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Abstract

The refugee crisis is currently one of the most important topics discussed and commented on in news reports, newspapers, and on the internet.

This paper examines British quality and tabloid newspaper articles with the aim of providing an unbiased analysis contributing to the creation of readers' personal opinions about the refugee crisis. It is a call for attentive reading of newspaper reports, which should lead to careful reasoning about particular facts presented in media. Attentive reading may help to detect patterns or attitudes hidden in words and determine the aim of the text and intentions of the writer.

This study is embedded in Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), which allows for an explicit examination of the problem through the provision of a context important for better understanding and tools for examination of data. This paper specifically examines three pairs of articles from quality and tabloid newspapers, each dealing with the same event. Emphasis is placed on the following discursive strategies: nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivation, and intensification and mitigation technique.

The analysis of the articles also reveals differences in the way the chosen newspapers represent events. Close scrutiny reveals that broadsheet newspapers, as opposed to tabloids, tend to present information in a detailed way. The issue of objectivity, however, remains unanswered and leaves open the possibility for further studies.

Key words: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), refugee crisis, discursive strategies, quality newspapers, tabloids

Abstract

Die Flüchtlingskrise ist derzeit wohl das meist diskutierte Thema in Fernsehberichten, Zeitungen und im Internet.

Ziel dieser Arbeit ist die Untersuchung der britischen Qualitäts- und Boulevardzeitungen um eine objektive Analyse zur Flüchtlingskrise zu liefern, welche bei der Bildung der individuellen Meinung zum Thema beiträgt. Sie ist ein Aufruf zum aufmerksamen Lesen der von den Media übertragenen Nachrichten, mit dem Ziel, dass der Inhalt auch wirklich richtig verstanden wird. Eine aufmerksame Lesensart hilft bei der richtigen Deutung von Wörtern und sprachlichen Konstrukten sowie beim Erkennen der Ziele, welche sich der Autor beim Schreiben eines Textes gesetzt hat.

Diese Studie ist im Discourse Historical Approach von Wodak verankert, welcher die detaillierte Untersuchung des Problems ermöglicht. Wodak's Approach bietet einen Kontext, der wichtig für das Verständnis des Problems ist, und die Werkzeuge für die Untersuchung der Dateien. Diese Arbeit analysiert drei Paare von Nachrichteberichten aus Britischen Qualitäts- und Boulevardzeitungen. Jedes Paar bespricht dasselbe Ereignis. Die Studie legt Wert auf die folgenden Diskursstrategien: Nomination, Prädikation, Argumentation, Perspektivierung, Intensivierung und Abschwächung Techniken.

Die Studie zeigt auch die Unterschiede in der Nachrichtenbekanntgabe zwischen den zwei oben genannten Arten von Zeitungen auf. Die detaillierte Untersuchung ergibt, dass die Qualitätspresse, im Gegenteil zur Boulevardpresse, dazu tendiert die Nachrichten so detailliert wie möglich zu präsentieren. Das Thema der Objektivität bleibt jedoch weiter unbeantwortet und lässt somit Raum für weitere Untersuchungen.

Suchbegriffe: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), die Flüchtlingskrise, Diskurs Strategien, Qualitätspresse, Boulevardpresse

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THEM**

Nathaniel Hawthorne
The American Notebooks

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After three years of intensive learning at the Department of English with an intermediate sense of achievement, I can state that my efforts were not without success. I feel that during these three years I learned a lot and expanded my knowledge in the field of linguistics. Writing this thesis was a real challenge, in which I succeeded. However, this would not have been possible without the help and support of the people assisting me during this period.

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Table of contents

1. Introduction	1
2. Critical Discourse Analysis	3
2.1. The notion of discourse	3
2.2 CDA: history, theoretical framework and criticism.....	7
2.3 Characteristics and directions in CDA	11
2.4 Key Concepts in Critical Discourse Analysis.....	17
2.4.1 The issue of power.....	17
2.4.2 Ideology	18
2.4.3 Social practices.....	21
2.5. Discourse Historical Approach (DHA).....	22
3. Media discourse	28
3.1 Defining news	28
3.1.1 What is news?	28
3.1.2. Newsworthiness	30
3.2 Media Rhetoric	32
3.2.1 Word choice vs. meaning.....	32
3.2.2 Sentence construction	37
3.2.3 Other rhetorical tools	39
3.2.4 The issue of objectivity	41
4. Discourse Historical Approach: Refugee Crisis	45
4.1 Data and methodology	45
4.2 Context	47
4.2.1 The Syrian Problem.....	47
3.2.1.2 Uprising in Syria.....	47
4.2.1.3 Civil War	48
4.2.1.4 Humanitarian crisis.....	49
4.2.1.5 The rise of jihadists and Islamic State	51
4.2.2 EU and illegal migration.....	54
4.3 Newspaper articles analysis	58
4.3.1 Articles I and II	59
4.3.2 Articles III and IV.....	69
4.3.3 Articles V and VI.....	78
5. Conclusion.....	86
5.1 Limitations, problems and suggestions for future studies	87
References.....	90
Appendix.....	97
A. Articles.....	97
Article I – Mirror	97
Article II – The Guardian	100
Article III – The Sun	104
Article IV – The Guardian.....	106
Article V- Sunday Express	108
Article VI- The Independent.....	110
B. Maps and diagrams.....	112
Map 1: Distribution of forces in Syria.....	112
Graph 1: Asylum applications per 100,000 local population, 2015	113

1. Introduction

The refugee crisis has become one of the most important and controversial issues appearing in the media. Hundreds of thousands of people have arrived in Europe, crossing the Mediterranean Sea on small boats and risking their lives in the process. Their aim is to escape persecution and war in their homelands. However, the capacity of Europe to take people in is limited. This has created disputes among people about the right way to deal with the problem. Researchers have not remained indifferent and have started to analyze the problem, looking at it from different perspectives and discussing its different aspects. Many researchers like e.g. Baker et al. (2008), Wodak (2015) or Reitmanova et al. (2015) have been trying to raise awareness about the crisis by analyzing critically different texts related to it. There is still much work that needs to be done in order to provide a more complete insight into the problem and to contribute to a better understanding of it.

Apart from television and the internet, newspapers, constitute the main source of news information. Language is their carrier and for this reason it is legitimate to claim that it has power to shape reality. This fact and the present situation in Europe inspired me to conduct research fulfilling three aims: showing how the refugee crisis is represented in different British newspapers, showing that newspapers manipulate people by means of language, and to encourage people to read attentively, thus being able to conduct unbiased evaluation of facts.

To begin my study I decided to collect articles from quality and tabloid newspapers. My aim was to find articles dealing with the same topic and connect them in pairs: one each from a broadsheet and tabloid newspaper. My intention was to indicate differences in the way the facts were presented in these two types of press. The articles are analyzed by means of Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach (DHA). I believe this provides the methodology allowing for the identification and scrutiny of strategies used by the author of the text to achieve their aims. It also puts the analysis in a broader context, which is important to understand the issues in question.

This paper is organized into four parts. In the first chapter I give an overview of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). It discusses the notion of discourse (1.1), provides some background for CDA (1.2) and describes its characteristics (1.3) and key concepts

(1.4). Subsection 1.5 constitutes one of the most essential parts of this paper as it deals with DHA as the methodology chosen to conduct the empirical study. The second chapter deals with media discourse. It defines the word 'news' (2.1) and provides an overview of media rhetoric (2.2). The third chapter constitutes the important empirical part of the research. It deals with the analysis of newspaper articles in the framework of DHA. The first section (3.1) describes the data and methodology chosen for the research. Section 3.2 provides context for the investigated issue and section 3.3 deals with the analysis of newspaper reports. The final section 3.4 discusses problems that I encountered during the process of writing and limitations of the study, and section 3.5 briefly summarizes conclusions drawn from the analysis.

2. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) forms the central approach in this paper and for this reason deserves to be described in detail. This chapter explicitly discusses issues and notions attached to the CDA, its history and framework as well as mentions the most important names of researchers who contributed to the development of the field.

2.1. The notion of discourse

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) constitutes a new current in the field of linguistics, which developed in 1970s and 1980s from the field of Critical Linguistics (CL). The following section provides a short historical review of developments in the field and mentions the most prominent names of linguists who contributed to its evolution.

CDA is defined as

a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality (van Dijk 2001:352).

At this point it seems to be vital to explain each of the building blocks composing the name of CDA separately, as their explicit description may help to understand better main concerns and goals of CDA.

First of all, it seems to be important to introduce a definition of discourse and to describe some of its characteristics. After an analysis of various linguistic sources providing an outlook on CDA and attempting to define the notion of discourse, one can conclude that there is no unanimously accepted definition of discourse. Lê and Lê (2009:5) mention that the notion of discourse started to occupy linguists already in 1950s, when Harris (1952) emphasized the need to take broader look at language and suggested an analysis that 'extend[ed] the scope of traditional linguistics from sentence to discourse'. Linguists, however, attribute it different scopes. Blommaert (2005:1-2),

for instance, claims that discourse might be understood in two ways: as a text consisting of more than one sentence or as 'language-in-use', reflecting linguistic forms used by people for communication. Stubbs (1983:1), on the other hand, proposes a definition that takes into consideration social context. He confirms that discourse is an inseparable part of the social life of a particular nation/community, which tends to be directly reflected by language use.

Teun van Dijk highlights the importance of individuals' cognition in understanding the essence of the discourse (O'Halloran 2003:13). His emphasis is on 'relations between mind, discursive interaction and society', which makes his research very complex (Van Dijk 2009:65). According to him discourse is 'a multidimensional social phenomenon', since

It is at the same time a linguistic (verbal, grammatical) object (meaningful sequences of words or sentences), an action (such as an assertion or a threat), a form of social interaction (like a conversation), a social practice (such as a lecture), a mental representation (a meaning, a mental model, an opinion, knowledge), an interactional or communicative event or activity (like a parliamentary debate), a cultural product (like a telenovela) or even an economic commodity that is being sold and bought (like a novel). In other words, a more or less complete *definition* of the notion of discourse would involve many dimensions and consists of many other fundamental notions that need definition, that is, theory, such as meaning, interaction and cognition (Van Dijk 2009:67).

Although the definition seem to be as a broad overview of building blocks of the discourse it seems not be satisfactory for all the linguists dealing with CDA. Gee (2005:21-26) differentiates between *Discourse* and *discourse*, thus highlighting its complex character. To put it briefly, the Discourse is defined as an aggregate of language, knowledge and culture typical of a particular community, thus constituting community's original characteristics and shaping its unique identity. Discourse might be considered as a resultant of 'recognition and being recognized' as a member of certain community (Gee 2005: 34). Gee (2005:35) further explains that Discourses compose the whole of the environment in which people live. He emphasizes that Discourse shapes feelings of belonging to a specific community, so that one is a part of Discourse as long as its performances like customs, language or culture are recognizable for him (ibid. 2005:35).

Discourse with a small *d*, on the other hand, refers to the language use in general (ibid. 2005:21-26).

Similar to Gee (2005), Fairclough (ibid. 1995:73) observes that discourse consists of 'language use [that is] imbricated in social relations and processes which systematically determine variations in its properties, including the linguistic forms which appear in texts'. He states that a definition of discourse should explicitly indicate the relation between language and ideology, in which discourse has its origin (ibid. 1995:73). Furthermore, he claims that structure is also an inherent part of the discourse. It may be described as a unity of social conventions present in behaviour, language and culture, which are ideology-oriented (ibid. 1995:73). Fairclough (1995:74) makes clear that discourse should be considered as being composed of 'social practice, discursial practice (text production, distribution and consumption), and text'. For Fairclough (1995:131) discourse should not be limited to forms of written and spoken language, but also include what he calls 'semiotic practice', which might be described as practices of meaning making. Here, he includes 'photography and non-verbal communication' (ibid. 1995:131).

The definition of discourse provided by Foucault (1972) uses the idea of formations that consists of more than one sentence. Furthermore, discourse should be considered as a 'group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation' (ibid. 1972:117). Further, he explains the notion of discursive formation as 'a number of statements' referring to the same topic, describing it in similar way and underlying the same theory or concept (Foucault 1972:138). There are a number of observations that Foucault makes about the discourse. One of them is its conversationalization, which leads towards 'greater informality and interaction which have a person-to-person quality in contrast with the interaction between roles or statuses which characterizes more traditional institutional discourse' (Fairclough 1989:101). This implies that discourse practices, seen as linguistic behaviours typical for particular situations, are susceptible to changes over time. Technologization of discourse might be seen as one of main aspects contributing to such changes. Fairclough (1989:102) explains that technologization of discourse 'is a process of intervention in the sphere of discourse practices with the objective of constructing a new hegemony in the order of discourse of the institution or organization concerned, as part of a more general struggle to impose restructured hegemonies in institutional practices and

culture.' This implies inference in discourse with an aim of manipulating public opinion by means of linguistic choices, which is directly interrelated with the issue of power and control.

De Beaugrande (1980:177) sees discourse as 'a mode of symbolic interaction demand especially when a situation is too intricate or diffuse, or resources too limited, or contingencies too dependent on personal motives, to allow successful management by physical intervention'. This implies that discourse is the effect of interaction between people. Additionally, De Beaugrande (1980:177) claims that 'discourse functions as action and interaction that controls the course of events and as meta-action and meta-interaction that provides a verbal monitoring and evaluating of the course of events'. According to this discourse might be seen as an executive being in charge of what should be said and by supervising what is actually said.

Bloor and Bloor (2007:6) draw attention to six uses of the notion of discourse, which translate into its multiple meanings. First of all, they state that discourse may refer to communication in general, thus making a link between spoken and written language (ibid. 2007:6). However, written and spoken language may be treated separately allowing for analysis of both modes of communication as independent forms of language use thus constituting the second understanding of discourse. Discourse may also apply to the whole communication at the same time, putting emphasis on the process of language production and comprehension, thus taking into consideration the situational context as well as the roles and intentions of the speech participants (ibid. 2007:7). Furthermore, discourse may correlate to a specific field of science e.g. law, biology, linguistics or architecture, where knowledge or its lack in any of them may qualify people as insiders or outsiders (ibid. 2007:7). There are cases, in which discourse is also used in a sense of written or spoken text (ibid. 2007:7). Finally, Bloor and Bloor (2007:7) emphasize that the issue of multi-modal discourse should not be omitted in the present discussion. They claim that in addition to all the meanings of discourse mentioned, multi-modal discourse should be treated as the most modern form of discourse. According to them this kind of discourse combines various modes of communication- verbal, non-verbal, textual, visual and auditory (ibid. 2007:7).

This section has provided a short overview of the definitions of discourse provided in the literature, indicating problems and discrepancies involved in these

definitions, and will serve as a foundation for later sections. The next section briefly describes the history and theoretical framework of CDA.

2.2 CDA: history, theoretical framework and criticism

The notion of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has its origin in Critical Linguistics (CL), which was developed in the 1970s (Fowler 1979; Kress and Hodge 1979). The main idea that distinguished Fowler's and Kress's and Hodge's approach towards discourse from other approaches was that of mystification. According to them the analysis of texts should concentrate mainly on linguistic forms, which allowed for hiding or distorting of information that tend to mislead the reader. Kress and Hodge (1979) claim that the reader or listener might get manipulated by means of a speaker's/writer's linguistic choices used to construct a sentence/utterance. They (1979:15-17) illustrate the manipulative character of language by means of the distinction between active and passive voice. The conclusion they draw is that use of the passive voice tends to hinder the correct interpretation of the speaker's presumable intentions, as due to the lack of an explicit indication of the agent, the interpretation of the utterance might not be unambiguous, thus leading to intentional or unintentional misunderstandings. This may happen especially to uncritical readers referred to as 'innocent readers', who frequently are victims of manipulation (Richardson 1987:146-147).

CL was based on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics, according to which language performs three functions: ideational, interpersonal and textual (de Joia and Stenton 1980). The ideational function refers to language as a tool for expressing individual experiences, thus shaping personal view-points and beliefs that are difficult to change (Halliday 1970:143). This function treats language as a flexible system of representations used for communication, in which the two sub-functions can be recognized: the experiential function (linked to direct description of our experiences) and the logical function (associated with grammatical composition of sentences/utterances) (ibid. 1971:106). The interpersonal function sees 'language as a mediator of role, including all that may be understood by the expression of our own personalities and personal feelings on the one hand, and forms of interaction and social interplay with other participants in the communication situation on the other hand'

(Halliday 1971:66). In short, the interpersonal function is related to the interactions having place between speaker and listener including all types of personal inferences/comments made by the speaker. Finally, the textual function connects the two above mentioned functions in a coherent and comprehensive way. It 'enables the speaker or writer to construct *texts*, or connected passages of discourse that is situationally relevant; and enables the listener or reader to distinguish a text from random set of sentences.' (ibid.1970:143). Due to this fact, the textual function of language takes into consideration co-text and context of the situation.

CL adopted and was based on the Whorfian hypothesis, which assumes that the language people speak determines the way they think about and perceive of the surrounding world:

The categories and types that we isolate from the world of phenomena we do not find there because they stare every observer in the face. On the contrary the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized in our minds. This means, largely, by the linguistic system in our minds.' (Whorf 1956:212)

This led towards an assumption that 'language can manipulate thought', both consciously and subconsciously (O'Halloran 2003:15). For this reason the Whorfian hypothesis became a cornerstone for CL.

However, CL encountered strong criticism from the side of prominent linguists. CL has been evaluated as an incomplete and inadequate approach towards language analysis, which was supported by the fact that it saw possible readers of a text and possible listeners of the utterance as people being trained in semantics and pragmatics (Fairclough 1995b). Due to this fact the ability of text interpretation was not adjusted to the particular audience, who did not share any knowledge about language analysis, causing distortion of the actual results of the analysis. Fairclough (ibid. 1995b in Sheyholislami 2001:2) indicates also the importance of context in the analysis of discourse and criticizes CL as neglecting a situational context, in which discourse is embedded. This resulted in the creation of a new current in Critical Linguistics- Critical Discourse Analysis.

In a discussion of Critical Discourse Analysis the *CDA Group* cannot be omitted. The Group emerged during a meeting of scholars in the 1990s in Amsterdam and was supported by researchers, who decided to involve in the development of the field of

Critical Linguistics. The gathering resulted in an explicit discussion of methods and approaches in CDA, where each of the scholars was allowed to contribute to the establishment of new currents and approaches in CDA as well as to criticize limitations and indicate further suggestions for future research (Wodak and Meyer 2009:3). Secondly, the meeting contributed to the stipulation of main aims of CDA, which later became a paradigm (ibid. 2009:3). Among the most prominent linguists having the biggest contribution to the field are: Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak, who are still main representatives of CDA.

CDA is a recognizable approach with an increasing number of supporters contributing to its development. It is not however without strong criticism. Some arguments are presented below that challenge the sense of the research embedded in the framework, that also influence the respectability of the approach and present challenges to its seriousness.

From a scientific point of view, researchers working in the framework of CDA face a complex and demanding task. Namely, they have to analyse different sources and provide their readership with proper explanations and justifications of conclusions that result from personal opinion rather than from any other evidence. Hammersley (1997:242-245) argues that CDA does not provide plausible arguments which might convince the reader to believe in the claims it makes, as these are not scientifically proved. According to him, any justification needs to comply with scientific criteria and not be based on individual beliefs, as this makes the research unreliable (ibid.). Breeze (2011:503) argues that the reliability of the research can be increased through the application of scientific (e.g. corpus-based) rather than qualitative methods of analysis and refraining from subjective evaluation of the examined issues.

The next critique is concerned with CDA's openness towards new theories. CDA is a heterogeneous approach comprising different social theories (e.g. Marx, Foucault, Wodak etc.) and accepting of new ones. This approach broadens its scope, and gives researchers the ability to choose an analytical tool suited to a particular problem or even create a new one. Fowler (1996:8-12) sees this fact as a drawback. He claims that this openness results in an unsystematic application of the various methods of analysis resulting in a lack of coherence. The researchers tend to be selective in terms of the methods chosen for a study. More specifically, they only partially follow the chosen methodology by selecting issues they think are useful and ignoring others. Widdowson

(1998:148) argues that in this way some minor issues may be noticed and other more important may be ignored. This methodological shortcoming is said to result in inaccurate, superficial or even erroneous conclusions.

Another widely criticized issue related to CDA is its unsystematic nature and tendency toward subjectivity. CDA tends to approach problems on the basis of a small sample of texts. This results in incomplete analyses, leading to hasty conclusions that can turn out to be invalid when conducting more detailed analysis. Researchers also frequently do not explicitly justify their choice of samples, which can indicate their subjective preferences (Breeze 2011:504). The CDA is also accused of superficially treating the issue of criteria that needs to be followed in the research (Stubbs 1997:7). Verschueren (2001:60) provides the criticism that conclusions are frequently perception driven. Due to this fact none of the views can be challenged and each one is valid. He argues that researchers tend to conduct their CDA studies inattentively. Moreover, the conclusions they draw depend on the way they perceive the problem and not on how the problem is represented in the chosen samples (ibid. 2001:60). He suggests that the risk of drawing subjective findings can be diminished through the application of systematic and objective methods of analysis instead of qualitative approaches. Widdowson (1998:36) accuses critical analysts of 'the interpretive ingenuity one associates with literary criticism'. This suggests that the findings of the research result from the analyst's personal point of view rather than from precise analysis of the data.

Another important criticism is related to the relation between the reader and the discourse. Breeze (2011:508) points out that CDA tends to underestimate the level of relationship between readers and the discourse. She emphasizes that the analysis of any discourse needs to be conducted through careful examination of the attitudes towards the discourse in a community, as different communities can see the same discourse differently (ibid. 2011:508).

Language is said to be a linguistic representation of reality and for this reason it can influence the process of cognition. In other words, language is the evidence of cognition (Breeze 2011:508). This can undermine the credibility of conclusions. In this way language is seen as an imperfect representation of people's thoughts, which can be used to manipulate people and deform reality. Being aware of this fact researchers need

to obtain non-linguistic evidence about their points of view, so that they can draw undisturbed and more correct conclusions (Stubbs 1997:6).

The last prominent point that common to criticisms of CDA is the issue of context. The main aim of CDA is raising awareness of problems like inequality, injustice, or racism. Context is perceived as a key element that needs to be covered by any analysis conducted in the framework of CDA as it helps readers to better understand the scrutinized problem and arrive at correct conclusions. The evaluation of discourse can also differ across communities. Due to this fact, context is especially important for the objectivity and truthfulness of research outcomes. Blommaert (2001:28) claims that research conducted out of context is an interpretation, and interpretation indicates the influence of the analyst's subjective view point, which does not comply with CDA's tenets.

This section presented a short history of CDA concentrating on its origin and introduced the most important points that raise doubts about seriousness of the approach among researchers. The next section characterizes CDA and provides a description of the most prominent approaches within the framework.

2.3 Characteristics and directions in CDA

As mentioned in the previous section, there are many linguists who work with Critical Discourse Analysis. At this point, it is necessary to introduce an explicit description of CDA including its aims and objectives.

As already pointed out in the previous sections, there is no unanimous definition of CDA. CDA should be treated as an umbrella term for different approaches, which deal with the critical analysis of particular discourses. Three main approaches can be specified in the framework of CDA: Fairclough's approach, discourse sociolinguistics and the socio-cognitive model and discourse sociolinguistics (Sheyholislami 2001:6).

Fairclough (1989:4) states that what makes CDA distinct from other linguistic approaches is that it attempts to make 'a contribution to the general rising of consciousness of exploitative social relations, through focusing upon language'. It is said that text, discourse practice and social practice are inseparable elements of a discursive event (ibid. 1989:133). More specifically, CDA deals with finding links and relations

between those elements. Additionally, CDA includes 'linguistic description of the language text, interpretation of the relationship between (productive and interpretative) discursive process and the text, and explanation of the relationship between discursive processes and social processes' (ibid. 1989:97). Here, the key concept is text and its features, as explicitly discussed by Fairclough in his book *Critical Discourse Analysis: the critical study of language* (ibid. 1989:99). Fairclough (ibid. 1989:99) suggests that text, being a product of discourse, reflects 'a contrast between the fact of certain occurrences and their manner of occurrence', which implies that the linguistic representation of facts may distort reality and, at the same time, manipulate the reader, causing an erroneous interpretation leading towards misunderstandings and incorrect evaluation of the situation. It is worth mentioning that Fairclough follows Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics in so far that according to him the analysis of every text may be done by applying Halliday's functions of language: ideational, interpersonal and textual (Fairclough 1995:58). More specifically, communication involves making linguistic choices, which might be conscious or unconscious. It is also based on a particular ideology, attitudes and aims, which should be achieved by means of language. The discourse analysis with consideration of the three macro-functions of language indicated by Halliday may reveal personal attitudes as well as social relationships and dependencies between people.

At this point it seems to be useful to explain briefly the notion of social practice, which is an inseparable element that should be taken into account whilst analyzing a particular discourse. Bloor and Bloor (2007:8) define social practices as 'human behaviours, which involve following certain socially established conventions (some might say 'rules') within which the actors have some degree of individual freedom and opportunities for unique behaviour.' It should be made clear that *human behaviours* refer to linguistic knowledge of particular discourses as well as social/ cultural conventions related to them, which determine the belongingness of an individual to a certain social group and defines him/her as an in- or outsider. According to Fairclough (1995: 62) social practice has three facets: economic, political and cultural, each of which has an important role in the process of discourse production.

Returning to Fairclough, his main concern is media discourse (politics) and the analysis of discourses of power and domination, where the three above mentioned elements of analysis are interwoven. Additionally, his model of text analysis is based on

the concept of intertextuality and interdiscursivity. The interdiscursivity of texts shows how much information there might be contained in one text, as it 'highlights the normal heterogeneity of texts in being constituted by combinations of diverse genres and discourses' (Fairclough 1989:134). Intertextuality, on the other hand, constitutes a link between a text and other texts, which constitute a background for the discussed facts. More specifically, intertextuality can be treated as a context for the analysis of a particular discourse (ibid. 1989:134). Intertextuality can be ascribed two functions. First of all, it makes text authoritative as it links the discourse with other texts. These links boost the credibility of the presented facts and trustworthiness of the writer. Secondly, it serves as an indicator of the dominant ideology, in which the text has been written (Bloor and Bloor 2007:54).

Regarding the aim of CDA, Fairclough claims that it should be considered as an approach raising awareness about reality as well as helping to form individual evaluation systems of facts presented in the media and awaking the ability of critical reading (Chuliaraki and Fairclough 1999:4). Furthermore, CDA is the approach that analysis reality and discourses existing in it and shows how reality is reflected by the use of linguistic means and how the use of linguistic means can influence perception of reality. In other words:

CDA of a communicative interaction sets out to show that the semiotic and linguistic features of the interaction are systematically connected with what is going on socially, and what is going on socially is indeed going on partly or wholly semiotically or linguistically. (Chuliaraki and Fairclough 1999:113)

This implies that there is a mutual relationship between discourse, ideology and linguistic choices, where the first two are reflected by linguistic choices occurring in the communication and linguistic choices are controlled by ideology and discourse.

Van Dijk established the second most important current in the field of CDA. At the beginning of the article *Critical Discourse Studies: A Sociocognitive Approach* he emphasizes the multidisciplinary character of CDA, as it relates to any representation of language as well as combines many different methods of analysis (van Dijk 2009:63). For this reason it is, according to van Dijk (2009:3), justified to call the approach Critical Discourse Studies (CDS). He (ibid. 2009:62) sees CDS 'not [as] a method, but rather [as] a critical perspective, position or attitude within the discipline of multidisciplinary

Discourse Studies.' He (ibid. 2009:63) points out that linguists and other scholars working in the framework of the discussed approach should be committed to promote equality and justice between people in society. Van Dijk's approach is especially devoted to issues related to the discourse of inequality and power frequently reflected by relations between different social groups. He defines dominance 'as the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality' (van Dijk 1993:249-250). Van Dijk (2009:63) states that main goal of CDS is to *combat injustice* directed towards minority groups existing in society by means of the analysis of language used in particular discourses.

Van Dijk's approach has a top-down orientation. This means that he concentrates on the notion of power and dominance in media discourse especially appearing in the surrounding of elite's and people having power. His approach takes into account three elements: discourse, cognition and society, which makes it a socio-cognitive discourse analysis. For van Dijk (2009:64) this means 'the study of mental representation and the processes of language users when they produce and comprehend discourse and participate in verbal interaction, as well as in knowledge, ideologies and other beliefs shared by social groups'. The above mentioned triangle should be seen as a context for a discursive event (ibid. 2009:65). Furthermore, context of a situation constitutes a crucial issue for CDS, as it constitutes the background information of the situation/problem and provides an in-depth insight in a problem. Van Dijk (2009:66) indicates also that context is 'a subjective mental representation, a dynamic online model, of the participants about the for-them-now relative properties of the communicative situation' and is referred to as a context model. It is also explicitly specified how the notion of society should be understood. Thus, van Dijk (2009:66) distinguishes two elements composing it: situational structure ('participants and their identities, roles and relationships engaging spatiotemporally and institutionally situated, goal-direction interaction') and societal structures ('organizations, groups, classes, etc. and their properties and- e.g. power-relations'). The role of ideology, as directly influencing the lives of individuals, is also highlighted (ibid. 1995:19). To conclude, according to Van Dijk CDA should serve as means of fighting injustice and dominance over minority or other oppressed groups by rising awareness about a particular problem and explaining it in terms of context, together with an analysis of power relations and possible conflicts that led towards it. It

should also reveal the actual attitude towards those groups by their identification as in- or outsiders as well as scrutinize linguistic choices used to create a text describing the particular problem (Sheyholislami 2001:4-5).

The third prominent researcher, who contributed to the development of CDA and introduced the new approach, suggesting a different way of dealing with Discourse Analysis, is Ruth Wodak. She is a representative of Discourse Sociolinguistics, which she developed in Vienna. According to her this approach should occupy a special place in the whole framework of CDA as:

Discourse Sociolinguistics is a sociolinguistics, which not only is explicitly dedicated to the study of text in context, but also accords both factors equal importance. It is an approach capable of identifying and describing the underlying mechanisms that contribute to those disorders in discourse which are embedded in a particular context- whether they be in the structure and function of the media, or in institution such as hospital or a school- and inevitably affect communication. (Wodak 1996:3)

By disorders Wodak (1996:3) understands expressions in a discourse which make it characteristic and distinct from other discourses. Such expressions have their origins in ideologies hidden behind words and DHA is an approach, which provides tools needed for identification and discussion of them.

Wodak became known through her Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), which emerged in the 1990s. As DHA constitutes an approach I am applying in my research I will devote to it an additional subchapter further in this paper and explicitly explain its concerns and goals (see section 1.5).

When discussing current approaches in CDA the approach called 'Argumentation and Rhetoric' should not be omitted. This research deals with the critical analysis of the language of persuasion, focusing mainly on political discourse (Fairclough, Mulderrig and Wodak 2011:365) and is said to 'uncover the many subtle and tacitly racist ideologies underpinning immigration policy' (Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999). The approach puts emphasis mainly on argumentative techniques used in discussing the issue of social tolerance, immigration and discrimination of people of other nationalities or minorities (Fairclough, Mulderrig and Wodak, 2011:365).

Finally, corpus-based studies within CDA provide the possibility of tracing back the discourses beginning with their emergence, development and finishing with their fall (ibid. 2011:366).

The above description of directions in the framework of CDA helps to answer the question about the reason of its existence and to understand the aims it tries to achieve. It shows the complexity of CDA and provides arguments for its multidisciplinary character. Although different approaches use different methods and concentrate on different objects there might be specified a number of common features for each of them.

First of all, it should be noted that each approach deals with the analysis of *naturally occurring language use*, as only in this way the real dependencies and problems emerging in society can be described and understood (Wodak 2008). Additionally, CDA deals with larger units than separate, abstract sentences and analyses of language by looking at it as an interaction between people and taking into account verbal and non-verbal communication (Wodak 2008).

Furthermore, it studies the contexts of the analyzed situations, as a crucial condition for a critical approach towards discourse analysis. However, it does not ignore the importance of grammar and linguistic choices in the analyzed text, as it sees them as traces indicating the actual attitudes towards a discussed problem as well as the relationship between the speaker/writer and the rest of the society (Wodak 2008).

To sum up the overall characteristics of CDA it is worth mentioning that CDA approaches share the following tenets (Fairclough and Wodak 1997:271-280):

- CDA addresses social problems
- Power relations are discursive
- Discourse Constitutes Society and Culture
- Discourse does ideological work
- Discourse is historical
- The link between text and society is mediated
- Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
- Discourse is a form of social action

The present section has indicated the main characteristics and aims of CDA and has presented different approaches represented by different linguists, thus giving a short summary of main point that should be mentioned in the discussion of CDA.

The following section describes the main concepts of the paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis and explains and indicates their place in it.

2.4 Key Concepts in Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA is an approach based on three different concepts, which constitute its base as well as stand in a centre of interest as regards its goals. This section provides a short description of those concepts and explains their importance.

2.4.1 The issue of power

The chapters above mentioned that CDA sees language as a social practice. At this point it is crucial to notice that those social practices are governed by regulations, which in fact indicate power imposed on people. Mohammadi (2011:256) states that the nature of discourse is *socially consequential*, which gives place for emergence of power relations between people. He (ibid. 2011:256) clarifies that social awareness of 'situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities and relationships between people and groups of people' shapes the discourse at the same time allowing for rise of power relations leading towards appearance of inequalities in the society.

However, the notion of power should not be considered as negative only, as 'power in this sense is not inherently bad. Society would not function if there was no order, no control, no checks and balances, without the many legitimate relationships of power' (Van Dijk 2008:17). This implies that the occurrence of power in the society is a natural phenomenon.

CDA is an approach interested in analysis of social power and issues related to its abuse. Van Dijk (1996:84) mentions that its main aim 'is to account for the relationships between discourse and social power' and by their explicit description to draw attention towards issues connected with social inequality and dominance. Van Dijk (1996:84-85) in '*Discourse, power and access*' provides definitions related to the issue of power and dominance, which constitute a central interest of CDA. He (ibid. 1996:84) defines power as 'a property of relations between social groups, institutions or organizations'. Social power is seen as *the control* of one group over the other, which disturbs or breaches

freedom of actions, speech or even thoughts (ibid. 1996:84). Furthermore, the notion of power might be assigned different domains, e.g. politics, media, education etc., which are managed by representatives of elites being in charge of them (ibid. 1996:84).

Dominance, on the other hand, constitutes 'a form of social power abuse, that is, as a legally or morally illegitimate exercise of control over others on one's own interests, often resulting in social inequality' (ibid. 1996:84). Additionally, both social power and dominance are said to be organized and institutionalized, which should lead towards better exercise of control (ibid. 1996:85). Finally, dominance as a negative result of power and control might be frequently resisted by dominated groups, which is a natural mechanism of defense against racism, intolerance and inequality (ibid. 1996:85).

Van Dijk (1996:85) draws attention to modern techniques used to exercise power over society and states that they take benefit of power of persuasion and manipulation, thus becoming an effective way of shaping and reshaping ideologies rooted in the society by means of language and text considered as the most effective and powerful mediums for reaching this goal.

Wodak (2012:216) indicates also that language is crucial in creation of discourses of power and dominance, as it 'is used to determine and define similarities and differences; to draw clear boundaries between *us* and *others*'. In consequence, such behaviour leads towards divisions and categorizations in the society.

Fairclough (1989:34) states that 'power relations are always relations of struggle, using a technical sense to refer to the process whereby social groupings with different interests engage with one another'. Further, he notices that power appears frequently as a negative phenomenon in the society, as it serves privileged individuals as a tool of controlling and limiting unprivileged (ibid. 1989:46).

2.4.2 Ideology

Ideology is seen as an inherent part of power relations occurring in the society and constitutes one of central interests in CDA. For this reason it is crucial to describe it in more detail.

Fairclough (1989:2) indicates that

ideologies are closely linked to power, because the nature of the ideological assumptions embedded in particular conventions themselves, depends on the power relations which underlie the conventions; and because they are a means of legitimizing existing social relations and differences of power, simply through the recurrence of ordinary, familiar ways of behaving which take these relations and power difference for granted.

This indicates how immense role the ideology plays in creation of social conventions and power relations in the community. Additionally, ideology, conventions and power relations are mutually dependent and result from one another.

In the discussion about ideology Fairclough draws attention to the importance of language by indicating the link between language and social behaviour. He clarifies that language should be considered as a manifestation of social behaviour, which reflects ideologies and power relations between social groups (ibid. 1989:2). Thus, language is a means that carries information about dependencies occurring in a community and allows for identification of social attitudes and rules governing its existence.

Further, Fairclough indicates that the exercise of power may take place in a twofold manner: by means of force and violence or by general consent and connivance. It seems that ideology is a tool used to manipulate people by achieving social consent (ibid. 1989:4): 'the key mechanism of rule by consent, and because it is the favoured vehicle of ideology, discourse is of considerable social significance in this connection' (Fairclough 1989:33 -34). Additionally, he points out that ideology works most effectively when society is not fully aware of its use in the discourse (ibid. 1989:84). Fairclough explains that this might be achieved by a clever incorporation of ideological ideas in a text, so that their identification requires attentive reading and good interpretation skills, which most of readers lack (ibid. 1989:85).

Van Dijk (2000:6) sees ideology as the system of beliefs supported or criticized by a society and emphasizes that ideologies frequently 'become fundamental beliefs of a group and its members' (ibid. 2000:7). He notices that ideology is the main reason of divisions in the society, which causes disagreements among people frequently resulting in US vs. THEM conflicts (ibid. 2000:7).

However, the notion itself does not necessarily have to be regarded as negative. Van Dijk (2000:8) specifies that there are many ideologies, like anti-racism or feminism, which object to inequalities and injustice of the particular

systems or beliefs and are considered as a positive social initiative. Ideologies are also said to constitute a basis for different social practices called as social behaviours (ibid. 2000:8). Additionally, they are composed of 'shared, social beliefs, and not of personal opinions', which refer to important social issues and contribute to shaping people's identities (ibid. 2000:11-12).

The observations made so far about ideology can be best summarized by Van Dijk (2000:14-15), who perceives ideology as an important tool of shaping social opinion:

ideologies form the basic social representations of the beliefs shared by a group, and precisely function as the framework that defines the overall coherence of these beliefs. Thus, ideologies allow new social opinions to be easily inferred, acquired and distributed in a group when the group and its members are confronted with new events and situations, as was the case for large scale immigration during the last decades in Europe' (van Dijk 2000:14-15).

Kress and Hodge (1979:6) define ideology as 'a systematic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view', which implies its orderly character and a tendency to have origin in a subjective ideas of an individual that are accepted by the part of or the majority of society.

Chimombo and Roseberry (1998: 11) complete Kress's and Hodge's definition by adding that the main responsibility for creating ideologies lies on authoritative societal institutions, as they play the crucial role in shaping reality and the system of values. In this sense, ideology is defined as a system of beliefs common for 'cultural groups, subgroups and individuals', who are aware of particular ideologies but may share different opinions about them (ibid. 1998:23).

The present section has provided a brief overview concerned with the issue of ideology. It might be realized that ideology is an ambiguous term defined by means of various definitions. The main tenet common for each point of view presented in this section considers ideology as an inseparable part of the social life that causes differences in beliefs shared by people and frequently leads to biases and conflicts in the society.

2.4.3 Social practices

Social practices are considered to be the last important term that needs to be discussed in this subchapter, as they are strongly related to the two previously mentioned notions of power and ideology.

Bloor and Bloor (2007:8) define social practices as 'human behaviours which involve following certain socially established conventions (some might say rules) within which the actors have some degree of individual freedom and opportunities for unique behaviour'. Their definition implies that people are obliged to obey and act with accordance to some generally accepted framework of behaviour, where any deviation from it may be criticized or even disapproved. It is worth mentioning that social practices put boundaries between people, as knowledge of customs indicates affiliation to a particular community (ibid. 2007:8). Thus social practices establish the border between US and THEM and their acquaintance constitutes the condition necessary to be accepted as a member of the particular community (ibid. 2007:8).

It seems that social practices are crucial for understanding discourse in the particular community. Gee (2010:68) explains that the analysis of a discourse may reveal social practices in a community as they tend to indicate 'implications for things like status, solidarity, the distribution of social goods, and power'.

Fairclough (1989:1) defines social practices as 'a relatively stabilized form of social activity'. He indicates their tendency to change over time. The best example supporting this claim is the one concerning ways of greeting especially between men and women. In the past the custom of kissing woman's hand was a well seen practice. However, nowadays people tend to depart from it and replace it either by a kiss in a cheek (during informal situations) or by a simple hand shake (in formal situations).

Fairclough (1989:1) sees social practices as a mirror of discourse and vice versa.. Due to this fact, social practices should be considered as reactions of society or members of a certain group to particular problems present in a discourse. He emphasizes that the whole of social practices constitutes a social order (ibid. 1989:2). Going further social ordering frequently results in emergence of power relations between social groups. Consecutively, the analysis of social practices may justify particular behaviours in the

society (Erden, Schneider and von Krogh 2014:1). The relationship between reality and social practices is reciprocal in so far that one influences the other.

The present section provided a brief description of most important key terms in CDA. The following section is directly related to the central part of this paper, which is the analysis of newspaper articles published by British press. It deals with description and explanation of the Discourse Historical Approach introduced by Ruth Wodak, which is the approach applied in this paper.

2.5. Discourse Historical Approach (DHA)

During last decades CDA became one of the leading fields in linguistics gaining new supporters contributing to its development. CDA is a fertile ground opened to changes and emergence of different approaches in its framework. Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) is one of them, offering a broad discourse analysis, which provides an explicit analysis of the discourse including context of the problem. This section constitutes one of the most salient sections of this paper as it deals with description of methodology applied in the study.

DHA has been developed by Ruth Wodak. In her research she focuses mainly on the issues related to social injustice resulting in discourses of prejudice and discrimination. In the center of her interest stands political discourse explicitly analyzed by means of DHA.

Wodak and Reisigl (2009:87) state that CDA is inherently related to the notions of critique, ideology and power. They treat critique as the main aim of CDA and indicate its various meanings that help to look at the problem from different perspectives and comment on it. They claim that critique helps in 'gaining distance from the data (despite the fact that critique is mostly 'situated critique'), embedding the data in the social context, clarifying the political positioning of discourse participants and having a focus on continuous self-reflection while undertaking research' (ibid. 2009:87). Following this, the aim of DHA is to discover discrepancies occurring in the discourse, to indicate and analyse 'persuasive or manipulative character of discursive practices', as well as to

provide a new outlook on the problem contributing to rise of the social awareness about it.

Ideology plays an immense role in DHA, as it constitutes a framework in which the analyzed discourse is embedded. Wodak and Reisigl (ibid. 2009:88) claim that ideology is the main reason of unequal relations in the community and dominance of one group over the other. Following this 'one of the aims of the DHA is to demystify the hegemony of specific discourses by deciphering the ideologies that establish, perpetuate or fight dominance' (ibid. 2009:88). Here, language is seen as a medium, by which this goal might be achieved.

The issue of power is also central to DHA. The approach defines it as the imposition of one's will on others, even in case of objections. Dependencies between ideology, power and social relationships are best manifested in text, which makes it main subject of the analysis.

DHA should be considered an interdisciplinary approach allowing for explicit analysis and explanation of situations and phenomena occurring in society. The principle of triangulation, which 'implies taking the whole range of empirical observations, theories and methods, as well as background information into account', serves as a means of doing so and increases probability of staying unbiased (ibid. 2009:89). DHA analysis treats language not as an isolated item, but as a part of a bigger context, thus taking into account the issue of intertextuality referring to the relation with other texts and interdiscursivity, indicating dependencies and relations between discourses (ibid. 2009:90).

According to DHA the analysis of discourse should be carried out with consideration of contents and topics included in a discourse as well as the discursive strategies and linguistic means by which the aim of discourse is achieved (ibid. 2009:93). The topic indicates what subject matter the discourse is concerned with, and that discourse may contain several topics.

DHA attempts to answer the five following questions:

1. How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically?
2. What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/ events and processes?
3. What arguments are employed in the discourse in question?

4. From what perspective are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?
5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly; are they intensified or mitigated? (Wodak and Reisigl 2009:93)

There are five discursive strategies belonging the framework of DHA referring to rhetorical devices employed in the discourse to achieve its particular aim: nomination, predication, perspectivation, intensification and mitigation (Wodak and Reisigl 2009:93; Bloor and Bloor 2007:67). Nomination indicates the way in which 'social actors (people)/objects/phenomena/ events and processes/ actions' are referred to. Metaphor can be considered as an example of nomination (Wodak and Reisigl 2009:94). Bloor and Bloor (2007: 69) define metaphor as 'a tool for representing one entity or event in the terms of some other related entity without explicitly stating a likeness'. They (ibid. 2007:69) add that its employment in the text may contribute to its complexity and rise of interest in the discussed issue. Nevertheless, the use of metaphors is not only limited to nomination, as adjectives can be also used metaphorically. Adjectival metaphors however represent the second discursive strategy of predication.

Predication specifies how issues are presented in the discourse and by what means they are described. This technique is noteworthy and needs to be carefully analyzed as it may give the researcher a wealth of information about the analyzed fact and indicate attitudes towards it. However, drawing conclusions on the basis of the predication technique is risky as predication can be characterized by a degree of subjectivity, which may lead to false conclusions.

The strategy of argumentation demonstrates how particular decisions and claims are justified or challenged. This might be achieved by means of intertextuality and interdiscursivity and may indicate the ideological background for particular arguments. It is also worth mentioning that the argumentation technique includes identification topoi, which are used to justify certain claims and fallacies, representing 'a kind of wrongness' (Eemeren 2013:147). More specifically, topoi are parts of argumentation, constituting a more general argument justifying one or several arguments. Kienpointner (1992:194) states that 'they justify the transition from the argument or arguments to the conclusion'. Richardson (2004:230) sees them 'as reservoirs of generalized key idea

from which specific statements or arguments can be generated'. Žagar (2010:6) identifies fifteen of the most frequently appearing topoi:

1. Usefulness, advantage
2. Uselessness, disadvantage
3. Definition, name-interpretation
4. Danger and threat
5. Humanitarianism
6. Justice
7. Responsibility
8. Burdening, weighting
9. Finances
10. Reality
11. Numbers
12. Law and right
13. History
14. Culture
15. Abuse

The list may however be extended, as new types of topoi are able to be accepted. A good example of this is Wodak (2009:44), who also identifies the topos of authority and urgency.

Fallacies, on the other hand, are types of erroneous reasoning which may mislead the reader/listener. More specifically, they can be seen as claims that tend to weaken arguments and directly correspond to the presentation of one's position.¹ There are many different kinds of fallacies: appeal to authority, appeal to popular opinion, association fallacy, attacking the person, begging the question, etc.²

Perspectivation provides information about the speaker's or writer's personal attitude and position towards the issue discussed in a discourse.

Finally, the strategies of intensification and mitigation act as 'modifiers of the illocutionary force', which additionally support claims made on basis of perspectivation, as they also tend to indicate an indirect positioning of the speaker in the discourse. All mentioned discursive strategies interact with each other and compose a discourse.

At this point it seems to be crucial to mention how DHA organizes the analysis of discourse. Wodak and Reisigl (2009:96) state that there are eight main steps to be undertaken in the framework of DHA for successful and proper discourse analysis. First of all, they state that the first step is an 'activation and consultation of preceding

¹ <http://writingcenter.unc.edu/handouts/fallacies/>

² <https://www.logicallyfallacious.com/tools/lp/Bo/LogicalFallacies/2/Accident-Fallacy>

theoretical knowledge' (ibid. 2009:96). This includes familiarizing with and describing of the common theme, which is subject of a discussion (ibid. 2009:97). To put it briefly, before starting the study the researcher needs to determine what they want to scrutinize and become acquainted with the research that has been done so far. This process should be supported by 'systematic collection of data and context information' followed by 'selection and preparation of data for specific analysis' (ibid. 2009:97-98). They specify that both steps should be carried out with consideration of relevancy of data as regards the particular research question. The fourth step of the eight-step programme focuses on 'specification of the research question and formulation of assumptions', which is salient for the conclusion of a study (ibid. 2009:99-100). The next point of the analysis is 'qualitative pilot analysis', which includes the explicit analysis of data with emphasis on the above mentioned discursive strategies, specification of themes appearing in the discourse and indication of topoi, defined as 'plausible argumentation schemes', and fallacies, referred to as 'fallacious argumentation schemes' (ibid. 2009:101). This should be followed by a 'detailed case study' that has the task of interpreting results obtained after analysis of a particular discourse (ibid. 2009:118). The seventh step includes 'formulation of critique' and should be recognized as the central and crucial part of the study. Its main aim is to raise social awareness of about the particular problem, indicate hidden attitudes and agendas in a discourse and contribute to shaping of individual opinions about them (ibid. 2009:119). The last step is 'application of the detailed analytical results', which should lead to publication of results and their dissemination (ibid. 2009:119).

It should be made clear that the aim of the DHA (and CDA in general) is not to indicate and assess situations/ phenomena in terms of being proper or improper, but to present them in an unbiased and objective way leaving space for personal evaluations (Wodak 2006:174).

The present chapter provided an overview of the most important points in the discussion of CDA. It described the notion of discourse, presented its history, main currents and critique, and introduced the most prominent people in the field of CDA. This section constitutes a theoretical background for the study and the first of eight steps needed to comply with the framework of CDA, in which the research is embedded. The remaining seven steps will be described in the empirical part as they are directly

related to the analysis. The next section deals with the media discourse the study is concerned with. It discusses this briefly, introducing the definition of news and providing its most important characteristics.

3. Media discourse

Communication plays an important role in every society and community. People involve in conversations, share their opinions and views, thus creating relationships with the rest of the world. It seems that those relationships, ideas and views shape reality, in which we exist. Media such as newspapers and television, actively take part in reality construction as they deal with problems and present ideologies prevailing in a particular community. This chapter provides an insight into media discourse. More specifically, it deals with newspaper discourse and discusses its most important issues.

3.1 Defining news

Before discussing the analysis of media discourse it is worth addressing some issues connected with news making and providing necessary information and definitions needed for understanding of its tasks. The following subsection introduces the notion of news providing an explicit overview of elements and notions that are tightly connected to its concept.

3.1.1 What is news?

In the era of public media each person has unlimited access to different kinds of information. Newspapers, as well as radio, television and internet constitute direct and valuable sources of information. Danuta Reah (1998:4) points out that the word *news* existed already in Middle English and meant 'tidings, new information of recent events'. However, nowadays the word seems to have a more detailed meaning which makes it an interesting issue to analyse in the framework of media discourse.

Media discourse is concerned with events that are important and valuable for the society or at least for a larger community (Reah 1998:4). Durant and Lambrou (2009:85) indicate two meanings of the word *news*. First of all, *news* may denote 'events

or actions in the world', which constitutes the most general meaning of this notion (ibid. 2008:85). The same notion might be also perceived as any kind of reports or stories appearing in media, which constitute a direct account of the events that have taken place in the world. More specifically, they are perceived as 'representation of [such] events or actions' (ibid. 2008: 85). At this point it is important to note that articles presented in newspapers always undergo the process of selection from large numbers of reported events before being published. During this process journalists attempt to choose the most interesting events, which are supposed to be the most important for the society in question (ibid. 2008:4).

The process of selection has to be conducted in an informed and competent manner. Grazia Busà (2014:25) observes that despite people's different preferences and opinions

some people are likely to have a commonality of interests because of their shared background and group membership: i.e., because they are members of the same community. This reflects shared culture, values, experiences and views on facts and events. When journalists create stories for their audiences, they select and prioritize information by reference to what they assume is the common core of beliefs and experiences their audiences share.

News in media discourse, in other words, can be defined as events showing a degree of commonality and importance for most of people in the society. As a consequence, news presented to the audience represents ideologies adopted and propagated in the society in general. The task of a journalist is to select and adjust information to values shared by the society.

News may present different events from different fields of life. Hartley (1982:39-39) specifies six kinds of topics that are generally covered by news: politics, the economy, sport, foreign affairs, domestic news and occasional stories. Their appearance in the newspaper depends on a factor indicating the degree of importance for a particular community, which is commonly known as newsworthiness. This concept is explicitly described in the following section.

3.1.2. Newsworthiness

When reading a newspaper it is clear that some events hit the top lines, whereas other issues are barely discussed. This should be perceived as a result of editorial decisions about, what Cotter (2010:67) calls, news values of particular problems/events. David Randall (2000:22) explains that 'a newspaper's role is to find fresh information on matters of public interest and to relay it as quickly and accurately as possible to readers in an honest and balanced way'. This is directly related to the issue of newsworthiness, as the main factor influencing editorial decisions, where out of the large number of information only a small fraction is carefully selected and made public. This fact is also supported by Hall (1981:234), who states that

Journalists speak of 'the news' as if events select themselves. Further, they speak as if which is the 'most significant' news story, and which 'news angles' are most salient, are divinely inspired. Yet of the millions of events which occur every day in the world, only a tiny proportion ever become visible as 'potential news stories': and of this proportion, only a small fraction are actually produced as the day's news in the news media.

At this point it is important to think about the values which trigger journalists to publish particular articles in newspapers. There are different opinions and viewpoints regarding this issue, which results in a specification of different sets of characteristics determining the importance of news. This leads towards difficulties with defining newsworthiness. Harcup and O'Neill (2001:279) specify ten requirements that make story valuable and worth presenting: the power elite, celebrity, entertainment, surprise, bad news, good news, magnitude, relevance, follow-ups and media agenda. They state that fulfilling at least one of them can contribute to a higher value of news.

Cotter (2010:68) investigates five textbooks dealing with journalism and indicates the key qualities that an event should represent to be considered as interesting. She indicates timeliness (the issue of freshness), proximity (spatial setting of the story) and prominence (the indicator of fame) as the most important values. Grazia Busà (2014:26) supports this view and indicates *timeliness* as the most important aspect in the process of making editorial decisions leading to selection of information finally included in press. She (2014:26) makes clear that 'news is defined by time', which

means that journalists are under constant pressure to report news, so that they appear in newspapers at the right time- the sooner the better. Secondly, location mentioned by Cotter (2010) is also considered a key quality of news. Grazia Busà (2014:26) points out that it corresponds to the interest of a particular community towards following news. More specifically, the quantity of interest is directly proportional to the proximity of an event to the community- the closer the relation of a community to an event, the higher the interest.

According to Grazia Busà (2014:29) topic and familiarity of news plays an immense role in increasing newsworthiness of an event. Topic determines the value of news, as 'events that occur less often are considered more newsworthy than more common news' (ibid. 2014:30). Familiarity, on the other hand, corresponds to what Cotter (2010) calls prominence- the degree of public recognizability of a particular person. In effect, news relating to famous people is more interesting for readers than stories about average individuals. Additionally, the visual aspects used commonly in the newspapers also matter in increasing the degree of newsworthiness. Grazia Busà (2014:31) claims that 'pictures add vividness and realism and increase the readership's desire to read it'. Furthermore, journalists frequently tend to describe dramatic events like accidents or deaths in a vivid way and editors place them on the first pages of the newspaper, as they realize that this additionally boosts audience's interest in reading the article (ibid. 2014:31-32). Finally, news items that trigger 'general interest [...], affect a lot of people [...], are seasonal [...], and extraordinary [...]' additionally rise newsworthiness of news (Grazia Busà 2014:32-33).

To sum up, Durant and Lambrou (2009:88) provide a list of features based on Bell's (1991) investigations saying that news might be considered valuable if it:

- is bad or negative,
- has only just happened,
- took place geographically close to the reader or viewer
- fits the reader's or viewer's preconceptions or stereotypes about how the world is,
- is relatively clear-cut and unambiguous,
- is rare, unexpected and unpredictable,
- is outstanding or superlative in some respect,
- can be presented as relevant to the audience's own lives or experience,
- can be pictured in personal terms,
- involves news actors who are socially prominent in some respect,

- comes from news sources who carry some kind of socially validated authority, and
- consists of or can be supported by facts and figures.

This subchapter has provided an insight into the issue of features needed for news to be considered valuable. It explained explicitly the notion of newsworthiness and clarified the reasons of particular choices related to the issues published in newspapers. The following section describes media rhetoric. It concentrates on the linguistic choices made by journalists and indicates their reason of use.

3.2 Media Rhetoric

Media provide the main source of information. In the previous sections it has been pointed out that before making any information public journalists and editors have to decide which news is worth presenting. However, this is not the only choice they have to make, as being a journalist requires composing texts with a particular aim. This section introduces some of practices and strategies related to writing articles for newspapers and justify their use.

3.2.1 Word choice vs. meaning

It is widely known that communication is a complex activity. It requires taking into account particular aspects that influence language use in particular situations. This leads towards different lexical choices carrying different lexical and emotional meanings, which is central to the issue of reporting practices. This section introduces the most commonly used strategies applied by journalists when composing news reports. It explains why these strategies are used and indicates the potential of language employed in media discourse.

Grazia Busà (2014:1) states that each speaker has a 'range of linguistic choices or styles' at his/her disposal, which reflects his linguistic competence. She explains that the manner of how language is used may differ from community to community (ibid. 2014:2). Accordingly, this may influence the use of particular vocabulary or register in specific discourses. She also mentions that the notion of genre is important in the discussion of media discourse. Genres are defined as 'oral and written texts, used

conventionally in connection with certain social activities' (ibid. 2014:2). This implies that genres might be characterized by means of different linguistic choices, which are typical and unique for each of them.

As newspaper articles constitute a separate genre it should be mentioned that there are number of aspects that have an impact on the choice of register employed in them. First of all, discourse topic in which the article is embedded and background of participants to whom the article is addressed, influence the type of language used in news (ibid. 2014:3). Grazia Busà (2014:3) explains that the discourse topic may range from very specialized to everyday discourse. The type of audience at which the topic is aimed determines lexical choices made for the creation of the text.

Relationship with the audience is the next factor influencing the choice of register. Grazia Busà (2014:4) states that 'this can vary according to: status (ranging from unequal, as in case of a boss and an employee, to equal, as between friends); affective involvement (which can be high with friends/family members, or low with business clients); contact (ranging from frequent to occasional)'. Furthermore, purpose of text production is also a variable determining the way in which a particular text is written (ibid. 2014:5). As regards this fact, each text is written to achieve the particular aim (ibid. 2014:6).

The last aspect that needs to be mentioned as influencing register and word choice in a discourse is the way of delivery, which can be written or spoken (ibid. 2014:6). It is generally known that written and spoken text differ significantly from each other. Written texts tend to be created more carefully, which results in well-formed sentences, reduction of repetitions and the use of thoughtfully chosen lexicon. Spoken language, on the other hand, is more spontaneous and due to this fact it seems that it allows a larger number of colloquial expressions and grammatically incorrect sentences. It should be noted that word choices constitute an important part of the process of text creation. They manifest the authors' attitude towards the issue discussed and the ideology prevailing in a particular society. Richardson (2007:47) states that 'words convey the imprint of society and of value judgements in particular-they convey connoted and denoted meanings', which means that words and language use in general reflect the reality in which the society lives. This viewpoint is also supported by Grazia Busà (2014:129), who indicates that 'words reveal the writer's attitudes, point of view and personality traits; they express meaning, convey semantic nuances and suggest and

evoke evaluation (i.e. criticism or approval), and they can provide accurate, neutral and honest analyses of events or biased/distorted, tainted ones’.

She emphasizes that since news should be interesting and attention-grabbing, journalists use different techniques to attract readers’ attention. The word formation processes are the most common technique encountered in newspapers. Journalists create new words, which make a text attractive to the audience (ibid. 2014: 132). Neologisms and acronyms occupy a special place in the word-formation techniques in journalism. The appearance of neologisms in language indicates the ability of language to undergo and accept changes over time (Ahmad 2000:1) and allows one to describe an event/situation/phenomenon in an original, unconventional way that is attractive for a reader (Grazia Busà 2014:132).

Journalists frequently tend to express their point of view about the reported event, which constitutes the next strategy used in reporting. It is common to use words reflecting the editor’s view point in an indirect way, so that the reader does not realize it when not reading attentively. Grazia Busà (2014:135) points out that this is achieved by means of particular adjectives (e.g. shameless, hopeless) used in the media discourse. Additionally, irony is also a tool indicating the author’s stance towards the discussed event. Grazia Busà (2014:136) defines it as ‘the use of words to convey a meaning that is opposite to, or at odds with, their literal meaning’. However, it should be made clear that irony works only if understood by reader. In order to do so the speaker/writer and a hearer/reader should share common knowledge about the issue discussed (Barbe 1995:9-12).

Words in text have a great power of conveying the author’s ideology: ‘because of the media’s important role in today’s world the words used in the news are powerful tool for establishing an ideological stance and promoting attitudes’ (Grazia Busà 2014:138). More specifically, as news constitutes the main and the most important source of information about events all over the world and media are their main suppliers they play a crucial role in shaping reality and taking part in creation of ideologies. They also influence people’s perception of the world. This explains why the word choices made by journalists are so important. Johnson (2007:3) mentions that a wrong choice of vocabulary leads towards misrepresentation of facts, which may result in negative public mood. This implies that media have a potential to manipulate people by ‘strategic[ally] control[ling] [of] the readers’ knowledge of events, and opinions about

them' (Grazia Busà 2014:139). The process of people categorizing is the main and the most common way of maintaining power relations in a particular society (ibid. 2014:139).

Grazia Busà (2014:139), however, emphasizes that each categorization leads towards emergence of stereotypes. Stereotypes are 'psychological representations of the characteristics of people that belong to particular groups' (McGarty et al. 2002:2). More specifically, they can be considered as a system of beliefs and characteristics attributed to social groups. Hilton and Hoppel (1996:240) observe that most negative stereotypes tend to be attributed to out-group members. McGarty et al. (2002:2) explains that stereotypes help to explain dependencies and relations occurring in society by creating social categories based on the similarities and differences between groups. They also help to find explanations in a time and energy saving fashion. In this way a group member is evaluated in terms of the whole group, with their individual features omitted (ibid. 2002:4). Stereotypes are also considered 'shared group beliefs' which constitute common knowledge about other social groups (ibid. 2002:5). Stereotypes contribute to the creation and maintenance of particular ideas ascribed to specific groups or events, which further leads to the rise of power relationships in the society and to discriminatory practices highlighting inequality among people. In this respect language constitutes an essential element contributing to the construction and maintenance of social dependencies. Hartley and Montgomery (1985:233) also argue that media tend to present reality in a binary way, thus constructing divisions in the society, as 'utterance not only constructs reality in a determinate and selective way; it also organizes the relationship between speaker and hearer along specific lines'. Accordingly, they differentiate between representational and relational signification modes, which are simultaneously activated when communicating (ibid. 1985:234). In short, representational signification indicates the lexical choices made whilst communicating and relational signification reflects the proximity of the writer to the audience.

Grazia Busà (2014: 143) mentions the next strategy used in journalism used for – naming. Naming things, people and events is a common practice, as it enables their recognition. However, apart from their ascriptive role used for evoking items and properties, names convey also people's/ person's attitude towards the particular issue or person. Names may carry positive or negative connotations (ibid. 2014:143).

Furthermore, names and the act of naming (seen as an act of communication) indicate the relationship between people. Blommaert (2005:11) comments that

Apart from referential meaning, acts of communication produce *indexical* meaning: social meaning, interpretative leads between what is said and the social occasion in which it is being produced. Thus the word *sir* not only refers to a male individual, but it indexes a particular social status and the role relationships of deference and politeness entailed by this status.

According to this, names do not only carry the actual meaning of physical or mental concepts but also frequently provide more specific information about them in an indirect way.

Grazia Busà (2014:144) notices that naming might be used with the aim of expressing one's opinion about the particular event. Naming is a process involving creative thinking and is thus connected to specific, subjective lexical choices made by a writer (Richardson 2007: 49). Reisgl and Wodak (2001:45-46) indicate referential strategies as directly relating to the strategy of naming. The aim of those strategies is 'to project meaning and social values onto the referent' and 'to establish relations with the way that *other* social actors are referred to and represented' (Richardson 2007:49). To put it simply, the aim of naming is to facilitate communication by direct labeling things or concepts and, at the same time, to indicate the speaker's attitude towards them making use of denotation and connotation as two principles governing the meaning of words.

Richardson (2007:52) draws attention to the strategy of predication as the next strategy employed in the creation of news reports. He defines it as 'the choice of words used to represent more directly the values and characteristics of social actors' (ibid. 2007: 52), which should be considered as a productive strategy with potential of carrying loads of information about the described issue. This strategy, similarly to the previous one, expresses the subjective evaluation of the speaker or writer, who constantly chose words that reflect the character of the discussed issue in the most adequate and proper way.

3.2.2 Sentence construction

Transitivity is a property typical for media discourse (especially newspapers). The theory of transitivity was first presented by Halliday (1970:145-150), who claims that every linguistic observation has its roots in the fundamental task of language, which is to express one's perception about the issues and phenomena occurring in his/her reality. Language provides a number of means to achieve this aim. They enable the speaker to construct sentences carrying meaningful information about Processes (actions and states), Participants and Circumstances of the event (Halliday 2004:42). Mills (1995:143-144) defines transitivity as 'the study [...] [that] is concerned with how actions are represented; what kind of actions appear in a text, who does them and to whom they are done'. In this way it helps in successful communication by allowing for passing on detailed information.

The issue of transitivity is of great importance when discussing media discourse. Richardson (2007:55) illustrates this with the example of a simple sentence:

1. John kicked a ball. (active voice)
2. The ball was kicked by John. (passive voice)
3. The ball was kicked (passive voice, no agent)

It might be noticed that the first two sentences convey the same information, apart from the shift of perspective from *John* in the first sentence to *ball* in the second one. Much attention has to be paid to the third example, where the agent of the action is not mentioned. This strategy is frequently used by journalists. It results in an incomplete presentation of information, which may be intentional, unintentional or unavoidable, if the agent is unknown. Richardson (2007:55) points out that 'active agent deletion does not only occur with transitive action processes; the agent can just as easily be deleted when representing a verbal process ('he alleged...' -> 'allegations were made') or a mental process ('he considered the proposal' -> 'the proposal was considered'). This means that the way of fact presentation has an immense impact on people's evaluation of events. This strategy is frequently used with a purpose of removing or hiding unwanted, controversial information, which may result in emergence of negative public moods (ibid. 2007:56).

The second issue needs to be addressed in a discussion of sentence constructions used in media discourse is modality. Simpson (1993:47) points out that 'modality refers

broadly to speaker's attitude towards, or opinion about, the truth of a proposition expressed by a sentence. It also extends to their attitude towards the situation or event described by a sentence'. This implies that modality is an important carrier of information in the sentence, as it expresses attitudes towards events and evaluates them in terms of reality. Modality is usually expressed by use of modal verbs such as *can*, *could*, *will*, *must*, *should* etc. and their negative forms (Richardson 2007:59; Reah 1998:94). Reah (1998:94) notices that modal verbs should not be assumed to have one meaning. She (ibid. 1998:94) emphasizes that taking into consideration the broader context is essential for recognizing of their function and meaning. Apart from this, modality is a means of expressing one's perspective towards a discussed issue.

Modality has been the topic of heated debates among researchers, which resulted in specification of its different types. Grazia Busà (2014:121) distinguishes between epistemic and deontic modality. She (ibid. 2014: 121) points out that epistemic modality 'indicates the degree to which speakers/writers express judgment on the truth of the propositions they utter/write'. More specifically, the use of a particular modal verb determines the meaning of the proposition and its implication (ibid. 2014:122). *Can*, *may*, *might*, *could*, *must* and *will* are the examples of modal verbs expressing epistemic modality. Deontic modality, on the other hand, 'is concerned with the criterion by which speakers/writers decide which future events are necessary, possible, desirable etc.' (ibid. 2014:122). The examples of modal verbs expressing deontic modality are: *must*, *should*, *may* and *have to*. Modality is a typical strategy used in news reporting, as it allows for passing specific information in a comprehensive and coherent way. This is well explained by Grazia Busà (2014:122), who states that

epistemic modality lets the writer tell readers about the certainty of occurrence of a present, past or future event, deontic modality is used when informing readers about actions that affect them- for example, when governmental decisions are made to oblige certain personnel to do something, or in commentaries in which certain directions or policies are suggested.

Richardson (2007:60) differentiates between truth modality and obligation modality. Truth modality is described in terms of verbs that might be put on a scale of intensity. The scale begins with modals interpreted as categorical (e.g. *will*) and finishes with modals indicating an uncertainty about particular events (e.g. *could*) (ibid.

2007:60). Obligation modality 'refers to future events and, specifically, the degree to which the speaker/writer believes that a certain course of action or certain decisions *ought* or *should* be taken' (ibid. 2007:60). This kind of modality may also occur on a scale of intensity as categorical verbs like *must* or as verbs with weaker meaning like *ought to* (Richardson 2007:60). To put it short, truth modality describes facts in terms of their probability and reality whereas obligation modality refers to their adequacy and rightness of occurrence.

Durant and Lambrou (2009:223-224) point out that modal verbs constitute only one way of expressing modality in language. As regards this fact, modality may be expressed by the use of projecting verbs (e.g. *think*) or by means of hedges (e.g. *possibly*, *perhaps*) (ibid. 2009:224). Similarly to Grazia Busa (2014) and Richardson (2007), Durant and Lambrou (ibid. 2009:224) maintain that the use of modality always implies an evaluation of events and express a speaker's or writer's opinion.

3.2.3 Other rhetorical tools

Apart from strategies applied by journalists in news reporting discussed so far, there are three other techniques worth mentioning.

Richardson (2007:65) claims that hyperbole is frequently used rhetorical tool. Hyperbole is most commonly used in headlines, as its aim is to attract the reader's attention and awake an interest in his further reading of a particular article. Hyperbole helps to 'reflect the sensationalism, and often humor, of news reporting in the tabloid press' which is an attractive way of news reporting (ibid. 2007:65). Van Dijk (1991:219) claims that hyperbole tends to be used most often in discourses dealing with race, persuade the reader to the ideology presented by the article and emphasize differences between US and THEM.

Metaphor is the next concept that might be perceived in terms of rhetorical devices employed in the process of news making. In general a metaphor is seen as a figure of speech that allows for creative description of facts, events, things etc. Kövecses and Benczes (2010) explain that metaphor is an important tool of our conceptualization system. They specify that

when one conceptual domain is understood in terms of another domain, we have a conceptual metaphor. This understanding is achieved by seeing a set of systematic correspondences, or mappings, between the two domains. Conceptual metaphors can be given by means of the formula *a is b* or *a as b*, where *a* and *b* indicate different domains. (Kövecses and Benczes 2010:324)

This can be explicitly explained by means of the following examples:

- He's *without direction*.
- I am *where I want to be* in my life.
- I am *at the crossroads* in my life.
- She'll *go places* in life etc. (Kövecses and Benczes 2010:3)

The examples show that whilst speaking about our lives we tend to use vocabulary linked to the issues combined with journey and travelling, which constitute more concrete concept than the abstract concept of life. The expressions in italics are metaphorical linguistic expressions, which create the conceptual metaphors referring to life as a journey. In short, metaphors help to describe abstract issues by means of more concrete/ tangible concepts.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980:3), similarly to Kövecses and Benczes (2010), emphasize the importance of metaphor in the life of every human being and explain that metaphor is present in people's conceptual system, which determines the way in which people perceive reality (ibid. 1980:3). Durant and Lambrou (2009:31), on the other hand, discuss the issue of metaphor in media discourse. They define it as 'a creative device that stands out against the background of discourse in which it occurs, which helps journalists to describe things in an original way and to boost readers interest in the article'. This definition seems not to be as precise as the one of Lakoff's and Johnson's and Kövecses's and Benczes's . However, it explicitly specifies the reason of its use in journalism. Richardson (2007:66) indicates that the frequency of occurrences of metaphors depends on a particular genre of journalism. A good example of a genre with a high frequency of metaphors is sport report.

Furthermore, puns are also commonly used in journalism. They are considered as a wordplay increasing interest in reading the rest of the article. Richardson (2007:70) mentions three types of puns: 'homographic puns that exploit multiple meanings of essentially the same word [...]; ideographic puns that substitute words of similar but not identical sound [...]; and homophonic puns that substitute words with the same

sound but unrelated meaning [...]'. More specifically, the use of puns indicates ambiguity of a text and application of humor. A good example of a pun is the following phrase: "Atheism is a non-prophet institution", which bases on sound play. The word *profit* is replaced by the word *prophet*, which changes the meaning of a common phrase *non-profit institution*.

This section has provided an overview of rhetorical devices used in media discourse together with their explicit characteristics and an explanation of their use. The next section deals with the issue of objectivity in media discourse. It discusses its historical beginnings, defines it and indicates controversial issues attached to it.

3.2.4 The issue of objectivity

Being a journalist is considered a demanding profession. Journalists work under pressure to create articles drawing reader's attention and have to obey a code of ethics, which is considered as a collection of principles regulating the professional conduct of journalists. The most important principles are those of objectivity, impartiality and truth. This section provides a brief overview of facts that contributed to the emergence and evolution of objectivity in media discourse, defines it and discusses problems related to it.

Objectivity has become the most important principle governing the world of news media. Calcutte and Hammond (2014:75) mention that there are three key events that led to the emergence of objectivity in journalism: 'the emergence of the bourgeois public sphere in the eighteenth century; the development of the mass-circulation press as a business in the late nineteenth century; and the institutionalization of professional norms of objectivity and impartiality in newspaper and radio journalism in the early twentieth century'. Additionally, objectivity was supposed to diminish an impact of radical opinions on society and help in shaping general public opinion by elites (ibid. 2014:74). This was especially important after the First World War when people were skeptical about the credibility of the mass media (ibid. 2014:76).

The issue of use of journalistic objectivity has been always criticized by researchers analyzing media discourse, who doubted in their real impartiality. This was triggered by the two-faced character of journalism: on the one hand it provides society

with new information and on the other hand it limits the appropriate extent thus disguising some controversial facts. Due to this fact media tend to support and spread ideologies propagated by particular political parties frequently leading to rise of 'cynical attitudes toward media and public life'. In result the idea about objectivism collapsed in the form it has been known so far (ibid. 2014:79). Now the task of journalists was to gain back trust of the society by describing facts in an unbiased way. Journalists were pushed to change the strategy of news making from objective to more subjective. This contributed to the development of journalism in a form that it is today (ibid. 2014:79).

At this point it is necessary to define what objectivity in journalism means. Grazia Busà (2014:33) defines objectivity as a way that is used by journalists

[to] report information that is true and factual, avoid political ideology and partisanship, and refrain from conveying personal feelings and prejudices or expressing personal opinions. As part of this process, journalists research the information they report and cite their sources, so as to add credibility to their stories.

More specifically, the most important aspect of being objective is to report facts in an impartial, unbiased manner so that readers have a chance to shape their own point of view about a particular fact. This is especially important when presenting issues connected with politics, as passing on subjective information may result in controversies and in the creation of ideologies leading to social divisions. Schudson (2001:150) supports Grazia Busà's opinion and states that

[t]he objectivity norm guides journalists to separate facts from values and to report only the facts. Objective reporting is supposed to be cool, rather than emotional, in tone. Objective reporting takes pains to represent fairly each leading side in a political controversy. According to the objectivity norm, the journalist's job consists of reporting sometimes called 'news' without commenting on it, slanting it, or shaping its formulation in any way.

Richardson (2007:86) notices that the issue of objectivity in journalism is very complex. First of all, he mentions that the notion should not be defined by means of a dictionary definition, which sees it as the most important aspect that should be avoided when making news. However, this does not constitute the main and the most crucial principle that journalists seem to follow. Objectivity in journalism should be seen as an ability of distancing oneself from the facts presented in the articles. This, however, does

not imply that facts are presented in an emotionless manner. Richardson (2007:86) explains that 'it requires that the fact and opinion in news report-that is, the reported speech, included in whatever form- needs to be that of people other than the journalist'. Following this, in journalism an objective report does not equal a neutral one (ibid. 2007:86). All steps beginning with the production process of the article involve subjective choices. Due to this fact, it seems to be incorrect to claim that journalism is free of personal judgements and values. However, each personal judgement has to be properly supported by authoritative sources, which makes them credible and trust worthy.

Taking this into consideration Tuchman (1972:299-301) indicates four procedures that should be followed when writing an objective news report. First of all, each judgement constituting a subjective evaluation of a particular issue should be supported by evidence from other sources. This strategy increases credibility of the article and diminishes subjective tone of the expressed judgement. Secondly, context and background information are an important issue for each of facts published in any newspaper, as they help in right evaluation of the situation. Third, the use of quotation marks supports the journalists' personal point of view and defends it in an authoritative way. Finally, a news report should be structured in a way, which does not directly indicate the author's subjectivity (Richardson 2007:87). The above presented procedures widely followed by journalists all over the world constitute a strategic ritual, which is seen as a code of conduct needed to create objective reports.

Grazia Busà (2014:33) indicates that news reports consist of words, which are parts of language. Language, however is not a neutral construction and thus 'journalists make lexical and grammatical choices, both consciously and unconsciously, that reflect their ideology' (ibid. 2014: 33). This implies the general subjectivity of texts. Apart from this fact, the target audience, to which the report is directed, has an immense impact on the linguistic choices made by a journalist. It influences 'editorial decisions, topic selection and presentation of events, the amount of detail in the story, the pictures and images accompanying it' that constitute not linguistic sources (ibid. 2014: 34). Furthermore, events and facts are frequently selected on the basis of visual sources that are available to the journalist. The reason is their ability to attract readers' attention. Consequently, the choice of issues to be included in a press is also regulated by the amount of visual sources available to the journalist. This again implies subjective

decisions (ibid. 2014:36). Additionally, Richardson (2007:89) claims that such choices may be also propaganda-driven in so far that particular issues tend to be presented differently in different countries or cultures. To explain this claim Richardson (2007:89) provides an example regarding 'the hypothetical nuclear proliferation', where 'a news report in a Western newspaper on the threat of nuclear weapons would support the idea of this 'threat' by using facts about the arsenals, ranges and destructive capabilities of Iran's nuclear weapons rather than those of the USA, the UK or Israel'. Furthermore, issues connected with elites (especially as regards politics) tend to be analyzed, verified and described with more care than any other facts. At this point it is worth mentioning the commonly known fact that different newspapers support different political parties and positions, which directly influence the way they present facts. The readership of the newspapers also has an impact on the style of writing and on the editorial choices made. Due to this fact, news reporting cannot be seen as purely unbiased.

This section has explicitly discussed the issue of objectivity providing a short historical account explaining the reason of its emergence, introducing the definition of objectivity and drawing on its importance in journalism. It also mentioned aspects which constitute a bone of contention between researchers and are widely criticized.

4. Discourse Historical Approach: Refugee Crisis

In the sections above I have discussed related issues to this paper which constitute the background knowledge needed to understand it. This section constitutes the empirical part of this paper, helping to achieve its aims. Specifically, in this chapter I will apply DHA to analyze articles from British quality and tabloid newspapers, and in doing so make a contribution to the field of CDA. I will follow the eight steps characterizing DHA approach mentioned in section 1.5. At this point the aim of the first step has already been achieved (see Chapter 1). I introduced the main notions and concepts related to CDA (including DHA) and provided the knowledge needed to follow the study. The sections in this chapter will be directly related to realizing the remaining seven steps. Section 3.1 explicitly discusses two steps, being the choice of data and specifying the research questions the study is concerned about. Section 3.2 provides the context for the study, which is crucial in the framework of DHA and precisely describes facts crucial for the creation of undisturbed opinions regarding the refugee crisis. Section 3.3 constitutes the analysis of the chosen data as well as a detailed case study and interpretation of findings, which also covers the seventh step of CDA- raising people's awareness about the problem under examination. Publication of this paper completes the final step of DHA.

4.1 Data and methodology

In this section I will address the issues concerning the refugee crisis that Europe is presently facing. As I decided to work in a framework of DHA, covered above in the section 1.5, the first step in this section is to describe the context of the emergence of the refugee crisis. The section on context is divided into two parts. The first (3.2.1) discusses to the origins and results of the war in Syria. The second (3.2.2) gives a brief overview of migration politics in the EU and its attitudes toward refugees. This background is important to understand the particular events and facts analyzed in the paper. In this sense, the aim of describing the context is to provoke a process of thinking about the refugee crisis and result in the creation of individual points of view about illegal migration and attitudes towards it.

The section on context is followed by an analysis of British newspaper articles. At this point it is necessary to mention which articles will be analyzed and explain their organization in the paper. To begin with, I have chosen six articles from different British quality and tabloid newspapers. My aim was to organize them in pairs, so that the articles from broadsheet newspapers correspond to articles from tabloids, allowing for comparison of linguistic means and discursive strategies applied in the texts. Accordingly, I came up with three pairs of articles discussing different issues related to the refugee crisis. The reports come from The Guardian and The Independent (quality press) and The Sun, Sunday Express, the Mirror (tabloids) and have been taken from the newspaper's websites. To facilitate following the analysis the lines of the articles have been numbered. Correspondingly, each argument indicated in the analysis is given a number placed in brackets. The articles in question can be found in the appendix.

The analysis of the articles begins with the identification of discursive topics and discursive strategies applied in reports. The strategies embrace nomination, predication, argumentation, and intensification and mitigation techniques, which has been explicitly discussed above in section 1.5. In addition, the relationship of the articles to other texts (intertextuality) and/or discourses (interdiscursivity) and the topics appearing in the texts are discussed. It is essential to note here that the general aim of DHA is to raise awareness of the problem in question and contribute to the development of conscious, personal points of views about it. In accordance with this I have tried to analyze the texts objectively and withheld my personal evaluations and interpretations. The analysis of each pair of texts is followed by a brief summary of the main observations that could be made about them, allowing for conclusions to be drawn from them.

The overall aim of the analysis is to enlighten people about the situation Europe is facing at the moment and help them to create their own, uninfluenced opinions about the refugee crisis. It also reveals the differences between broadsheet and tabloid newspapers in terms of the language used and style applied by them.

It is worth mentioning that this paper does not allow for clear conclusions concerning the refugee crisis. It does not aim to convince people about any particular arguments. It instead constitutes a critical study forcing the reader to read attentively and draw their own conclusions.

4.2 Context

This section constitutes the first part of the analysis and the first step of DHA. It provides the context for further analysis of the chosen texts.

4.2.1 The Syrian Problem

The context of the Syrian conflict is crucial in understanding general attitudes towards refugees arriving from distant countries. BBC News states that the Civil War in Syria contributed to the deaths of over 250,000 people³. Over 11,000,000 were forced to leave their homes and head to other countries and continents in search of peace and safety. The conflict has gone through a number of stages: the uprising in Syria, outbreak of the Syrian Civil War, war crimes, chemical weapons, humanitarian crisis, the rise of jihadists and the beginning of a proxy war in Syria⁴. This section briefly discusses each stage and describes the EU's migration politics directly related to the refugee crisis.

3.2.1.2 Uprising in Syria

The conflict in Syria began when Bashar al-Assad took control of the country after his father Hafez al-Assad, who was President of Syria for 29 years and a true supporter of the Assad regime, died in 2000. As a young man, craving for knowledge, he moved to London to study medicine, where he was attracted to the Western style of life. He was not regarded as a direct throne successor, as his brother Bassel Al-Assad was supposed to fulfill presidential obligations better than Bashar. However, Bassel Al-Assad died in a car accident, which complicated succession plans and for this reason Bashar became the ruler of the country.

Bashar's dream was to modernize the country and make it more similar to Western European countries. He introduced Damascus Spring (2000-2001) and implemented neo-liberal and capitalist policies. These were not welcomed by other politicians, who supported the existing authoritarian structure of the country which endangered Bashar's throne. Internal tensions forced the new President to revive the

³<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26116868>

⁴ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26116868>

old system and with the help of the Mukhabarat (Syrian military intelligence) introduce the politics of fear and repression, by means of which he managed to remove anyone who could hinder the implementation of his modernization plan and continue with his visions of a modern country.

The implementation of neo-liberalism and capitalism has brought about serious social differences between rich and poor. In 2011 Syrians, encouraged by the anti-governmental revolutions in Tunisia, Libya and Egypt decided to demonstrate against Bashar, who opened fire on them. This event led to the outbreak of a long-lasting Civil War.⁵

4.2.1.3 Civil War

The reasons for the Civil War in Syria are complex. It is first of all a war between Assad's supporters and his opponents. In this sense it is a war of a government against the citizenry. It is also a religious war between Shiite and Sunni, the two major denominations of Islam. Finally, it constitutes a proxy war between the USA, which condemns Assad's approach and is focused on fighting ISIS, and Russia which supports the Assad regime. Russia is the main ally to President Assad, and actively participates in the fighting against rebels and conducts its own bombings as well as providing Assad with weapons. Russia is also supported by Iran and Hezbollah, the Shiite party in Lebanon, often considered a terrorist group in the West. The aim of the USA, on the other hand, is to fight ISIS by conducting its own air raids on ISIS occupied territories. American operations are strongly backed by Turkey and the Gulf States. **Map 1** included in the appendix shows the territory of Syria and areas occupied or controlled by the parties in conflict.⁶

The UN has reported that each party in the conflict has committed war crimes.⁷ The Assad's regime has been accused of using barrel bombs to kill civilians and destroy cities, thus divesting people of their homes and access to food and clean water. Amnesty International claims that Assad does not have any specific target in terms of social groups he wants to eliminate or attack, but that his main aim and strategy is to introduce

⁵ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26116868>

<http://www.iamsyria.org/conflict-background.html>

⁶ <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/10/syrian-civil-war-guide-isis/410746/>

⁷ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26116868>

the politics of fear and submission. For this reason he attacks areas inhabited by civilians, killing thousands of them, in opposition to international law. Air attacks have been frequently directed towards residential areas with the aim of killing people not involved in the conflict and seldom towards areas occupied by opposition forces.⁸

The choice of munition has a great impact on the character of the conflict.⁹ All bombs used are unguided, which additionally increases the risk of civilian casualties. The most lethal kind of weapons used in the conflict are ballistic missiles, mostly used in attacks on Aleppo, causing the deaths of many people and immense destruction to the city. Amnesty International reports that the scale of destruction after the use of ballistic missiles is much greater than after any aircraft raid. Aleppo, Syria's commercial capital and most important city has been completely destroyed. Hundreds of people were also killed after the use of chemical weapons in Damascus in 2013. This has shown the ruthlessness of the war. The UN and Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) ordered Assad to remove and destroy any such weapons by the end of 2014. However, the use of chemical weapons by governmental forces is still reported.¹⁰

The Amnesty International report also includes information about the crimes of the opposing forces¹¹. Tendencies of opposition fighters to torture, murder, and rape captured governmental soldiers have been reported, and the use weapons in an indiscriminate way endangering innocent people not involved in the conflict has also been seen.¹²

4.2.1.4 Humanitarian crisis

A major result of the Syrian Civil War has been the mass migration of people to other countries. Over 190,000 people have been killed and 11,6 million forced to emigrate.¹³ People have decided to travel and bear hardships like hunger and cold for a long time before arriving to their target country. The aggravation of the conflict,

⁸ <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/middle-east-and-north-africa/syria/report-syria/>

⁹ https://www.amnesty.org.nz/sites/default/files/rain_bombs.pdf

¹⁰ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26116868>

¹¹ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/05/syria-forces-war-crime-barrel-bombs-aleppo-amnesty-report>

¹² https://www.amnesty.org.nz/sites/default/files/sum_kills.pdf

¹³ <https://www.amnesty.org.nz/syria-worst-humanitarian-crisis-our-time>

especially in Aleppo, led to the blocking of any kind of humanitarian aid. Many Syrians have been displaced inside the country to areas considered safer. Many of them try however to reach the Turkish border and head further into Europe hoping for a better future. The journey from Turkey to Greece across the Mediterranean Sea is especially hazardous. People cross the sea on small, overloaded boats. Many or all of them can die during the journey. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) during 2015 alone over 3,700 refugees died at sea.¹⁴ After arriving in Europe they have to face other difficulties. First of all, they need to be registered as asylum seekers as this status gives them the possibility to remain in Europe legally. Until that time they are living in poor conditions in camps. They suffer from hunger, thirst, and illness, as resources and services are limited.

At the beginning of the crisis in Syria the majority of European countries did not realize the scale of the problem. However, as the situation worsened and more and more people reached Europe's shores, it started to be seen as a problem. The number of asylum applications per head of the population was highest in Hungary, Sweden and Austria (appendix: Graph 1).¹⁵ In general the most popular countries in which refugees would like to live are those with the highest standard of living, level of social services and fastest growing economies. The distribution of refugees across countries has been unequal, which has led to tensions between them. Especially affected are the countries to which refugees commonly arrive: Italy, Greece and Hungary. For this reason the EU decided to introduce a plan for migrants' relocation across Europe which was not welcomed by all member countries with the same enthusiasm. The western and central countries are seen as more open towards refugees within their borders, whereas eastern countries resist this. The main reason for this is different economic situation in the EU's Member States. Secondly, countries most opposed to the EU's politics towards refugees tend to be ethnically homogenous, which is reflected in the structure of the society. Specifically, many of them have not had to deal with many people from different cultural and religious backgrounds. This makes them conservative and less tolerant. However, eastern and central countries are also beginning to face problems, as their capacity to take in migrants is limited. Migrants also do not always show willingness to

¹⁴ <http://www.iom.int/news/iom-counts-3771-migrant-fatalities-mediterranean-2015>

¹⁵ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>

integrate with the local people, as can be observed in most multicultural countries. This fact awakens fears and raises objections from the affected society.

Turkey, although not in the EU, plays a great role in the distribution of refugees. The European Commission emphasizes that Turkey constitutes a shelter for over 3.1 million people.¹⁶ For this reason, the European Commission together with Member States has agreed to provide Turkey with €3 billion as compensation for its help with dealing with the refugee crisis until the end of 2017. The EU believes this money should be allocated to the maintenance of refugee camps and necessary humanitarian aid including the protection of vulnerable groups. The second aim of this project is to unburden European countries of large numbers of people crossing their borders.

4.2.1.5 The rise of jihadists and Islamic State

There are many aspects which contributed to the emergence of jihadists and the Islamic State. During the Iran – Iraq war (1980-1988) Iraq needed money to defend its territory and took loans from Gulf States, which decided to support Iraq financially. After the war Iraq was plunged into debt. Saddam Hussein, Iraqi President, decided to call for the Gulf States to cancel the debts and claimed that thanks to their money Iraq was also able to protect their borders from Iranian conquest. Hussein's request was rejected and pushed him to make threats to annex the Warbah and Bubyah Islands, which would secure access to their ports and the only intact waterway into the Persian Gulf¹⁷. This initiated a long-term conflict between Iraq and Kuwait. When the United Kingdom's protectorate over Kuwait expired in 1961, Iraq started to force its right to Kuwait's territory on basis of its former status as part of the Ottoman province. The risk facing Kuwait forced the United Kingdom to station troops in Kuwait's territory. From this moment on relationships between Iraq and other Arab countries deteriorated.

The conflict between Iraq and other countries escalated when Hussein decided to invade Kuwait, whom he accused of drilling for oil on the Kuwait-Iraq border without his consent.¹⁸ Iraq also accused the United States and Israel of acting against Iraq which was reflected by a strong reduction in oil prices. ¹⁹ Iraq's invasion of Kuwait met strong

¹⁶ http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/aid/countries/factsheets/turkey_syrian_crisis_en.pdf

¹⁷ <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1989-1992/gulf-war>

¹⁸ <http://www.globalresearch.ca/america-created-al-qaeda-and-the-isis-terror-group/5402881>

¹⁹ <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1989-1992/gulf-war>

disapproval from the U.S President George H. W. Bush, who decided to place American troops in the Gulf to secure the Gulf States' borders. This did not however result in any moderation of Hussein's inclinations. Egyptian President Mubarak attempted to negotiate with Iraq and Kuwait to avoid any further escalation of the problem. Hussein however withdrew from the negotiations and gathered troops on the border with Kuwait, which finally led to US and NATO intervention.²⁰ Despite multiple warnings from other countries Iraq began the Gulf War (1990-1991). On 17th January 1991 the U.S. began the offensive called Operation Desert Storm, which finished with the victory of the coalition and the imposition of sanctions on Iraq.²¹ This led to further tensions and attempts to free Iraq from the actions of other countries, which resulted in several exchanges of fire between Iraq and American aircraft. Especially unwelcome were the UN weapon inspectors attempting to identify and destroy the biological and chemical weapons used by Iraq forces. In 1998 Hussein refused further cooperation with inspectors, which led to Operation Desert Fox.²² The operation was conducted with the aim of destroying Iraq's ability to produce weapons of mass destruction and to demonstrate to Hussein the consequences of his disobedience to international law.²³

The general aim of the American intervention in Iraq was to change the regime. At first the Americans tried to achieve this without direct interference in the conflict. Sanctions, embargos and the introduction of no-flight zones were supposed to lead to the rebellion of Hussein's supporters, which would lead to his deposition. The American government was also financially supporting Iraqi opposition forces against Hussein. In 2002 the American government passed a law which allowed for the declaration of war against Iraq without the UN's consent.

Despite America's multiple warnings as regards the use of chemical and biological weapons, Iraq still ignored consequences this could have. Due to this fact in 2003 the U.S. decided to send an additional 62,000 troops to the 43,000 already in place. The U.S. President George W. Bush demanded Hussein leave Iraq within two days. This deadline was ignored and Bush began Operation Iraqi Freedom.²⁴ Hussein was found on

²⁰ <http://www.history.com/topics/persian-gulf-war>

²¹ <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1989-1992/gulf-war>

²² <http://www.popularsocialscience.com/2012/10/25/why-did-the-united-states-invade-iraq-in-2003-2/>

²³ http://archive.defense.gov/specials/desert_fox/

²⁴ <http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/bush-announces-the-launch-of-operation-iraqi-freedom>

20th December 2003 hiding in a cellar and was accused of crimes against humanity and later executed.

The key fact that triggered the Iraqi conflict with America was the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center on 11th September 2001. After this event, the American intelligence agencies started to investigate the possibility that Iraq was the main suspect behind the attack and supposedly had connections with Al-Qaeda. More specifically, Al-Qaeda's main aims are to discourage Americans from interfering in the internal problems of Arab countries and to combat western influences, which could have been in Hussein's interest.²⁵ This network of extremists was led by Osama bin Laden, who called for jihad, a holy war, with the aim of killing apostates.²⁶ Al-Qaeda initiated the emergence of other extremist groups, amongst others the Islamic State.

However, it was not only the American invasion that contributed to the rise of Islamic State. Nouri al-Malik became a president of Iraq in 2006 after Saddam Hussein's was overthrown. Al-Malik did not greatly differ in his actions from Hussein, as after the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq he introduced an authoritarian rule persecuting everyone who opposed him and his politics. He removed all Sunnis from public offices and favored Shiites, which resulted in the emergence of social inequalities between those two groups. People began to demonstrate publicly. Al-Malik ordered police to open fire on the demonstrators, killing many of them. This helped ISIS to conquer some cities in Iraq and persuaded people to join them and fight against al-Malik and his politics.

Turning back to Syria, Gulf State countries (Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Qatar) also provided financial support for parties/ groups standing in opposition to Assad. Their aim is to accelerate his fall, as he is perceived as their main enemy. One of the groups donated to by the Gulf States is ISIS, as they feel it is a necessity to protect people from Assad's regime and believe that ISIS has the greatest potential to achieve this aim.

Thirdly, Assad has not undertaken any actions to eliminate members of ISIS. He believes that ISIS will fight against the Free Syrian Army trained by the American CIA to oppose Assad's forces. ISIS did not however support Assad, and often fought against him.²⁷

²⁵ <http://www.infoplease.com/spot/al-qaeda-terrorism.html>

²⁶ <http://www.infoplease.com/spot/al-qaeda-terrorism.html>

²⁷ http://www.academia.edu/9879796/The_Emergence_of_the_Islamic_State_ISIS_in_Iraq_and_Syria

The main aim of jihadists is to re-establish a Caliphate, an area ruled by a caliph, seen as an ancestor of Muhammad ibn ‘Abdullāh, who was the last prophet sent by God to Muslims to guide and teach them. The jihadists believe the Caliphate should be a place of pure Islam, where any deviation from generally accepted religious practices is seen as a serious offence against God and should be punishable by death. They believe the whole world should be covered by the Caliphate and those who refuse to accept Islam should be beheaded as infidels. The ideology of ISIS is based on an interpretation of the Koran that has resulted in various atrocities committed by its radical members. They propagate all kinds of persecution and punishment. They show their practices and sow fear among people by means of cruel videos posted to the internet, frequently presenting scenes of beheading and crucifixion. They believe this will discourage people from opposing them and convince them to obey their radical rules. These videos also serve as a way of recruiting young and brave people open to adventure who want to fight in the name of real religion and against the modern order of the world.²⁸

ISIS raise and receive funds from various sources. They produce and sell energy for low prices in the form of oil that comes from conquered areas in Iraq and Syria. They impose taxes on people living on the invaded areas and steal their belongings. ISIS has also received funds from the Gulf States to fight Assad’s regime. The amount of money given to ISIS is estimated at being over \$40 million. ISIS has also managed to get money from several banks robbed in the conquered territories. They also sell antiquities from looted palaces, tombs, and churches. The cruelest way they obtain money is by kidnapping foreigners and demanding huge ransoms.²⁹

4.2.2 EU and illegal migration

The present section looks at the problem of illegal migration from the perspective of the European Union as an institution. It discusses regulations, directives, and procedures passed and applied by the EU, which show the general attitude towards refugees, how the situation has been managed and what kind of solutions have been suggested so far.

²⁸ <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/03/what-isis-really-wants/384980/>

²⁹ http://www.academia.edu/9879796/The_Emergence_of_the_Islamic_State_ISIS_in_Iraq_and_Syria

The worsening situation in many Middle-Eastern countries has forced people to make their way to other nations in search of peace and safety. The main destination for most such refugees is the EU. The European Commission states that 2014 was a record year with regards to the number of refugees, arriving at the borders of Europe. The official number of people entering the EU that year by sea, land or air equals approximately 276,113.³⁰

Such a tense situation presents a good opportunity for smugglers to earn large amounts of money by offering their illegal services in transporting people to the European continent. Many refugees decide to take advantage of their services and risk their lives getting to countries described as a paradise.

In a reaction to many disasters and dramas resulting in the deaths of many people attempting to reach European borders, the EU took steps towards stopping the practice of migrant smuggling. From 2002 the European Commission introduced a legal framework which proved an effective way of limiting illegal migration. However, the previous year brought a considerable increase in the number of people illegally arriving in Europe and forced the EU to tighten the framework with the introduction of *the Action Plan against Migrant Smuggling*.³¹ The EU sees refugees as the victims of the illegal actions of those who offer smuggling services, thereby exposing refugees to social inequality, resulting in their ruthless exploitation in many kinds of labour. One of the methods introduced by the EU to limit such treatment of illegal migrants is to sanction people employing refugees in any kind of work and improving border controls, particularly at sea. The EU has also accepted *the Return Directive* constituting a set of restrictive rules with the aim of discouraging people from migrating illegally. There are seven main assumptions included in it:

- the requirement for a fair and transparent procedure for decisions on the return of irregular migrants
- an obligation on EU States to either return irregular migrants or to grant them legal status, thus avoiding situations of "legal limbo"
- promotion of the principle of voluntary departure by establishing a general rule that a "period for voluntary departure" should normally be granted

³⁰ http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/irregular-migration-return-policy/index_en.htm

³¹ http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/e-library/documents/policies/asylum/general/docs/eu_action_plan_against_migrant_smuggling_en.pdf

- provision for persons residing irregularly of a minimum set of basic rights pending their removal, including access to basic health care and education for children
- a limit on the use of coercive measures in connection with the removal of persons, and ensuring that such measures are not excessive or disproportionate
- providing for an entry ban valid throughout the EU for migrants returned by an EU State
- limiting the use of detention, binding it to the principle of proportionality and establishing minimum safeguards for detainees.³²

The large number of illegal refugees remaining within the borders of the EU is explained by practical problems with their identification and other necessary documentation that should have been provided by the countries to which the migrants are going to be returned. The European Commission explains that the return of people illegally staying in the EU is not possible without the close cooperation and engagement of the EU Member States and non-EU countries. The whole process is hindered however by non EU-countries which do not want to become involved in EU politics concerning illegal migration policies.³³

As a remedy for the mass migration Europe is facing, the EU introduced *the European Agenda on Migration*³⁴ that provides for the possibility of dealing with the problem of crowds of refugees and of thousands of people losing their lives on the sea whilst attempting to reach Europe.

The EU's new Agenda may be divided into short-term and long-term priorities. The short-term priorities are mainly covered by additional funding to Frontex, responsible for rescue actions especially on the sea, and to the most affected Member States. The Agenda also puts emphasis on the role of Europol with the aim of limiting the influx of people to Europe, eliminating the networks of smugglers exposing people to deadly danger and the creation or strengthening of institutions and agencies controlling, identifying and registering migrants. The long-term priorities of the EU specify that all actions should be taken to discourage people from illegal migration, such as the protection of external borders and the establishment of efficient asylum policies and

³² http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/irregular-migration-return-policy/return-readmission/index_en.htm

³³ http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/irregular-migration-return-policy/index_en.htm

³⁴ http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/index_en.htm

policies on legal migration. All steps and assumptions included in the Agenda should help to effectively manage the flow of people from other countries and provide tools for the selection of people to be offered asylum.

Despite the fact that the present flow of migrants is seen as a problem for all Member States, resulting in the introduction of the EU's more radical politics towards illegal migration, there are still thousands eligible for asylum. According to the European Commission asylum seekers are people fleeing from their own countries in search for protection from persecution and wars.³⁵ Granting asylum is seen as an obligation of each EU Member State, and is explicitly stipulated in the *Geneva Convention on the protection of refugees*³⁶ signed in 1951.

As the aim of the EU is to unify all Member States according to the same values and procedures, the management of illegal migration and the degree of engagement in the problem from each Member State should be the same. For this reason the EU decided to establish *the Common European Asylum System*.³⁷ According to this document, and in line with the general assumptions and rules that are in operation with regards to tolerance towards multilingualism and multiculturalism in the EU, asylum seekers should be granted fair treatment and undergo the same procedures in each Member State. The EU as an institution on the other hand, is committed to helping Member States deal with the problem of mass migration. One of the most important regulations helping achieve this aim is *The European Refugee Fund*³⁸, which provides Member States with financial help toward the reception of refugees and the associated costs. This regulation is directly concerned with cooperation between EU countries and non-EU countries, which should help the resettlement of refugees as the capacity of Member States for such large numbers of refugees is limited. This programme is especially directed toward the countries seen as transit countries that refugees pass on the way to their destination. The *EURODAC Regulation*³⁹, on the other hand, defends Member States by allowing the identification of individuals by means of fingerprints gathered from each asylum seeker entering the borders of the EU. Such a procedure limits the possibility of crimes being committed by refugees and allows for their direct identification.

³⁵ http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/index_en.htm

³⁶ <http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/1951-refugee-convention.html>

³⁷ http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/index_en.htm

³⁸ http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/financing/fundings/migration-asylum-borders/refugee-fund/index_en.htm

³⁹ http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/identification-of-applicants/index_en.htm

Most legislation however is directed towards refugees and their protection. The *Directive on the right to family reunification*⁴⁰, according to which an immigrant legally staying within the EU has the right to bring their family to their country of residence, has been created with the aim of creating better conditions for migrants and facilitating their integration with their country of residence. The European Commission has also recently revised four documents that protect refugees from unfair treatment, persecution, and exploitation. The *Asylum Procedures Directive*⁴¹ aims to guarantee quick, efficient, and fair application of the procedures leading towards acceptance or rejection of a person as an asylum seeker. The *Reception Conditions Directive*⁴² regulates the way in which refugees are received by ensuring dignified conditions of existence and respect for their fundamental rights such as housing, food, and health care. The *Qualification Directive*⁴³ stipulates conditions according to which a person might be accepted as an asylum seeker. Finally, *the Dublin Regulation*⁴⁴ assures refugees that they are protected during the process of examination of asylum seeker application.

This section has introduced the context of the analysis and comparison of discursive strategies and language in British quality and tabloid newspapers. It has covered issues connected with the crisis in Syria including historical background to the conflict and the emergence of radical Islamists, which has contributed to the mass migration of people to Europe. It also described the EU's policy and attitude towards refugees.

The next section is devoted to the identification and analysis of discursive strategies and an indication of the differences between articles published by British quality and tabloid newspapers dealing with issues related to the refugee crisis.

4.3 Newspaper articles analysis

⁴⁰ http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/legal-migration/family-reunification/index_en.htm

⁴¹ http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/common-procedures/index_en.htm

⁴² http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/reception-conditions/index_en.htm

⁴³ http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/refugee-status/index_en.htm

⁴⁴ http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/examination-of-applicants/index_en.htm

The analysis of newspaper articles presented in this section concentrates on four discursive strategies: nomination (showing how social actors are referred to), predication (revealing attributes ascribed to social actors), argumentation (showing how claims in the text are justified) and perspectivation (referring to the writer's stance toward the presented issue). It will also draw upon intensification and mitigation techniques if these prove relevant to the analysis.

4.3.1 Articles I and II

Article I: The Mirror:

Pope visits Lesbos refugees and 'will take ten migrants home to Vatican with him'
11:01, APR 2016

Updated 17:00, 16 APR 2016

By Steve Robson

This article describes the Pope's visit to the Greek island of Lesbos, which has become one of the main processing centers for refugees fleeing repression, war and difficult economic situations in their countries. There are four main discourse topics (problems and issues the discourse addresses) which can be identified in the text: the war in Syria, the refugee crisis in Europe, attitudes towards migrants and the issue of social equality.

The article can be divided into two parts. The first (A) constitutes an account of the Pope's visit on Lesbos (1-34), whilst the second (B) is the voice of Cardinal Vincent Nichols, who is *the head of the Catholic Church in England and Wales* (35-61). To make the analysis transparent and more easily understood I will divide it according to those parts.

The most prominent social actor (individual) in A is Pope Francis. His name appears in the text nine times. He is also referred to five times by the third pronoun *he*. He is presented as a figure central to the whole event promoting voluntary help for refugees arriving to Europe. The second most frequent social actor appearing in the article are *refugees*. The writer of the text uses seven different ways to refer to them: *refugees* (9, 17, 32-33); *migrants* (10); *some* (16); *the nationalities whose asylum applications are approved* (21-22); *new arrivals* (23); *men and women who have fled their homelands seeking refuge in Europe* (25); *they* (26, 32); *one man* (27). The nomination

the nationalities whose asylum applications are approved (21-22) deserves special attention, as apart from constituting a descriptive way of referring to migrants it also explains what the word *refugee* means. *Syrians* (7) and *Afghans* (7) indicate nationalities especially affected by war and forced to leave their homelands in search for asylum. Among refugees there are groups of *children* (11, 29, 34) including *the teenage boys* (13) and *one little girl* (29).

Part A contains many predication techniques. First of all, the Pope's promise to take ten refugees to Vatican and guarantee them *safe passage* (7) implies the degree of difficulties and dangers migrants have to face before arriving in Europe. The refugees are referred to as *stranded in Lesbos* (9). This predication technique implies misery among the people who arrived on Lesbos and positions them in an inconvenient and unpleasant situation.⁴⁵ Additionally, their travel is called *the perilous journey* (13), which supports the previously mentioned predication strategy. Interestingly, the text includes many references to children, although the refugee camp is also surely full of adults. Lines 13-14 describe the position of *the teenage boys*. They decided to leave *their homelands* (13) *alone* (14) and during the Pope's visit *were lined up at the entrance* (14) to greet him. The adverb *alone* (14) can be regarded here as belonging to two strategies: predication and intensification. It intensifies the dramatic situation of the people in Middle-Eastern countries forced to send their children away to save their lives, and the bravery and resistance of the children who manage to survive despite difficult conditions. Line 16 draws attention to people holding the *Syrian flag* (16). The adjective emphasizes the people's affiliation, and their attachment and belonging to their homeland. Secondly, the Pope's visit to the Greek island and his decision to take in refugees to Vatican is said to be *symbolic* (9) and is intensified by an adjective *highly* (20). This decision seems to be a protest against the European migration strategy and the reluctance to take in refugees by offering them a safe shelter (20-22). The text also makes explicit the Pope's act of taking two Afghans to Vatican as a protest against Europe's decision to not consider them as candidates for obtaining asylum status (23-24). The EU's deal concerning deportations of newly arrived migrants to Turkey is also described as *controversial* (24).

Part A contains a few argumentation techniques. The first one can be noticed in lines 9-10. The Pope decided to visit Lesbos. His visit has a symbolic status as he wants

⁴⁵ <https://www.vocabulary.com/dictionary/stranded>

to give eight Syrians and two Afghans safe passage back to the Vatican with him. The same argument is provided in lines 20-24, where the author of the text makes explicit that the Pope is against Europe's decisions made regarding refugees. Additionally, the Pope's aim seems to be giving a pattern to follow by other countries with regards to the treatment of refugees. He is *shaking hands with the men and bowing to the women* (32-33). He also appreciates children's artwork, as when he was given a picture from a little girl he wanted to keep it and ordered his staff not to fold it (30-31). Apart from justification of the Pope's behavior, the text also includes justification of Europe's decisions. Namely, the aim of the decisions *to stem the refugee flow* (24).

The author of the article explicitly positions himself toward the described event. First, it might be seen that he does not want to take responsibility for the presented facts. Phrases like *it has been claimed* (7-8) and *amid reports* (9) indicate the writer's cautiousness about describing the situation. He also supports his claims by reporting information provided by public media, which increases the authority of the article: *Greek state television ERT later reported [...]* (17); *ERT said [...]* (19). However, he does not refrain from being subjective, as the reference to the Pope's plan of helping eight Syrians and two Afghans is described as *a highly symbolic move* (20) and introduced by the phrase *it would be [...]* (20). The adjective *highly* (20) can be regarded as hyperbole, which tends to be one of the most frequently used rhetorical devices in media discourse. The use of epistemic modality is demonstrated by the use of the modal verb *would* (20). This kind of modality indicates the author's opinion about the fact. Both cases indicate the subjectivity of the evaluation. The EU's *deal* (24) regarding migration politics in Europe is also modified by the adjective *controversial* (24), which implies an individual opinion of the writer not supported by any argument. The choice of scenes the author decided to present also indicates the subjective character of the article. As has been mentioned above, the author makes use of scenes involving children, who are regarded as innocent. It seems that the author's aim is to trigger sympathy for refugees.

The part A contains a topos of rightness, which is demonstrated by the Pope's steps taken to help refugees. At the same time, it can be regarded as the topos of humanitarianism. By mentioning the dangers that await the teenage boys who decide to try their luck in European countries it also draws upon the topos of danger and threat.

Part B of the article refers directly to Britain's attitude towards refugees. It demonstrates Cardinal Vincent Nichols' stance (37) towards the refugee situation and the actions undertaken by the British government to help them.

The main social actor is the Cardinal himself. He is referred to in various ways. First of all he is called *the head of the Catholic Church in England and Wales* (36), which indicates his high position and increases the credibility of his claims. The Cardinal is also referred to by the third singular pronoun *he*.

The second prominent social actor present in this part is *David Cameron* (35), referred to as *the Prime Minister* (52), while *refugees* (52) constitute the third social actor appearing in the part B. Here, they are referred to as *people* (38), *people in the destroyed villages in and around Mosul and others parts of Syria* (57-58) and *they* (60). *Britain* (52) also plays a large role in the text. It appears as *the UK* (55) and *a country* (45). The pronoun *we* (45), which stands for the whole country and its people, deserves special attention. It implies that people in Britain and the country itself should be perceived as united entity. It also shows that the Cardinal identifies himself with his country and its inhabitants.

Similarly to part A, part B does not contain the density of adjectives seen as realizations of the predication strategy. Here, the predications refer mainly to Cameron's plan to resettle 20,000 refugees in Britain, which is said to cost the country a substantial amount of money. This plan is assessed by the Cardinal as a *great disappointment* (35-36, 51), as he supports unlimited help for refugees, where *great* is hyperbole. He also criticizes Britain's attitude towards the refugee crisis and evaluates its actions as *going very slowly* (51) again using the intensification technique (*very*).

The text consists of the Cardinal's claims supported by justifications being part of the argumentation technique. He believes Britain should take in as many refugees as possible and help them (38). This is justified by a general need *to show more humanity* (39). The Cardinal also describes the UK as *a very rich country* (41-42), which has the resources and opportunities to help people in need. He defends his point of view by comparing Britain to Lebanon, which is comparatively poor and copes with a much greater number of refugees than Britain (45-47). He also explains that the problems of Britons are of a different nature than those of Syrians, which are more serious (57-59). For these reasons he calls for open hearts and to provide refugees with Britain's *political and financial resources* (60-61).

In this part of the article the journalist reports what the Cardinal said. However, it might be claimed that the author is far from being objective. Quoting somebody's words seems to provide an objective view on the reported situation, as the author's stance towards it is not expressed directly. Indirectly, however, one may deduce that the author stands in favour of migration and accepting refugees as asylum seekers. The choice of scenes reported in the article seems to be unanimous, as the whole text contains pro-refugee arguments. Cardinal Nichols officially positions himself as a supporter of pro-migration policies. He demonstrates it by use of the pronoun *I* (40, 41, 45, 48, 57), appearing in almost all of his utterances. He also officially condemns Cameron's programme by evaluating it as *a great disappointment* (51).

Part B contains five main topoi. First of all, the names of people with high social positions (like Cardinal Nichols and David Cameron) make the text authoritative (topos of authority). The Cardinal in his utterances uses the topos of rightness, as he considers taking large numbers of refugees to be a good deed (37-38). He also uses the topos of fact to convince people about Britain's greater capacity to resettle migrants (42-44). The topos of equality indicates the equality of people all over the world (60-61). The author of the article however, briefly explains the issue of Cameron's programme and indicates the costs attached to it, which constitutes a topos of burden (52-54). The text also contains one fallacy. Lines 55-66 imply that the Cardinal changed his opinion with regards to helping refugees or just dismissed gossip circulating about his reluctance to welcome refugees in the UK. The author seems to use the readers' lack of knowledge with regards to this fact and uses an argument supporting pro-migration arguments mentioned in the article.

Article II: The Guardian:

Pope Francis takes refugees to Rome after Lesbos visit

Saturday 16 April 2016, 14:49 BST

By Helena Smith on Lesbos

This article, the previous one, describes the Pope's visit to the refugee camp on Lesbos. At first glance it becomes clear that the article is more detailed than the one published by **Mirror**. Correspondingly, there are seven discursive topics that the article

touches upon: the refugee crisis, refugee camps, attitudes towards refugees, the situation in Greece, the EU-Turkey deal, the situation in Syria and the issue of social equality in Europe.

This article can be also divided into two parts. The first (1-85) deals with the detailed description of the Pope's visit to the refugee camp on Lesbos and the account of the conditions in which the refugees have to live. The second (86-109) covers Cardinal's Vincent Nichols criticism of Britain's politics towards migrants and suggestions to manage the crisis. It becomes clear that the second part of the previous article is the same as the second part of this article.

The most prominent social actor in the first part of the analyzed article is Pope Francis who is visiting Lesbos. There are several ways in which the author of the article refers to him. First of all he is called *the pontiff* (5,13) and *the leader of the Roman Catholic Church* (10), which emphasize his position. The Pope's name is also used three times throughout the whole text (7, 18, 62). It is explicitly stated that during his visit the Pope was accompanied by two other spiritual leaders: *Bartholomew I* (13), the religious leader of Orthodox Christians and *Ieronymos II* (14), the archbishop of Athens and Greece. The other social actor most appearing in the text are refugees. They are referred to as *crowds* (5, 49); *refugees* (7, 15, 40, 46, 50, 56, 80); *Syrian Muslims* (19); *migrants* (28); *men and women* (29); *Syrians, Afghans and Iraqis* (34); *you* (40); *victims of migration* (47); *human beings* (52); *numbers* (52); *detainees* (59, 62) and *they* (76). The article points out that among the twelve refugees the Pope decided to take to Vatican are *six minors* (19) and *two families [...] from Damascus and one from Deir Azzor* (24). Some of the references deserve more attention, as they carry important information about people living in the camp and the attitudes towards them. The word *refugee* is used most frequently throughout the text. It implies the reason why so many people have arrived in Europe in recent years, which in this case is the Syrian war and persecution. The nationalities of refugees given in the text indicate the nations most affected by tragedy in their home lands and who have been forced to move outside their borders. Refugees are also called *victims of migration* (47), which implies their vulnerability and the scale of the tragedy they face. The Pope's utterance (52) also implies that migrants arriving in Europe are seen most often as *numbers* and not *human beings*. They are also referred to as *detainees* (59,62). This reflects their status and the situation of refugees who have arrived on Lesbos after the introduction of the EU-Turkey deal. *Sham Jutt* (64), a young

Pakistani and *Jakob Mamzzak* (74), a volunteer from California are also important to the article. Their accounts help to describe conditions in the refugee camp. Among the other social actors appearing in the text are *the Vatican* (18) called *the Holly See* (21), *the Community of Sant' Egidio* (27), *Alexis Tsipras* (31) and *human rights organizations* (60).

The article does not contain many examples of predication techniques. There are however some present which should be discussed. First of all, Pope Francis calls for the world to pay attention to the refugee crisis and calls it *a tragic need* (6). This emphasizes the importance of the actions undertaken by countries all over the world to manage the situation of migrants. Refugees are seen as *vulnerable* (7), which indicates their innocence and defenselessness. The Pope's act is evaluated as *unprecedented* (10), which this paper refers to as an intensification strategy belonging to the technique of positioning. Similarly, the adjective *notorious* (29), referring to the detention centre on Lesbos, is predication on the one hand, and on the other corresponds to the authors stance towards the presented facts. The actions of the Greek government to manage the situation on the Greek islands are termed the *biggest effort* (32), as Greece constitutes the first stop for many refugees arriving to Europe and has to deal with the largest number of migrants on its territory. Due to this the Pope calls Greece *the example of humanity* (35), which should be followed by other countries. Apart from that, the Greek response to the needs of refugees is referred to as *generous* (41), which additionally increases its importance especially in light of the economic crisis Greece is currently facing (41). This is also highlighted in lines 56-58 in which Greece is said to have difficulties in housing refugees even after a reduction in the number arriving on Lesbos after the introduction of the deportation deal between the EU and Turkey. As a result of financial problems the conditions in the detention camps in Greece are said to be deteriorating *dramatically* (59) and be *inhuman* (77). The refugee crisis is also called a *humanitarian crisis* (33). Lines 70-77 describe the appearance and life in a camp in reality. It is stated that before the Pope's visit the camp was cleaned up and conditions within have been improved. The camp is said to be *overcrowded* (72). Refugees have been given *clean clothes* (76), had *their first shower* (76) and ate *good food* (76).

The most interesting and informative part of this article are the argumentation strategies, as they provide information and justification of the actions undertaken by social actors. First of all, the Pope's visit to Lesbos is justified by his need *to highlight refugee crisis* (5, 11-12). His aim is to show his discontent with European policy on

migration and for this reason he decides to *offer[ing] them refuge in a rebuke to the EU's policy of sending migrants and refugees back to Turkey* (8-9, 17-18). Another goal of the Pope's visit to Lesbos is to *meet refugees and hold a service to bless those who have died trying to reach Europe* (15-16). The reasons for the Pope's actions are further explained by the spokesman for the Catholic Church in Rome, as he sees them as the Pope's *wish to make a gesture of welcome regarding refugees* (21-22). The visit also draws attention to the scale of the humanitarian crisis (31-33). The number of refugees, who arrived on Lesbos seeking access to Europe during 2015, is estimated at more than *850, 000* people implying the seriousness of the situation (33-34). The next aim of Francis's visit to Greece is *warming of ties between the western and eastern branches of Christianity* (36-37) which split in 1054 after the Great Schism. The Pope in his speech to the migrants emphasized that they are not alone (40), as Greece is at their disposal (40-41). He also mentions God, who is constantly caring about them (42-43). The Pope points out that all nations should unify their efforts to help refugees escaping from their homelands and help them, as they are also human beings (49-52). The author of the text explains that the situation in the detention centers on Lesbos has deteriorated since the introduction of *the deportation deal* between the EU and Turkey (57). Its controversial nature is justified by four arguments. First of all, *human rights organizations* have decided to withdraw from Lesbos in order to not be associated with the execution of the deal (60-61). Secondly, the reaction of the detainees in the camp indicates their general discontent with the newly introduced plan. Thirdly, the utterance of *Sham Jutt* (64) shows the resignation and fear of people living in the camp of being deported. Finally, the account of *Jakob Mamzzak* indicates that the appearance of the camp during the Pope's visit has been improved, whereas in reality the conditions are inhumane (74-77).

The article does not contain any strategies of the author's perspectivation. The author of the article does not remain neutral. This can be identified by his choice of words. First of all, the use of intensification techniques, which can be recognized as hyperbolic, are not included in quotes and indicates his engagement in the problem. The refugees chosen by the pontiff to be taken to Rome are described as **highly** vulnerable (7). The Pope's decision to take a group of refugees to Rome is also said to *fuel belief* (17) that the Catholic Church does not approve of the EU's decision to limit the refugees' flow. This implies that the author himself is against the EU's migration policy. Next, the adjective *notorious* (29) referring to Lesbos as the detention center carries subjective

meaning. The adjective carries negative connotations and constitutes a personal evaluation on the part of the writer. The most prominent example of perspectivation in this part of the article can be found in lines 36-37. Here, the author decides to make use of transitivity thus avoiding statements about who sees the visit *as a further warming up of ties between the western and eastern branches of Christianity* and responsibility for the presented facts. Finally, the visit is considered as being **extremely significant** (54). Although the author bases this claim on the basis of *Greece's leftist-led government* (53) statement, the use of the adverb constitutes hyperbole and the author's personal evaluation.

The important issue in the analysis of this article is intertextuality and interdiscursivity. The article mentions the EU-Turkey deal several times, which allows Greece to return refugees to Turkey. In return it guarantees Turkey visa-free movement for its citizens to the EU as well as the provision of financial help with regards to migrants. The article also mentions the year 1054 as an important event in the history of the Catholic Church. The East-West Schism led to the split of the Church into Eastern Orthodox and Western Catholic Church, which resulted in centuries of poor relationships.

The article contains six topoi. The topos of rightness is demonstrated especially by the Pope's utterances, where he calls for solidarity in acting for refugees' sake and praises Greece for its actions (5-6, 17-20, 35). The Pope's speech also includes the topos of justice and equality (17, 52, 62-63) which is visible in his attitude towards migrants. The text mentions the difficult situation of Greece several times, which has been deteriorating as a result of the number of refugees arriving on Lesbos and to Europe in general. This can be considered as a topos of burden (33-35, 54-55, 56-58). The description of conditions in the camp and the ways of dealing with refugees can be considered a manifestation of the topos of humanity (35, 40-43, 60-61, 65-66, 74-77). The detainees in the camp wish they were free, drawing upon the topos of freedom (63). Finally, the topos of authority (7, 31, 13, 14, 80) is achieved by the mention of authoritative people like Alexis Tsipras or Pope Francis, which indicates the articles trustworthiness.

The second part of the article (83- 109) corresponds to part B of the first article. It reports Cardinal Nichols' stance towards the refugee crisis. It can be observed that there is a big similarity between the second parts of both texts. This is due to the fact

that both authors decided to use direct quotations of the Cardinals words. For this reason I will not concentrate on the analysis of discursive strategies used in the second part of the scrutinized article, as this has already been done in the analysis of the previous text. Instead of that, I will concentrate on the analysis of the parts that differ in both texts.

The main differences that can be observed are in the argumentation and intensification techniques. Lines 83-85 explain the circumstances which forced the Pope to visit Lesbos (argumentation technique). The author informs the reader that the Pope's visit to Greece was a result of the Cardinal's critique about the UK's lack of engagement in helping asylum seekers. This fact is not mentioned in Article I. Furthermore, the author of Article II does not use reporting words as frequently as the author of the first article. Line 106-107 contain the Cardinal's comparison and evaluation about problems Britons and Syrians are facing. The quotation is followed by *he said* (107). Article I, on the other hand, contains a higher percentage of such expressions e.g. *he added* (48, 60), *he told* (41, 57), which in opposition to Article II are placed before quotations. This can be considered as shifting importance from what has been said to who said it. It seems that Article I emphasizes the fact that it was Cardinal Vincent Nichols who expressed his opinion. Article II on the other hand stresses what the Cardinal actually said.

Another difference is related to the intensification technique. Line 102-103 refers to the costs attached to the implementation of Cameron's plan to resettle 20,000 Syrian refugees and corresponds to the information presented in lines 53-54 of Article I. However, instead of the word *reveal* (Article I), the author uses the word *say*. Although both verbs can be regarded as synonyms *reveal* intimates a mystery, whereas *say* is more neutral.

Last but not least, Article II mentions *David Cameron* (84,101) as a person responsible for decisions made about Syrian refugees, whereas Article I refers to him both as *David Cameron* (35) and *the Prime Minister* (52), which highlights the role he plays in politics.

The second part of Article II contains three topoi. First of all, the text refers to authoritative people and institutions e.g. the Cardinal (83, 86, 88, 90, 104, 107), David Cameron (84,101), and the government (102, 104) (topos of authority). Cardinal Nicholson uses the topos of reality/fact when assessing the UK's capacity to accept more

Syrians within its borders. Lines 101-102 contain the topos of burden and lines 108-109 the topos of equality/humanity.

Similarly to Article I, Article II also contains a fallacy related to the fact of Cardinal dismissing suggestions that the UK should not be taking in refugees because some Britons are struggling to make ends meet (104-105), which has been mentioned a propos the analysis of the previous article.

To sum up, although both articles deal with the same event they describe it in different ways. **Mirror** provides only superficial information about the Pope's visit to Lesbos, whereas **The Guardian** presents many crucial details as well as context for the visit. **The Guardian** also bases its claims on the accounts of witnesses and participants of the event thus increasing objectiveness of the report. However, based on observations described in the analysis the full objectivity of both texts is questionable.

4.3.2 Articles III and IV

Article III: The Sun:

Britain will take another 3,000 child refugees from the Middle East and Africa to avoid a Westminster revolt

By Steve Hawkes, Deputy Political Editor

14:04, 21 April 2016

This article comes from the tabloid newspaper **The Sun**. It discusses the same topic as the previous article, which is the introduction of Britain's plan to take in 3,000 child refugees from the Middle East and Africa. At first glance it is clear that compared to this one concentrates on the sensational parts of the event and presents them in detail. There are six discursive topics covered by it: the situation of refugees in refugee camps in Europe, Britain's attitude towards the refugee crisis, the political mood in the British government and upcoming governmental elections in the UK, the refugee crisis and Angela Merkel's position on the crisis. This indicates that the article discusses the event broadly, but not in detail.

The first discursive strategy that can be identified in the text is the referential technique. Although of the central issue of the article is the new scheme introduced by the British government to help refugee children and their families, most references are

made to the British government and the politics involved in its implementation. *David Cameron* (5), also referred to as the *PM* (28), is mentioned as the first person involved and responsible for the project. *James Brokenshire* (3, 13), the Immigration Minister(3,13), is the next person who appears in the text as a person confirming Britain's intention to take in refugee children, especially those facing any kind of exploitation (12-13). Further social agents appearing in the article are *opposition MPs and Tory rebels* (17), who by means of their threats have forced the PM to accept the taking of 3,000 of refugee children to Britain (17-18). *Tim Farron* (19), the leader of the Liberal democrats, and *Heidi Allen* (26), member of Tories, also appear in the text as supporters of the new scheme. The Government (18, 19, 24, 31, 35) refers to David Cameron and his MPs. Finally, *Angela Merkel* (39), German Chancellor, is presented as the person responsible for the refugee crisis and the number of immigrants arriving in Europe. Another social actor appearing in the text next to the politicians dealing with the crisis are the people affected by the difficult situation in the Middle East - *refugees* (5), whose *children* (7, 12,16, 18,21, 32, 33) are said to be the most affected by the problem. Refugees are also referred to as *migrants* (16, 29, 35), *asylum seekers* (42) and *Syrians* (41). Finally, *Europe* (16, 22) or more specifically *the EU* (43) is considered as main destination of the refugees.

The article contains many adjectives, which indicates the application of the predication technique. **The Sun** describes refugee children and families as *vulnerable* (7). The article also provides a definition of children who are considered as the most being in need, as *children facing abuse, exploitation and forced marriage* (12). The resettlement programme is evaluated as *the largest of its kind in the world* (8-9). The following adjectives do not refer to the scheme itself, but to the crisis in general and assess the decision made by the British Government. Cameron's unwillingness to take in refugee children encountered criticism from the opposition described as *furios* (15). The refugee crisis, on the other hand, is termed as a *humanitarian tragedy* (19-20) and *humanitarian crisis* (40), as *the biggest for a generation* (39-40). Characteristics attributed to social actors and the events mentioned in the text are concerned with the personal points of view of politicians, whose statements are quoted in the article. The reason why Britain has accepted the plan to take in refugees is said to be a political trick to gain more supporters in the opposition. This attempt is referred to as *blatant* (23)

and called *a desperate last ditch* (24) before local elections planned for the 5th of May. Refugees are referred to *as languishing in European camps* (22).

With regards to the argumentation technique the first observation that can be made after reading the report is that most of the arguments and justifications do not refer to the UK government's programme, but to the reason that the Government was forced to implement it. First of all, the title suggests that the reason for doing so was to avoid a Westminster revolt (1-2). The next argument is concerned with justification for the opposition's violent reaction to Cameron's reluctance to accept more refugees, as their aim was to force Cameron's involvement in the solution to the refugee crisis and provide help for children in need (17-18). Heidi Allen, a pro-migration Tory, insisted that the PM financially support Calais, which is a place of refugees' mass arrivals. She justified this need as *necessary to help authorities process and house the thousands of migrants turning up to the French port* (28-30). Cameron's decision is also assessed as an attempt to gain sympathy from Tory MPs in order not to lose seats in local elections held at the beginning of May (23-25). On the other hand, the article justifies David Cameron's reluctance and hesitation to accepting refugees as asylum seekers. It is said that such a step may result in more refugees trying to reach British borders (35-36). Finally, the responsibility for the refugee crisis is shifted to Angela Merkel. She is accused of not following immigration rules and encouraging Syrians to escape their homelands and head for European countries (39-41). The only argument used to justify the introduction of the project is the need to provide safety for the children who have managed to reach Europe's borders (15-16). The article also contains an indirect argument which explains the need to take in a large number of refugees and offer them shelter, which is expressed in terms of nomination and influences people's emotions. It is said that people in refugee camps come from *the war-torn country* (37-38).

The author of the article does not directly show his stance towards the discussed event. He does it subtly by means of selecting the facts mentioned in the article. Lines 39-41 include hedging. Angela Merkel is said to be responsible for the refugee crisis Europe is facing. The author however seems to refrain from any kind of judgement with regards to this issue. He adopts a secure way of expressing one's evaluation and chooses to say that German Chancellor Angela Merkel **is seen** as having triggered the biggest humanitarian crisis (39-41) instead of claiming that she is responsible for it. The author bases the material included in the article on the statements of authoritative people such

as politicians. However he does not include quotations but uses reported speech, which is introduced by verbs such as James Brokenshire **said** (13), he **said** (21), she **urged** (28), she **said** (31). All these verbs are common in presenting reported speech and are pragmatically neutral. Nevertheless, the author does not stay thoroughly objective. He reports facts by the use of the verb *slam* (15, 19) which indicates the author's emotional engagement. The same can be said about the critique modified and intensified by the adjective *furious* (15). It seems that the evaluation of the criticism is the author's subjective point of view.

The article provides many examples of positioning techniques with regards to people, whose statements are used in the text. *The opposition MPs and Tory rebels* (17) support the idea of taking in asylum seekers. Tim Farron (19) criticizes Cameron for "politicizing" a human tragedy (19-20), as he claims that the Government is avoiding the problem of mass migration to Europe (19-25). He stands for helping people in need and especially children. Cameron's final decision to accept 3,000 refugees in Britain is perceived as a mere trick to win more support before local elections: *a blatant attempt to buy off compassionate Tory MPs [...]*(23-24). Heidi Allen, a Conservative Party politician, is enthusiastic about the final arrangement of the Government. She states that she is *delighted* with it (31) and *sincerely hopes* that the programme will be directed mostly to children (31-32). According to her however, the programme adopted by the Government is not enough to remedy the crisis (33-34). Her further statement about responsibility for refugee children confirms her strong support for pro-refugee politics (34).

The only moment in which the author explicitly demonstrates his attitude towards the crisis is line 39, where he assesses it as *the biggest for a generation*. He also emphasizes the seriousness and gravity of the Syrian problem for the United Kingdom by presenting it in terms of numbers. Bare facts are used to make the reader realize the scale of the crisis (36-38, 42-43, 44). Lines 42-43 deserve special attention. The author makes use of the transitivity of the verb *reveal* and presents the fact in passive voice. This implies either that the author is not sure about this fact and avoids taking responsibility for its credibility or that he has a particular purpose for doing so e.g. to hide unwanted information. The same can be observed in line 44, as the author provides statistical information without an indication of its origin. The choice of the journalist decision to publish by means of the article is also subjective. The article itself contains

quotes and information speaking for refugees and for the need to help them.

Correspondingly, this can have a big impact on people's evaluation of reality and the creation of opinions about the refugee crisis.

The article does not contain any further links to other texts or documents, but does touch upon different discourses. It first of all touches on British politics and the relations between both leading political parties. The discourse of morality and humanity triggers heated disputes between politicians with regards to migration politics and decisions about accepting asylum seekers in the country (19-20, 21-22, 31-34). The article also mentions Angela Merkel's steps to manage the crisis (39-40).

There are four topoi included in the text. The new scheme accepted by the Government is beneficial for refugees, as they will be able to become asylum seekers in the UK (3-4, 10-11). This can be considered a topos of advantage. The topos of advantage can be also identified in Farron's statement about the actual reason for accepting refugees. The British Government takes in 3,000 refugees in exchange for sympathy for the Tories (23-25). The topos of rightness appears in the justification of the schemes introduction (12-14, 15-16), and in Heidi Allen's calls to help authorities deal with the masses of migrants in Calais (28-30). Allen's feeling of letting down refugee children indicates the topos of inefficiency (33-34). The final and most important topos in the article is the topos of burden. It emerges at the beginning of the article when the author decides to make public the number of refugees that will be taken in by 2020 (10-11). The statement of Britain's fears about masses of migrants arriving in Britain (35-36) and the figures provided at the end of the article also imply future difficulties and problems with managing such a large amount of people (42-44).

Article IV: The Guardian:

Up to 3000 child refugees to be resettled in UK in next four years

Thursday 21 April 2016, 12:35 EST

By Alan Travis

This article provides information on the 'children at risk' scheme introduced by the British government. Its aim is to help the most vulnerable refugee children and their

families by resettling them to the UK. There are two main topics in the article. It begins by presenting the British government's attitude toward migrants. It then highlights children's status as the most vulnerable group of people illegally arriving in Europe and emphasizes the need for helping them.

The most frequently used discursive technique in this article is nomination. It makes the text informative. The most prominent social actors here are *refugee children*, as the article deals with steps leading to the provision of help necessary for them (1, 7, 13, 17-18, 24, 27, 28, 31, 35, 38, 39, 42, 43, 45, 46, 49, 57). The second most important social actor appearing in the article is the *children's families* and *their family members* (13, 27, 32, 49). As the text discusses political issues related to migration policy it also mentions many institutions and people responsible for the introduction of the project. First of all, *the Home Office* (8, 19, 21) is responsible for issues of immigration, security, and law and order in the UK, and appears as an institution important for the acceptance of the refugee resettlement project. *The House of Lords* (18) supports this idea. The article also makes it clear that *the United Nations*, (25) with *Gonzalo Vargas Llosa* (44) as its representative, supports British plans towards refugees. This new scheme is also approved by many *Non-Governmental Organizations* (37) and supported by *the UN Refugee Agency* (34, 41). The article also contains words of *the immigration minister, James Brokenshire* (16, 30-40) and *the Refugee Council's chief executive, Maurice Wren* (48-57). Mentioning all these institutions increases the credibility and authority of the text as well as emphasizing the rightness of the idea and the need to help migrants. Apart from these, the article also mentions the countries most affected by the crisis: *Middle East and Africa* (7-8, 26) and *Syria* (4, 7, 14, 17). *Turkey and Greece* (23) are countries in which refugees have the chance to shelter themselves. The new program that the British Government is going to implement is named the '*children at risk*' scheme (3, 10). It highlights the need to ensure the *welfare and safety* (35) of refugee children. *Child protection* (47) is central to the scheme. The text also mentions two of the main ways of helping them: *resettlement and other pathways of admission* (44).

The predication strategy is widely used in the article. First of all, the scheme is described as *new* (3, 10, 24, 37) and exists ***in addition*** to the government's existing programme (10-11). The scheme is directed toward ***child*** refugees and ***their*** families (7, 13, 24, 27, 28). ***Child*** refugees are also referred to as ***migrant*** children (38). Children, to whom the Government's project is directed, are referred to as vulnerable (27, 30, 37,

39), at risk (27), unaccompanied and separated (28, 45-46) and threatened with child labour, child marriage and other forms of abuse or exploitation (28-29). Further predication techniques refer to criticism of the new scheme. The scheme is first described as *important* (42), as it contributes to managing the difficult situation of refugees arriving in Europe. It is also described as life changing (54) and life saving (54). However, as the capacity of the programme is limited and will provide help only for a *small group* (49) of children it is referred to as *grim news for the majority of other refugees* (51-52). This fact is further evaluated as *not good enough* (54), as the number of people awaiting support is much higher. The article maintains the steps undertaken to help refugees must be *coordinated and comprehensive* (56). Measures taken by refugees to find safety, and their attempts to escape their home countries and protect themselves from danger and persecution, on the other hand, are specified as *desperate* (57). Finally, the article makes reference to the EU-Turkey migration agreement, which is assessed as *controversial* (22). This adjective may be considered as reflecting general opinion about it.

The next most frequent discursive technique used in the article is argumentation. This is the most prominent technique, which provides justification for the political decisions made with regards to the refugee crisis. Nearly each paragraph of the article provides argumentation. Most of the arguments are concerned with the new scheme the British government is going to implement. First of all, the article provides wide justification for the importance of the scheme. It is explained by the need to resettle child refugees (7-9) and *to bring to Britain 3,000 Syrian child refugees* (17-18). The same explanation is implied by the title of the article (1). Its aim is also to support vulnerable children facing any kind of risk or abuse and their families (27-29). The programme also aims to provide for their protection (35, 39, 46-47). Apart from this, the scheme is supposed to support the process of reunification of children with their families (31-32). The 'children at risk' scheme also supports the United Nations efforts to provide a reasonable response to the refugee crisis (46-48). In this case children constitute the group of people most affected by the dangers of the journey to Europe and the poor conditions in refugee camps. For this reason it is stated that the implementation of the scheme is for the children's sake (51-52). James Brokenshire, the immigration minister, states that the best solution for children is to remain in host countries. He justifies it by saying that in this way they can reunite with their families (31-32). However, sometimes

the situation may change. Nevertheless, it is always *in a child's best interests to be resettled in the UK* (32-33). Maurice Wren, on the one hand prizes and on the other hand criticizes the scheme. He states that only a small group of people will be able to take advantage of it, whilst the remaining refugees will be left without assistance (48-50). Due to this the scheme is assessed as not being efficient enough (54) and it is suggested that all refugees should be provided with help (55-57). Further critics refer to David Cameron. James Brokenshire claims that the PM decided to implement the project in order to defuse a potential Conservative backbench rebellion (18-20).

Perspectivation is the next discursive strategy which can be identified in the text. It is not a prominent strategy in the case of this article, as there are no examples of utterances indicating the author's stance towards the discussed issue. In lines 1-29 the author provides bare facts about the scheme. For this reason he frequently uses the epistemic modality, which indicates the certainty of the information and plans. Nevertheless, the choice of statements and facts published by the author cannot rule out his subjectivity. More specifically, most arguments in the article support the idea of the new project implementation. The author's intention here remains ambiguous. It seems to be right to assume that the author wants to persuade readers to support the Government's new idea. On the other hand, his aim might be a simple presentation of the arguments used by prominent people in terms of the scheme.

The perspectivation technique can be detected in lines 30-57 in the utterances of the authoritative politicians and representatives of institutions, who express their opinions about the scheme. First of all, the British immigration minister *James Brokenshire* displays his affiliation to the British government by using the pronoun *we* in lines 30 and 34. The same goes for *Gonzalo Vargas Llosa* (41). This indicates that both people identify themselves with the actions of the parties/institutions they belong to. The strategy of perspectivation is also demonstrated by their opinions with regards to the introduction of the new scheme. Brokenshire makes it clear that the introduction of the project has the aim of improving the situation of refugee children (30-40). He also emphasizes how important British government considers their protection and safety (34-36). *Gonzalo Vargas Llosa* (41) on the other hand indicates the importance of the scheme (42) as an undertaking enabling better management of the crisis and support for the UN's efforts to help children in need (41-47). *Maurice Wren*, the Refugee Council's chief executive, evaluates the governmental announcement as *life changing and life*

saving (48-49), but does not consider it to be efficient enough to provide help for every person in need (51-53), which he considers as *grim news for the majority of refugees* (51). He is in fond of equal treatment for all refugees (60-61).

The article contains different topoi, which should be considered the general schemata for arguments. The first topos that can be identified is the topos of disadvantage. Its arguments contain criticism of the 'children at risk' scheme as being too limited to help refugees on a large scale (13-15; 59-60). The topos of advantage and usefulness indicates the advantages resulting from the introduction of the scheme for refugee children, their families, and British government (20- 21; 27; 38-39; 40-41;42-43). The warm welcome of the scheme by the UN refers to the topos of burden, as it implies that before the introduction of the scheme the UN faced many difficulties in dealing with the refugee crisis and the protection of people illegally arriving in Europe (44-48). Finally, the topos of authority increases the authoritativeness of the article, as the information included in it is based on the utterances of people in the public sphere representing both political parties and recognized institutions (16, 22,26, 32,37, 44, 53).

The last important fact to mention in the relationship with the currently analyzed article is interdiscursivity and intertextuality. There are numerous discourses mentioned in the article: the situation of the refugees living in camps in *the Middle East and North Africa* (7-8); the situation of refugees staying in *the European camps* (15); and tension between the political parties of the United Kingdom, which is a result of different attitudes towards the management of the refugee crisis (16-21). Negotiations between the EU and Turkey that should lead towards further impediments to illegal migration to Europe is the final discourse that can be identified in the text.

To sum up, both articles present information about the British Government's plan to resettle 3,000 child refugees. Both articles however take different approaches.

The second seems to describe the facts in a more objective way. It is more detailed as the first one and the author refrains from expressing his opinions. It discusses advantages of the project and follows it with the perspective of people who see it as a good solution for the humanitarian crisis. The only criticism in the first article relates to the limited nature of the scheme, as it is directed only toward a small group of people. The first article on the other hand, is less detailed, and seems to concentrate on

issues not directly related to the new scheme. It instead refers to the refugee crisis in general, and discusses controversial and sensational facts such as the tensions between political parties in the UK and criticizing Angela Merkel's migration policies, blaming her for the present situation in Europe. Due to this the article cannot be perceived as being objective. This is supported by his presentation of the facts in the final paragraphs of the article in which he uses figures and draws attention to British fears of thousands of migrants arriving in the country. It can be observed that there are also differences in language use in both articles. The author of the first article uses colloquial expressions that carry emotional load and intensify facts. The author of the second article decides to use formal language, which contributes to a more objective presentation of the facts.

4.3.3 Articles V and VI

Article V: Sunday Express:

Battle at the border: Masked migrants hurl ROCKS at police as riots erupt on EU's doorstep

By Nick Gutteride

Published 11:37, Mon, Apr 11, 2016

This article discusses the incident that took place at the Greek-Macedonian border in the refugee camp at Idomeni. The situation of refugees in Idomeni, the incident at the Greek-Macedonian border, attitudes towards refugees and EU migration policies are the main topics appearing in the report.

There are two main social actors mentioned in the text: *refugees* (8, 32) and *Macedonian police* (3,13, 15, 25), both being participants of the incident at Idomeni. The article designates *refugees* (8,32) as *migrant thugs* (3), *a ramping pack* (8), *migrants* (1, 10, 12, 19, 21,24, 27, 30, 32, 36, 38), *people* (42), *arrivals* (44), *they* (11, 17,25, 28, 37, 45). The beginning of the article provides a detailed description of the refugees' actions, which it describes as unexpected and violent. Correspondingly, refugees taking part in the attack on Macedonian police are named negatively (3, 8). It is worth mentioning that as the story develops, the references to refugees become more positive. Macedonian police, on the other hand are referred to as *guards* (8), *officers* (11). The incident at the border is named *a battle* (1), *a skirmish* (20), *a bid* to break through the fence (4) and the violence (29). Tear gas (11, 21, 25), chemicals, rubber bullets and stun grenades (15) are

said to be used by the police against refugees. The next important social actor appearing in the report is *George Kyritsis* (14), a spokesman for the Greek government. His statements quoted by the author of the article give the text authority. *A Macedonian official* (23), who wished to remain anonymous, is the second person providing his opinion on the situation in Idomeni. *The charity Medicins Sans Frontiers* also contribute to the description of the facts (19). The author of the article makes references to the countries involved in the refugee crisis. *Greece* (9,12, 33, 37,42) is presented as the first European country refugees wish to reach and for this reason is most affected by illegal migration. *Germany* (30) and *Sweden* (31) are said to be the final stops of migrant's journeys. *Balkan states* (35) like *Macedonia, Hungary, Croatia and Serbia* (35) are countries not sympathetic to illegal migrants, as they closed their borders to make the refugee's journey impossible. Idomeni is described as *a magnet* (29) attracting migrants. *The European Union* (44) also noticed the problem of mass migration and agreed to send migrants not entitled to asylum seeker status back to *Turkey* (37, 45). *The fence* (24,28), that should prevent refugees from traveling to European countries is the reason for the skirmish between Macedonian police and the refugees.

An important part of this article is the predication strategy. Most of the adjectives referring to the incident appear at the beginning of the report. They correspond mainly to refugees, who decided to attack the border fence and Macedonian police, who responded to their attack. Migrants attempting to break through the fence are said to be *masked* (1, 3, 10) and having their faces covered by *war paint* (10). The article claims that migrants trying to break through the border fence were *rampaging* (8) and *violent* (4) as *they were picking up and hurling rocks at officers* (10-11). However, most criticism in the article refers to the actions undertaken by police. Their behavior is described as *dangerous and deplorable* (13, 17-18) and their use of guns as *indiscriminate* (15) and *without reasons* (17) acting as they were *against vulnerable populations* (16). The action undertaken by the police resulted in *injured migrants* (19). The camp in Idomeni is described as *sprawling* (32) and people who are stuck there are said to be *stranded* (33). To remedy the situation Greek authorities suggested refugees move to other reception camps. However, their success in doing so is seen as *little* (41).

The next discursive strategy included in the article is the argumentation technique, which provides direct justifications for the actions of the refugees and Macedonian police. It is said that the fence constitutes the main obstacle for the

refugee's further journey (4), which leads onwards to Germany and Sweden (30-31), and this justifies their behavior. The article also states that many people are forced to stay in the camp for many months, as the Balkan route has been closed (32-34, 35-37). In addition, the EU plans to implement the right to deport those who are not recognized as refugees (37). All of these factors indirectly influence the uncontrollable behavior of refugees. The rest of the arguments are attempts to justify the police response towards the attack. First of all, the police's stated aim is to defend the Macedonian southern border (8-9,21-22). To accomplish this objective their actions were intended to scare away migrants who were trying to break through the fence (11, 21). Their reaction is also justified and excused by their *right to uphold law and order and defend [its] borders* (22). These arguments are followed by a description of the migrant's conduct, claiming they were throwing stones (25) at Macedonian forces and pushing against the fence (27), so that the police responded by firing tear gas (25-26). The fence however has not been destroyed (28). The article also provides some reasons for the mass migration Europe is actually facing. Namely, the article states that the refugees are *people fleeing conflict* (42).

The article provides an interesting insight to the perspectivation technique. Lines 1-13 include many examples of the author's personal evaluation of the situation and participants to the incident. He describes the migrants attack on police in a negative way: *masked thugs* (3) and *a rampaging pack* (8). Both are examples of naming technique. The author however uses emotionally laden words which reveal his stance toward the reported issue. He describes Greece as *desperate* (12) in its attempts to resettle migrants in other countries. The language the journalist applies seems to intensify particular facts connected with the event. The journalist's subjectivity can also be observed in the word choices he makes. Refugees are described as a *rampaging pack* (8) and *migrant thugs* (3) who *hurl rocks* at the police (1, 11). Migrants are also presented as *stranded* (12, 33) and *trapped* (36) in the *sprawling* (32) tent camp. Adjectives *stranded* and *trapped* highlight the helplessness of the refugees in getting out of the camp. *Sprawling*, on the other hand, implies its untidiness. Although all three references can be true if proven right, the author does not provide any evidence for this which implies subjectivity. The journalist goes on to report that Macedonia has excused the actions of police (21-22). However, the usage of the name of the country rather than

the name of a particular person can imply uncertainty about the rightness of the expressed opinion and avoids responsibility for any evaluations.

In general, it seems that the author's word choices are his way of intensifying and highlighting particular facts. In light of this I believe that the perspectivation technique is strongly interrelated with the intensification technique prominent in this article.

Adjectives like *rampaging* (8), *the worst* (9), *desperate* (12) and verbs like *hurl* (3, 11) and *smash* (4) serve to make the story more dramatic and sensational, which directly corresponds to the general intention of journalists: gaining readership.

The predication technique also appears in statements from authorities and politicians quoted in the article. First of all, George Kyritsis criticizes the Macedonian police by stating that they *indiscriminately* (15) and *without reasons* (17) used weapons against the refugees. Their behaviour is described as *dangerous and deplorable* (17-18). He also evaluates refugees as *vulnerable populations* (16). The politician condemns this act and thus reveals his pro-migration attitude. The official who did not wish to reveal his name is in opposition to Kyritsis. He justifies the actions undertaken by the police by saying that it was just a response to what refugees did (25-26). The Macedonian Government supports this view and explains that it is legal *to uphold law and order and defend its [country's] border* (22).

There are three main types of topoi included in the text. George Kyritsis' opinion on the actions of Macedonian police and the number of injured people (19) after the use of *chemicals, rubber bullets, and stun grenades* (15) indicates the topos of inhumanity. The justification and excuses for the behavior of migrants and police demonstrates the topos of rightness. The topos of burden is the most prominent in the article, and is repeated five times. The description of the situation in Greece (12-13, 32-34, 40-41, 42-43) highlights the country's difficulties in managing the migrant situation. Finally, the acceptance and implementation of the new deal under which new arrivals to Greece can be deported to Turkey indicates the EU's recognition of the problem and involvement in its solution (44-45).

The report is interrelated with the discourse of morality, which shows the necessity of thinking about the rightness of decisions made with regards to refugees. It also draws upon the negotiations between the EU and Turkey related to the deportation deal.

The text is informative and contains many details with regards to the situation that took place at the border. At first sight the article seems to be objective, as the author provides much information without using any transitive constructions, introducing insecurity or willingness to hide certain facts, and modality drawing on the scale of certainty about the particular fact. Hedges are also not used. Apart from that, the author's presentation of the facts includes opinions defending and accusing the police, which indicate two stances toward the issue. However, the in-depth analysis seems to indicate the author's emotional attitude toward the facts. First of all, the choice of facts chosen to include in the article is subjective, as journalists have to make editorial decisions about the relative importance of facts. Secondly, the word choices made and common usage of emotionally laden colloquial language indicates his partiality. It is true that the tabloid newspapers are famous for presenting facts in a sensational and shocking way, so the use of colloquial language should not be surprising here. However the question about the real intentions of the author remains unanswered.

Article VI: The Independent:

Idomeni- Macedonian police fire tear gas and rubber bullets at refugees trying to break through Greek border

By Peter Yeung @ptr_yeung
Sunday 10 April 2016

The article describes scenes that took place at the Greek-Macedonian border when refugees decided to break through the border fence hindering their progress. It includes accounts from witnesses to the incident and who helped wounded people. The main topic mentioned in the article is related to the general attitude towards illegal migrants, as well as the EU's policies towards them, including building walls to prevent refugee's further journey and the conditions in the refugee camp in Idomeni.

The article is highly informative. It constitutes an account of events from the Greek-Macedonian border provided by witnesses, authorities and evidence provided by photos, videos and social media (8). The most important social actors in the text are *refugees* (2, 8, 19, 30, 32, 43, 45, 47, 49), also referred to as *people* (6,9, 22, 26), *patients* (11, 28), *they* (25, 33, 34), who are affected by the behavior of the *Macedonian police* (1, 6, 17,29) and its officers (9). Refugees are also called thousands (39), which indicate the number of them in Idomeni. The article draws attention to particular members of the

refugee community: *babies* (18), *families* (20, 21), *children* (49) and *women* (27). The remaining the social actors are witnesses (3) and people entitled to provide authoritative information about the crisis. There are five people who describe and evaluate the situation that took place in the refugees' camp in Idomeni: *Laura Samira Naude* (15, 17), who works for a charity; *Jonas Hagensen* (25, 28), a member of the medical staff of *Medicins Sans Frontieres*; *Wolly Ahmed* (30, 32, 34), a volunteer; *Fotis Filippou*, the director of campaigns at Amnesty International (36-43); and *Panagiotis Kouroubilis*, the Greek interior minister. After reading the article it becomes clear that all these social actors share one common characteristic. Specifically they represent pro-refugee attitudes, showing compassion and helping them. Apart from people's accounts there are photos and videos on social media (8), which provide additional support for the witnesses' accounts. The nomination technique used in the analyzed article refers also to objects, which are directly associated with the cause of the riots and violence at the Greek-Macedonian border. First of all, it is *the border fence* (7, 19, 34) and *a camp* (7, 23, 30, 49). The camp in Idomeni is compared to a *Nazi concentration camp* (47). This highlights the degree of the problem in Greece. Further, the weaponry used against people like *tear gas* (6, 9), *stun grenades* (9) and *rubber bullets* (10, 13) indicates how migrants were treated by the police. It is also said that the Macedonian police used helicopters (12) to defend the border. *Respiratory problems, open wounds and suspected fracture* (26) are the result of the violence. Some people were *unconscious* (10). Greece and the EU are presented as being responsible for finding *solutions* to the problem of mass migration to Europe (41). *The EU member states*, on the other hand are seen as a *sanctuary* for refugees (43).

The second remarkable discursive strategy that can be identified in the article is predication, referring to the characteristics attached to social actors, objects, phenomena or events mentioned in the text. The predication technique is not frequently used here, but nonetheless effectively reflects the reality of the situation in Idomeni. It emphasizes the seriousness of the situation at the border and provides an evaluation of the events. The events that took place in the camp are firstly described as *horrific* (3, 16). The photos and videos show refugees *running from* the Macedonian police who fired tear gas and stun grenades in direction of people (8-9). The whole scene is accompanied by loud explosions (12). The quantity of tear gas and rubber bullets used against refugees is said to be high (17). The article also draws attention to people who have

been especially affected by danger: *young babies* (18) and *pregnant women* (27). The staff of Medicines Sans Frontieres has also been *badly affected* (28). Before the riot refugees were said *to wait peacefully on a nearby set of train trucks* (30-31). The migrants' attempts to talk with the police are described as *unsuccessful* (33). Apart from that, refugees have to live in the camp with *awful conditions* (40). The helplessness of the migrants is underlined by a witness's evaluation of the asylum system, which prevents refugees from continuing their journey to other countries in Europe. Laura Samira Naude describes it as *quite ridiculous* (22), which highlights its inefficiency and the inability to deal with a large flow of people. The next example of predication technique refers to the reason of the incident, which is said to be *expected and unavoidable* (38). Moreover, it can be seen as the refugees' response to their personal situation: ***trapped in Idomeni*** (39), living in ***awful conditions*** (40) and with ***little hope*** for improvement of their situation (40). The remedy for their situation would be a ***real solution*** (41), which is ***urgent*** (41), which should establish ***adequate reception conditions in Greece*** (42).

The argumentation technique constitutes the most important discursive strategy in this article as it justifies evaluations of the actions and objects included in the text and provides explicit information about the refugees' situation in Idomeni. The first argument that can be identified in the text is a justification for the Macedonian police's attack on refugees. It is clarified that this action took place as people were trying to break through a border fence (6-7). The aim of the photos and videos appearing on social media from the location of the incident is to show what is happening in Idomeni (8-9). The rest of the arguments can be found in statements from people who witnessed the situation. First of all, Laura Samira Naude calls the incident *horrific scenes* (16), because she saw *police firing tear gas and rubber bullets* (17-18), wounding *young babies* (18). She states that the reason why refugees want to leave the camp is fear of death (20-21). The next argument appearing in the text refers to the inefficiency of the asylum system and is provided by one of the witnesses. The system is said not to be functioning as it was initially intended. Refugees are asked to complete applications and submit them through Skype, but claims they are not processed (22-24). The most striking arguments are provided by the director of campaigns at Amnesty International, who seems to excuse refugees for an attempt to break through the border fence through forceful means. He states that this behaviour is a result of the EU migration policies that do not fully respond to people's needs and sentences them to a longer stay in refugee

camps (38-40). He goes on to call for a solution to the problem, as this would be beneficial for Greece and the whole EU (41). To improve the situation he suggests the introduction of *adequate reception conditions in Greece* (42) and for the resettlement of refugees in EU countries (41-43).

The author of the article does not express his stance towards the discussed issue. He presents facts objectively by basing his statements on the accounts of witnesses and the authorities. He refrains from personal evaluation of the social actors, objects, and events. He does not use any transitive constructions or modality introducing uncertainty about the particular facts. Active voice and official language prevails throughout the whole report. Even when presenting figures related to the refugee crisis (44-50) he indicates the source of information. The only accusation that indicates his subjectivity may be the choice of facts presented. The witnesses and authorities appearing in the text, do not remain as objective as the author of the report. Ms Naude describes the situation at the border as *horrific* (16), and describes the asylum system as *ridiculous*. (22) Her personal point of view is underlined by the use of the word *frankly* (22). Mr. Hagensen, the member of Medecins Sans Frontieres, indicates the degree of harm experienced by the people caused by the use of tear gas. He indicates that even staff were *badly affected* (28). The next witness, Wolly Ahmed (30), claims that refugees were waiting *peacefully* (31) and indicates that they were willing to negotiate with Macedonian police (32-33), but that these negotiations were *unsuccessful* (33). The perspectivation technique can also be identified in the statement of Fotis Filippou, in which he assesses the situation as *expected* and *unavoidable* (38). He also emphasizes that the situation was caused by the migration policies of the EU and by the inadequate reception conditions in Greece (38-40). His positive stance towards refugees is demonstrated by the use of the modal verb *must* (41) and by the advice he gives on improving their situation and diminishing tensions at the border. Finally, the Greek interior minister Panagiotis Kouroubilis compares the camp in Idomeni to *Nazi concentration camps* (47).

The article does not include any references to other texts. However, the discourse of morality and humanity is interwoven in the article. The report provides also a number of topoi. First of all, the article contains the topos of inhumanity, which is repeated throughout the article five times. It can be particularly seen in the way in which the police's attitude and conduct towards refugees shows the seriousness of the migrants'

existential situation (17-18, 28-29). It is intensified by highlighting the most vulnerable people victim to the attack (18, 27). The description of conditions in the camp and their comparison to conditions in Nazi concentration camps also indicate the difficult position of the migrants (40, 47). The topos of inefficiency appears in the statements referring to the asylum system and the general migration policies of the EU (22-24, 38-40). This is supported by the large number of refugees staying in Greece, which is mentioned at the end of the article (44-45). This topos coexists with the topos of urgency, which calls for the taking of adequate steps to relieve the tensions associated with the mass migration to Europe. It is also interrelated with the topos of burden, as Greece is the country most affected by the refugee crisis (44-47).

Both texts provide information about the incident and the situation of refugees in the camp at Idomeni. The manner of reporting applied in both of them however is markedly different. The article from the quality paper seems to provide more authoritative and reliable information, as every argument is supported by the name of the witness or official presenting it. The language used to describe the facts is balanced and the author refrains from presenting his stance towards the situation. **Sunday Express**, on the other hand, uses more colloquial and sensational language, highlighting facts that may trigger heated debate among readers. Nevertheless, it seems to not be as reliable as the article from **The Independent**, as the arguments included in it are not supported by the names of witnesses or authorities giving statements.

5. Conclusion

The current study is meant to make a contribution to the field of CDA. It deals with the discourse of illegal migration, which is a topic currently concerning many journalists.

The aim of the empirical section was to raise awareness about the refugee crisis and to present it in a way that allows for the creation of unbiased opinion about it. This paper highlights also the differences between broadsheet and tabloid newspapers with regards to the way news is presented. Scrutiny has shown that broadsheet newspapers tend to present events by mentioning important details and making links between discourses and the texts related to them. It seems that the quality newspapers

present information in a more objective, unbiased way, giving the reader the opportunity to shape their own point of view. This is achieved through the application of formal language allowing for an emotionless description of events. It can also be observed that the quality press supports their claims with authoritative arguments and justifications. These however can also be used to manipulate public opinion. Journalists are people responsible for writing articles and selecting facts to be published. Since people are not capable of checking the credibility of the presented facts, they have to rely on the editorial decisions journalists make. Additionally, as already mentioned, different newspapers support different political parties, which influences their choice of material to be published and the objectivity of their reports. Tabloids on the other hand present only carefully chosen facts with a tendency to conceal others. The authors tend to use colloquial language, modality and transitive constructions which automatically diminished the level of their objectivity. The articles in tabloids do not concentrate on one issue only, which often results in an incomplete description of events. Nevertheless, as in the case of quality newspapers, journalists writing for tabloids have to make decisions about what to publish, which frequently means subjective choices.

There is also a question about the readership. It is commonly known that quality newspapers are directed to a more educated part of society. The readership of tabloids on the other hand are often less educated people. In light of the linguistic and editorial choices and the way facts are presented (which is done with purpose) in both types of newspapers imply that less educated people can be more easily manipulated and that they are more impressionable.

Finally, attentive reading is crucial for the objective evaluation of facts presented by newspapers. The unemotional and reasonable attitude towards them may help in their right assessment.

5.1 Limitations, problems and suggestions for future studies

During my studies I have encountered several problems that slowed the process of writing. The first difficulty was connected with the choice of articles for the analysis. As my aim was to find pairs of articles dealing with the same issue in broadsheet and tabloid newspapers I began by searching newspaper websites. It turned out that the

facts reported in the quality press were often not mentioned in tabloids. This resulted in an arduous search process.

The fact that the CDA, or more specifically DHA, requires attentive reading from the researcher also presented a challenge. I attempted to be careful with the identification and description of discursive strategies applied in texts, but I am aware that some issues/points may have been unintentionally omitted or overseen, as perception skills differ from person to person.

The analysis of the articles showed me that discursive strategies tend to overlap. Combining this with their description often resulted in difficulties. Nevertheless, I attempted to provide a transparent and comprehensive analysis of the relevant texts, in order to achieve my stated aims.

Last but not least, it seems obvious that the issue of objectivity in this paper may become the main point of contention among readers of this study. The main assumption of DHA is to provide an unbiased analysis of particular texts. This objectivity should contribute to an impartial presentation of the facts to enable readers to form their own opinions and attitudes about events or situations. The issue of objectivity is however always questionable, especially when concerned with language use. It may be claimed that it is impossible to express oneself and present facts without emotion. With regards to this fact, when analyzing the articles I was trying to answer several questions related to the issue of objectivity. I was trying to find out a way of conducting an objective study and see if this was at all possible. The paragraphs dealing with perspectivation techniques in each of the articles directly correspond to objectivity. As was mentioned there, the process of choosing facts for a newspaper and the linguistic means to present them involves subjectivity. This is also related to the style of my writing. Following this, how objective is my paper when it is also composed of words constituting my linguistic choices? This leads to a more philosophical question about the presentation of facts in newspapers. Namely, the evaluation of facts as subjective or objective is not straightforward. The articles refer to reality and describe it by means of language. The conclusions made on the basis of language use can be deceptive. Someone may accuse the author of subjectivity and intentions-driven word choices, but in reality his intentions maybe different. Apart from that, how can we assess if somebody is right or wrong in statements about particular events? It seems that statements may be confirmed, when proven right. To put it briefly, the issue of objectivity constitutes a

topic of heated debate among researchers and requires further study to find a suitable remedy concerning its definition and characteristics.

I am aware that the context and the articles analyzed in this paper do not reflect the entire nature of the refugee crisis. This paper should be considered as a first step taken toward analyzing and understanding the discourse of illegal migration to Europe. Much work needs to be done however in order to provide a better picture of the situation and enlighten society about the particular facts connected with this issue and encourage people to shape their own beliefs.

Since this paper discusses only some of the issues related to the refugee crisis, I see it only as a draft and as stimulus toward future research, which I hope to supplement and further elaborate.

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Appendix

A. Articles

Article I – Mirror

1 **Pope visits Lesbos refugees and 'will take ten migrants home to** 2 **Vatican with him'**

3 11:01, 16 APR 2016

4 Updated 17:00, 16 Apr 2016

5 by Steve Robson

6

7 Pope Francis has promised eight Syrians and two Afghans safe passage into Europe, it
8 has been claimed.

9 The Pope made a symbolic visit to refugees stranded in Lesbos amid reports he had
10 agreed to give ten migrants safe passage back to the Vatican with him.

11 Groups of children greeted Pope Francis as he arrived at the Moria migrant detention
12 centre on the Greek island today.

13 The teenage boys who have made the perilous journeys from their homelands to Greece
14 alone were lined up at the entrance, shaking the hands of the pope and two other
15 religious leaders.

16 Some were holding a Syrian flag.

17 Greek state television ERT later reported that Francis has offered to take 10 refugees
18 back to Italy with him after his visit.

19 ERT said it appears eight Syrians and two Afghans will be offered passage.

20 It would be a highly symbolic move at a time when Europe has stopped automatically
21 considering Afghans to be refugees and doesn't include them among the nationalities
22 whose asylum applications are approved.

23 It comes shortly after the European Union began deporting new arrivals back to Turkey
24 under a controversial deal meant to stem the refugee flow.

25 The Pope then met men and women who have fled their homelands seeking refuge in
26 Europe. Some wept as they met the Pope.

27 One man wept uncontrollably and wailed as he knelt down before Francis on Saturday
28 and said: "Thank you, God. Thank you. Please Father, bless me."

29 Children offered Francis drawings and the pope praised one little girl for her artwork,
30 saying "Bravo. Bravo." Then as he handed it off to his staff he stressed: "Don't fold it. I
31 want it on my desk."

32 As he walked by them, shaking hands with the men and bowing to the women, the
33 refugees shouted out their homelands: "Afghanistan." "Syria."

34 One little boy ducked his head through a fence to kiss Francis' ring.

35 The Syrian refugee resettlement programme set up by David Cameron is a "great
36 disappointment", the head of the Catholic Church in England and Wales has said.
37 It comes as Cardinal Vincent Nichols said Britain's response to the crisis was "going very
38 slowly" and called for a major increase in the number of people being taken in.

39 Asked if he believed governments needed to show more humanity, the archbishop of
40 Westminster replied: "I do."

41 He told BBC Radio 4's Today programme: "I think we have the resources as a very rich
42 country. Think of a country like the Lebanon and some of the other Middle Eastern
43 countries where they have a proportion of refugees present which represents 30-40% of
44 the population and they cope.

45 "We are a very rich country and I think with a greater cohesiveness between a spirit of
46 willingness that is there among many and mechanisms which governments can put into
47 place, we could be doing more."

48 He added: "There are aspects of the government policy that are commendable but I've
49 said surely that can be speeded up. Surely in the first year we can see really how many
50 could be taken and then multiply that by five."

51 "At the moment it's going very slowly and it's a great disappointment."

52 The Prime Minister announced plans to resettle 20,000 Syrian refugees in Britain at the
53 height of the crisis. The scheme will cost more than half a billion pounds, the
54 Government revealed earlier this week.

55 Cardinal Nichols dismissed suggestions that the UK should not be taking in refugees
56 because some Britons are struggling to make ends meet.

57 He told the programme: "I don't think the struggle of people in the destroyed villages in
58 and around Mosul and other parts of Syria, those struggles are not the same as our
59 struggles."

60 He added: "They are people like ourselves and they are desperate and we should open
61 our hearts as well as our political and financial resources.

Article II – The Guardian

Pope Francis takes refugees to Rome after Lesbos visit

Saturday 16 April 2016 14.49 BST, **Helena Smith on Lesbos**

Pontiff visits Greek island to highlight refugee crisis, telling crowds: ‘We hope the world will heed these scenes of tragic need’

Pope Francis has taken a dozen highly vulnerable refugees who faced deportation from the Greek island of Lesbos back to Rome, offering them refuge in a rebuke to the EU’s policy of sending migrants and refugees back to Turkey.

The leader of the Roman Catholic church made the unprecedented intervention on Saturday during a trip to the island to highlight the refugee crisis unfolding across the continent.

The pontiff spent five hours on Lesbos with Bartholomew I, the spiritual leader of the world’s Orthodox Christians, and Ieronymos II, the archbishop of Athens and Greece, meeting refugees and holding a service to bless those who have died trying to reach Europe.

Fuelling belief that the Catholic church is at odds with the EU’s stance on the crisis, Pope Francis took 12 refugees back to the Vatican. An official confirmed all those taken from the camp were Syrian Muslims, six of them minors who arrived Lesbos before the deportation deal came into effect.

A spokesman for the Holy See said: “The pope has desired to make a gesture of welcome regarding refugees, accompanying on his plane to Rome three families of refugees from Syria, 12 people in all, including six children.

“Two families come from Damascus, and one from Deir Azzor (in the area occupied by Isis). Their homes had been bombed. The Vatican will take responsibility for bringing in and maintaining the three families. The initial hospitality will be taken care of by the Community of Sant’Egidio.”

The pontiff spent the morning meeting hundreds of migrants and refugees in a notorious detention centre on the island. Men and women held in the camp wept as he toured the site.

31 The pope was met at Mytilene's airport by the Greek prime minister, Alexis Tsipras,
 32 at the start of his biggest effort yet to highlight the humanitarian crisis unfolding in
 33 Europe. Lesbos has borne the brunt of the refugee influx with more than 850,000 of
 34 the 1.1 million Syrians, Afghans and Iraqis who streamed into Europe last year
 35 coming through the island. "Greece has been an example of humanity," he said.

36 The visit is also seen as a further warming of ties between the western and eastern
 37 branches of Christianity, almost a millennium after their bitter split in 1054. In a
 38 break with protocol, the pope chose to be driven to the detention camp, in the hills
 39 above Mytilene outside the village of Moria, with Bartholomew.

40 Addressing refugees, he said: "I am here to tell you, you are not alone ... The Greek
 41 people have generously responded to your needs despite their own difficulties. Yes, so
 42 much more needs to be done but let us thank God that in our suffering he never
 43 leaves us alone.

44 "We hope that the world will heed these scenes of tragic and indeed desperate need,
 45 and respond in a way worthy of our common humanity."

46 After having lunch with eight refugees in Moria, the three church leaders held a
 47 memorial for the victims of migration at Mytilene's port – earlier this month the site
 48 of the first deportations under the EU-Turkey deal.

49 Addressing a large crowd, the pontiff issued an appeal for "responsibility and
 50 solidarity" towards refugees from the picturesque harbour. He said refugees were
 51 forced to live in "a climate of angst and fear and uncertainty over their future",
 52 adding: "Before they are numbers, refugees are first and foremost human beings."

53 Greece's leftist-led government described Saturday's visit of religious leaders as
 54 extremely significant. Tsipras was expected to underline Greece's increasingly fragile
 55 situation in talks with the pope.

56 The country has been struggling to house refugees in makeshift facilities even though
 57 the number of arrivals has dropped dramatically since the deportation deal came into
 58 effect on 20 March.

59 For detainees who have arrived since then, conditions have deteriorated dramatically.
 60 Human rights organisations have withdrawn from Moria and other detention centres
 61 for fear of being associated with an operation of mass expulsions.

62 On Friday, just hours before Francis' scheduled visit, detainees in the Lesbos camp
 63 chanted "freedom, freedom" as demonstrators denounced their incarceration.

64 Standing under the razor wire-topped fence, Sham Jutt, a young Pakistani, spoke of
65 the refugees' plight, saying he hoped the pope could intervene. "We expected a life of
66 hope and now he is our only hope," said the 21-year-old, adding that he had seen the
67 camp change from being a registration centre to a prison following the controversial
68 pact the EU signed with Turkey.

69 "Now, with this agreement, we are very afraid they will deport us," he said.

70 Before the church leaders' visit, authorities had gone out of their way to clean up the
71 camp, whitewashing graffiti-splattered walls, replacing tents with containers,
72 installing air conditioning and taking families out of the overcrowded facility to an
73 open-air holding centre nearby.

74 "In every sense of the word, they have given it a whitewash," said Jakob Mamzzak, a
75 volunteer from California. "Today we even heard they had given [detainees] clean
76 clothes, let them have their first shower in 25 days and brought them good food when
77 the truth is conditions are inhumane."

78 Lesbos's refugee solidarity movement was hoping the pope could bring international
79 attention to the problem. "Since this crisis began we have acted in solidarity with
80 refugees," said Nikos Zartamopoulos who, with others in the communist-aligned
81 Pame trade union, had demonstrated outside the camp. "We are not against the pope
82 per se. If he can speak out, if he can highlight their plight so much the better."

83 The trip came as the head of the Catholic church in England and Wales said the UK's
84 refugee resettlement programme set up by David Cameron was a "great
85 disappointment".

86 Cardinal Vincent Nichols said Britain's response to the crisis was "going very slowly"
87 and called for a major increase in the number of people being taken in. Asked if he
88 believed governments needed to show more humanity, the archbishop of
89 Westminster replied: "I do."

90 He told BBC Radio 4's Today programme: "I think we have the resources as a very
91 rich country. Think of a country like the Lebanon and some of the other Middle
92 Eastern countries where they have a proportion of refugees present which represents
93 30-40% of the population and they cope.

94 "We are a very rich country and I think with a greater cohesiveness between a spirit of
95 willingness that is there among many and mechanisms which governments can put
96 into place, we could be doing more.

97 "There are aspects of the government policy that are commendable but I've said
98 surely that can be speeded up. Surely in the first year we can see really how many

99 could be taken and then multiply that by five. At the moment it's going very slowly
100 and it's a great disappointment."

101 David Cameron announced plans to resettle 20,000 Syrian refugees in Britain at the
102 height of the crisis. The scheme will cost more than £500m, the government said
103 earlier this week.

104 Nichols dismissed suggestions that the UK should not be taking in refugees because
105 some Britons are struggling to make ends meet.

106 "I don't think the struggle of people in the destroyed villages in and around Mosul
107 and other parts of Syria, those struggles are not the same as our struggles," he said.

108 "They are people like ourselves and they are desperate and we should open our hearts
109 as well as our political and financial resources.

Article III – The Sun

1 Britain will take another 3,000 child refugees from the Middle East 2 and Africa to avoid a Westminster revolt

3 The Immigration Minister James Brokenshire said several hundred could arrive in the
4 next year alone

5 **DAVID CAMERON has vowed to take in another 3,000 refugees from the Middle
6 East and Africa – to avoid a Westminster revolt.**

7 The PM's official spokeswoman said vulnerable children and families would be
8 resettled over the coming years in the "largest resettlement programme" of its kind in
9 the world.

10 It comes on top of the Government's commitment to resettle 20,000 Syrian refugees
11 by 2020.

12 Several hundred children facing abuse, exploitation or forced marriage could be
13 brought to Britain next year alone, Immigration Minister James Brokenshire said
14 today.

15 But furious critics slammed the PM for refusing to respond to charity calls to provide
16 a home for thousands of child migrants already in Europe.

17 Opposition MPs and Tory rebels are threatening to join forces next week to force the
18 Government to take in 3,000 unaccompanied refugee children from the EU.

19 Lib Dem chief Tim Farron slammed the Government for "politicising" a humanitarian
20 tragedy.

21 He said: "This won't help any of children I met in Idomeni or Lesvos and the
22 thousands more languishing in European camps."

23 "The Home Office's announcement today is a blatant attempt to buy off
24 compassionate Tory MPs in a desperate last ditch effort to avoid a Government defeat
25 next week."

26 Heidi Allen, one of the Tory rebels, told the Sun the Government's move may not be
27 enough to avoid a Commons defeat.

28 And she urged the PM to invest more money into turning Calais into a "hotspot" to
29 help authorities process and house the thousands of migrants turning up to the
30 French port.

31 She said: "I'm delighted that the Government are extending the offer to these people. I
32 sincerely hope the many of them are children.

33 "But I have a heavy heart I still feel we are desperate letting down the children in
34 Europe already. I still feel we have a responsibility to them."

35 The Government is desperate not to take migrants already in Europe - fearing it will
36 encourage more refugees to come. The 20,000 Syrian refugees coming to Britain
37 between now and 2020 are all coming from refugee camps close to the war-torn
38 country.

39 German Chancellor Angela Merkel is seen as having triggered the biggest
40 humanitarian crisis for a generation by waiving immigration rules last September and
41 urging Syrians to head to the country.

42 Figures on Wednesday revealed 333,350 asylum seekers were granted the rights to
43 remain in the EU last year – up 72 per cent.

44 Britain granted asylum to nearly 18,000 refugees in 2015, up 26 per cent

Article IV – The Guardian

1 **Up to 3,000 child refugees to be resettled in UK in next four years**

2
3 New ‘children at risk’ scheme is over and above existing programme offering
4 places to 20,000 Syrian refugees

5 **Alan Travis Home affairs editor**

6 Thursday 21 April 2016 12.35 BST

7 Up to 3,000 Syrian and other child refugees from camps in the Middle East and North
8 Africa are to be resettled in Britain over the next four years, the Home Office has
9 announced.

10 Britain’s new “children at risk” scheme is in addition to the government’s existing
11 programme offering places to 20,000 Syrian refugees by the time of the 2020 general
12 election.

13 But it will only involve “several hundred” child refugees and their families in the first
14 year and will not offer places to Syrian child refugees currently in European camps,
15 including in Calais.

16 The announcement by the immigration minister, James Brokenshire, comes in advance
17 of a key Commons vote next week, in the campaign to bring to Britain 3,000 Syrian child
18 refugees in Europe. The House of Lords has already endorsed the demand, and the
19 announcement by Home Office ministers is designed to defuse a potential Conservative
20 backbench rebellion.

21 It comes as the Home Office confirmed it is to send 75 experts to help implement the
22 controversial EU-Turkey migration agreement in Greece to prevent illegal crossings
23 from Turkey to Greece.

24 The new Home Office child refugee scheme has been drawn up in association with the
25 United Nations high commissioner for refugees and will be open to all nationalities
26 within the Middle East and north Africa.

27 It will support vulnerable and refugee “children at risk” and their families, and will not
28 solely target unaccompanied children. Others who may qualify include those threatened
29 with child labour, child marriage and other forms of abuse or exploitation.

30 Brokenshire said: “We have always been clear that the vast majority of vulnerable
31 children are better off remaining in host countries in the region so they can be reunited

32 with surviving family members. However, there are exceptional circumstances in which
33 it is in a child's best interests to be resettled in the UK.

34 "We have engaged with a number of NGOs, including the UNHCR, on the best way to
35 provide protection to refugee children and ensure their welfare and safety remain at the
36 heart of every decision made.

37 "This new scheme compliments our ongoing work within Europe to assist vulnerable
38 migrant children. This includes the £10m refugee children fund to identify and support
39 vulnerable children and strengthen child protection and family reunification system," he
40 added.

41 The UNHCR's representative to the UK, Gonzalo Vargas Llosa, said the resettlement
42 scheme for refugee children at risk was an important contribution to UNHCR's
43 continuing efforts to address the global protection needs of refugee children, including
44 through resettlement and other pathways for admission.

45 "We welcome the scheme's focus on children at risk, including unaccompanied and
46 separated children, and the UK's commitment to upholding the principles of child
47 protection and the child's best interest in implementing the programme," he said.

48 The Refugee Council's chief executive, Maurice Wren, said: "This announcement is life
49 changing, if not life saving news for the small group of children and their families who
50 will benefit.

51 "However, it's also grim news for the majority of other refugees who are desperately
52 trying to escape conflict and persecution, who the government is trying to contain in
53 Turkey and other, poorer countries.

54 "It's not good enough to offer a lifeline to one group of refugees while colluding to close
55 off the escape routes of everyone else. All refugees need to be able to reach a place of
56 safety. Until we see a coordinated, comprehensive response to this crisis, men, women
57 and children will continue to be forced to take desperate measures to reach safety."

Article V- Sunday Express

BATTLE AT THE BORDER: Masked migrants hurl ROCKS at police as riots erupt on EU's doorstep

MASKED migrant thugs hurled rocks at Macedonian police today as they rushed the border in a violent bid to smash their way into Europe.

By NICK GUTTERIDGE

PUBLISHED: 11:37, Mon, Apr 11, 2016 | UPDATED: 12:59, Mon, Apr 11, 2016

A rampaging pack of more than 500 refugees attacked guards defending the country's southern border with Greece on one of the worst days of migrant violence this year.

Migrants with their faces covered by masks and war paint were seen picking up and hurling rocks at officers, who responded by firing tear gas canisters to drive them back.

Greece, which is desperate to move on tens of thousands of migrants stranded within its order, described the use of force by Macedonian police as "dangerous and deplorable".

In a strongly-worded statement, Greek government spokesman George Kyritsis said police had made "indiscriminate use of chemicals, rubber bullets and stun grenades against vulnerable populations".

He added that their actions were "without reasons" and decried them as "a dangerous and deplorable act".

The charity Medecins Sans Frontiers said that at least 260 migrants were injured in the skirmishes.

But Macedonia insisted it had only used tear gas to hold back the migrants, and said it has a right to uphold law and order and defend its borders.

A Macedonian official who asked to remain anonymous said that a large group of migrants left Idomeni camp in the morning and stormed towards the fence.

He said: "They threw rocks at the Macedonian police. The police fired tear gas in response.

"The migrants were pushing against the fence but standing on the Greek side of the border. The fence is still there, they have not broken through."

The violence unfolded outside the small village of Idomeni, which has become a magnet for hundreds of thousands of migrants hoping to travel onwards to Germany and Sweden.

32 More than 10,000 migrants and refugees have been living at the sprawling tent camp in
33 Greece since February, stranded there after a cascade of border shutdowns throughout
34 the Balkans.

35 Balkan states including Macedonia, Hungary, Croatia and Serbia have worked together
36 to shut off the route northwards, leaving tens of thousands of migrants trapped in
37 Greece, where they risk being deported back to Turkey under a new EU deal.

38 Migrants at Idomeni are demanding that the border with Macedonia be opened, but no
39 migrants have been allowed through for weeks.

40 Greek authorities have been trying to convince the population to move to reception
41 camps, with little success.

42 More than a million people fleeing conflict poured into Europe mainly through Greece in
43 the past year.

44 The European Union is implementing an accord under which all new arrivals to Greece
45 will be sent back to Turkey if they don't meet asylum criteria

Article VI- The Independent

Idomeni: Macedonian police fire tear gas and rubber bullets at refugees trying to break through Greek border

A witness described the scenes as 'horrific'

Peter Yeung @ptr_yeung

Sunday 10 April 2016 114 comments

Macedonian police have fired tear gas at more than 500 people attempting to break through a border fence at the Idomeni camp in Greece.

A number of photos and videos on social media appear to show refugees running from gas canisters and stun grenades thrown by officers in riot gear. Others showed people being carried away unconscious. Médecins sans Frontières said it treated more than 300 patients, including 200 for exposure to tear gas and 30 for rubber bullet wounds.

Witnesses said there were a number of loud explosions, as helicopters flew overhead and rubber bullets were fired. They said the fence had been breached at two points.

Laura Samira Naude, an officer at refugee charity Lighthouse Relief, said she witnessed "horrific scenes".

Ms Naude told *The Independent*: "The police were firing so much tear gas and rubber bullets too. Young babies had to be treated.

"Some of the refugees were told that the border would be opening up at 9am today. Hundreds of families had their bags packed, ready to leave. They said they don't want to stay here because otherwise they'll die.

"The asylum system is frankly quite ridiculous. People have to lodge their applications through Skype, but in the camp it's just not plausible. So their asylum requests aren't even being processed."

Jonas Hagensen of Medecins Sans Frontieres told *The Independent* they were treating people for respiratory problems, open wounds and suspected fracture. The charity revealed they were treating pregnant women.

Mr Hagensen said staff were "badly affected" by the tear gas, and that one patient claimed to have been taken to a room by Macedonian police and beaten for an hour.

30 Wolly Ahmed, a volunteer at the Idomeni camp, said initially the refugees “waited
31 peacefully on a nearby set of train tracks”.

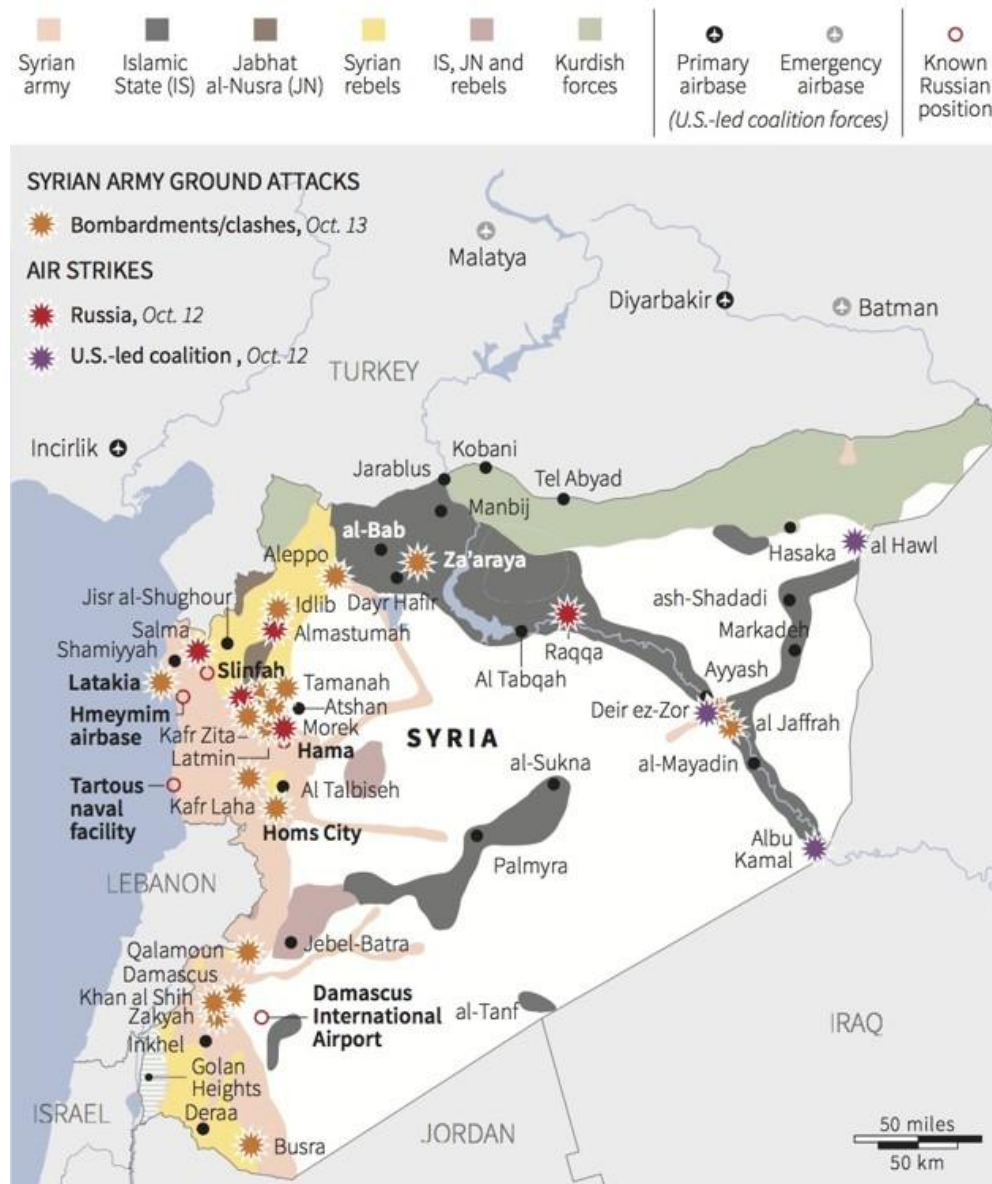
32 Mr Ahmed said a group of five refugee leaders went to hold discussions with
33 Macedonian police, but they returned unsuccessful.

34 He added: “They began surging towards the fence and managed to cut through in two
35 different parts.”

36 Fotis Filippou, director of campaigns at Amnesty International, called on the
37 Macedonian police to “fully comply” with international policing standards.
38 Mr Filippou added: “The scenes we are seeing are the expected and unavoidable result
39 of thousands being trapped in Idomeni and elsewhere in Greece - abandoned by
40 Europe in awful conditions and with little hope of getting protection.
41 “Greece and the EU must work on real solutions as a matter of urgency: these must
42 include adequate reception conditions in Greece and access to relocation and other
43 schemes that will allow refugees to find sanctuary in other EU member states.”

44 The 28 European Union member states last month voted to shut down the so-called
45 “Balkan route”, leaving 42,000 refugees stranded on Greek soil. The Greek
46 interior minister Panagiotis Kouroubilis said the conditions at Idomeni, where more than
47 11,000 refugees currently live, are comparable to Nazi concentration camps.
48 International aid charity Médecins sans Frontières estimated more than 30 per cent of
49 the refugees in the Idomeni camp were children, many of whom were struggling with
50 infections and illnesses

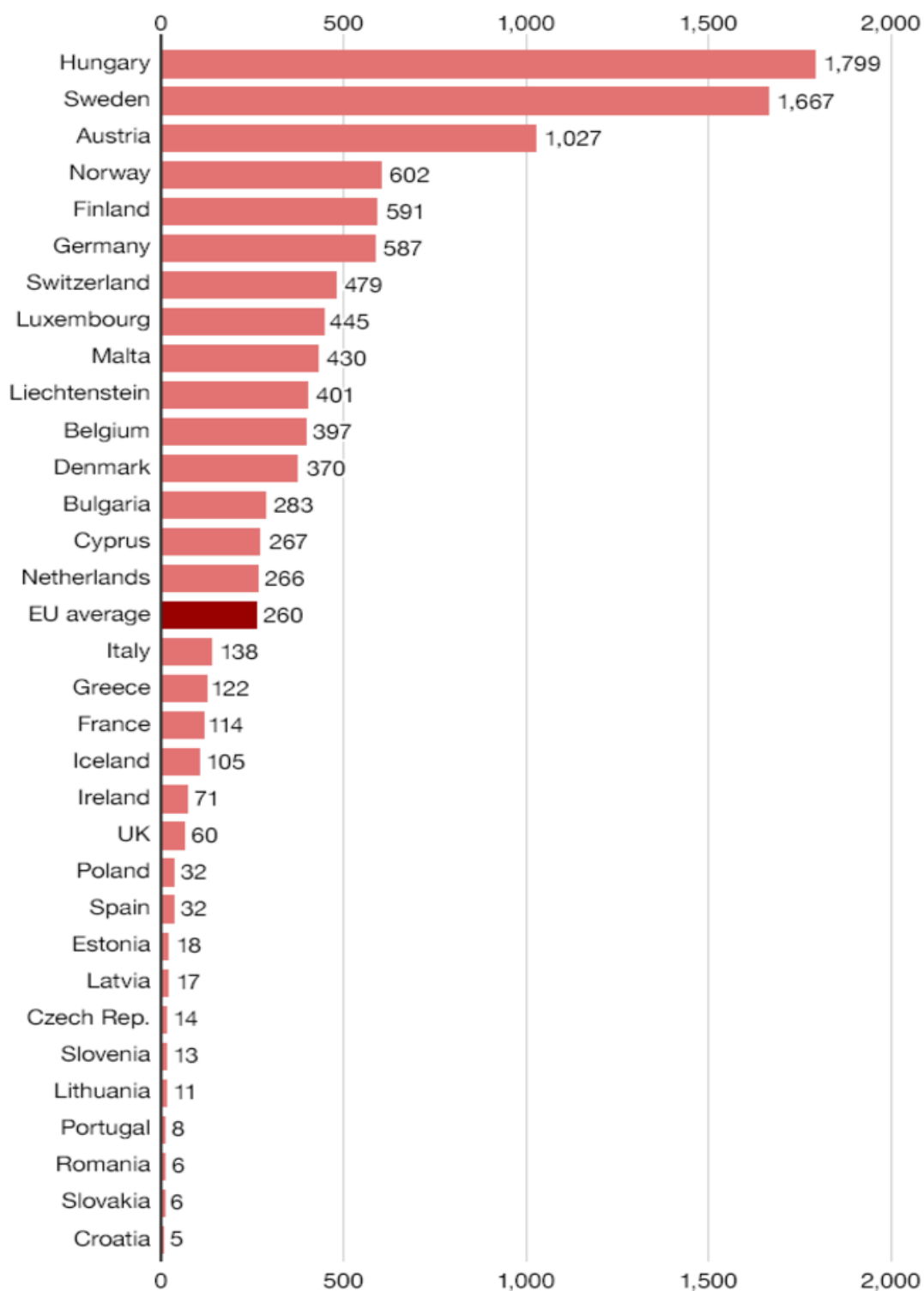
B. Maps and diagrams



Map 1: Distribution of forces in Syria

Source: <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/10/syrian-civil-war-guide-isis/410746/>

Asylum applications per 100,000 local population, 2015



Source: Eurostat

BBC

Graph 1: Asylum applications per 100,000 local population, 2015

Source: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>