrating reflexivity throughout the research process, I hope to be transparent about the decisions made at different stages of the research. I will briefly describe my audit trail followed by an outline of my own epistemological and experiential position in relation to the 'WS'.

4.7.2. Audit Trail

As part of the research audit trail, a reflexive journal has been kept throughout the data selection and analysis (example in Appendix G). The purpose of the journal was to provide transparency in the decision-making process. The journal has allowed me to record personal insights, reflections and values as they pertain to the research topic and process (Braun & Clarke, 2022). Records of searches which were repeated after adjusting the criteria were saved as part of the decision-making process. Reflexivity was further enhanced through meetings with my Director of Studies and discussions about the analysis with members of UK Caribbean communities. These were recorded in both the reflexive journal and on the University's research manager.

4.7.3. Personal, Political and Epistemological Position

One advantage of using documents is that it removes the influence of the researcher on the initial data (Webb et al., 1999). However, the interpretation of the data is still vulnerable to subjectivity by the researcher. Foucault encouraged the enquirer to

‘suspend the illusion of objectivity’ as the researcher is part of discourse and should question their own subject position and associated power in the process of enquiring (Bartilet, 2014). Willig (2013) asserts that the type of ‘knowledge’ a qualitative researcher seeks to generate is driven by their epistemological position: realist, phenomenological or social constructionist. The researcher is encouraged to reflect upon their own epistemological assumptions that guided their approach to the topic of study (Willig, 2008).

4.7.4. Epistemological Position

Prior to commencing the clinical psychology doctorate, I had little understanding of epistemology or ontology. Nor would I say I was politically active, though I was aware that I held a left-wing position without ever thinking about why. However, from personal and professional experience I do believe that the way people are perceived by society is linked to the way in which they are treated and that, for those with less power, the way they are treated, can cause distress and carry embodied consequences. Having worked in prisons and psychiatric wards I am of the belief that the ramifications of social inequalities are both material and psychological and that the two are related. However, this can only be understood through the language and meaning ascribed to them. This fits with a social constructionist epistemology and a critical realist ontology.

4.7.5. Experiential Position

I am a middle-aged cis gender ‘White’ woman who grew up in South London during the seventies. Growing up in a multi-racial family and living with a partner of Caribbean descent I was aware of and stood against racism. However, I only recently became aware of my own implicit bias and ‘White’ privilege, including the choice to ‘look away’ from enacted racism. As a teenager, I was in close proximity to the Brixton Riots as they occurred, yet it was only through the course of this research that I gained an understanding, beyond newspaper reporting, of why they occurred. Starting this research, I viewed the ‘Windrush Scandal’ as a terrible thing that happened to the ‘Windrush Generation’. As the research has progressed, I feel that my knowledge of the

breadth and implications of the Scandal has deepened, whilst still being aware that I continue to view the Scandal through a ‘White lens’.

4.7.6. Ethical Considerations

As the data was obtained from previously published newspapers that were freely available in the public domain, an ethics review was not required by the University of East London. I used the British Psychological Society guidance on internet mediated research as a guide when gathering data (Kaye et al., 2021). As the subjects were described and quoted in newspapers, it can be assumed that this was an act in which observation could be reasonably expected. However, this is not to say that I have no ethical obligations in conducting the research. Willig (2013) stresses the importance of considering the social implications of ways in which the analysis could be used for practice. During the research, I was aware of the danger of problematising PWCA and those affected by the scandal by lingering over the tragedy whilst discounting multiple triumphs. The reflexive diary and ongoing discussions in addition to inviting feedback from members of UK Caribbean communities have been helpful in ensuring that I was not perpetuating stereotypes or repression through my own analysis.

5. FINDINGS

5.1.Overview of Findings

In this chapter, I will introduce the four main discourses that I interpreted from the analysis and the conventions used in the write-up of the findings. Each main discourse will be discussed separately and presented in a narrative style to provide a coherent account of the findings. The discussion will be merged with the findings with the intention of improving clarity and meaning as my interpretations and links to literature will be supported by quotes (Willig, 2013). Whilst Yardley (2000) argues for keeping the findings and discussion separate, given the large body of material analysed, there was a risk of losing the thread and repetition if they were presented apart (Willig, 2013).

5.1.2. Discourse Findings and Conventions

A Foucauldian-informed Discourse Analysis was used to analyse newspaper articles aiming to identify dominant and resistant discourses in the construction of the 'Windrush Scandal' and how the positioning of DAWS related to power and social inequality. I interpreted four main discourses from the analysis. Whilst other discourses emerged through the analysis, I have included only those that answered the research questions. A table of the identified discourse can be found in Appendix H.

The discourses included are as follows:

1. Who was culpable for the 'Windrush Scandal'?
2. The injustice of the 'Windrush Scandal'
3. The 'Windrush Scandal' as a destructive force
4. The 'Windrush Scandal' as unresolved.

Whilst practice and subjectivity were part of the analytic process, I acknowledge that this may present problems. Firstly, Willig (2013) proposed that interpretations of subjectivity should be treated with caution as one is referring to the inner world of the speaker, meaning that one can only allude to what 'can be felt' in each situation. Secondly, my interpretations were based on quotes by DAWS that were selected by the journalists and editors for the articles. It is therefore recognised that the quote may not represent the full context of what was said and therefore not represent the intended meaning of the speaker.

Within each section I will use the terms 'Culpability Discourse', 'Injustice Discourse', 'Destructive Discourse' and 'Unresolved Discourse' to refer to the discourses listed above. I have used extracts as examples of the components of each discourse and identified each extract by publication, date and number of the article to allow cross referencing with Appendix B. As outlined in the methodology section, I will often refer to the 'left-wing press' or the 'right-wing press' rather than individual publications.

5.2. Who Was Culpable for the Windrush Scandal

Like the findings of Smellie (2023), considerable copy space was given to the apportioning blame for the Windrush Scandal. This discourse was reinvigorated by the publication of the 'WSR' (Williams, 2020). The review highlighted three main contributing factors that formed the backdrop of the 'WS'. Firstly, decades of ever-tightening immigration policies brought in by different political parties to satisfy the electorate. Secondly, the introduction of the 'Hostile Environment' placed the onus on an individual's ability to produce documents to access services and increased responsibility on services to demand them. Thirdly, systemic problems in a target-driven HO meant that the colonial and recent history of commonwealth citizens was not considered and that elements of institutional racism were evident within the organisation. The following paragraphs will demonstrate how culpability for the 'WS' was constructed by different publications through their focus on different findings from

the ‘WSR’. I will then discuss discursive devices associated with the avoidance of blame.

5.2.1. Spreading the Blame

5.2.1.1. *It was the governments’ fault*: Mostly right-wing publications and statements from the then Home Secretary (Priti Patel) and unnamed HO spokespersons emphasised the role of ‘successive governments in the ‘WS’. This attribution of blame appears vague affording little understanding of specific factors that formed the backdrop to the ‘WS’. It may also have served to de-centre the role of the Conservative Party in the ‘WS’.

> Extract 1
>
> Guardian (9) March 2020: *Patel gave an official apology in the House of Commons on Thursday, saying: There is nothing I can say today that will undo the suffering ... On behalf of this and successive governments I am truly sorry."*
>
> *Extract 2*
>
> Express (2) March 2020: *And it took aim at governments throughout the 1990s and 2000s for creating a "hostile environment" in immigration policy.*

5.2.1.2. *It was the country’s fault:* Attribution of blame takes a somewhat surprising direction when statements place responsibility on the whole country. Whilst the basis for this may lie in the electorate favouring policies that tighten immigration control, this discourse could serve to diffuse perception of the contributing factors of the ‘WS’ and undermine attempts to address these factors. Often used in conjunction with the word ‘*shame*’ this discourse was featured more strongly in right-wing publications and statements.

Extract 3

Express (6) July 2020: *As a nation, we must be ashamed such governmental action was taken in our name. It's incumbent upon all of us in this great nation to ensure such a scandal is never repeated.*

5.2.2. Limiting the Blame

5.2.2.1. *It was the Conservative's fault*: As illustrated in extract 4, discourses in left-wing papers were more specific about the role of the 'Hostile Environment' and Conservative government with less mention of historic political factors. Both left-wing and right-wing papers attach the 'Hostile Environment' to former home secretaries Theresa May and Amber Rudd. The specific focus on the Conservative party as the cause of the 'WS' risks detracting attention from the broader political approach to immigration which has influenced the policies of both Conservative and Labour Governments for decades.

Extract 4

Independent (56) May 2022: *there's a danger that the day will overshadow the scandal in which Theresa May 's Conservative government treated Black British citizens as illegal immigrants.*

5.2.2.2. *It Was the Home Office's fault*: When describing the 'WS', there were several articles that gave ownership of the scandal to the HO. This could be said to attribute fault for the 'WS' to a bureaucratic organisation run by mainly anonymous civil servants. From the discourse, one gets a sense that the HO is somewhat removed from the government, once again decentering culpability.

Extract 5

Guardian (30) December 2021: *Officials had been hoping that this summer's celebrations would not be tainted by the continuing fallout from the Home Office debacle.*

Based on the ‘WSR’, there was a consensus across newspapers that it was systemic failings within the HO that allowed the ‘WS’ to occur. Much of this discourse has greater specificity about the nature of these failings including a ‘target’ driven culture, ‘ignorance’ of colonial history and ‘unreasonable requests for documentary evidence. Again, the HO is depicted as an organisation whose workings are autonomous from the government and when a link is made it is to the Home Secretary rather than the government as a whole.

Extract 6

Mail (72) June 2020: *An official inquiry into the treatment of the Windrush generation ripped into the Home Office over 'appalling' failures that led to legal British residents being deported and made destitute.*

5.2.3. Blame Avoidance in the Windrush Scandal

The publications analysed emphasised different elements of cause outlined in the ‘WSR’. Previous research has explored which discursive devices politicians and the media employ in the attribution of blame. Indeed, it has been argued that the way in which politicians and parties handle ‘blame’ is an essential component of political survival (Hood, 2011). Van Dijk (1989) suggested that details that might implicate the authorities can be deliberately vague in news coverage. The partial attribution of the ‘WS’ to the actions of ‘*successive governments’* and ‘*the country’* may have served to diffuse focus from the actions of the conservative government and the implementation of the ‘Hostile Environment’. This attribution of blame shifts the responsibility for the Scandal on to previous governments (Wodak, 2011). A further focus of blame increasingly present in all publications was the actions of the HO represented by anonymous ‘spokespersons. This may represent a convenient disconnect from the government altogether despite the HO’s task of implementing government policies.

The left-wing press placed greater emphasis on the actions of the Conservative government and the ‘Hostile Environment’ that contributed to the ‘WS’. This focus deflects attention from the endemic problem of immigration policies. Within the discourse about the ‘Hostile Environment’, former Home Secretaries Theresa May and

Amber Rudd are repeatedly named in the culpability discourse. Lakoff (2008) proposes that organisations will sometimes shift the responsibility for wrongdoing onto an individual within the organisation. This individual becomes the ‘villain’ of the story, and their removal provides redemption for the organisation. At the time of publication of the ‘WSR’ Amber Rudd had stepped down as an MP in 2019 and Theresa May had been relegated to the backbenches. In this discourse culpability is attached to the Home Secretary, further establishing culpability to a HO separated from the government.

5.2.4. The Windrush Scandal as a Mistake

The 'WSR’ refuted claims by the HO, arguing that the treatment of Commonwealth citizens involved in the 'WS' was not merely a mistake but entirely avoidable. Despite the apparent acceptance of the ‘WS’ as ‘foreseeable and avoidable’, language across the three years of publications analysed appear to support the idea that the ‘WS’ came about as a result of HO mistakes. DAWS are repeatedly described as ‘mistakenly’ classified as illegal immigrants. Constructing the scandal as a result of ‘mistakes’ may lessen the culpability of both the government and the HO and detracts from the idea that DAWS were targeted, implying that their suffering was an unintended consequence of acceptable immigration policies.

Extract 7

Guardian (36) January 2023: *the scandal under which the Home Office mistakenly classified thousands of legal UK residents as immigration offenders*

5.2.4.1. *Mitigating intentionality*: Whilst there was evidence that there were ample warnings years before exposure of the ‘WS’, all publications persisted in referring to the ‘WS’ as a mistake. Van-Dijk (1989) refers to this as ‘control-denial' in which it is acknowledged that a ‘wrong’ has been done alongside a denial of intentionality. The question of intention is an important one as lack of it can serve to negate responsibility. A further strategy employed to control and lessen blame is that of the ‘apology’. In response to the ‘WSR’, Priti Patel issued an apology for the ‘WS’ linked to her own and

‘successive governments’, though did not specify what the wrongdoings were. Hansson (2013) suggests that an apology of this type can portray a person or institution as having integrity whilst diverting attention and closing the conversation about wrongdoings.

5.2.4.2. Positioned as Targeted: A discourse which conflicted with the idea of the ‘WS’ as a mistake is that of DAWS being deliberately targeted by ‘Hostile Environment’ measures. The language used to describe how DAWS became involved in the ‘WS’ is akin to language used to describe hunting and managing livestock. In one description DAWS are described as being ‘*caught in the net*’ of the ‘WS’. Other analogies included ‘*trapped’* and ‘*branded’*. The most common descriptor found in both left and right-wing publications was the term ‘*targeted’* (extract 8). This gives the impression of intentionality in the ‘WS’, raising the possibility that DAWS were not selected by accident, but because of their status. The most common description involving this term is that UK Caribbeans were ‘targeted as illegal immigrants.

> Extract 8
> Mail (80) Jan 2021: *The Home Office received warnings that many Windrush generation residents were being treated as illegal immigrants and that older Caribbean born people were being targeted.*

5.2.4.3. *Implications of the ‘Targeted’ Position*: The discourse about the DAWS being ‘targeted’ by the ‘Hostile Environment’ indicates an intentionality that belies the notion of the ‘WS’ occurring through a series of errors. Whether or not this was the case, some DAWS stated that they experience their treatment during and after the scandal as being targeted as ‘people of colour’. This may have further contributed to feelings of powerlessness and marginalisation, particularly when it emerged that those affected by the scandal were racialised as ‘Black’. This sense of being targeted on racial grounds may link to the findings of Jeffrey et al. (2024) that PWCA registered higher levels of distress in comparison to other cohorts prior to 2017. The wider UK Caribbean community reported higher levels of distress following the publication of the ‘WS’ when

it became apparent that those who had suffered were from racialised groups.

5.3. The ‘Windrush Scandal’ as an Injustice

Discourse relating to the injustice of the ‘WS’ is a broad heading that aims to capture aspects of social inequality which feature in the discourse about the scandal. In the following paragraphs, I will firstly consider how the ‘WS’ was constructed as a racial injustice the DAWS. I will then discuss findings related to the government’s commitment to ‘righting the wrongs’ done to DAWS and the resistant discourse prompted by this. Following this, I will discuss how the DAWS and wider community have been defined throughout the discourse by ‘qualifiers’ which serve to make them ‘deserving’ of justice. I will finish by considering three positions assigned to DAWS in the injustice discourse and the implications of these positions.

5.3.1. Windrush Scandal as Racial Injustice

Questions about the extent to which racism contributed to the ‘WS’ were discussed in the ‘WSR’, the Equality and Human Rights Committee (EHRC) Report, by campaign groups and by DAWS. Whilst the review did not categorically report institutional racism within the HO, Williams (2020) did find evidence of ‘ignorance’ and ‘thoughtlessness’ in the HO on matters of race that there were ‘elements’ of institutional racism within the department. The EHRC report (2020) found that the HO breached equality laws by not investigating the potential impact on racialised cohorts when implementing the ‘Hostile Environment’. There were differences in the extent to which publications across the political spectrum reported these findings.

5.3.1.1. *Discussion of racism in The right-wing press:* The right-wing press carried limited coverage on the role of racism in the ‘WS’. In response to the ‘WSR’ findings of elements of racism in the ‘HO’ the Express avoided mentioning racism explicitly but quoted Priti

Patel's apology that emphasised the '*diverse and open nature of the country'* (Express, 2020). This was reminiscent of the Mail assuring readers that the UK was not inherently racist in response to findings of racism in the police handling of the Stephen Lawrence murder (Neal, 2003). The Times published two articles that addressed the findings in the 'WSR'. In the first article the Times presented the finding of '*elements of institutional racism'* alongside Priti Patel's apology and in the context of 'successive governments'. The second Times article was authored by the heads of two immigration charities placing the findings in wider discourse about racism and colonialism. The Mail did not mention the Windrush review findings about racism at all. Finally, no right-wing papers covered the findings of the EHRC report.

5.3.1.2. *Racial disparity report*: In April 2021 the Government commissioned 'Race Disparity Report' was published (HM Government, 2021). It is of note that the findings of 'Race Disparity Report' was not featured in the right-wing press in the context of the 'WS', but the findings and responses by campaigners were reported in the left-wing press. The findings of the report were not congruent with the 'WSR' or the EHRC report stating that there was no evidence of institutional racism in Britain and that that DAWS were not deliberately targeted. Furthermore, the 'WS' was only mentioned twice in the 258-page report. The implications of this prompted campaigners and DAWS to question whether the government understood the role of discrimination in the 'WS'.

> Extract 9
>
> Guardian (39) April 2023: *There's no compassion and no understanding of what we have gone through," he said. "Of course they want to sweep it under the carpet. Is there racism within the government and the Home Office? Yes."*

5.3.1.3. Silence as discourse: The right-wing press carried little discourse about racism in relation to the 'WS'. Foucault (1975) argued that silence itself is a type of oppressive discourse which dictates what can and cannot be discussed. It may be that racism did not fit with the unproblematic construct of the 'Windrush Generation' which celebrated

the UK as a tolerant society. Silence can contribute to a state of ignorance in which 'White' people believe that equality now exists without a fundamental change to institutions and policies (MacDonald & Ormond, 2021). This absence represents a change in media coverage from the denigration and blaming of racialised people or justification of racist actions (Hartmann & Husband 1971; Van Dijk,1989; Van Dijk, 2015; Neal, 2003) to a position of silence on matters of institutional racism. This silence potentially removes considerations of racism in the perception of the 'WS'.

5.3.1.4. *Discussion of Racism in the Left-Wing Press*: The left-wing press carried details of the 'WSR' and EHRC Report findings and included the quotes from Windrush Campaigners and DAWS themselves. These quotes were more emphatic than the reports, stating that there was purposeful discrimination underlying the treatment of DAWS by the HO.

Extract 10

Guardian (9) March 2020: *While the report stopped short of describing the Home Office as institutionally racist, the government now needed to analyse why "Home Office culture, attitudes, immigrations and citizenship policies have repeatedly discriminated against black and ethnic minority British citizens," deputy director of the race equality thinktank the Runnymede Trust, Zubaida Haque, said.*

When speaking about their experience, some DAWS also felt that they had been discriminated against on account of their 'race'. Discourses about racial discrimination were not located solely within the 'WS' but were linked to past inter-generational experiences. Furthermore, DAWS describe the sense that the discrimination of the 'WS' has not stopped but is ongoing.

Extract 11

Guardian (12) May 2020: *He has reassessed his sense of how far Britain has*

moved on from the racism endured by his parents' generation on arrival from the Caribbean. "The arguments our parents had in the 1950s and 1960s ... I never thought we would be fighting them again; I thought we had won those arguments."

5.3.1.5. *Racism as part of a wider discourse*: In the left-wing press, discourse about the role of racism in the 'Windrush Scandal' featured the voice of DAWS and Windrush Campaigners. This presented a discourse that set the presence of racism in a wider political and historical context. This is important as it represents an opportunity for the AWS and their supporters to resist the dominant narrative, that there is no institutional racism either in the 'Windrush Scandal' or in wider immigration policies (Wallack, 2000). Quotes from DAWS linked their experiences of the 'Windrush Scandal' and the compensation scheme to discrimination based on their 'colour'. Other DAWS and campaigners draw parallels between their treatment under the 'Windrush Scandal' and the historic racism experienced in their younger lives and by their parents. This sets the 'Windrush Scandal' as a thematic development rather than an isolated, episodic incident arising from the actions of the HO in which racialised people were hurt (Gross, 2008).

5.3.2. Righting the Wrongs

Over the three years of newspaper coverage, successive Home Secretaries and HO spokespersons acknowledged the injustice done to the 'Windrush Generation'. In what the Guardian called 'acts of atonement' 'Windrush Day' was established, a coin was minted, and a statue erected in Waterloo Station. The Windrush Task force was put in place to provide documents to those affected by the 'WS'. The HO was put in charge of the Windrush Compensation Scheme with the aim of remunerating those affected for the damage done. Ongoing acknowledgements of injustice were often issued alongside pledges to 'right the wrongs' done to the 'Windrush Generation'.

'*Righting the wrongs*' appears as the government and HO's stock response to many developments or controversies concerning the 'WS'. The repetitive use of this phrase with little specificity about the nature of these 'wrongs', risked rendering this pledge

meaningless and lacking in integrity. Extract 12 provides an example of a government statement in response to criticism of Suella Braverman's decision not to implement some recommendations of the 'WSR'. Three months later, the HO released an identical statement with a higher figure in response to a story about a DAWS who was experiencing ongoing difficulties due to the 'WS'.

Extract 12

Independent (62) January 2023: *A government spokesperson said: "We remain absolutely committed to righting the wrongs of Windrush and have paid or offered more than £64 million in compensation to the people affected.*

Following the death of Paulette Wilson, MP Diane Abbott calls in to question the potential hypocrisy of the government acknowledging the harm done by the 'Hostile Environment' whilst continuing to implement it.

Extract 13

Guardian (18) July 2020: *The Home Office has been paying lip service to 'righting the wrongs' for more than two years now, while reinforcing the policies and systemic failures which caused the Windrush Scandal in the first place: scapegoating of migrants, racist culture and policies, a mindset which forces migrants to go to extraordinary lengths to document or prove their right to be here."*

Discourse by DAWS also indicated that there was doubt about whether the apologies and pledges were genuine. In extract 14, Paulette Wilson speaks following Priti Patel's apology prompted by the 'WSR'. In extract 15, Vernon Vanriel speaks, following a legal victory, granting UK citizenship after a ten-year battle.

Extract 14

Guardian (14) June 2020: *The worst thing is when politicians say they are sorry,*

and they understand what we went through. They don't understand. They've weakened that word, sorry, The word 'sorry' can roll off anyone's tongue easily, but we don't want more apologies,"

Extract 15

Guardian (29) June 2021: *"They said they wanted to right the wrongs done to the Windrush generation, but refusing to give me citizenship when I've lived here since I was six was a slap in the face. They weren't righting the wrongs; they were making the wrongs more wrong."*

5.3.2.1. Resistant discourse to 'Righting the Wrongs': A counter discourse to official pledges to 'right the 'wrongs' appeared in the coverage by the left-wing press. This narrative included quotes by the DAWS and racialised campaigners questioning the integrity of this statement. This discourse included quotes by DAWS and racialised campaigners representing a departure from previous findings in which the resistant voice of racialised people is rarely heard or is immediately followed by the voice of a 'White' person lessening the protest (Van Dijk, 2015). However, as this resistant discourse was only featured in the left-wing press, it is likely that many readers of the right-wing press remained unaware of the challenge to the veracity of the government's intentions.

5.3.3. Positioning in the Injustice Discourse

Reminiscent of Ring's (2020) and Bhattacharyya et al. (2021) findings that DAWS were positioned as 'deserving migrants', the majority of articles included descriptions that I have labelled 'qualifiers'. Descriptors of DAWS in the discourse include details that could be said to align with the values of being 'British'. These 'qualifiers' serve to present a sympathetic and favourable depiction of the DAWS to the reader and emphasise how unjust the 'WS' was to this particular group of people. These descriptions often refer to age, length of residence in the UK, family position, employment, geographical location and service to the country. This is not to say that these descriptions are in any way wrong or incorrect, rather it may be seen as an

example of conditional acceptance moving a group of racialised people from ‘THEM to ‘US’.

Extract 16

Telegraph (1) July 2020: *She attended primary and secondary schools in Britain, and as an adult volunteered within her community and worked as a cook in the canteen at the Houses of Parliament. She had a daughter and granddaughter.*

5.3.3.1. *As British*: In the discourse about injustice of the ‘WS’, publications highlight the position of DAWS as British Citizens who were ‘wrongly’ impacted by the ‘Hostile Environment’ (extract 17). Quotes by some DAWS present ‘Britishness’ as an integral part of their identity. The injustice is heightened because they behaved within the ideals laid out by the country. The way they lived their life adhered to this ideology of becoming ‘accepted’. This may have heightened the pain of then being told they were not ‘British’.

Extract 17

Express (2) March 2020*: We have worked hard; we have paid our taxes. Then we were told we are not British.*

Extract 18

Guardian (29) June 2021: *I gave the youngest part of my life to the Queen and country, and I've been treated like a piece of crap by the government and the Ministry of Defence.*

5.3.3.2*. ‘Windrush Generation’ as a confining term*: The term ‘Windrush Generation’ is used as a descriptor in the context of apologies, pledges and in the body of the articles. The harm done to the ‘Windrush Generation’ is often cited when speaking of the ‘WS’ and the need for reparations. In addition to the ‘Windrush Generation’ the ‘WS’ affected their descendants and Commonwealth citizens from countries outside the Caribbean (Wray, 2018). However, these facts are mentioned far less often. Using the term ‘Windrush

Generation' may serve to contain and limit the potential calls for social justice linked to the treatment of Commonwealth citizens and immigrants as a whole.

Extract 19

Guardian (13) June 2020: *The home secretary has been clear that the mistreatment of the Windrush Generation by successive governments was completely unacceptable, and she will right those wrongs.*

5.3.3.3. *Implications of qualifying positions:* The normative discourse that presented DAWS as accepted and 'legal' members of British society was similar to the findings of Ring (2020). In this context DAWS are described as members of British Society who should not have been subjected to the treatment linked to the 'Windrush Scandal'. This construction was further reinforced by a link repeatedly being made between the 'the injustice of the Windrush Scandal' and the 'Windrush Generation', despite the scandal impacting descendants of PWCA and people with Commonwealth heritage outside of the Caribbean. As Ring (2020) observes, the original link between the Scandal and Windrush may have had beneficent intentions. However, attaching the Scandal to the concept of 'Windrush' evokes an unproblematic history of racialised Caribbeans in the UK potentially silencing the experiences of those affected and the wider community (Akala, 2018).

These 'qualifying' descriptors bears a resemblance to the suggestion made by Yuval Davis (1990) that people racialised as 'Błack' could qualify as British on the condition that they had the 'right' qualities. Taken together, these descriptors serve to construct a picture of 'the deserving migrant' and confine the perception of those affected as belonging to a particular group who have 'earned' their acceptance in British Society. This image may serve to contain the Windrush Scandal, preventing discourse that questions the wider treatment and impact of policies on racialised cohorts.

5.3.3.4. Positioned as 'legal' immigrants': All publications refer to DAWS' status as 'legal' immigrants to amplify the injustice experienced. This could be described as an example of symbolic violence which places people in taken for granted hierarchical categories

(Bourdieu, 1992). The perception of someone as ‘illegal’ carries a stigma as it lies outside of societal norms. Conversely the perception of the term ‘legal’ implies an adherence to societal norms. The use of this term may contribute to the idea that the construct of ‘legal immigrant’ or ‘illegal’ immigrant’ is a fact linked to whether an individual deserves just treatment. The use of the term ‘legal’ or ‘illegal’ in relation to immigration could be said to override the context or circumstances of the migrant in the perception of the reader.

Extract 20

Mail (78) December 2020: *It was intended to stop illegal migrants settling in the UK but ended up causing profound problems for entirely legal migrants from the Windrush generation.*

5.3.3.5. ‘Deserving migrant’ comparisons: The construct of the ‘deserving migrant’ has implications for those that may be perceived to be a ‘non-deserving migrant’ or the wider racialised community who do not fit the criteria. Discourse invoking the idea of the ‘Windrush Generation’ as ’deserving’ migrants was highlighted when a row broke out over the deportation of UK Caribbeans to Jamaica on the ‘Good Character’ clause of ‘Right to Remain’. Following the publication of an open letter from campaigners including DAWS and Windrush groups and celebrities, Priti Patel expressed her anger at the link made between those affected by the ‘WS’ and the treatment of people that she termed ‘vile criminals’. The group set to be deported were referred to as ‘Jamaicans’ and the most extreme crimes listed in The Daily Mail alongside the names of those that committed them. There was a divergence of opinion between the right-wing and left-wing press on this topic. The right-wing press presenting the ‘Windrush Generation’ as a completely separate group that deserved justice in comparison to those set to be deported.

Extract 21

Mail (77) December 2020: *Patel claimed it was insulting to see “ill-informed Labour politicians and do-gooding celebrities attempting to conflate the victims of Windrush with these vile criminals set for deportation”. She said it was 'deeply offensive' to liken those unjustly caught up in the scandal to Jamaican rapists,*

murderers and thugs who are trying to avoid being kicked out of Britain.

Extract 22

Mail (77) Dec 2020: *Mr Philp said it was 'completely wrong to conflate the people who were victims of terrible injustice in the Windrush cases with these cases who are nothing to do with Windrush'.*

The left-wing press presented a more complex picture which was linked to the larger community and social inequalities. A resistant discourse to the above views was provided by DAWS and Windrush campaigners. In this discourse, those being deported were not presented as an entirely separate group, but members of the UK Caribbean community (extract 23). Furthermore, countering the depiction of the deportees as 'rapists' and 'murderers', solicitor Jacqueline Mackenzie asked for consideration of inherent social inequalities that may have contributed to their current predicament (extract 24).

Extract 23

Guardian (24) December 2020: **Open Letter** *Until justice has been delivered for all Commonwealth Windrush victims, any deportations to Commonwealth countries risk further unlawful removals of Windrush generation members or Windrush descendants who may have the right to remain in the UK but do not yet have the required paperwork."*

Extract 24

Guardian (24) December 2020: **Jacqueline Mackenzie** *"When you learn a bit more about their backgrounds there are examples of people who are victims of grooming, people who have been in care, people with very disaffected lives and I think we need to factor that into the debate,"*

5.3.3.6. Implications of 'legal' Versus 'illegal' positions: Emphasising the 'legality' of DAWS in conjunction with ideological 'British' values serves to delineate the 'deserving

migrant ‘as opposed to the ‘undeserving migrant’. This conditional acceptance could limit wider discourses about the treatment of racialised immigrants under immigration policies. The categorisation of DAWS by all publications as ‘legal migrants’ served to emphasise the injustice dealt to those affected. The symbolic power of government bodies and the media to categorise people as ‘legal’ or ‘illegal’ has consequences for how people are treated by authorities and society more generally (Blinder & Jeannet, 2018). The term ‘illegal immigrant’ arose from alarmist journalism in the right-wing press about immigration camps in Calais, the inhabitants of which were racialised migrants driven from third world countries (Bhatia 2018). Repeated links made between immigrants and deviancy, terrorism and fraud served to criminalise immigration both in public perception and law, firmly defining them as ‘Other’ (Gilroy, 2013; Van Dijk, 2015). Cacho (2012) suggests that, although not an official term, the position of ‘illegal’ serves to criminalise an entire being, dehumanising them and stripping them of status, rights and protection (Agamben 1998). Bhatia (2018) argues that the construction of the ‘illegal migrant’ is presented as the antithesis of ‘Britishness’ and can elicit contempt, outrage and an absence of empathy or consideration of the migrants’ background or reasons for travel.

5.4. The Windrush Scandal as a Destructive Force

Descriptions of the ‘WS’ were often accompanied by adjectives linked to destruction such as ‘*the Windrush Scandal exploded’* and ‘*the Windrush Scandal erupted’*. A large amount of copy space in the press was devoted to the damage caused to the lives of the DAWS. Given the word limit of this thesis, it is not possible to cover all my findings linked to ‘destruction’ in depth, but I will discuss the main ones including ‘holistic harm’, ‘embodied harm’ and ‘psychological harm’ including ‘systemic harm’. I will then consider the positions, and implications for power, attributed to DAWS in relation to this discourse.

5.4.1. Holistic Harm

A common theme carried by political and news discourse was that of ‘lives ruined;’ These descriptions show the severity of the impact of the ‘WS’. All newspaper

publications describe how the ‘WS’ had affected every facet of the lives of those affected. Their lives were described as ‘shattered’, ‘ruined’ and ‘ravaged’. DAWS endured physical, material and emotional consequences because of the Scandal which also affected their families and communities. This discourse emphasises that the impact of the ‘WS’ goes beyond losing jobs, homes and deportation to causing holistic, long-lasting harm to the lives of those affected.

Extract 25

Guardian (22) 2020: *He contacted the Guardian because he wanted to show how the scandal has “wrecked lives at every strata of British society. Even those, like me, with seeming privilege, were not immune from the ravages of the Windrush Scandal.”*

Articles which go into more depth about the effects of the ‘WS’ on individual lives reflect the holistic harm caused by the scandal. The first article published by the Guardian following the publication of the ‘WSR’ was tellingly titled ‘Lambs to the Slaughter: Fifty Lives Ruined by the Windrush Scandal’. Articles focussing on individual DAWS showed the multiple ways in which being labelled an ‘illegal immigrant’ impacted the lives of the DAWS.

Extract 26

Independent (64) February 2023: *He was “in poor mental health, unable to work, destitute and homeless” in the 10 years after he was denied permission to return from a visit to Jamaica in 2008, the court was told.*

5.4.2. Embodied Impact

I use the term ‘embodied’ to mean consequences that affected DAWS physically, either by location, financial deprivation or by impact on physical health. When reporting what happened to people as a result of the ‘WS’, embodied impact is the most common

theme in all publications, with deportation and detention highlighted most often. The impact on health was spoken about less often in the articles. In some instances, a direct link was presented between the 'WS' and poor physical health outcomes due to inability to access treatment. Other descriptions were more subtle referring to the physical impact of the stress caused by the scandal. Whilst some articles provided details of the experiences of DAWS alongside short quotes, many papers reduced the impact of the 'WS' to one sentence (extract, 27). This short, factual description of the harm done is presented in past tense may present a less persuasive argument for the need for resolution and justice (Gross, 2008).

Extract 27

Mail (78) December 2020: *Many were wrongly deported, detained or stripped of their homes and jobs.*

5.4.3. Voice of those Affected in the Destructive Discourse

Of the articles analysed, only four articles contained in-depth interviews with DAWS. Three articles focused on the experience of years of exile from the UK with no support. Presenting the opportunity to the DAWS to voice their experiences provided context to what they had been through. This stands in stark contrast to a sentence containing a verb such as 'deported' or 'detained'. In the following extract Vernon Vanriel describes an experience whilst stranded in Jamaica:

Extract 28

Guardian (37) January 2023: *That was when he discovered how worthless his life had become. "One of the officers put his gun to my head. I believe he thought it would have been easier to kill me than go back to the police station and fill in forms. They saw me as garbage – best off without that in our society, just get rid.*

The fourth article was a shorter interview with a former soldier who had lost everything through the ‘WS’. Whilst not deported he was unable to work, cut off from all health and financial support services in the UK and denied help from the government or armed forces with whom he served (extract 29). The articles are valuable as they afford insight from a DAWS perspective of their experience of the ‘WS’. It is of note that all four of the experiences are vivid, extreme and therefore newsworthy. It is possible that it was newsworthiness rather than the drive to give DAWS a voice that prompted these interviews.

Extract 29

Guardian (14) June 2020: *He had no money to heat his flat and spent most of the time in winter keeping warm at the local library. Mostly he ate 35p tins of sardines and pasta. He was unable to register for a doctor's appointment and when he got a tooth infection he was also unable to visit a dentist. The infection spread, and first all his top teeth fell out, then most of his lower teeth.*

5.4.4. Reductionism in Describing the Impact of the ‘Windrush Scandal’

There was extensive coverage on the material impact of the ‘WS’ on those affected. This was like the findings of Smellie (2023) which found that publications focused primarily on ‘blame’ and ‘consequences’ of the ‘WS’. During the height of coverage of the ’WS' human-interest stories, set against a frame of ‘Windrush’, constituted a major part of the narrative. Smellie (2023) argues that it was this presentation of the lives and experiences of DAWS that made the issue salient, contributing to the public outcry about the scandal. In the papers analysed for this research there were less descriptions overall and in some articles the impact of the ‘WS’ was reduced to one sentence (see extract 27). The descriptions are often set in the past tense potentially giving the impression that, alongside the ‘WS’ itself, the impact is something that happened and is no longer ‘news’. The articles that did contain in-depth interviews with DAWS about their experiences provide a sharp contrast to this reductionism, emphasising the devastating physical and psychological impact of the ‘WS’.

5.4.5. Psychological Harm

When considering the psychological harm caused by the 'WS', I was aware that the quotes by the DAWS were ones chosen by the journalists and editors and therefore have approached this section with caution. Indications of the psychological impact of the 'WS' came from quotes from the DAWS, their families and from campaigners who worked closely with them. This represented a departure from Van Dijk's (2015) observation that the voices of racialised cohorts were missing from news coverage of events concerning them. It was in this discourse that the emotional consequences of being categorised as an 'illegal immigrant' were evident. In the next paragraphs, I will discuss how the distress of the DAWS was presented in the coverage. The main areas that arose from my interpretation were systemic impact, traumatic effects of 'Windrush Scandal' and implications for practice and finally the existential threat of being classified as an 'illegal immigrant'. The implications of the distress caused and access to appropriate support are considered further in the unresolved discourse under the heading 'Institutional Distrust'.

5.4.5.1 *Systemic harm*: An area of high salience that is often referred to in the accounts of DAWS is that of the impact on family. DAWS repeatedly speak of not being able to attend funerals of loved ones and the loss of opportunities to say goodbye. Others speak of disruption to their relationships with their children caused by extended enforced absences abroad. In one account the DAWS shut himself off from his family because of the pain that he was going through. A theme that emerges in this discourse is one of loss of time and of relationships that cannot be repaired. This presented the idea that the harm caused by the scandal was not limited to those affected but sometimes caused irreparable harm to relationships with those around them. From the accounts given by DAWS the impact of the scandal on family relations continued after the exposure in the British press and introduction of the 'Windrush Taskforce' to provide compensation and documents.

Extract 30

Guardian (9) April 2021: *Mr Black's wife, two of his daughters and his whole life were in Britain but, as a result of the enforced distance, his marriage broke down,*

he lost contact with his loved ones and was unable to attend his mother's funeral.

5.4.5.2. *The impact of Threat and Implications for Practice*: In quotes about experiences with the HO and immigration authorities DAWS and campaigners often describe the fear that was invoked by the letters, near deportations and imposed sanctions. From these descriptions one gets the sense that the state of fear was not a short episode but one that had been sustained for a long time, often longer than the official time parameters of the 'WS' (extract 31). Some DAWS spoke about how they had feared deportation for years (extract 32). There are also indications that many members of the 'Windrush Generation' and their descendants have stayed away from scrutiny for decades for fear of being deported due to paperwork. Windrush campaigner, Patrick Vernon, has been vocal about the trauma experienced by DAWS and wider communities. Yet, whilst there has been considerable discourse about making reparations for financial loss and providing 'correct' documentation, there has been less discourse about addressing the impact of sustained fear. The following extracts demonstrate the ways in which the denial of status and threat of deportation impacted the practice of those affected.

Extract 31

Independent (54) September 2021: *"Members of the Windrush generation have lived in the UK for up to 50 years without documentation and some still remain in the shadows for fear of persecution by the HO, there needs to be an immigration amnesty.*

Extract 32

Express (4) June 2020: *My life will never be the same. Leaving the house, I'd be frightened someone was going to come and take me. I'm still rebuilding myself. My family suffered*.

Extract 33

Guardian (30) December 2021: *Amoah struggled to return to normal life. He had lost his job and was unable to find new work, and he had been profoundly altered*

by his experience. "He was skinny, like a bag of bones," Christopher said. "He used to be very bubbly and outgoing. Now he is the total opposite, more like a recluse."

From the quotes by DAWS included in this discourse, living under prolonged threat has had an impact on the way they acted. There were a variety of responses including contemplation of suicide, preparation for arrest, self-blame, isolating from others and becoming a recluse. These varied responses may be reflective of the fact that the individuals who were affected by the 'WS' responded to their treatment in different ways rather than acting as a homogenous group. This contrasts with newspaper portrayals which present DAWS in collective terms giving the impression of a shared experience.

5.4.5.3. *Windrush Scandal and Ongoing Distress*: A prominent feature from the accounts of DAWS and their supporters was the length of time that they had experienced fear and distress. People had lived under the threat of arrest and deportation affecting the choices they made in terms of travel and accessing services or even getting up in the morning. This state of fear had lasted decades for some PWCA and their descendants and was ongoing even after the exposure of the Scandal. This contrasts with copy space and quotes by politicians and HO officials which described the suffering in the past tense, giving the impression that it was over. Quotes from, and about, DAWS indicate that there was not a unitary experience related to the Windrush Scandal, nor was there a unitary response in terms of action. From the coverage there were indications of trauma, depression and a loss of identity in the voiced experience of DAWS.

5.4.5.4. *Documents and identity*: Under the 'Hostile Environment' measures, the onus was placed on 'migrants' to provide large amounts of documentary evidence to prove their right to live, work and access services in the UK. The ability to categorise a long-term resident as an illegal immigrant without status or rights may be a strong indication of the symbolic violence involved in the creation of the 'WS'. For many DAWS to have their status and identity and status doubted after decades in which they had attended

school, paid taxes and worked in the UK, left them baffled and distressed.

Extract 34

Guardian (18) July 2020: *: Completely perplexed, all she could say to herself was: "Why am I illegal?*

Before the ‘WS’ came to the attention of the public DAWS, both in the UK and in the countries where they became stuck, described indifferent and sometimes harsh treatment by authorities. They found both their word and identity questioned with no help forthcoming. There were some instances where DAWS described kinder treatment, but still the officials were not able to assist them. From the descriptions provided by DAWS this had an understandably detrimental impact on them by undermining and denying their previously accepted status.

Extract 35

Guardian (19) July 2020*: I have heard people speak of being dismissed as if they just did not matter and their voices were irrelevant.*

Extract 36

Express (2) March 2020: *It is the most horrible thing. It is like falling in love and then having your heart broken.*

5.4.5.5. *‘Windrush Scandal’ as Hidden*: Some descriptors of the ‘WS’ and outstanding questions that remained after the ‘WS’ was publicised gives the impression that the Scandal was hidden. The ‘WS’ is referred to as ‘emerging’ and ‘exposed’. Campaigners, MPs and the ‘WSR’ stated that it is not known how many people were affected by the ‘WS’ (extract 37). This fact makes the treatment of DAWS prior to 2018, more chilling as, when their status was denied, there was nowhere to turn as the problem was not recognised.

Extract 37

Financial Times July 2020: *A review published in March by Wendy Williams, a solicitor working for HM Chief Inspector of Constabulary, said it was still unclear how many people had been forcibly removed from the UK or had lost their jobs or access to healthcare because of the issue.*

5.4.5.6. *Legal status and subjectivity*: The classification of 'illegal immigrant' by authorities was reported to have caused deep distress to DAWS. Repeatedly, DAWS are referred to as 'British' and holding 'British values' both in self-descriptions and in descriptions by others. Based on the vilified presentation of the 'illegal immigrant' in the right-wing press, this classification could be viewed as the antithesis of what it means to be 'British' (Monish, 2018). Some DAWS likened the denial of the British Status to being told they 'did not exist'. From a Foucauldian perspective, our meaning and understanding of our own existence is informed by social, cultural and historical discourses. We do not have a fundamental, static identity, but one that can fluctuate by context and accepted 'knowledge' (Foucault, 1982). The power to deny and demote status despite adhering to normative 'British' Values, is indicative of the symbolic power of the government and associated institutions, highlighting how vulnerable this cohort of people were to a change of categorisation and subsequent consequences.

5.4.6. Positioning of Those Affected in the Destructive Discourse

5.4.6.1. *As victims*: The most common term used in the newspaper discourse analysed to describe DAWS is as 'Victims of the 'WS' or 'Windrush Victims'. The term is used by journalists, campaigners and politicians. The word 'victim' is often used in a legal sense from someone who has been damaged in some way by another or others. In the case of the scandal the aggressor is less clear as the 'WS' itself is a faceless construct. Furthermore, as commented upon in an earlier paragraph on Conditional Justice, the use of the term 'Windrush' may lead to the perception that those affected all belonged to a particular cohort of people. Whilst the term 'Windrush Victim' is used in the context of the deprivations experienced and compensation claims ongoing, DAWS (in the articles) did not use it to refer to themselves.

Extract 38

Guardian (35) January 2023: *The Home Office had an opportunity to put its apology to the Windrush victims into action.*

5.4.6.2. *Implications of the 'victim' position*: The term 'victim' potentially gives the sense of DAWS as disempowered, passive recipients of the injustices of the 'WS'. This depiction is in line with Van Dijk's (2015) suggestion that racialised cohorts, when not the alleged perpetrators, tend to be presented as passive. This also fits with an earlier proposal by Van Dijk (1994) that racialised cohorts are presented by the media as either having 'problems' that need solving or as 'problems' that need to be solved. Previous media analysts have suggested that subjects of news are presented as either heroes, victims or villains to support the news narrative (Horsti, 2008; Johnson-Cartee, 2005; Ørmen & Gregersen, 2019). The dominant discourse about the Windrush Scandal in the media positions those affected as older, 'legal' members of the 'Windrush Generation'. From this perspective it could be said that the status of 'victim' fits with this depiction.

5.4.6.3. *Positioned as survivors*: A position ascribed less often is 'Windrush Scandal Survivors'. Whilst all publications used the term 'victims', only left-wing papers used the term 'survivors' in the text. In comparison to the position of 'victim' which is passive and can carry negative connotations, 'survivor' is a more empowered position, linked to living successfully despite difficulties (Ben-David, 2020). Again, the term is linked to 'Windrush', potentially limiting perception of the harm done to the 'Windrush Generation'. When the term 'Windrush Scandal Survivors' is used it is usually in the context of campaigning. Again, in the articles analysed, it is not a term that 'DAWS' use to define themselves.

Extract 39

Guardian (35) January 2023: *Over 100 signatories, including Patrick Vernon OBE, former deputy London mayor Lee Jasper and survivors of the Windrush scandal, have accused the government-backed Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities of "ignoring" the atrocities wreaked by the Home Office.*

5.4.6.4. *Implications of the 'survivor' position:* DAWS campaigners and the left-wing press position DAWS in the less passive role as 'survivors' of the Windrush Scandal. According to the Cambridge Dictionary the term 'survivor' refers to someone who can live their life successfully despite earlier adversity. As a collective term for DAWS this position is problematic for three reasons. Firstly, the term carries implication that the impact of the 'Windrush Scandal' is over despite reports and statements supporting the fact that elements of the Scandal are ongoing. Secondly, the term could create an expectation that DAWS should be able move on and live successfully, despite still facing material and psychological consequences that have yet to be resolved. Thirdly, many DAWS members died whilst still waiting for a solution to the difficulties caused by the 'Windrush Scandal'.

5.4.6.5. *Positioned as Fighter*: The position of fighter is attributed to one DAWS, Paulette Wilson, following her early death. Also positioned as a 'champion' it is used in the context of her standing up for herself and others in a similar predicament. Wilson was the first to come forward and give an interview to the Guardian in 2017. Her campaigning for justice continued alongside other 'DAWS' up until her time of death. DAWS, Vernon Varniel, an ex-boxer, does ascribe this position to himself describing 'having a fighting spirit'. Some fighting metaphors were used in descriptors of other DAWS such as 'battling' for citizenship or justice. DAWS also described themselves as 'fighting' to prove their status or regain their 'citizenship'. The position of 'fighter' is more active than 'victim' or survivor', contributing to a resistance discourse of holding the government to account. It is of note that this position was only given to Paulette Wilson after she had passed away.

Extract 40

Independent (17) July 2020: *She fought her battle for justice over the Windrush Scandal with dignity, purpose and incredible force.*

5.4.6.6. *Rarity of the fighter position*: This position is significant because it was only attributed to one named individual, though combat metaphors were used to describe

DAWS actions in specific situations such as ‘fighting for citizenship’ or ‘High Court challenge’. The term bravery was used to describe DAWS, though this was not elaborated upon. The position of ‘fighter’ does not fit with the ‘Victim’ narrative or with dominant narrative that the ‘WS’ impacted the passive and obedient ‘Windrush Generation’. Nor does the ‘fighter’ position fit with Van Dijk’s observation of racialised people being presented as ‘having problems’ or as ‘problems to be solved’. Predominately in newspaper coverage racialised people a framed as victims or villains but rarely heroes (Crawley et al., 2016).

5.5. The ’Windrush Scandal’ as not Resolved

There was ongoing commentary in the articles analysed that indicates the ‘WS’ has not yet been resolved. It is of note that coverage of the ‘WS’ dwindled over the three years analysed, most noticeably in the right-wing press. This may have been due to emerging events such as COVID and the death of the Queen being deemed more newsworthy. However, the absence of coverage may have given the overall impression that the consequences of the ‘WS’ were in the past. In the following paragraphs I will discuss two principal areas that featured in the coverage of the ‘WS’: ongoing difficulties with the ‘Windrush Compensation Scheme’ and the implementation of the recommendations of the ‘WSR’.

5.5.1. Ongoing Difficulties with the Windrush Compensation Scheme

Following the acknowledgement of the ‘WS’, the ‘Windrush Compensation Scheme’ was created to make reparations for the damage caused. The HO was tasked with administering the scheme which required claimants to fill out a forty-page claim form evidencing the harm they had endured. Legal Aid was not provided to help claimants in completing the forms leaving many to rely on pro-bono assistance and ‘no win, no fee’

legal representatives. Over the three years analysed, it was reported that payments were slow with many people having their claims rejected or being offered paltry sums (Lewis et al., 2022).

Extract 41

Independent (48) April 2021: *The scandal is far from resolved, with the HO having paid £6 million to just over 400 claimants - out of a total possible compensation payout of £570m.*

5.5.1.1. *The compensation scheme and the Home Office*: Further concerns were reported in publications over the administration of the scheme by the HO, given the role it had played in the 'WS'. Some DAWS reported that the process of asking a claim for compensation was similar to the treatment they had received when their legal status was questioned. Other DAWS were distressed by the small amount offered for the wholescale damage to their lives caused by the 'WS'. There were also concerns that those eligible for claims were an ageing population, many of whom died before their cases were resolved. Lawyers working with people attempting to make claims said that many were wary of coming forward either to get documented or to make a claim as they did not trust authorities.

Extract 42

Mirror (93): April 2023: *Mr Houslin criticised the fact that the HO is responsible for the compensation scheme. He said: "The Home Office is the police man that took you in the back of the van so to speak and you end up with a few broken ribs. Then on the way to the police station, you're gonna ask the same policeman: how do you think I should be compensated''*

Extract 43

Guardian (30) December 2021: *The head of policy for the Windrush compensation team who had resigned from her post earlier that year, told the Guardian that her colleagues had "showed an unwillingness to look with any genuine concern at the*

situation of victims, many of whom were elderly and unwell". She described one meeting at which officials argued over whether a terminally ill claimant should be paid "a trifling sum or a very trifling sum".

5.5.2. Implementing the Windrush Review Recommendations

In the conclusion of the 'WSR', several recommendations were made for reform. These covered three areas: the HO acknowledgement of wrongdoing, the HO being open to scrutiny and the HO placing 'people' at the core of its policies. At the time of the publication of the review, the then Home Secretary pledged to honour all thirty recommendations. Across the three years of coverage, newspapers published concerns about the implementation of these recommendations. Following a publication of plans to improve the HO in September 2020, Wendy Williams expressed frustration at the length of time it was taking to put the recommendations into action. DAWS and campaigners expressed scepticism about whether the planned changes would come to fruition.

Extract 44

Guardian (21) September 2020: *"We hear these apologies all the time," he said. "They keep announcing working groups or programmes for reform - why don't they just implement it? It feels like they are just paying lip service."*

Two years later, on 'Windrush Day', it was reported that Wendy Williams continued to be disappointed with the slow progress of the recommendations. By March 2022, only eight of the recommendations had been put in place and the HO was accused of failing to transform its culture. Rather than a more compassionate HO, plans had been put in place to deport 'illegal immigrants' to Rwanda and many DAWS were still waiting on justice. Williams warned that the HO risked another 'WS' if these recommendations were not put into place. Whilst the government pressed on with celebrating 'The Windrush', it was reported by the left-wing press that the scandal was not resolved. In response to the

opening of a monument honoring the ‘Windrush Generation’ in 2022, to which many DAWS and Black journalists were not invited, campaigners pointed out again that, for many, the ‘WS’ was still ongoing.

Extract 45

Independent (59) June 2022*: If the scandal and compensation scheme can be resolved, then we could have a proper Windrush Day where all parts of the Windrush community celebrate the occasion. Until then, it will continue to be bittersweet as the scandal is still present and the needs of the survivors have not been met."*

5.5.2.1.*Government U-Turn on Windrush Review recommendations*: In early 2023, Home Secretary, Suella Braverman, took the decision not to implement three of the recommendations outlined in the ‘WSR’. There would be no migrant commissioner, the inspectorate of immigration and borders would not be put in place, and increased power and reconciliation events with Windrush Community members would no longer be scheduled. This decision effectively reduced the rights of migrants, blocked external scrutiny of the HO and silenced the voice of DAWS and their community in meetings attended by government representatives. News of this U-Turn was only reported in the Guardian and the Independent. It prompted DAWS and campaigners to mount a petition and legal challenge to the government citing a further breach of rights. Quotes by DAWS, in response, clearly illustrate their view of the government reneging on promises:

Extract 46

Independent (68) April 2023 *Asked about the recommendations being dropped, he said: “It was like a slap in the face and a setback. People have made promises and said it will be done. It has not even been looked at. That is the way I feel.”*

Extract 47

Independent (70) May 2023: *The community is hurt. They feel as if they are being*

pushed away and they are not keeping to their promises."

5.5.3. Resistant Discourse in the Unresolved Discourse:

Although there was limited overall coverage of the Windrush Scandal, the articles that did address the unresolved aspects of the scandal offered a counter-narrative to the dominant discourse. These articles frequently featured the voices of those affected and their supporters, presenting a resistant perspective. This discourse rejected government promises of reform and decried ongoing treatment of DAWS by the HO during the compensation application process. Both DAWS and their supporters were clear that, for many, the 'Windrush Scandal' was not yet over. This represents a change in the reporting of 'ethnic issues' in which Van Dijk (2015) observed that racialised voices were missing. Furthermore, Van Dijk argued when racialised voices of dissent were published they were immediately followed by a 'White' voice ameliorating the criticism. In the 'unresolved discourse' this does not occur as the voices of the DAWS and their racialised supporters are not buffered or refuted. However, the Mail clearly defines that those experiencing problems with the compensation are the 'Windrush Generation' who were mistreated by the HO as opposed to their descendants and other commonwealth citizens. This may have served to limit what can be criticised and by whom. Whilst the publication of quotes from DAWS as campaigners represents a positive move towards inclusion of the marginalised voice, the limited number of articles featuring this discourse means that, to a certain extent, these voices continue to be silenced in public perception (Barnett et al., 2007).

5.5.4. Positions and Practice in the Unresolved Discourse

5.5.4.1. *As campaigners*: In this discourse DAWS are positioned as campaigners alongside their communities and action groups. This position has allowed DAWS to voice resistant discourses which reject government apologies and pledges to 'right the wrongs'. However, the depiction of DAWS as campaigners is limited to the left-wing Press. Prior to the decision to terminate reconciliation meetings vocal DAWS were finding themselves shut down by government representatives in the meetings. The treatment of DAWS by

the government and HO both during, and after, the ‘WS’ may have deepened resistance and mistrust of the government both amongst DAWS and in the wider racialised community. Below is a quotation from Vernon Varniel caught in a catch-22 regarding documents. Following this, DAWS and campaigner, Glenda Caesar, responds to difficulties in meetings with the Windrush Working Group.

Extract 48

Guardian (25) December 2020 *You can’t trust the Home Office to do the right thing. We need everyone to get involved in campaigning.*

Extract 49

Independent (50) November 2020*: Ms Caesar, Windrush campaigner, said the CGWG's reputation is so poor within the Windrush community that they're informally referred to as the "not working group."*

5.5.4.2. *Implications of the campaigner position*: It was in the unresolved discourse that DAWS were positioned as campaigners. This is similar to the active position of ‘fighter’ in the injustice discourse, though less potentially threatening. From this position, DAWS act through petitions, open letters, demonstrations and interviews. The reported actions of the campaigners are not solely focused on their own predicament but also concerned with wider issues such as immigration and discrimination. DAWS campaigners are quoted alongside racialised campaigners with backgrounds in law, academics and the arts. From this position DAWS are empowered to question and protest their treatment by the HO and question the intentions of the government. This position represents a departure from racialised individuals being depicted as either villains or victims, as ‘having problems’ or ‘being problems’ to take up a new empowered stance in their attempt to solve problems (Hodgetts et al., 2008, Van Dijk, 1994).

5.5.5. Institutional Distrust in the Unresolved Discourse

An implication for practice in the unresolved discourse derived from quotes by, and about,

DAWS was distrust of the government and HO. From these descriptions, it would appear that, in addition to the fear of authorities caused by the scandal and previous treatment, the failure to resolve the problems has further embedded this distrust. Attention is drawn to repeated promises from Home Secretaries and the government which are perceived as not being honoured. DAWS speak of feeling forgotten or outright ignored. This lack of faith is expressed both about the likelihood of promises being honoured and about the government and Home Office as a whole. Below is a quote by DAWS and campaigner Judy Griffiths following Suella Braverman's U-turn on recommendations:

> Extract 50
>
> Guardian (34) January 2023: *My right to stay here has to be renewed next year, and I don't know what will happen. How can any of us trust a system that shows us its true colours like this time and time again? The only thing I feel sure of is that you cannot rely on anything they say.*

5.5.5.1. Lack of resolution and institutional distrust: It is from this position that DAWS speak of losing faith and a growing distrust in the government. Whilst newspapers provide a platform for this resistant discourse, there are also implications for the future treatment and experience of the UK Caribbean community. The lack of resolution and unfulfilled political promises regarding the 'WSR' recommendations risk further deepening institutional distrust. This distrust, it is argued, can stem from a lifetime of experienced social inequality and injustice and may be inter-generational (Bertsou, 2019; Hoke & McDade, 2014; Musa et al., 2009). It has been argued that the 'Hostile Environment' and initiatives such as 'Prevent' which disproportionately target racialised bodies have also contributed to this lack of trust (Younis, 2021). This distrust risks further marginalisation as it can lead to avoidance of services, rejection of legal advice and further disparities in health outcomes (Boulware, 2016; Bertsou, 2019; Gillibrand et al., 2024).

5.5.5.2. Implications of institutional distrust for accessing mental health support: The fear and avoidance of authority engendered by the threat of deportation feeds into a wider picture of the impact of social inequality and injustice on mental health. DAWS provided

personal descriptions of the way in which being classified as ‘illegal’ governed their actions daily. Legal professionals and campaigners interviewed stated that there was a wider body of UK Caribbeans who avoided identifying themselves to the ‘Windrush taskforce’ for documentation or compensation for fear of further persecution. This group of people were described as having ‘lived in the shadows for years’ (White, 2021).

Under the directives of the ‘Hostile Environment’ and previous immigration policies, NHS services were obliged to check and report the immigration status of service users. This effectively restricted access to health support and contributed to the overall ill-treatment experienced by the DAWS. Foucault (1975) used the term ‘biopolitics’ to describe the way in which a population’s bodies and lives could be governed. In relation to healthcare this can operate through access or restriction to health services which can be decided through privilege, status and economic worth (Kenny, 2015). Whilst the articles emphasised the impact of the denial of services on physical health, the complicity of health services with the ‘Hostile Environment’ may also have far-reaching implications for access to mental health services.

The wariness of authority and associated services could serve to further embed the ‘vicious cycle of fear’ (Bansal et al., 2022; Keating & Robertson, 2004). This occurs when negative experiences of health and government services delay access to appropriate mental health support leading to coercive interventions when mental health difficulties become severe. These interventions further embed fear both in the individual and their wider system. As shown in the *destructive discourse*, the impact of the scandal was experienced in different ways by those affected, eliciting heterogenous responses. Professional perception of the psychological impact of the ‘WS’ may be informed by the collective narratives carried in newspapers, leading to assumptions about who was affected by the ‘WS’ and the way in which this was experienced. These assumptions may further compound barriers to accessing mental health support in Eurocentric services which may misunderstand or fail to fully comprehend the needs of DAWS (Bansall et al., 2022; McClean et al., 2004)

5.6. Findings Summary

Four main discourses were discussed in this chapter, the first about culpability for the scandal and the other three conceptualising the scandal as an injustice, destructive and unresolved. There was a lack of specificity in the injustice discourse which may have served to limit the questions that could be asked about the scandal. The right-wing press avoided questions of racism and were increasingly silent on the lack of 'resolution' to the scandal. Whilst there was a general acknowledgment of the injustice, this was often limited to the 'Windrush Generation' and reinforced by qualifiers which served to construct the position of the 'deserving migrant'. In reporting the harm done by the 'WS', the focus was primarily on embodied harm. However, quotes indicated that the scandal also caused significant and ongoing psychological distress. DAWS were often positioned by others in a passive role as 'victims', however, in the role of campaigners they were able to resist the government narrative and demand justice. Finally, the unresolved discourse highlighted an increasing loss of trust in the government to address the causes of the 'WS' and mend the damage that was done.

6. DISCUSSION

6.1. Overview of Discussion

This study aimed to answer two research questions:

Following publication of the Windrush Scandal Review, how was the Windrush Scandal constructed in the British press?

Following the publication of the Windrush Scandal Review, how are people directly affected by the Windrush Scandal positioned by the British press?

In the following chapter, I will provide an overall conclusion to the research questions. I will then consider the implications of these findings for future research and clinical practice. I will devote the last part of this chapter to a critical evaluation of the research followed by final thoughts on the research.

6.2. Conclusions to the Research Questions

6.2.1. The 'Windrush Scandal' Constructed as a Limiting Concept

The way in which the Windrush Scandal was constructed in newspaper coverage served to separate the scandal from broader questions of race, inequality and immigration. Overall, the scandal was framed in episodic terms, presenting it as separate from historic or broader political context. This was contributed to by the lack of specificity or narrow focus in the culpability discourse (Van Dijk, 1994). Presenting the scandal as a 'mistake' may have helped avoid scrutiny of systemic discriminatory practice by the government and HO. Whilst there were some alternative discourses linking the scandal to historic and ongoing discrimination and political attitudes to immigration, this was mainly featured in the left-wing press. The absence of coverage in the right-wing press on issues of racism and ongoing issues related to the 'WS' may

have served to silence these discourses in the perception of their readerships. Linking the scandal to the actions of the HO may have quelled questions about wider government policies. Dwindling coverage from 2021 onwards gave the impression that the 'Windrush Scandal' was over. As Bourdieu (1998) argues, the constant updating of news content can culminate in the versions becoming more similar and separated from wider issues. Furthermore, the intense media focus on the present may mean that news stories will eventually disappear, unsolved.

6.2.2. Positionings in the Coverage of the 'Windrush Scandal'

Despite evidence to the contrary the scandal was presented as affecting a specific group, the 'Windrush Generation', who had already been established as part of an unproblematic British post-war history. 'Qualifying' criteria firmly situated DAWS as 'US' allowing wider immigration experiences to remain unconnected as they primarily affect people positioned as 'THEM'. The positioning of DAWS as 'legal' further fed into this discourse promoting the idea that the entitlement to 'rights' and 'justice' are defined by one's legal status.

Positioning in in collective narratives can empower or disempower groups (Davies & Banks, 1992). Positioning DAWS as 'targeted', placed this group in a powerless position potentially causing long-term distress Positioning DAWS as victims promoted the idea of DAWS as a passive and non-threatening group that stood in stark contrast to 'illegal' immigrants and racialised 'criminals'. The active position of 'fighter' was limited in the coverage to one named person. It is possible that the reluctance to attribute this position was because it did not fit with the usual narrative of racialised people as 'victims' or 'villains'. However, the position of 'campaigner attributed to DAWS represented an active collective, able to resist dominant discourses and ask questions that might otherwise be silenced.

6.2.3. Resistant Discourse

Resistant discourse that questioned the government, HO and measures to address the scandal featured in all publications, to a varying degree, and in quotes from DAWS and their supporters. The resistant discourse provided a more thematic framing of the 'Windrush Scandal', locating it in wider discourses about immigration and racism. In the resistant discourse DAWS were often portrayed as campaigners and occasionally fighters; a position from which they were able to reject government apologies and publicise ongoing poor treatment and lack of redress. The inclusion of the voice of DAWS and racialised campaigners represented a change from previous events involving racialised cohorts where the voice of those affected was missing (Van Dijk, 2015). However, most of the resistant discourse, particularly after 2021, was carried in the left-wing press. This again means that a significant proportion of news readership may remain unaware of this alternative discourse.

6.2.4. Impact of the Scandal and Implications for Social Inequality

From the accounts of DAWS, it became clear that they had experienced holistic harm because of the 'Windrush Scandal'. Furthermore, the material, psychological and systemic consequences persisted beyond the exposure of the scandal, many of which could not be addressed through compensation alone. Links were made between historic experiences of racial discrimination and the ongoing experience of the Windrush Scandal. DAWS spoke of the Community being hurt by the lack of resolution and empty promises from the government. From the quotes of several DAWS there appeared to be a pervasive loss of faith and trust in the government, exacerbated by the lack of resolution or change resulting from the exposure of the scandal. There were reports that some DAWS members were too frightened to approach the Windrush Taskforce for fear of being targeted once again. The harm, injustice and lack of resolution to the ;WS' may have further undermined trust in authority amongst DAWS and the wider community. This distrust may carry implications for the likelihood of these cohorts seeking support and speaking up, further contributing to social inequality.

6.2.5. Implications of the Findings for the Wider Cohort of Immigrants

The research findings indicated that public outcry over the immigration policies leading to the ‘WS’ were mainly confined to the ‘Windrush Generation’. This may hold implications for immigrants who do not qualify for this status. The ‘Hostile Environment’ continues to the present day in the form of the Compliant Environment’. There is a large body of evidence supporting a link between immigration status and trauma (Close et al., 2016; O’Brian & Chachura, 2023). Research has shown that trauma and negative health outcomes derive not only from the circumstances leading to immigration, but also from the environment and reception that immigrants face on arrival to the UK (Frost, 2020; Jannesari et al., 2020; Pollard & Howard, 2021). However, the majority of psychological research continues to focus on the individual experiences of trauma, rather than the systemic factors contributing to it (Patel, 2003); Whilst calls to address the injustice faced by DAWS have gained some traction, the immigration measures causing trauma to other cohorts of immigrants continue unabated.

6.3. Implications and Recommendations

6.3.1. Further Research and Social Action

Before commenting on further research, it is important to acknowledge that multiple projects related to the ‘Windrush Scandal’ are already in progress. This includes ‘The Ties that Bind’ at UCL, looking into intergenerational trauma caused by the ‘Windrush Scandal’ and several projects exploring the legal and political implications of the scandal. There have also been two successful community projects archiving and preserving the experiences of the ‘Windrush Generation’ to provide an alternative narrative to the ‘victim’ position linked to the scandal (Bramley, 2023, Hockham et al., 2022).

6.3.1.1. *Social action*: Chilling factors evident in the coverage of the 'WS’ included the amount of time it had remained hidden, and the profound sense of isolation experienced by those labelled as ‘illegal immigrants’. This isolation was likely exacerbated by the shame associated with an ‘illegal’ status, effectively cutting DAWS off from family and

community. Therefore, it is crucial to consider preventative measures against further injustices perpetuated against racialised cohorts. One approach to this would be to improve community networks and national communication. Linking community initiatives with disciplines including journalists, legal professionals, political pressure groups, charities and primary care networks may serve to bring injustices to public attention earlier. Clear protocols for documenting and escalating cases of injustice plus regular multi-disciplinary and peer-led forums would help to identify patterns of injustice and generate solutions. Given the negative impact of social inequality and injustice on health outcomes, the budget for these drives could be derived from funds earmarked for population health initiatives. However, it would be vital to begin at a grassroots level when planning the best way to implement this initiative.

6.3.1.2. *Participatory Action Research*: Given the traumatic experiences already endured by DAWS, any research involving direct contact with this group, or their immediate families would need to be of benefit to them. Participatory Action Research (PAR) recruits participants as co-researchers that can give feedback and contribute to the design of a project. Based on the ideas of Freire (2020) and Borda (1979) liberatory praxis underlies this type of study, aiming to use the experience of those involved to address problems born out inequalities and injustice towards implementable alternatives for those involved (Cornish et al., 2023). Given the loss of trust and longevity of distress, a starting point for a project of this kind would be to identify the psychological and material needs of DAWS and how to tailor support to be accessible and relevant to those seeking it. Additionally, this type of research could be used to identify means of communication and involvement in initiatives, such as the one described above, that would be practical for the communities they serve.

6.3.2. <u>Implications for Clinical Practice</u>

Based on the quotes of DAWS, their faith and trust in authority has been further eroded. Previous research has indicated that lack of trust alongside inequalities and discrimination lead to poor health outcomes (Musa et al., 2009). The NHS, and therefore health professionals, were complicit in enforcing ‘Hostile Environment’

measures which caused harm to DAWS. Moving forward, it will be vital for commissioning boards and services to find ways of re-building trust when offering support to DAWS and wider racialised communities.

6.3.3. A Community Psychology Informed Approach

The Windrush Scandal caused distress to DAWS, their families and the wider community. As discussed in the introduction, research indicates that racialised cohorts face barriers to accessing adequate mental health care including euro-centric services that fail to consider lived experience, complex trauma and intersectionality (Bansal et al., 2022; Nazroo et al., 2022). Simply referring DAWS to existing services, without incorporating individual and systemic needs, risks further compounding the harm done by the 'Windrush Scandal'. Both the community projects described above and the collective power of DAWS and their supporters in challenging the government demonstrate the efficacy of collective action. Adopting a community psychology approach may provide a way of offering contextually sensitive support.

In taking a community psychology approach, it would be important to address 'Whiteness' in the development and implementation of projects (Coleman et al., 2020). Adopting a position of critical whiteness at every level of a project may serve to avoid replication of 'White' supremacy norms that may ultimately further undermine the health and wellbeing of the communities they aim to serve (Collins, 1998). The responsibility would lie with 'White' people involved with the project to learn and understand about the operation of 'whiteness' at an institutional, political and individual level and develop their own ability to identify and challenge it (Helms, 2017; Ryde, 2009; Moane, 2003). This awareness would need to be applied to recruitment, policies and interventions chosen. This would be vital as the commission and funding may be sourced from Eurocentric institutions, influencing decisions about how a project is run.

6.3.4. Collaborative Immigration Advocacy Model

The research findings indicated that outcry over immigration policies was mostly limited to 'DAWS' whilst the Compliant Environment continues to have a significant negative impact on the lives of immigrants who do not fit with this category. The research findings demonstrated the power of collective community action in highlighting injustice and holding the government to account. A project launched by members of the American Psychological Association and LatinX psychologists may provide direction in strengthening support and social justice for immigrants in the UK. In response to ever tightening immigration measures in the United States, immigrants joined with psychologists, allied health professionals, community leaders and activists to engage in collaborative immigrant advocacy at a community and policy level (Cadenas et al., 2022). The model is based on the social justice Frameworks of liberatory practice (Freire, 2020), critical psychology (Prilleltensky, 2014) and critical participatory Action Research (Watkins & Shulman 2008).

The authors outlined several components that contributed to the Collaborative Immigration Model (Cadenas et al., 2022). Egalitarian leadership was promoted, in which the committee is chosen democratically rather than by authority. Measures were put in place to ensure all members were able to contribute to the decision-making process. Immigrant narratives were placed at the centre of the movement towards constructing compelling arguments for those outside the organisation and promoting communal healing amongst peers. Regional projects were established towards building grassroots power and responding to local needs, before sharing knowledge with other projects. Critical dialogues were facilitated in each project between shareholders and activists to identify needs and explore the trauma experienced. A trauma informed approach was placed at the centre of these dialogues and psychologists and activists were invited to think about what support they could offer. Finally, the outcome of these dialogues was implemented through both support in action and advocacy strategies to address policy makers at a regional and national level. Each of these components would be transferable to the United Kingdom and provide a practical way in which psychologists could address the harm and trauma caused by immigration policy.

6.4. Critical Evaluation

6.4.1. Limitations of a Foucauldian Informed Approach

A central criticism of Foucault is the removal of agency from the subjects discussed, instead offering a set of actions and subjectivity prescribed by the discourse available at a certain time (Smart, 1982; Willig, 2013). Critics suggest that the view of subjects as governed by discourse serves to neutralise resistance to dominant power (Smart 1982); Budds et al., 2014; Fox, 1998). Foucault was accused of offering no clear identification of what would make it possible for a subject to resist power (Fox, 1998; Budds et al., 2014). This could be said to be particularly problematic for a group of people who have already been disempowered by coloniality and Eurocentric institutions and ideologies. Foucault purposefully resisted laying out normative values or suggesting solutions, as to do this would be to speak on behalf of others and risk becoming, inadvertently, an instrument of repression (Foucault, 1991). However, he did assert that resistance is an essential part of discourse allowing new conditions of possibility to emerge. Analysing discourse allows identification of 'taken for granted knowledge' and sources of resistant knowledge/power which allow less oppressive subjectivities to emerge.

6.4.2. Data and interpretation

There was an imbalance between left-wing press and right-wing press coverage over the three years analysed with greater coverage carried by the former. This imbalance increased over progressive years. I have interpreted the lack of coverage as 'silence' and linked the action orientation of articles to political affiliation in my analysis. However, it is important to acknowledge that I do not have intricate knowledge of the machinations of newspaper production. Whilst I have made efforts to understand decisions driving news selection such as 'news value' and 'familiarity', I have less knowledge of complex symbolic and economic power driving selection and context of news articles (Meikle, 2017; Richardson, 2017). Therefore, my interpretations are based on the knowledge I had to hand. Further research in this area may benefit from considering the presentation of articles, or lack of them, in the context of wider political and economic factors.

6.4.3. Subjectivity

As a novice researcher, I chose to base my Foucauldian-informed Discourse Analysis on the steps outlined by Willig (2013). Whilst this was helpful in presenting clear guidance on approaching the data, interpreting subjectivity from the quotes of DAWS presented a limitation in the analytic process. Willig (2013) highlights that this is the most tentative step as it alludes to the 'inner workings' of the subjects which is at odds with the ethos of Foucault which proposes that experience is dictated by discourse. In the case of this analysis, the text from which I was interpreting subjectivity was a secondary source in the form of quotes by DAWS selected by journalists and editors to support an article. Therefore, the experience of the 'Windrush Scandal' in this research should be treated with caution. A fuller understanding of this experience would benefit from further research conducted with DAWS as participants.

6.4.4. Bourdieu, Foucault and the Danger of Crossing Epistemological Streams

When writing this thesis, I hesitated before using Bourdieusian ideas to view the interpretations from a Foucauldian informed analysis. Bourdieu advocated for empirical research arguing that one could not form theory on philosophy alone (Bourdieu, 1988). This places Bourdieu on the realist end of the spectrum which would seem at odds with the epistemological underpinnings of this research. However, it has been argued that the ideas of Bourdieu and Foucault are not mutually exclusive and can be used together towards undertaking a more nuanced analysis (Bang, 2014; Schlosser, 2012). Both view power as rooted in history and reject singular realities or linear causal explanations. Both have moved away from locating societal problems within the individual to instead focus on the operation of power in discourse. Whilst Bourdieu could be said to be more materialist in his outlook by considering both symbolic and economic power, Foucault did not reject the 'material world' instead defining it by the attributions society ascribed to an object. My decision to incorporate the ideas of Bourdieu was based on the data I chose to analyse. Newspapers have the symbolic power to define, categorise and silence events and those affected, influencing policy and perception (Meikle, 2007).

6.4.5. Quality Control

To consider ‘quality’, I asked questions of my research based on the suggestions of Yardley (2000), outlined in Appendix F. In the following paragraphs I will briefly consider each area highlighted.

6.4.4.1. *Sensitivity to Context*: Findings should be rooted in socio-political and historical and theoretical context (Yardley, 2000). In so doing, it is possible to challenge taken for granted assumptions which support unquestioned constructs (Harding and Gantley, 1998). This research was supported by a conceptual framework which posited that the symbolic power of the news can construct events and position people within those events to provide a version of events accepted by the readers (Meikle, 2017). The perception of these events can serve to perpetuate or challenge social inequality (Hodgetts et al., 2008). I further suggested that the consequences of these discursive constructs are embodied by those they affect (Van Dijk, 2015) In presenting the findings, I aimed to consider the broader implications of the discourse for social inequality.

To provide historical context, I considered past newspaper analyses of events involving UK Caribbeans and commentary on how the concept of ‘Windrush’ evolved. To provide further context in this research, it may have been helpful to trace the genealogy of the way in which the ‘Windrush Scandal’ and those affected have been presented in news discourse. This may have provided further insight into the conditions of possibility that enabled contemporary understandings of ‘DAWS’ to evolve (Arribas-Aylon & Walkerdine, 2011). However, given limitations on time and resources, it was not within the remit of this present discourse to conduct this further analysis.

6.4.4.2. *Commitment*: Yardley (2000) defines commitment as engagement with the topic, methodology and data over an extended period. In this research immersion extended beyond the reading and rereading of the data (Green et al., 2007). From the first stages of conceptualising the research I began to read and watch interviews about

the Windrush Scandal and the history leading up to it. Speaking with members of the UK Caribbean community about the 'WS' contextualised the impact and highlighted views that diverged from the views portrayed in the newspapers. Some older members of the UK Caribbean community objected to the term 'Windrush' as there was more than one boat that brought Caribbean immigrants to the UK. Two of the older Caribbean immigrants I spoke with disapproved of the 'DAWS', suggesting that they should have 'had their paperwork in order'. However, they were open to discussion about the destruction of Landing Cards and misleading immigration guidance saying that they had had not realised that this was the case. These conversations indicated that there was not a homogenous view of the 'WS' within the UK Caribbean Community, further emphasising the importance of consulting with this community directly.

Seeking an understanding of epistemology and methodological approaches based on past papers and philosophies on 'power' allowed consideration of the 'fit' between analytic approach and the research focus (Zilber & Meyer, 2022). It was from this that I decided to include ideas from Bourdieu in a Foucauldian-informed analysis, the rationale being that 'symbolic' power provided an explanation of the influence of newspapers on both the public and policy. Additionally, these ideas 'fit' with a social constructionist critical realist epistemology and ontology in that newspaper constructions could have embodied consequences (Van Dijk, 2015).

6.4.4.3. *Rigour*: Yardley (2000) defines rigour as the competence and completeness of the methodology and analysis. Whilst the philosophical underpinnings of qualitative research do not lend themselves to a standardised and replicable methodology (Forshaw, 2007) it is nevertheless important to outline a clear epistemology and methodological approach to provide insight into the research process (Willig, 2012). In this research, my selection was guided by my research questions, seeking to gather a broad corpus of data that would contain multiple and sometimes conflicting discourses. The analysis followed the steps outlined by Willig (2013) but was not linear consisting of moving back and forth between the raw data and themes to check and consider congruence in my interpreted discourse. Whilst this process over many months

contributed to the completeness of the analysis, it was a macro approach picking out broad themes as opposed to deconstructing the data sentence by sentence.

6.4.4.4. *Transparency and coherence*: It is hoped that transparency in the research was achieved by providing a comprehensive description of the research process supported by exemplars from the reflexive journal and analysis process. Iterations of the selected data and interpreted discourses were saved for referral purposes in the analysis. I aimed to achieve coherence by linking the construction of the Windrush Scandal with the impact of discourse on social inequalities. To further check coherence and credibility, I sent drafts of the analysis to four members of the UK Caribbean community and my supervisor inviting feedback (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1992). A pertinent piece of feedback was the absence of my opinion in the research that may have been indicative of 'White Fragility'. I have strived to challenge my own bias within the confines of subjectivity that is inevitable in qualitative discourse (Cutcliffe, 2003) . However, this is nevertheless a potential limitation of the analysis.

6.4.4.5. *Reflexivity: My White Lens*: Reflexivity has remained integral to my approach to the research process. In my original proposal, which sought to interview those affected by the Windrush Scandal, I naively believed that I could fully understand their experiences and make subsequent recommendations for clinical interventions. Looking back over my reflexive journals and the research write-up, I see that my perspective has changed significantly. I no longer view the 'WS' as an isolated event or those it effected as a clearly defined group. I do believe that any response to the distress caused by 'WS' and associated inequalities should involve and be led by those affected and their communities to maximise the potential of appropriate support (Nazroo et al., 2022). However, whilst the research has educated me and deepened my understanding, it is important to acknowledge that there may be considerations and implications that I have missed during the research process due to my identity as a 'White' cis woman.

6.4.4.6. Impact and Importance: According to Yardley (2000) the criteria of *impact* and *importance* refer to the extent the research adds to theory and the relevance to the socio-political context in which it is set. This analysis contributes to the existing literature on newspaper construction of events concerning UK Caribbeans and margianalised cohorts more generally. In the context of the 'Windrush Scandal' It is hoped that the analysis served to challenge taken for granted assumptions about the scandal that may have been derived from dominant narratives. Furthermore, this research considered the implications of attribution of blame, silence and positioning for DAWS and their wider communities.

6.5. Final Thoughts

At the start of this thesis, I stated my intention to emulate the sister who travelled 'upstream' to investigate what was causing the problem. I have tried to do this by analysing newspaper coverage to explore what may cause or challenge further inequalities linked to the 'WS'. This coverage indicated that resistant discourse carried by the voice of those affected and their community featured in coverage of the aftermath of the 'WS'. However, the way in which the 'WS' was reported, and DAWS positioned may have served to limit wider questions about ongoing immigration policies and institutional discrimination which will continue to cause widespread social inequality in the UK.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: **Newspapers listed by online and hardcopy combined distribution estimates (OFCOM, 2023) and political affiliation (YouGov, 2017)**

Publication	Political Affiliation
The Mail/Mail on Sunday	Right Wing
The Guardian/Observer	Centre-Left
The Times Sunday Times	Centre-right
The Daily/Sunday Telegraph	Right-Wing
Daily/Sunday Mirror	Centre-Left
Daily/Sunday Express	Right-Wing
The Financial Times	Right-Wing
The Daily/Sunday Star	Centre-Right
The Independent	Centre-Left
The Metro	Right-Wing

Appendix B: Protocol Table of Selected Articles

		Newspaper	Word Count	Headline	Context, Focus & paragraphs/lines	Whose voices?
1	July 2020	Daily Telegraph	796	Paulette Wilson; 'Windrush' activist and champion of those who like her were threatened with unjust deportation	DAWS account 8 WS 2 Campaigning 2 Immigration 2 Government 1 12 Paragraph	Journalist (check) Paulette Wilson
2	March 2020	Express	387	NHS stalwart: It broke my heart to be told I don't count as British	DAWS Account 11	Michael Knowles (J) Glenda Caesar (DAWS)
3	March 2020	Express	1168	Windrush scandal: 'Lives were ruined' by hounding of families with right to be in UK;	WS Report DAWS Account (18 Lines) Williams report 5 Government response 2 Campaigning 1 WS 2 Immigration (4 Lines) WCS 2 20 lines	Martyn Brown (J) Priti Patel (CMP) Glenda Caesar (DAWS) Patrick Vernon (Campaigner)
4	June 2020	Express	637	Anthony Bryan: Who is Windrush Scandal victim? Is he still living in the UK?; ANTHONY BRYAN is one of many victims of the UK Government's "hostile environment"	WS Account (22 lines) WS 2 Immigration 1 19 Lines	Aliss Higham (J) Anthony Bryan
5	June 2020	Express	227	Windrush victims demand damages	Williams report 1 Campaigning 1 DAWS Account 1 (6 Lines) Compensation 10 lines	Michael Knowles (J)
6	July 2020	Express (two articles merged- consider removal of one)	1716	Windrush scandal must never be repeated	DAWS Impact 5	Dominic Bliss (J) James Hanratty (former judge)
7	July 2020	FT	1035	Windrush compensation scheme 'too slow' for victims	WCS 5 DAWS Account 6 WS 1 Other 1 Campaigners 1 Gov Response 3 William report 1 6 paragraphs	Robert Wright (J) Mohamed Ali Hirsy (DAWS) Anthony Bryans (DAWS) Kingsley Irons (DAWS) Nick Thomas-Symonds, MP Martin Forde HO Barrister HO
8	March 2020	Guardian	2397	Windrush report: what the HO needs to act on; Wendy Williams' key findings on the treatment of people wrongly labelled illegal immigrantsWindrush repor....	WS review DAWS impact, treatment 4	Amelia Gentleman Wendy Williams (report content)

9	March 2020	Guardian	1080	Windrush report: call for inquiry into extent of racism in HO; Alliance of 16 anti-racism groups says report on scandal proves 'institutional failures	Lessons Learned Report 9 WS Impact 3 Government 5 WS 3 (six lines) 24 Lines	Amelia Gentleman (J) Owen Boycott (J) Diane Abbott (LMP) Zubaida Haque (race equality campaign) Wendy Williams (report writer) Michael Braithwaite (DAWS)
10	March 19 2020	Guardian	4677	'Lambs to the slaughter': 50 lives ruined by the Windrush scandal; As the report on the HO scandal is finally published, we revisit the victims' storie....	50 Lines WS Impact 50 DAWS background 50 (excerpts of previous news stories)	Check Journalist 50 (DAWS)
11	May 2020	Guardian	845	Windrush scandal: only 60 victims given compensation so far; Just £360,000 distributed in first year from fund expected to pay out hundreds of millions	Compensation WCS 7 WS impact WS WS Impact 12 Lines	Amelia Gentleman (J) Priti Patel (CMP) HO Elwaldo Romeo (DAWS) Judith Griffiths (DAWS)
12	May 2020	Guardian	2059	'My mum said, "Why are the police arresting you? You must have done something": the scandal behind TV's new Windrush drama;	Sitting in limbo WS dramatisation WS Impact 7 Sitting in Limbo (other) 6 WS 4 WCS 1 Immigration 2 DAWS Background 1 7 Paragraphs	Amelia Gentleman (J) Anthony Bryan (DAWS) Janet Mckay (wife) Stephen Thompson (brother & writer) Patrick Robinson (actor)
13	June 2020	Guardian	751	Windrush scandal survivors deliver petition to No 10; Call to speed up compensation for people wrongly detained and deported by government	WCS 6 WS Impact 3 Government 1 Campaigning 3 6 Paragraphs	Amelia Gentleman (J) Paulette Wilson (DAWS) Michael Braithwaite (DAWS) Anthony Bryan (DAWS) Glenda Caesar (DAWS) Patrick Vernon (campaigner)
14	June 2020	Guardian	1033	'I feel targeted': Windrush victim decries compensation delays as racism; Former soldier of 13 years' service left destitute and humiliated by HO polic....	WS Impact 12 DAWS Background 1 WCS 1 WS 1 Gov 1 10 Paragraphs	Amelia Gentleman (J) Anthony Williams (DAWS) Yvette Cooper (MP, Home affairs select committee)
15	June 2020	Guardian	1371	Windrush lawyer Jacqueline McKenzie: 'The HO is treating people with contempt'; The lawyer representing 200 victims of the Windrush scandal says system....	Compensation DAWS Views 3	Amelia Gentleman (J) Jacqueline Mackenzie (Lawyer)
16	June 2020	Guardian	1310	The Windrush generation deserves justice - not video chats with the home secretary; Anthony Bryan's ordeal was about to be dramatised in a BBC drama, Sitting in....	Government & Compensation re. WS DAWS Impact 4	Amelia Gentleman Anthony Bryan Private secretary to Priti Patel Nick Timothy (immigration adviser)

17	July 2020	Guardian		Paulette Wilson: 'a precious gem ... broken by the UK government'; People pay tribute to leading Windrush campaigner who has died unexpectedlyWithout Wilson, Wi....	Death of Paulette Wilson (DAWS) DAWS Impact DAWS Campaigning	Amelia Gentleman (J) Patrick Vernon (Campaigner) Priti Patel (CMP) Harriet Harman (LMP) Daniel Ashwell (charity worker) David Lammy (LMP) Jim Wilson (Lawyer) Yvette Cooper (LMP)
18	July 2020	Guardian Opinion	973	The death of Paulette Wilson must mark the end of the hostile environment; We've had crocodile tears from the Tories over the Windrush scandal. To honour her me....	Death of Paulette Wilson (DAWS)	Diane Abbott (LMP)
19	July 2020	Guardian		Without Paulette Wilson, Windrush may have remained hidden; Amelia Gentleman recalls the personality, experiences and battles of the leading campaignerPaulette	Paulette Wilson death DAWS Impact, campaign 15	Amelia Gentleman (J) Priti Patel (CMP)
20	July 2020	Guardian	586	Windrush campaigner Paulette Wilson dies aged 64; Wilson, who was nearly deported in 2017,delivered petition to Downing Street last month 'A precious gem ... br....	Death of Paulette Wilson DAWS Impact, campaigning, MH 5	Amelia Gentleman& Lucy Campbell (J) Patrick Vernon (Campaigner) Natalie Barnes (daughter) Paulette Wilson (DAWS)
21	Sep 2020	Guardian	745	Windrush victims sceptical about HO 'improvement plan'	HO reform WS Impact 10 Lines	Amelia Gentleman (J) Priti Patel (CMP) Wendy Williams (report) Satbir Singh (Welfare of immigrants) Sally Daghlin (Praxis) Anthony Williams (DAWS) Glenda Caesar (DAWS)
22	Nov 2020	Guardian	1569	Windrush: two years on, victims describe long waits and 'abysmal' payouts	Compensation WS Impact Compensation 9 paragraphs	Amelia Gentleman (J) Holly Stow (compensation caseworker) HO Samantha Cooper (DAWS wife) Gus Udo (DAWS) Renford Macintyre (DAWS) Judy Griffith (DAWS) Ivan Anglin (DAWS) Peter Watson (DAWS)
23	Nov 2020	Guardian	634	Windrush victim refused British citizenship despite wrongful passport confiscation	WS Impact British Citizenship 8 Paragraphs	Amelia Gentleman (J) Ken Morgan (DAWS) Irène Nembhard (DAWS Lawyer)
24	Dec 2020	Guardian	946	Windrush victims accuse Priti Patel of 'deeply insulting' behaviour	Deportations after WS 4	Kevin Rawlinson & Amelia Gentleman (J)

						2Windrush Campaigners (collective incl. DAWS) Anthony Bryan (DAWS) Jacqueline Mackenzie (Lawyer) Amer Zaman (Lawyer) Miranda Butler (Lawyer Sheraaz Hingora (Lawyer) Holly Lynch (LMP)
25	March 2021	Guardian	890	Windrush victim denied UK citizenship despite HO admitting error	WS Impact British Citizenship Catch 22 12 Paragraphs	Amelia Gentleman (J) Priti Patel (CMP) Ken Morgan (DAWS) Trevor Donald (DAWS) Connie Sozi (DAWS Lawyer)
26	March 2021	Guardian	729	British nationality law reform aims to remove Windrush anomalies	Immigration 2 WS Impact 2 Lawyer 3 Gov. response 3 8 paragraphs	Amelia Gentleman (J) Vernon Vanriel (DAWS) Trevor Donald (DAWS)
27	April 2021	Guardian	796	Windrush campaigners alarmed by omissions of No 10 race report	Gov't Race report DAWS Impact WS injustice DAWS race 6	Amelia Gentleman (J) Patrick Vernon (Campaigner) Anthony Brown (Campaigner) Satbir Singh (JCWI) Elwaldo Romeo ((DAWS) Hamima Begum (Charity/Runnemede)
28	May 2021	Guardian	2632	Anthony Brown: the man who resisted deportation - then fought tirelessly for Windrush survivors	WS Campaigner's view DAWS 6	Amelia Gentleman (J) Anthony Brown (campaigner)
29	June 2021	Guardian	803	Windrush victim wrongly threatened with forced return to Jamaica in final years, report finds	WS Impact 7 Paragraphs	Amelia Gentleman (J) Fiona Everett (daughter of DAWS) Rob Behrens (Ombudsman) Sukhdeep Singh (caseworker) HO
30	Dec 2021	Guardian	5369	A 975-day nightmare: how the HO forced a British citizen into destitution abroad	DAWS Account 32 WCS 27 WS 1 Government 5 25 paragraphs	Amelia Gentleman (J) Alexandra Ankhar (HO Christopher Amoah (brother) Johnson (Legal) Richard Amoah (DAWS)
31	Dec 2021	Guardian	825	Windrush: high court rules claimants' human rights breached by HO	Human right WS impact 23 Lines	Diane Taylor (J) Amelia Gentleman (J)

						Jeremy Bloom (DAWS Lawyer) Vernon Vanriel (DAWS) Eunice Tumi (DAWS)
32	March 2022	Guardian	1015	Windrush: HO has failed to transform its culture, report says	HO Clulture DAWS Impact Fixing injustice 4 (10 lines)	Amelia Gentleman Wendy Williams Satbir Singh (JCWI) Anthony Bryan (DAWS) Josephine Whitaker-Yilmaz (Charity Praxis) Priti Patel (CMP) HO workers
33	Dec 2022	Guardian	529	Windrush victim granted right to remain in UK after 10-year battle	WS Impact 6 paragraphs	Diane Taylor (J) Roy Harrison (DAWS) arr. 1984 Jacqueline Mackenzie (DAWS Lawyer)
34	Jan 2023	Guardian Opinion Piece	816	Where is the justice, Suella Braverman, for me and the others whose lives were ruined by the Windrush scandal?	U-turn WS Impact 5 Government 4 WCS 2 (5 lines) DAWS Background 1 7 paragraphs	Judith Griffiths (J) (DAWS)
35	Jan 2023	Guardian	1152	Windrush inquiry head disappointed as Braverman drops 'crucial' measures	U-Turn on promises DAWS Impact and confidence 6	Amelia Gentleman & Rajeev Syal (J) Suella Braverman (CMP) Wendy Williams (inspectorate) Kevin Foster (CMP) Patrick Vernon (Campaigner) Judith Griffith (DAWS) Jacqueline Mackenzie (Lawyer) David Neal ICIBI Martin Forde (Windrush Scheme Architect) Yvette Cooper (LMP)
36	Jan 2023	Guardian J	1036	Stringing us along': Windrush U-turns let down those whose lives were ruined	U-turn DAWS Account 4 & 1 line Gov response 6 & 4 linesa\ WCS 2 Williams report 1 23 Lines	Amelia Gentleman (J) Suella Braverman (MP)) Anthony Williams (DAWS)
37	Jan 2023	Guardian	2004	'I have a fighting spirit!': the Windrush boxer who lost everything – then battled his way back	On The Ropes Play & WS Play (other) 7 DAWS Account 21 WS 1 8 Paragraphs	Simon Hattenstone (J) Vernon Vanriel (DAWS)
38	April 2023	Guardian	779	Message to Suella Braverman: you are betraying the Windrush scandal survivors, but we will defend them	U-turn on promises DAWS background and impact 4	Wanda Wyporska (campaigner)

39	April 2023	Guardian	908	Like a blocked gate I can't climb over': a Windrush victim's DWP impasse	WS Passport complications DAWS Account 9 Gov Response 3 WS 2 Campaigners 1 7 Paragraphs	Amelia Gentleman (J) Patrick Vernon (Campaigner) HO Joseph Mowlah Baksh (DAWS)
40	May 2023	Guardian	534	HO minister heckled by victims of Windrush scandal	Meeting with DAWS Compensation 2 (4 lines) Gov response 4 WS Impact 4 Lines Campaigning 3 (6 Lines) 11 Lines	Amelia Gentleman (J) 3 Unnamed (DAWS) Lord Murray (HO) Jeremy Crook (Action for Race Equality) Dawn Butler (LMP)
41	March 2020	Independent 2020	1053	Priti Patel wants you to think the Windrush compensation scheme works - this victim's heartbreaking struggle shows the opposite; Promises were made of a quick service to 'right the wrongs' of the government, but more and more people are dying before they receive a penny, let alone an apology, writes Sinai Fleary	Compensation WS Impact 21 Lines	Sinai Fleary (J) Leeford Hammond (DAWS)
42	July 2020	Independent	535	Paulette Wilson: Windrush campaigner who was wrongly detained after 50 years in Britain dies aged 64; Jamaican national was one of the first individuals who cam....	Death of Paulette Wilson WS Impact, campaigning 4	May Bulman Patricl Vernon (Campaigner) Satbir Singh (JCWI) Jacqueline Mackenzie (Lawyer) David Lammy (LMP)
43	Oct 2020	Independent	1611	Still waiting: only 1% of Windrush compensation funds paid out to claimants	Compensation WS Impact 10 Paragraphs	May Bulman (J) Patrick Vernon (Campaigner) Leeford Hammond (DAWS) Thomas Tobierre (DAWS) Mohamed Ali Hirsy (DAWS)
44	Nov 2020	Independent	723	'Hostile environment' broke law and is 'shameful stain on British history', equality watchdog finds	Equality watchdog review of Hostile environment Impact on DAWS & equality 5 (10 lines)	Rob Merrick (J) Equalities watchdog (Ms Waters) Satbir Singh (JCWI)
45	Nov 2020	Independent	1311	The HO failed black Britons – the Windrush scandal is a 'shameful stain' on the nation	Comparison of 2 Hubert Howards (DAWS vs. aristocrat) DAWS background and WS impact 5 paragraphs	Nicholas Boston (J) Satbir Singh (JCWI) Caroline Waters (Equality & Human Rights)
46	Dec 2020	Independent	849	Windrush victims criticise 'insulting' Patel interview	Deportation DAWS Impact DAWS on government	SAM Hancock (J) Glenda Caesar (DAWS) Elwaldo Romeo (DAWS)

						Michael Braithwaite (DAWS) Anthony Bryan (DAWS) Priti Patel (CMP)
47	April 2021	Independent	668	HO unlawfully refused Windrush citizens status over minor criminal records, High Court rules	'Good Character' & Citizenship WS Impact, Legal technicalities for DAWS (4)	May Bulman Justice Swift Connie Sozi (Lawyer) Patrick Vernon (Campaigner) HO Spokesperson
48	April 2021	Independent	928	'Scrap report or stand down,' Windrush campaigners warn race commission chair	Race report Who was affected by WS & racism 10 lines	Nadine White (J) Patrick Vernon Jacqueline Mackenzie (Lawyer) Letter from campaigners Tony Sewell (report author
49	April 2021	Independent	878	Windrush scandal victim Richard Black to return to UK after 38-year exile	Return to UK WS Impact 57DAWS Background 32 lines	Nadine White (J) Richard Black (DAWS)
50	May 2021	Independent	1068	Government's Windrush 'engagement meetings' are perpetuating hostile environment, activists say	Windrush Engagement Meetings WS Impact Government Behaviour 8 paragraphs	Nadine White Ngozi Chinegwundoh (Campaigner) Jacqueline Mackensie (DAWS Lawyer) Euen Herber-Small Glenda Caesar
51	May 2021	Independent	921	HO unlawfully prevented Windrush woman's family from joining her in UK, High Court rules	Citizenship WS Impact	May Bulman (J) Jeremy Bloom (QC) Lynda Mahabir (DAWS)
52	June 2021	Independent	928	Anthony Bryan: 'My Windrush drama won a BAFTA, but I still haven't received compensation'	Compensation WS Impact 14 Lines	Nadine White (J) Anthony Bryan (G) Patrick Vernon (Campaigner)
53	August 2021	Independent	1116	Jamaicans who arrived in Britain as children face deportation this week - we will not forget this government's cruelty	Deportations (not DAWS)	Richard Sudan Movement for Justice (Campaign)ZM
54	Sep 2021	Independent	1361	Windrush claimants fear being 'forgotten' by government amid Afghanistan crisis	Compensation Afghani crisis aid 14 Lines	Nadine White (J) Ramya Jaidev (DAWS spokesperson) Patrick Vernon (Campaigner) Bishop Dr Desmond Jadoo (Campaigner) HO spokesperson Euen Herbert-Small (DAWS)
55	Dec 2021	Independent	671	Patel faces legal action over Windrush pay out failures	Compensation WS Impact 10 lines	Nadine White (J) Jo Maugham (Good Law Project) Ramya Jaidev (Campaigner) Dominic Akers Paul (DAWS, 28)

56	Dec 2021	Independent	934	Windrush members' human rights were breached by HO, High Court ruling finds	Human Rights WS Impact DAWS Background	Nadine White (J) Jeremy Bloom (DAWS Lawyer) Priti Patel (CMP) Vernon Vanriel (DAWS)
57	May 2022	Independent	755	Windrush scandal: Everything you need to know about the major political crisis	WS Description WS Contributing factors WS impact 5 Paragraphs	Olivia Petter (J)
58	June 2022	Independent	746	Voices: On Windrush Day, victims of this devastating scandal still don't have the justice they deserve	WS remembered WS Impact WS Immigration precursors 7 paragraphs	Noah Enahoro (J) Jacqueline McKenzie (Lawyer)
59	June 2022	Independent	1095	Windrush campaigners say monument is 'bittersweet'	Windrush Monument Compensation WS WS impact 21 Lines	Nadine White (J) Patrick Vernon (Campaigner) Jacqueline Mackenzie (DAWS Lawyer) Sally Daghlian (Praxis) Samuel Nelson (Windrush generation) Glenda Caesar Unnamed (DAWS)
60	June 2022	Independent	793	Windrush claimant still waiting for payout after 'complex' case abandoned	Compensation DAWS Background WS Impact 9 Lines	Thomas Kingsley (J) Jacqueline Mackenzie (DAWS Lawyer) HO spokesperson Bishop Dr Desmond Jadoo (Campaigner) Gloria Fletcher DAWS Cleveland (DAWS son)
61	June 2022	Independent	1688	Discrimination by Descent: Windrush legacy endures	19 lines Wider impact of the scandal Community impact	Nadine White Euen H
62	Jan 2023	Independent	1353	Windrush compensation scheme 'not fit for purpose'	Compensation WS Impact 5DAWS Background 23 Lines	Nadine White (J) Mary Atkinson (JCWI) Patrick Vernon (Campaigner) Bishop Dr Desmond Jadoo (Campaigner) HO Spokesperson Joel Oswald (OBO DAWS grandmother Dorothy Oswald-Williams) Herman Campbbell (DAWS)
63	Jan 2023	Independent	485	Floella Benjamin hits out at government's 'disrespect' of Windrush generation	U-turn DAWS Impact, pledges to DAWS 4	Nadine White Floella Benjamin Gov't spokesman

64	Feb 2023	Independent	771	Windrush victim brings compensation fight with HO to the High Court	Compensation Claim WS personal Impact (12 Lines)	Tm Pilgrim (J) Mr Buttler (DAWS Lawyer) Edward Brown (Gov Lawyer)
65	Feb 2023	Independent	801	The Windrush victim fighting for compensation after not being able to work or claim benefits for 34 years	Compensation WS Impact DAWS Background 16 lines	Holly Bancroft (J) Surjit Kaur (DAWS) Steven Bopari (DAWS son) MR Forde (WCS architect) Jeremy Bloom (DAWS Lawyer)
66	April 2023	Independent	712	Government must stick to its promises in wake of Windrush scandal, PM told	U-turn Attitude towards DAWS & Justice 9 lines	Aine Fox David Olugosa (Historian) Letter from campaigners Wanda Wyporska (Equality group)
67	April 2023	Independent	870	Suella Braverman facing legal action over broken Windrush pledges	U-Turn Impact Campaigning by DAWS Legal challenge 12 Lines	Nadine White (J) Patrick Vernon (Campaigner) Wanda Wyporska Black Equity Org (BEO) Letter from DAWS & Campaigners
68	April 2023	Independent	696	Windrush campaigners call decision to drop recommendations 'a slap in the face'	U turn on Windrush reforms WS Impact 21 Lines	Jacob Phillips (J) Dr Wanda Wyporska (Black Equity) Glenda Caesar Michael Braithwaite
69	May 2023	Independent	686	Two Windrush victims lose High Court compensation fights with HO	Compensation claims WS Impact 12 lines	Tom Pilgrim (J) Justice Henshaw Surjit Kaur (DAWS) Justice Griffiths
70	May 23	Independent	1676	'We're human beings too': How a decade of the hostile environment has torn lives apart	Hostile environment Impact Targetting DAWS (10 Lines)	Nadine White (J) Patrick Vernon (campaigner) Glenda Caesar (DAWS) Junior (immigrant) Faith (Immigrant)
71	June 2020	Mail Online (check)	795	HO 'HOSTILE' POLICY ON MIGRANTS FACING INQUIRY	WS investigation DAWS Impact 4 9 lines	Ian Dury (J) HO
72	June 2020	Mail Online	603	Man, 68, wrongly branded an illegal immigrant in the Windrush scandal reveals he was 'dressed and ready to be taken away' at 6am every morning for 18 months	Personal account of WS DAWS Background WS Impact Compensation 21 Lines	Monica Greep (J) Michael Braithwaite (DAWS)
73	June 2020	Mail Online	670	Locked up for wanting to visit his mum: The Windrush scandal ruined hundreds of lives - now a moving new drama tells one man's story	WS WS Impact DAWS Background 9 Lines	Joe Brockman (J) Anthony Bryan (DAWS) Patrick Robinson (Actor) Stephen Thompson (DAWS Brother)

74	July 2020	Mail Online	469	Windrush campaigner Paulette WIlson who was nearly deported despite living in the UK for nearly 50 years has died aged 64	Obituary WS Impact DAWS Background 14 lines	Danyal Hussain (J) Paulette Wilson (DAWS) Lessons Learned report Natalie Barnes (DAWS daughter)
75	Aug 2020	Mail online	2954	Majority of Windrush scandal compensation claimants are still without payment after scheme pays out £1million to 143 victims - despite 1,480 applications	Compensation not paid WS background WS Impact 8 paragraphs	Jack Wirght Priti Patel (CMP) Wendy Williams (Report Author) Lawyers collective HO Spokesperson Stella Corradi (production sitting in Limbo) Amber Rudd (CMP) Teresa May (former CPM) David Lammy (LMP) HASC report National Audit report
76	Sep 2020	Mail online	1123	All HO staff will be trained on Britain's 'history of migration and race' after department was slammed in critical Windrush scandal report	HO training HX migration WS Impact	Katie Weston (J) Priti Patel (CMP) Wendy Williams (report author) Matthew Rycroft (permanent Secretary) Bishop Derel Webley (campaigner)
77	Dec 2020	Mail Online	2067	Priti Patel's fury at stars' insult to Windrush victims: Home Secretary tells of her outrage over 'offensive' fight by celebrities to keep Jamaican killers and	Deportations DAWS comparisons WS Impact 6 Paragraphs	David Barrett (J) Priti Patel (CMP) Letter by campaigners against deportation Holly Lynch (LMP) Chris Philp (CMP) HO Sources Diane Abbott (LMP) Abena Oppong-Asare (LMP) Bell Ribeiro-Addy (LMP) Liam Byrne (LMP)
78	Dec 2020	Mail Online	702	'They were badly let down': Priti Patel boosts compensation for Windrush victims from £250 to at least £10,000 - with the potential for some to receive more tha....	Compensation WS Impact	James Tapsfield Priti Patel (CMP) Bishop Derek Webley (Campaigner)
79	Dec 2020	Mail Online Byline	669	Windrush victim's daughter warns against linking scandal to deportation of Jamaican killers and rapists	Deportation flights WS Impact Comparisons 25 Lines	Ermine Sinmaz (J) David Barrett (J) Clayton Barnes (DAWS) Samantha Barnes Garrner (DAWS daughter) Priti Patel (CMP)
80	Jan 2021	Mail online		Only 17% of Windrush scandal victims have received payouts as figures show £2.9m has been paid	Compensation WS Background WS Impact	Luke May Priti Patel (CMP)

				to 300 people after 1,761 compensation claims	7 paragraphs Large Chunk copied from article above	Wendy Williams (Report Author) Lawyers collective HO Spokesperson Stella Corradi (production sitting in Limbo) Amber Rudd (CMP) Teresa May (former CPM) David Lammy (LMP) HASC report National Audit report
81	May 2021	Mail Online	748	HO DID discriminate against Windrush families by insisting on charging them 'exorbitant' fees to enter the UK, High Court rules	Human Rights Fees for entry to UK Discrimination2WS families 14 Lines	Jacob Thorburn (J) Lynda Mahabir (DAWS) Judge Smith (High Court) Jeremy Bloom (QC)
82	Aug 2021	Mail Online	1803	*British Olympic star Joslyn Hoyte-Smith's Barbados-born brother says £100,000 payout for Windrush scandal is not enough because he cannot buy his own home*	DAWS WS WS Impact DAWS Background Compensation 29 Lines	Jacob Thorburn (J) Lorenzo Hoyte (DAWS)
83	June 2022	Mail Online	3440	Prince William says he 'learnt so much' on Caribbean tour - that was branded 'tone deaf' - about 'how the past weighs heavily on the present' as he joins Kate M....	Windrush Statue WS Background Racism WS Impact 5 Paragraphs	Jessica Green (J) Prince William Amber Rudd (CMP) Teresa May (former CPM) David Lammy (LMP) HASC report National Audit report
84	April 2023	Mail Online	820	Windrush scandal victims are still facing long waits and inadequate compensation, report warns - as group demands payout scheme should be 'stripped' from Home O....	Compensation DAWS WS WS Impact WDAWS Background 17 Lines	Matthew Lodge (J) Human Rights (Org) Thomas Tobierre (DAWS) Jacqueline Mackenzie (DAWS lawyer) HO (org) Wanda Wyporska (Black Equity Org)
85	March 2020	Metro	309	Priti 'sorry' after damning Windrush scandal report	WS Gov't apology WS Impact WS Background 14 Lines	Joe Gammi (J) Priti Patel (CMP) Wendy Williams (report author) David Lammy (LMP)
86	May 2021	Metro	289	Fees victory for relatives of Windrush generation	Human Rights Fees for coming to UK DAWS Background 9 lines	Sam Tobin Judge Tim Smith HO (org) Lynda Mahabir (DAWS)
87	June 2020	Mirror	466	Heartbreaking moment Windrush scandal victim sees his mum for first time in a decade; Anthony Bryan was one of the 160 people who were detained or deported duri....	DAWS Background WS Impact 16 Lines	Jane Lavender (J) Anthony Bryan (DAWS) Stephen Thompson (DAWS brother)

88	June 2020	Mirror	385	Poignant moment Windrush scandal victim Anthony Bryan handed his official papers; Anthony Bryan was one of the 160 people detained or deported during the harrow	WS Anthony Bryan WS Impact WS resolution	Jane Lavender (J) Anthony Bryan (DAWS) Stephen Thompson (DAWS brother) Piers Morgan (presenter)
89	June 2020	Mirror	303	Windrush insult as scandal victim told he's 'not British' offered £250 compensation; EXCLUSIVE: Herman Campbell, who has lived in the UK since he was seven, was....	WS Impact Compensation DAWS Background 9 Lines	Emily Retter (J) Herman Campbell (DAWS) HO Spokesperson
90	June 2020	Mirror	582	Windrush scandal victim receives a £20k payout after losing her job; EXCLUSIVE: Teaching assistant, who arrived aged four with her mum in 1981, was accused by e....	DAWS gets redress for unfair dismissal WS Impact Unfair dismissal 11 Lines	Alan Selby (J) Willow Sims (DAWS) (41 yo) HO Taskforce (org) Kim Wright (Lewisham Council)
91	July 2020	Mirror	361	Windrush campaigner dies suddenly one month after delivering petition to No 10; Paulette Wilson described 68as an "inspiration to many people" died unexpectedly a....	WS Obituary WS Impact 10 Lines	Benjamin Cooper (J) Danya Bazaraa (J) Natalie Barnes (DAWS daughter) Paulette Wilson (DAWS)
92	Aril 2023	Mirror	461	It is as if they are deliberately planning on people dying to pay out less money; Windrush scandal delay fear	Compensation WS Background Gov't pledge to DAWS 10 Lines	Melssa Sigodo Sidney Macfarlane (DAWS) WS campaigners Jacqueline Mackenzie HO Spokesperson
93	April 2023	Mirror	1020	Windrush victims 'violated' by 'lunacy' of compensation scheme, campaigners warn	Compensation WS Impact XP of applying for compensation 18 Lines	Sophie Huskiss (J) Human rights Watch report (org) Almaz Teffera (HRW) HO Spokesperson Roland Houslin (DAWS) Dominic Akers Paul (DAWS)
94	March 2020	The Times	756	Priti Patel apologises as Windrush report condemns HO	WS Report WS Impact Gov't apology & pleadge 20 lines	Richard Ford Wendy Williams (Report author) Teresa May (former PM) Priti Patel (CMP)-
95	March 2020	The Times	872	Windrush review: HO must reform to avoid a repeat	WS Report WS Impact HO Approach (9lines)	Satbir Sing & Sonya Sceats (JCWI) (J)
96	Nov 2020	The Times	561r	The Windrush generation deserve better than this botch job	WS Compensation 9 lines	Yvette Coope (J) (CMP)
97	Dec 2020	The Times	898	Patel announces bigger payouts for victims of Windrush scandal	WS Impact WS Gov't response WS Compensation 21 Lines	Charlotte Wace Priti Patel (CMP) Bishop Derek Wabeley (campaigner, panel member)

Appendix C: Example of Coding Process on Nexis

¶9

¶14: **Highlight:** People pay tribute to leading Windrush campaigner who has died unexpectedlyWithout Wilson, Windrush may have remained hidden

¶16:

¶17:

¶18: Paulette Wilson, a prominent Windrush campaigner who has *died unexepectedly* at the age of 64, was a "precious gem ... broken by the government", a family friend and fellow campaigner has said.

¶19: Wilson was wrongly detained and *threatened with deportation* by the Home Office, and campaigned for justice for herself and others affected by the government's hostile environment policies. Last month she was among those who *presented a petition* to Downing Street calling on the government to deliver justice to those affected by the scandal.

¶20: Leading the tributes to Wilson, Patrick Vernon said that while she was lively and fun, the effects of her treatment had taken a toll on her health.

¶21: "It's a complete shock. She died a broken woman, that's all I can say.

¶22: "The impact of the hostile environment on her mental health... people underestimate the impact of the hostile environment, which is based on fear and intimidation.[1]"

¶23: Vernon described a tweet posted by the home secretary, Priti Patel, as "rubbish" and predicted there would be a lot of anger in the community.

¶24: *Patel's tweet* said: "Deeply saddened by the passing of Paulette Wilson who dedicated her last years to highlight the terrible injustices faced by the Windrush generation.

¶25: "Together we must continue on her mission to right the wrongs."

¶26: Vernon said: "By the end of today, there's going to be so much anger in the community about how she's been treated.

¶27: "She was like a gem, a precious gem, who got broken by the government."

¶28: Jim Wilson, the lawyer who had been helping Wilson pro bono, said: "She was an inspiration. After her release all she wanted to do was to fight for all the other ***victims*** of the cruel system, especially those poor souls she had lived with in the detention centre."

¶29: Daniel Ashwell, from the Refugee and Migrant Centre in Wolverhampton, said her smile and laughter would be missed. "Paulette was thrust into the spotlight out of necessity due to the injustice of the hostile environment. She dutifully carried the fight for others from the Windrush generation and was instrumental in bringing about change."

¶30: The Labour MP David Lammy, who met Wilson at Westminster, said: "It breaks my heart that Paulette has died. She fought her battle for justice with dignity, purpose and incredible force. She deserves our thanks because her fight was always on behalf of others not just herself.

¶31: "She will be remembered by her family and friends as she lived, not by the ***Windrush scandal*** that brutally affected her. However it should anger us all that the stress of that state-sanctioned cruelty has taken yet another life long before its time."

¶32: Harriet Harman, who met Wilson and her daughter, Natalie Barnes, when they gave evidence to the joint committee on human rights, said: "So sad to hear this. How shamefully she was treated. She was detained and were it not for her daughter fighting for her she would have been deported. How proud she must have been to have raised that daughter."

¶33: Yvette Cooper, the chair of the home affairs select committe which has done extensive work on Windrush, said: "This is incredibly sad news. Paulette Wilson faced terrible injustice - she fought against it and fought hard for others in the Windrush generation. Her bravery in speaking out was what helped expose the appalling ***Windrush scandal***, and ultimately bring relief for so many other families too.

¶34: "We are losing so many of the Windrush generation now, yet too many of them who were wronged still haven't had the compensation they deserve. For Paulette Wilson's sake, and for many more, we urgently need to make sure that all the Windrush generation get the support and compensation they deserve."

Annotations

[1] Think about power- coercion

Appendix D: Example of Step ?, Reading codes Under Destructive Discourse (comments highlighted).

	¶49: On April 16, David Lammy MP challenged then Home Secretary Amber Rudd in the House of Commons to give numbers as to how many had lost their jobs or homes, been denied medical care, or been detained or deported wrongly.
	Holistic harm
Mail May 2021	¶23: Although she was brought to Britain as a two-month-old baby in 1969, she could not lawfully return to the country until the 2018 ***Windrush*** scheme.
	Roots and exile
	¶31: Despite attempts to return, it was only in 2018 - some 41 years later - that she was allowed back permanently as a resident under the ***Windrush*** scheme.
	Exile also interesting use of phrase ''under the Windrush Scheme'
Mail Aug 2021	¶26: The Windrush scandal began to surface in 2017 after it emerged hundreds of Commonwealth citizens, many of whom from the 'Windrush' generation, had been wrongly detained, deported and denied legal rights.
	Detention and exile – limited to 'WG'- boiled down to one sentence
	¶59: Lorenzo said: 'When I tried to travel to see my mum for her funeral I was told if you leave the country you cannot get back in.
	Trapped and harm to family
	¶71: The Windrush scandal erupted in 2018 when British citizens, mostly from the Caribbean, were wrongly detained, deported or threatened with deportation, despite having the right to live in Britain.
	Harm boiled down to a sentence
Mail June 2022	¶28: William also spoke of the ***Windrush scandal*** which began to surface in 2017 after it emerged that hundreds of Commonwealth citizens, many of whom were from the Windrush generation, had been wrongly detained, deported and denied legal rights.
	Detention but also think about use of word 'surface' for hidden
Mail April 2023	¶28: and in some cases people who had lived their whole lives in the UK were deported.
	Length of stay and exiled
Metro March 2020	¶19: The home secretary said 'on behalf of this and successive governments' she was 'truly sorry' to people who were detained or deported to the Caribbean after living here for decades.
	Exiled –also righting the wrongs

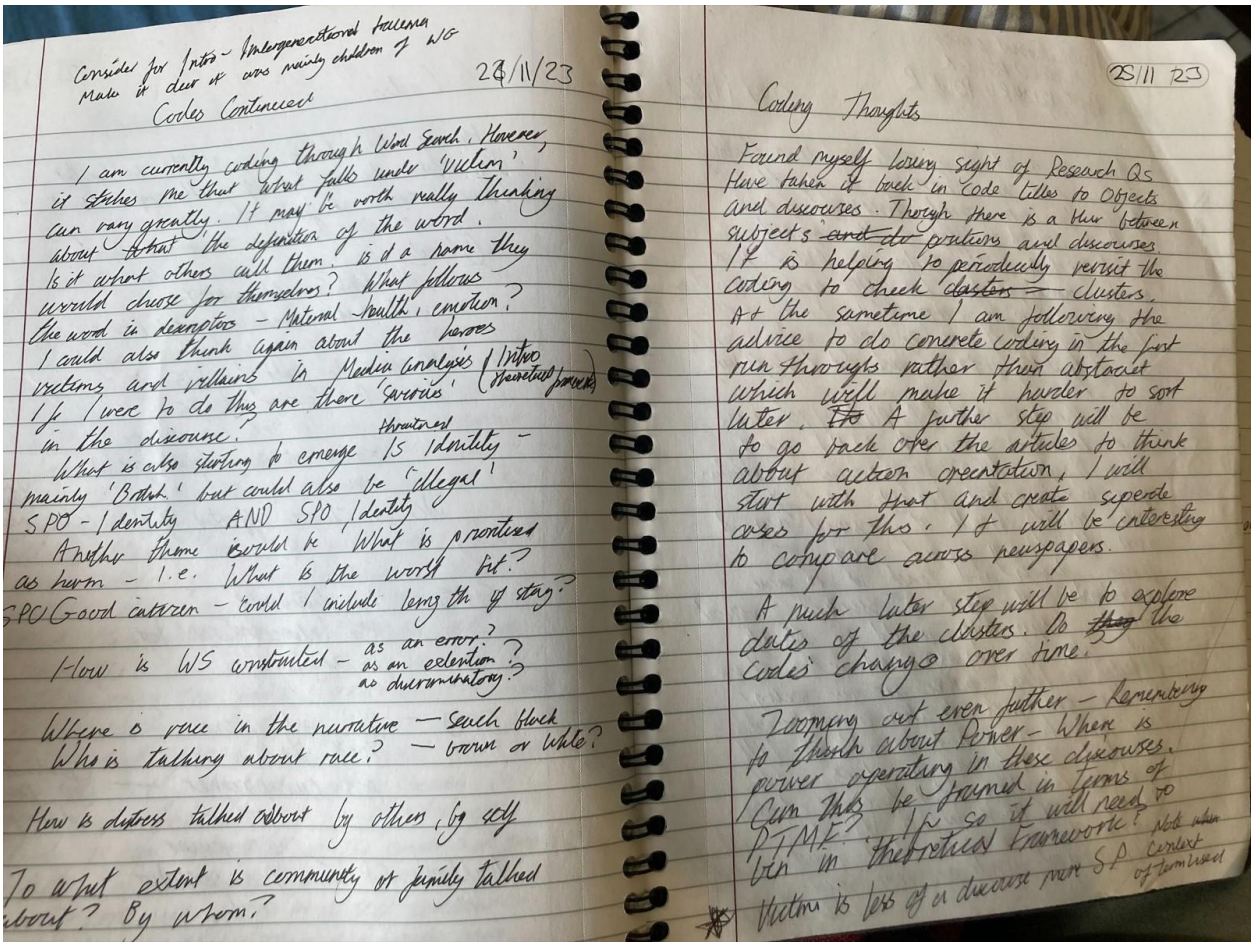
Appendix E: Steps of Analytic Process

Search terms were fed into Lexus Nexis and articles returned were skim read for relevance	
Articles initially selected were then re-read, duplicates removed, and remaining documents placed in a protocol table.	
A further reading was conducted to ensure that selected articles met the inclusion criteria.	
Corpus was fed into NVIVO separated by publication	
Several rounds of coding took place following the stages of analysis outlined by Willig (2013)	
1.	How has the 'WS' been constructed?
2.	What discourses are available about the 'WS' & what is the action orientation?
3.	How are DAWS positioned within these discourses?
4.	What are the implications of these positions for practice (both by DAWS and to DAWS by others)?
5.	What might these positions mean for how DAWS can think, speak and act?
Codings were then reviewed and grouped by discourse, checking for coherence and cohesion	
Each Discourse was downloaded into Microsoft Word tables (including sub discourses)	
Step 6: The tables were then re-read for Action Orientation of the discourse and how these discourses answered the research questions	

Appendix F: Questions to Ensure Quality Control Adapted from Yardley (2000)

Sensitivity to Context	**Is the research located within a conceptual framework?** **Are relevant socio-cultural and historical factors related to the research focus?**
Commitment and rigour	**Did the researcher engage with the project and data over an extended period?** **Was methodological competence demonstrated in data collection/selection and analysis?**
Transparency and Coherence	**Does the method fit with the theory?** **Is the methodological process transparent?** **Is the argument clear?** **Has the researcher engaged in reflexive practice**
Impact and Importance	**Does the research enhance understanding?**

APPENDIX G Examples from Reflexive Journal



Consider for Intro - Intergenerational trauma
Make it clear it was mainly children of WG

23/11/23

Codes Continued

I am currently coding through Word Search. However, it strikes me that what falls under 'victim' can vary greatly. It may be worth really thinking about ~~what~~ the definition of the word. Is it what others call them, is it a name they would choose for themselves? What follows the word in descriptors - Material health, emotion? I could also think again about the heroes victims and villains in Media analysis (Intro theoretical framework) If I were to do this are there 'saviours' in the discourse?

What is also starting to emerge threatened IS identity - mainly 'British' but could also be 'illegal' SPO - Identity AND SPO Identity

Another theme would be What is prioritised as harm - i.e. What is the worst bit? SPO Good citizen - could I include length of stay?

How is WS constructed - as an error? as an extention? as discriminatory?

Where is race in the narrative - Search black
Who is talking about race? - brown or white?

How is distress talked about by others, by self

To what extent is community or family talked about? By whom?

25/11/23

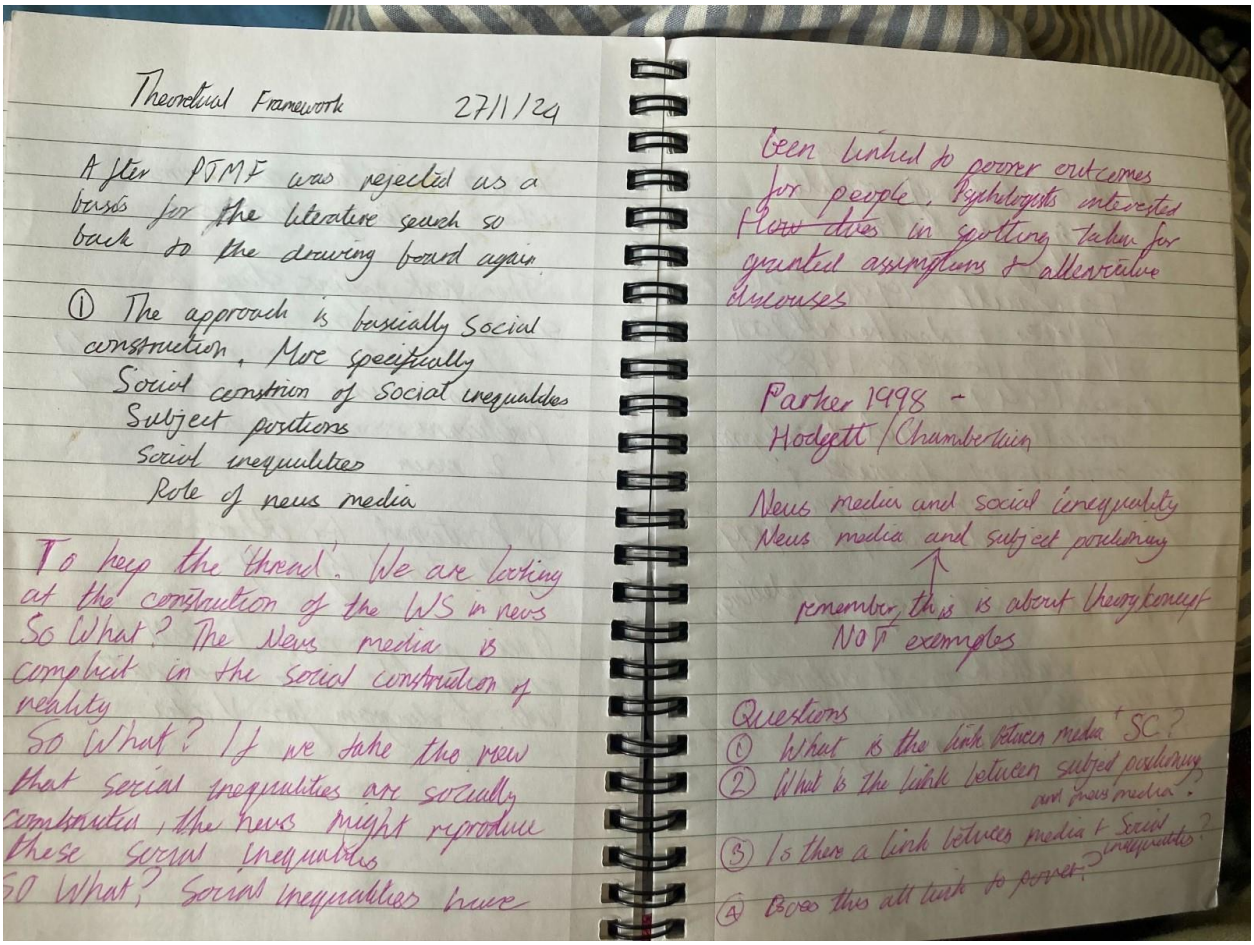
Coding Thoughts

Found myself losing sight of Research Qs. Have taken it back in code titles to Objects and discourses. Though there is a blur between subjects ~~and do~~ positions and discourses. It is helping to periodically revisit the coding to check ~~clasters~~ clusters. At the sametime I am following the advice to do concrete coding in the first run throughs rather than abstract which will make it harder to sort later. ~~Ito~~ A further step will be to go back over the articles to think about action orientation, I will start with that and create superde cases for this. It will be interesting to compare across newspapers.

A much later step will be to explore dates of the clusters. Do ~~they~~ the codes change over time?

Zooming out even further - Remembering to think about Power - Where is power operating in these discourses. Can this be framed in terms of PTMF? If so it will need to bin in theoretical Framework? Note when context of terminised

Victim is less of a discourse more SP



Theoretical Framework 27/1/24

After PDMF was rejected as a basis for the literature search so back to the drawing board again.

① The approach is basically Social construction. More specifically
Social constrion of social inequalities
Subject positions
Social inequalities
Role of news media

To keep the thread. We are looking at the construction of the WS in news
So What? The News media is complicit in the social construction of reality
So What? If we take the view that social inequalities are socially constructed, the news might reproduce these social inequalities
So What? Social inequalities have been linked to perverse outcomes for people. Psychologists interested ~~How does~~ in getting taken for granted assumptions & alternative discourses

Parker 1998 -
Hodgetts / Chamberlain

News media and social inequality
News media and subject positioning

remember, this is about theory/concept NOT examples

Questions
① What is the link between media + SC?
② What is the link between subject positions and news media?
③ Is there a link between media + Social inequalities?
④ Does this all link to power?

Appendix H: Table of Discourses With Number of Articles

Main Discourse	Sub-discourses	Number of articles	Date of last article
Culpability	Successive Governments	24	December 2022
	Country fault	24	January 2023
	Conservatives & HE	33	January 2023
	Home Office fault	51	April 2023
	As Foreseeable	17	June 2022
	As Mistake	26	May 2023
	Positioned as targeted	23	January 2023
Injustice	As a 'racial' Issue	45	December 2022
	Righting the Wrongs	30	April 2023
	Conditional qualifiers	82	May 2023
Destructive	As destructive	14	April 2023
	As Hidden	18	April 2023
	Holistic harm	26	April 2023
	Embodied harm	86	May 2023
	Psychological harm	53	May 2023
	Systemic harm	34	May 2023
	Positioned as victim	88	April 2023
	Positioned as Survivor	14	April 2023
	Positioned as fighter	17	April 2023
Unresolved	Compensation	25	May 2023
	Recommendations	9	April 2023
	Positioned as Campaigner	29	April 2023
	Distrusting	14	January 2013

Appendix I: Data Management Plan

UEL Data Management Plan

Completed plans **must** be sent to researchdata@uel.ac.uk for review

If you are bidding for funding from an external body, complete the Data Management Plan required by the funder (if specified).

Research data is defined as information or material captured or created during the course of research, and which underpins, tests, or validates the content of the final research output. The nature of it can vary greatly according to discipline. It is often empirical or statistical, but also includes material such as drafts, prototypes, and multimedia objects that underpin creative or 'non-traditional' outputs. Research data is often digital, but includes a wide range of paper-based and other physical objects.

Administrative Data	
PI/Researcher	**Ishshah Marinker**
PI/Researcher ID (e.g. ORCiD)	**ORCiD: 0000-0003-0150-270X**
PI/Researcher email	U2075214@uel.ac.uk
Research Title	How does the British Press Present People Denied British Citizenship Due to the Windrush Scandal: A Foucauldian Discourse Analysis
Project ID	N/K as yet
Research start date and duration	1.4.2023-1.11.2023

Research Description	**Background** The 'hostile environment' was implemented by the government in 2010 to reduce migrant presence in the United Kingdom. This policy had severe ramifications for many UK Caribbeans that had been settled in the UK for decades and this came to be known as the Windrush Scandal. Associated consequences included loss of employment, restricted healthcare access and detention. The proposed research would aim to explore newspaper discourse about people affected by the scandal. **Design** **Methodology:** Newspaper articles published between March 2020 and May 2023 will be selected using the Lexus Nexus search engine. The number of articles will be monitored for richness, complexity, A Foucauldian inspired Discourse Analysis has been chosen to explore the data as it allows consideration of historical and societal context, subject positioning, and rules about what can and cannot be said. To conduct the analysis, I will be following the steps outlined by Willig (2013). **Research Questions** What newspaper discourses are available to speak about people affected by the Windrush Scandal? How are people affected by the Windrush Scandal positioned within newspaper discourses.
Funder	N/A
Grant Reference Number (Post-award)	N/A
Date of first version (of DMP)	08/08/2023
Date of last update (of DMP)	23/08/2023

Related Policies	Research Data Management Policy
Does this research follow on from previous research? If so, provide details	No
Data Collection	
What data will you collect or create?	I will be collecting previously published newspaper articles from Lexus Nexis database accessed through UEL library. These articles will contain information about people featured in the articles. Every newspaper article has previously been published nationally from the following Newspapers: The Guardian, The Independent, The Daily Mail, The Daily Mirror, The Financial Times, The Daily Telegraph and the Mail Online. Online articles can be considered 'public acts' deliberately intended for public consumption, which means that the researcher need not take more than 'normal precautions' (Rodham & Gavin, 2006, p.94) 114 newspaper articles will be downloaded as Word documents for the analysis, Size 3.71 MB No further personal information will be gathered as part of the data. A table on a Microsoft Word document will be created with relevant information about each article. e.g. word count, data, topic, inclusion criteria Tables on Microsoft Word will be created to document different themes in the analysis. This will be contained in one word document.

How will the data be collected or created?	Data will be newspaper articles downloaded into a file named articles. These will be saved into a file stored on the UEL One Drive. This will be the only data used in the research Access to the files will be through my personal, password protected laptop and require an authenticator to access UEL one drive. No personal information will be included in the data. Articles will be numbered to correspond with the precoding and analysis tables. Copies of the table listing articles and analysis tables may be shared with my DOS via UEL OneDrive secure links. Copies of the table listing articles and analysis tables will also be included in the appendices of my research.
Documentation and Metadata	
What documentation and metadata will accompany the data?	None
Ethics and Intellectual Property	
Identify any ethical issues and how these will be managed	No ethical issues identified at present time. All data will be securely stored on UEL One Drive It is foreseen that access to the data will be limited to myself and my DOS. Any further access will be preceded by an amendment to the Data Management Plan.

Identify any copyright and Intellectual Property Rights issues and how these will be managed	I will check current reprint guidelines related to the publications I will be accessing on Lexis Nexis. In relation to the articles used I will be working under fair dealings.
Storage and Backup	
How will the data be stored and backed up during the research?	Data will be stored on my UEL OneDrive accessed via a password protected laptop. Copies of the articles and analysis data will be kept on the hard drive of my PC. As a backup, I will also store the articles and on a password protected external hard drive.
How will you manage access and security?	All documents will be password protected. My Laptop is password protected with updated versions of Rapport anti-virus and Microsoft Defender Both myself and my DOS will have access to the research data. If my DOS requests access this will be provided via UEL OneDrive secure links. Access to UEL systems and storage are protected by password and multi-factor authentication.
Data Sharing	
How will you share the data?	Excerpts of the data will be shared in the main body of the research. Tables detailing the articles and stages of analysis will be included in the appendices When complete the thesis will be uploaded onto the UEL research repository. There is also an academic group from multiple universities who are conducting several studies focussed on the Windrush Scandal, The research findings may be disseminated to this group.
Are any restrictions on data sharing required?	No
Selection and Preservation	

Which data are of long-term value and should be retained, shared, and/or preserved?	Analysis results and steps will be sent to DOS for secure storage following submission of research.
What is the long-term preservation plan for the data?	The data may be reviewed by an examiner upon submission of the research project. My DOS will store the data for a period of five years following completion of the research.
Responsibilities and Resources	
Who will be responsible for data management?	Ishshah Marinker Dr Tom Kent
What resources will you require to deliver your plan?	Laptop with anti-virus Office 365 EBSCO database NEXIS LEXIS database
Review	
	Please send your plan to researchdata@uel.ac.uk **We will review within 5 working days and request further information or amendments as required before signing**
Date: 23/08/23	Reviewer name: Leo Watkinson Scholarly Communications Manager

Guidance

Brief information to help answer each section is below. Aim to be specific and concise.

For assistance in writing your data management plan, or with research data management more generally, please contact: **researchdata@uel.ac.uk**