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Intercultural Management and Communication

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Media Representations of Asylum Seekers:

A Multimodal Analysis of Online Articles of
the Guardian and the Daily Mail

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ABBREVIATIONS

DM1 = The Daily Mail: *Shocking moment desperate father throws himself, his wife and baby onto rail tracks in Hungary after realising their 'train to Austria' is actually taking them to a refugee camp* (3 September)

DM2 = The Daily Mail: *Migrants march into the night: Germany and Austria announce they WILL let refugees into their countries after thousands walk the 100 miles to the border in desperate bid to start a new life* (4 September)

DM3 = The Daily Mail: *Kisses, Lego toys and cheers from German hosts: End of the line at last for Great Exodus of refugees fleeing nightmare conditions in Hungary* (6 September)

G1 = The Guardian: *Hungarian police and refugees in standoff after train returns to camp* (4 September)

G2 = The Guardian: *Hungary closes Serbian border crossing as refugees make for Austria on foot* (4 September)

G3 = The Guardian: *Cheering German crowds greet refugees after long trek from Budapest to Munich* (5 September)

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Aika – Month and year 07/2018	Sivumäärä – Number of pages 69
<p>Tiivistelmä – Abstract</p> <p>Over million refugees, displaced people and other migrants arrived in the EU when the European refugee crisis began in 2015. Most asylum seekers came from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq travelling unsafe sea or land routes usually entering Greece or Italy, and many continued their way north towards the most popular destinations Germany, Hungary and Sweden. The largest refugee crisis of our time divided the unprepared EU strongly as some member states placed national interest before solidarity while others welcomed the victims of the humanitarian disaster. Since media are the only source of information on the ongoing refugee crisis for most Europeans, news stories on the topic are extremely influential. Media have the power to select, ignore and edit the news stories according to their ideology.</p> <p>This study explores how the asylum seekers are represented textually as well as visually in the conservative tabloid Daily Mail and the liberal broadsheet Guardian in the height of the crisis and compares the possible differences between the two newspapers. The thesis is also interested in the ideologies that the newspapers employ by using semantic strategies. The research applies two critical discourse analysis approaches: one examining representations of social actors in the text and the images and other concentrating on semantic strategies.</p> <p>The analysis demonstrates that both newspapers represent asylum seekers mainly as anonymous groups in the text. When comparing the two newspapers, the Daily Mail does include more individual representations both textually and visually than the Guardian - unlike in the previous research on the topic. The Daily Mail applies semantic strategies more, creating a stronger divide between the asylum seekers and Europeans. Also, the images the Daily Mail uses are more polarizing, whereas the Guardian includes more relatable visual and textual representations.</p>	
<p>Asiasanat – Keywords representation, power, ideology, racism, newspapers, United Kingdom, social semiotics, multimodality, critical discourse analysis, asylum seekers, refugees, migrants, refugee crisis</p>	
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Aika – Month and year 07/2018	Sivumäärä – Number of pages 69
<p>Tiivistelmä – Abstract</p> <p>Euroopan unionin alueelle saapui yli miljoona turvapaikanhakijaa pakolaiskriisin myötä vuonna 2015. Suurin osa turvapaikanhakijoista tuli Syyriasta, Afganistanista ja Irakista matkustaen vaarallisia meri- ja maareittejä. Useimmat saapuivat Kreikkaan tai Italiaan jatkaen matkaansa pohjoiseen, usein kohti Saksaa, Unkaria ja Ruotsia. Euroopan unioni ei ollut valmistautunut pakolaistulvaan ja kriisi jokoikin jäsenvaltiot kahtia. Osa asetti kansallisen edun turvapaikanhakijoiden edelle, kun taas osa avasi ovensa apua tarvitseville. Media on suurimmalle osalle eurooppalaisia ainoa tiedonlähde koskien yhä jatkuvaa pakolaiskriisiä ja siksi sen vaikutusvalta on suuri. Media voi halutessaan uutisoida, jättää uutisoimatta tai muokata tarinan haluamaansa muotoon ideologiansa mukaan.</p> <p>Tutkimus analysoi, kuinka konservatiivinen Daily Mail - ja liberaali Guardian-sanomalehti kuvailivat turvapaikanhakijoita uutisteksteissään sekä -kuvissaan pakolaiskriisin huipulla ja onko kuvauksissa eroavaisuuksia. Lisäksi tarkastelun kohteena on, millaisia semanttisilla strategioilla toteutettuja ideologioita artikkeleista löytyy. Tutkimus käyttää kahta kriittisen diskurssianalyysin menetelmää: toinen keskittyy turvapaikanhakijoihin sosiaalisina toimijoina tekstissä sekä kuvissa ja toinen semanttisiin strategioihin.</p> <p>Analyysi osoittaa, että molemmat sanomalehdet esittävät turvapaikanhakijat pääasiassa anonyymeina ryhminä uutisteksteissään. Daily Mail kuitenkin nostaa enemmän esiin yksilöitä sekä tekstissään että kuvissaan – toisin kuin aiemmissa tutkimuksissa. Daily Mail käyttää enemmän semanttisia strategioita luoden voimakkaamman eron turvapaikanhakijoiden ja eurooppalaisten välille. Myös Daily Mailin kuvat ovat polarisoituneempia, kun Guardian puolestaan esittää turvapaikanhakijat samaistuttavimpina sanavalintojensa sekä kuvakulmiensa ansiosta.</p>	
Asiasanat – Keywords	
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1 INTRODUCTION

Many Europeans have not crossed paths with asylum seekers, let alone been to refugee camps or battlegrounds of the Middle East. Yet, the greatly polarized discussion for and against the European Union's (the EU) responsibility for helping asylum seekers has been ongoing since the refugees, displaced people and other migrants started arriving in Europe when the refugee crisis began in 2015.

The amount of asylum seekers in the EU rose 123 per cent from the previous year in 2015 when 1.26 million people applied for asylum. Most applicants came from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq crossing the Mediterranean and entering the EU in Greece or Italy. Many continued their journey north making Germany, Hungary and Sweden the most popular destinations for asylum seekers. Since the peak of 2015, less people have reached Europe partly due to tightened policies and closed borders (European Commission 2017a; European Parliament 2017). These were measures that many EU member states turned to when confronting the largest refugee crisis of our time, whereas others prioritized solidarity in face of the humanitarian disaster (UNHCR 2016). (European Commission 2016)

One of the many events revealing the division within Europeans, including decision-makers, happened in September 2015 when thousands of asylum seekers began walking from Hungary to Austria after they were denied transportation, because according to the EU's Dublin Regulation, asylum seekers should have applied for asylum in Hungary. Austria and Germany welcomed the asylum seekers, while Hungary started building a wall to prevent the constant stream of people entering the EU through Hungary's border with Serbia. Press everywhere in the world was widely interested in the march of the asylum seekers and some journalists even joined them on their journey. (Than & Preisinger 2015)

The role of media in the discussion on asylum seekers have been crucial, since they provide information that citizens, including politicians, use to understand the world out of their reach and to form and reinforce opinions on the unknown. Media reach masses, which makes them more powerful than any individual. Therefore, it is not insignificant, which topics media choose to be newsworthy, what aspects of the selected topics are

emphasized, what is ignored, and how the included information is represented to the public (Goffman 1986: 1–20).

Sociologist Erving Goffman (1986: 14) describes a journalistic process as follows:

Obviously, passing events that are typical or representative don't make news just for that reason; only extraordinary ones do, and even these are subject to the editorial violence routinely employed by gentle writers.

The framing of the news stories is indeed influenced by the individual experiences of the journalist as well as prioritizing and contextualizing skills of the editorial staff. The staff is guided by journalistic practices of the organization that are often set by the owner and their ideological as well as commercial objectives. Usually, the stories that make it to the news are localized according to the target audience. This means prioritizing, simplifying and summarizing information so that the audience feels cultural, physical, emotional or factual closeness to the topic. Since news stories are the only source of information on the events of the world for millions of people, it is highly important to study the factors affecting the framing that media do. (Clausen 2003: 25–26, 191–194)

1.1 Literature Review

The ongoing refugee crisis has been a topic of research in various fields. However, previous research focusing specifically on the topic of British media and refugees mostly dates back to the time before the current refugee crisis.

Majid KhosraviNik's *Representation of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in British newspapers: A critical discourse analysis* provides the most extensive insight into the topic during a ten-year period from 1996 to 2006. KhosraviNik attempts to discover the regular qualities attributed to refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in the British newspapers and how these qualities are linked to the socio-political developments of the time. He is also interested in disparities in representations between different newspapers. KhosraviNik's data consists of 439 articles from the *Guardian*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Times* and their Sunday editions. These articles are analyzed by adopting categories that Ruth

Wodak's (2001) discourse-historical and Teun van Dijk's (1991) socio-cognitive approaches provide for analyzing the representation of social out-groups. In addition, some of the socio-semantic categories developed by Theo van Leeuwen (1996) as well as theoretical categorizations by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (2003) and categorizations of political metaphors by Paul Chilton (2004) are used to analyze the data. KhosraviNik's results reveal that the discourse concerning all the three groups, refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants, has primarily a negative tone, however, differences between newspapers can be found. Although the *Daily Mail* and the *Times* share a conservative political orientation, their approaches vary. The *Daily Mail* does not use argumentation which is the main strategy of the *Times*. Instead, the *Daily Mail* does most of the referencing with metaphors. Also, the *Daily Mail* emphasizes the negative qualities of the out-group and positive qualities of the in-group. The most important difference between the *Guardian* and the *Observer* and the conservative papers is that the liberal papers aim to portray the out-group in a more versatile manner with a variety of topics and humanization and individualization instead of aggregation and collectivization that conservative papers engage in. (KhosraviNik 2010)

A more recent research entitled *Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries* is from 2015. It is a study prepared for the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) by the Cardiff School of Journalism examining articles from the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Mirror*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Guardian*, the *Sun*, and their Sunday editions as well as several newspapers from Germany, Italy, Spain and Sweden. The UNHCR ordered the research to trace the reasons why a media campaign attempting to help refugees was perceived extremely differently by the media within European countries. The material of the study consists of 300 news stories from each country. The data consists of two samples: the first one is an arbitrary sample of articles from 2014 and 2015 while the second concentrates on news stories published during one week in April 2015 after a boat disaster in the Mediterranean. The following variables are used to analyze the data: sources, labels describing refugees and migrants, nationalities, themes, explanations and solutions for the crisis. The outcome of the analysis shows significant differences in all the categories when comparing the five countries. In general, the Swedish newspapers have the most

positive attitude while the British *Daily Mail* and the *Sun* are the most hostile. The *Telegraph* shares the negative attitude of the tabloids but did not go to similar extremes. However, the *Daily Mirror* and the *Guardian* adopt a fairly sympathetic stance, making the overall results so diverse, it is challenging to analyze United Kingdom (the UK) as a one entity like other countries. The research offers an insight into the press in all of the five countries and demonstrates how diverse the coverage of the same topic can be, according to the historical, cultural and political context of the country, or even the newspaper. The study suggests that the context should be taken into account when designing international media campaigns, because what is successful in one country, or in one newspaper, can lead to the opposite outcome in another. (UNHCR 2015)

There are also more focused studies that are interested in representations in the context of specific event like Hossein Vahid Dastjerdi's and Fatemeh Abbasian Borojeni's critical discourse analysis (CDA) of 30 newspaper articles. They present their results in *A CDA representation of the May 31, 2010 Gaza-bound aid flotilla raid: Portrayal of the events and actors*. Dastjerdi and Borojeni compare articles concerning the events of the May 31 in 2010 Gaza-bound aid flotilla raid and its aftermath from the *Washington Times*, the *New York Times*, the *Kayhan International* and the *Turkish Press*. Their objective is to examine how the representations of the events and social actors are constructed in the newspapers. This is done by using van Dijk's (1991) CDA approach, Mosheer Amer's (2009) argumentative move structure and Michael Halliday's (1994) Systemic Functional Grammar. The findings show that the newspapers employ a discourse strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. With the help of CDA, the study reveals that the media organize social life and constructs social knowledge, values, and beliefs through the linguistic system, demonstrating how powerful language is. (Dastjerdi & Borojeni 2014)

Peter Teo studies racism in newspaper articles on a minority group. He analyzes articles concerning a Vietnamese gang in Australia from the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph* in his research *Racism in the news: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the news reporting in two Australian newspapers*. He is interested in new, subtle forms of racism that are subtly constructed inside news stories instead of obvious discrimination. First, Teo performs a general characterization of the discourse by applying the CDA

approach by Roger Fowler, Bob Hodge, Gunther Kress and Tony Trew (1979), Roger Fowler (1991), Teun van Dijk (1993, 1996) and Norman Fairclough (1992, 1995). Secondly, Teo conducts a micro- and macro-structural analysis by using Halliday's (1994) Systemic Functional Grammar. The analysis reveals the racial connotations in the strategies used to portray the Vietnamese as an ethnic out-group and the police as a white in-group. Teo proceeds to claim that the media created a self-fulfilling prophecy: the more the Vietnamese criminals are in the headlines, the more it will attract criminals and crime to the area. (Teo 2000)

Previous research tends to focus solely on analyzing the text by conducting CDA approaches. Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar is widely used when analyzing newspaper articles, too. Van Leeuwen's CDA approach is fairly new and has not been applied as often when researching representations in newspapers. He has developed Halliday's ideas from linguistics into the direction of sociology and aims to combine the two (Andersen, Boeriis, Maagerø & Tønnessen 2015: 93–114). Van Leeuwen's analytical framework is also significantly more extensive than most approaches, since it is applicable to multiple modes beyond text. The present study includes images to the analysis too, which is still rather uncommon.

1.2 Aim, Research Questions, Methodology and Structure of the Thesis

The aim of this study is to increase the understanding of how media channel underlying ideology to the public when portraying the controversial topic of asylum seekers. The topic of asylum seekers was selected, since media's perspectives are especially exposed in the middle of a crisis that is quickly changing the identity of the European continent. The thesis investigates two online newspapers from the opposite ends of the political spectrum to gain an insight as wide as possible on a variety of representations media employ. Since the previous research has proved the divisive nature of the British media, the newspapers were chosen from the UK. In order to compare the two newspapers the best possible way, the articles that were selected for the analysis cover the same event. The particular event was chosen, since it was one of the first major dividers within the

EU when the crisis began in 2015. Also, the specific event has not been studied before as research in the media coverage of the current refugee crisis is still lacking.

This research is interested in how the conservative newspaper the *Daily Mail* and the liberal newspaper the *Guardian* cover the divisive event of asylum seekers walking out of Hungary towards Austria and Germany after being denied transportation. The study is particularly interested in how asylum seekers, who take matters into their own hands, are represented in media in the middle of the crisis. Are newspapers spreading fear, generating empathy or perhaps creating heroes or villains? Concentrating on the social actors is a unique perspective as most of the research on the refugee crisis focuses on the events in general. Studying social actors offers valuable information on sometimes seemingly discreet means media use to shape attitudes towards asylum seekers. These attitudes can have serious consequences that affect asylum seekers' lives in forms of prejudice and discrimination at an individual as well as societal level.

Thus, the thesis aims to address following questions:

How does the *Daily Mail* represent asylum seekers as social actors?

How does the *Guardian* represent asylum seekers as social actors?

Do the representations differ, and if so in what respects?

What ideologies can be found in and through the realization of the semantic strategies?

To answer these questions in a comprehensive manner, three online articles from each newspaper are analyzed by using two critical discourse analysis approaches. First, the text as well as the images of the articles are examined by applying a multimodal social semiotic framework developed by Theo van Leeuwen for analyzing social actors. It is presented in van Leeuwen's (2008) work *Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis*. In order to deepen the analysis, the representations of the social actors are also investigated by using an approach focused on uncovering subtle racism in media. The present study focuses on the aspect semantic strategies of the approach. The method for analysis was created by Teun van Dijk (1991) in his work *Racism and the Press*. The theoretical framework, method and data are discussed further in the following chapters.

The structure of the thesis is as follows. After the introduction, the theoretical chapters discuss representation and ideology, racism in media, multimodality and social semiotics.

The chapter on data and method gives an overview of the events the articles being analyzed cover, British newspapers in general as well as the *Daily Mail* and *Guardian* in particular. The chapter explains the methodology as well. Next, the data collected is analyzed and discussed. The final chapter concludes the research. It also suggests ideas for future research.

2 EUROPEAN REFUGEE CRISIS IN 2015

The number of asylum applications in the EU started rising substantially after April in 2015. There were clearly three main countries where most of the asylum seekers fled from: Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq. Altogether, these nationalities formed 53 per cent of the 1.2 million asylum seekers in 2015. The number of Syrian applicants doubled, the number of Afghans quadrupled and the number of Iraqis multiplied by seven from the previous year. The significant increase reflected the growing distress caused by warfare and the rise of radical Islamic groups. (European Commission 2016)

28 per cent of the asylum seekers in the EU in 2015 were Syrian. The reason behind the massive influx can be traced back to the Arab Spring of 2011, when North Africa and the Middle East experienced a wave of uprisings caused by growing poverty and dissatisfaction with regimes. In Syria, the protests got a violent response from President Bashar al-Assad. The rebels opposing al-Assad formed the Free Syrian Army to fight back, and by July 2011, the rebels and the government troops were in civil war. The conflict is currently entering its seventh year and has escalated beyond a domestic issue. Syria has become a battle ground for al-Assad's regime, various religious and rebel groups, Kurdish minority and jihadists as well as several states like Iran, Russia and the US. The international community is struggling to find a solution to the highly complex situation that is unparalleled to anything the world has seen before. The ongoing conflict has led to the displacement of over half of the country's population (UNHCR 2018). 363 000 of them applied for asylum in the EU in 2015. (European Commission 2016; Falk 2016)

14 per cent of all the applicants came from Afghanistan in 2015. Afghans have been fleeing their homes for decades due to the country's turbulent history with the civil war, foreign interventions of the UK, Russia and the US, the rise of radical Islamic groups and terrorism. In 2015, the fighting between the government, insurgent and Taliban forces escalated. The government was in chaos after a disputed presidential election and NATO's withdrawal from the country. Meanwhile, the Taliban and other insurgent groups had large areas of the country under control. The situation led to the escape of 178 200 Afghans to Europe in 2015. (BBC 2018a; European Commission 2016)

At the same time, Iraq was suffering from increasing violence, too. The country has been unstable for years since the UK and the US removed President Saddam Hussein from power. After the last troops left Iraq in 2011 after an eight-year war, Sunni and Shia Muslims continued fighting over power. At the same time, the Islamic State started gaining ground and eventually ruled several major cities in Iraq. The government's war against ISIS intensified in 2015 and 121 500 Iraqis fled to apply for asylum in the EU. (BBC 2018b; European Commission 2016)

80 per cent of the asylum seekers came to Europe across the Mediterranean in 2015. Many of the crossings were organized by smugglers using crowded old fishing vessels or small inflatable boats leading to several fatal disasters. The Eastern Mediterranean route arriving on the Greek islands was the most travelled. Also, the Central Mediterranean route leading to Italy was popular. The ones using the land routes travelled through Turkey to Bulgaria and Greece. Some of the asylum seekers who arrived in Greece continued their journey on the West Balkan route aiming to reach western Europe through Macedonia, Serbia, Hungary and Croatia. (Frontex 2018)

The EU was not prepared for the masses of arrivals and the burden was not distributed evenly among the countries. According to the EU's Dublin Regulation, the first member state where the asylum seeker enters the Schengen area is responsible for the asylum claim (European Commission 2017b). However, the regulation was often ignored by Greece and Italy in the middle of the crisis and asylum seekers proceeded north to apply for asylum. In 2015, 35 per cent of all asylum application were made in Germany. Hungary got 17 per cent of the claims and Sweden 12 per cent. (Lehne 2018; European Commission 2016)

2.1 Hungary in September 2015

Hungary's location at the Schengen border made it the point of arrival for the asylum seekers travelling the West Balkan Route (Frontex 2018). Over 2000 asylum seekers were crossing the border to Hungary daily in September 2015, which made the Hungarian government harden its stance against immigration. As a measure of domestic border control, Hungary built a fence to the Serbian border to prevent the border crossings in

September 2015. The following events clearly exposed two competing agendas within the EU. While Germany and its allies prioritized helping the ones in need and tried to share the responsibility equally, Hungary was actively advocating national interests over the EU's immigration policies, like relocating asylum seekers from Hungary. (Huszka 2016)

Hungary directed the arriving asylum seekers to quickly filling registration camps with reportedly inhumane conditions. Instead of camps, asylum seekers began heading to Keleti station in Budapest, hoping to continue their journey to apply for asylum in Austria or Germany. Hungarian officials prevented asylum seekers from boarding the trains, which created a deadlock at Keleti station. As 3000 people waited to leave Hungary, the situation grew tense and was about to escalate (United Nations 2015). On 3 September, asylum seekers were allowed to board a local train heading to the Austrian border. Once the train was full, it was directed to the Bicske refugee camp instead of the border. People refused to leave the train, which created a standoff situation (Murray 2015b). On 3 and 4 September, thousands of asylum seekers from Keleti and Bicske stations started walking towards Austria as transport was denied. Meanwhile, German Chancellor Angela Merkel promised that Germany will welcome the asylum seekers. Hungary and Austria organized buses, and by 7 September, 10 000 asylum seekers had reached Germany. (Murray 2015a; Than & Preisinger 2015)

2.2 Migration to the UK

The UK has become a multicultural society during the past 60 years of immigration. After the Second World War, the immigrant community expanded rapidly, because anyone from the British Empire and Commonwealth area could enter the country freely. Thus, the arrivals were mainly from the Commonwealth countries in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean. During the 1970s, the UK tightened its borders by limiting the immigration to passport holders with a work permit or a parent or grandparent born in the UK. At the same time, the government initiated policies to integrate minorities to the British society, for example by providing necessary housing and education. The year 2001 was a turning point regarding the policies, partly because of 9/11 and violent riots caused by racial

tensions in the north of the country. Immigration legislation was tightened and the attitude shifted from integrating the minorities as they were to assimilating arrivals to the British society. Immigration to the UK grew greatly when the EU expanded significantly in 2004 as well as during the refugee crisis in 2015. This created worries about immigration's negative impact on economy as well as the British national identity. In June 2016, euroscepticism rose to an all-time high when the UK voted in a referendum to leave the EU. The main theme of the campaign against the EU was the increasing immigration. (Ashcroft & Bevir 2017; Goodwin & Milazzo 2017)

In 2015, there were 8.7 million foreign-born individuals in the UK which is 13 per cent of the whole population. When compared with the situation ten years before, the rise was 126 per cent. The largest groups with foreign country of birth came from Poland, India and Pakistan. The number of asylum claims in 2015 was 32 414 in the UK. It rose 29 per cent from the year 2014. Most of the applicants came from Eritrea, Iran and Sudan. Syrians were the fourth largest nationality seeking for asylum in the UK. When comparing with rest of the EU, the UK had the ninth highest amount of asylum applications. (Centre on Migration, Policy and Society 2017; Home Office 2016)

3 REPRESENTATION AND IDEOLOGY

It is commonly understood that there is a reality and there are descriptions of the reality. Representation is the description, a substitute for reality. The connection between representations and reality is an interest of a wide variety of disciplines. Most of the research on the topic focuses on underlying meanings of texts. Regardless of the discipline, the key questions, which studies on representation address, are: who is representing, what does the representation mean and what kind of effects does it have. (Webb 2009: 1–14)

The present study employs CDA, which is interested in structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control represented through language. These structures define social practices, like language. CDA has its roots in philosopher Michel Foucault's idea on power as a fundamental characteristic of society. According to Foucault, representational systems, like language, are always about power relations between individuals and groups. He claims that governments aim to control thoughts and lives of citizens. Media have a powerful role in societies as it provides tools for thinking; it is a threat as well as a possibility for governments and their ideologies. (Webb 2009: 60, 114; Wodak 2009)

Several other scholars have researched representations in connection with power, too. Ernesto Laclau (1988: 254) has studied the close connection between language and political communities. According to him, linguistic signs as well as social identity exist only in a relational context, emphasizing the importance of the community. Thus, communities, like nations, govern the meanings that are possible to the members. Several theorists, like Benedict Anderson (1983: 42), argue that mass media help to maintain the idea of the nation, meaning an imagined community that is upheld with a common language. The national media have an important part in creating a separation between "us" and "them" (Webb 2009: 112).

Stuart Hall (1997: 25) defines representation as "the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language". Representations often resemble reality, but as they depend on the knowledge of the world, they are always influenced by a perspective and thus ideology. Ideology can be seen as offering the only reality. According to Stuart

Cunningham and Graeme Turner (1997: 6), media are selling a perspective on the world, although news stories are often presented as objective descriptions of the events. Media's perspective is highly influential because of its capacity to reach the masses as well as due to the constant repetition of stories. Pierre Bourdieu (1975: 38) claimed that the perspective of the media is usually the mainstream's perspective. When media make meanings by repeating the same dominant representations, it is difficult to find alternatives. In addition to representing an existing ideology, media have a power to turn an idea into ideology. (Webb 2009: 106–129)

4 RACISM IN MEDIA

The traditional definition of racism is racial prejudice or discrimination. However, the idea of biological human races has been outdated since the Second World War. Racial groups have since been replaced by ethnic groups and the open racism of the previous centuries has transformed into a contemporary, subtle and symbolic form, shifting the discourse from being inferior to being different. Regardless of the changes, racism remains as a social system of group domination. Media have a powerful role in maintaining the system since news are commonly produced and consumed by the majority that has little contact with minorities and thus no alternative perspectives. (Van Dijk 1991)

4.1 From Racism to Ethnicism

The idea of human races started spreading in Europe in the 16th century and developed into a classificatory system during the 18th century. The dominant belief was that Europeans were superior, which justified oppression like slavery and colonialism that were thriving at the time. The concept of “nations” with their individual cultures was born at the end of the 18th century and with it, the boundaries between the citizens, “us”, and the foreigners, “them”. The idea of race soon merged with nation, social class and gender, which led to internal racism within “nations” as for example working class and women were considered inferior. In the 1880s, a more scientific form of racism emerged. It spread fears of racial degeneration, which was a driving force behind anti-Semitism and the Holocaust in the 1930s and 40s. (Rattansi 2007)

Since the Second World War, scientific theories on human races were discredited and the focus shifted from biological races to ethnic groups. The most common attributes connected to ethnic groups are shared origin and culture, but there is a great deal of other varying features, which make ethnicity a complex definition. The idea of race is still close to ethnicity and also the new racism, ethnicism, exists on both structural and ideological levels of society. (Rattansi 2007)

4.2 Reproduction of Racism in Media

Today, equality and tolerance are common principles and open racism widely condemned. At the same time, white Westerners remain as the dominant group benefitting from a system favouring the dominant group. This means that racism is often denounced only on a superficial level, since the dominant group has no motivation or ability to change the system. The dominant group stays in power when its ideology is reproduced. Media are an important means to do that, since they are controlled by the white dominant group. (Van Dijk 1991: 32–40)

Reproduction takes place when media communicate principles and practices aiming to sustain a social system. Reproduction can be examined at the macro- or micro-levels of form and meaning, or across both levels. Macro-level refers to the fixed principles of the society, like structures and processes, while the repetitive daily practices at the micro-level confirm the principles of the macro-level. If the micro-level practices constantly differ from the macro-level principles, the principles change. Media reproduce ideology on a macro-level, because they are political, societal and cultural institutions. However, they are powerful also on the micro-level due to news practices that can reinforce or alter the principles of the macro-level. (Van Dijk 1991: 32–36)

One of the founders of the CDA approach, Teun van Dijk, was the first to develop a systematic theory on how to uncover the indirect structures and symbolic strategies media employ when portraying ethnic minorities in his work *Racism and the Press* in 1991. The approach focuses on the news topics, overall news report schemata, local meanings, style and rhetoric of news reports. The news topics and schemata constitute the global level of news stories, while the meaning, style, and rhetoric of words and sentences form the local, micro-level. This study is especially interested in the semantic strategies taking place on the micro level, which the next section will probe. (Van Dijk 1991: 23–49)

4.3 Semantic Strategies

Text can use various strategies in order to reach a specific objective. As van Dijk's previous research has proved, it is common for media to emphasize or invent negative

qualities regarding a person or a group by applying different strategies. It is typical especially for the right-wing media to employ semantic strategies consisting of local meaning structures to influence the public. Van Dijk has created the following classification for common semantic strategies: denial of racism, mitigation and excuse, hyperbole, ridicule, attribution and reversal: blaming the victim, comparisons, contrast and division and admission. (Van Dijk 1991: 187–198)

As racism is generally forbidden in today's world, denying it is a common strategy which aims to distance the writer from racism and thus present themselves in a positive manner. The denial enables the author to write something negative about a minority without being labelled as a racist. It is also possible for a writer to use a reverse strategy and to accuse some members of their own group of racism while denying being a racist themselves. According to van Dijk, the denial of racism is the most common semantic strategy in the right-wing media. Common strategic moves include for example the use of words "allege", "accuse" and "claim" as well as using quotation marks around words like "racist" or "discrimination". If denial of the negative action is not possible, mitigating and excusing often take place. For instance, police harassment towards a minority can be excused by claiming that the minority themselves provoked the police. Mitigation can be realized by employing words like "a little" or "some" in connection with the negative action. In addition, euphemisms are common. For example, threats can be described as "advice" or racism can be mitigated to "a misunderstanding". A semantic strategy of hyperbole exaggerates the negative actions of others. Hyperbole can be realized semantically by linguistic meanings or rhetorically by persuasive language, like metaphors. An example of a rhetoric hyperbole can be found from the *Sun* when it describes anti-racism as "a tyranny". Ridicule as a semantic strategy attempts to convey racism by mocking the minority. For instance, the *Telegraph* has written about devices called "electronic prejudometers" that calculate the level of prejudice. Attribution and reversal strategy blames the victim for the prejudice and discrimination they experience. The reversal takes place when minorities are accused of racism towards the majority. An example of the reversal is "black racism" in which the white majority claims to be the discriminated party. Comparisons can be made traditionally between us and them, but also between ethnic minorities and circumstances. Comparing circumstances can happen,

if media report that an immigrant minority is discriminated in its home country as a way to justify local racism by demonstrating that the minority is not accepted elsewhere either. The strategy of contrast and division is one step further from comparisons, portraying us as good and them as bad. Contrast and division can also take place between minorities. For example, the *Sun* has employed the contrast and division strategy in a headline “Blacks envy rich Asians”. Admission strategy is used when an ethnic minority is described negatively, but to maintain a positive self-presentation, racism is often denied by starting with a positive generalization like “most of them”. After that, a negative comment follows, usually in a clause starting with “but”. (Van Dijk 1991: 187–198)

5 MULTIMODALITY

Charles Goodwin, Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen were the first ones to introduce the term multimodality as they questioned the segmentation of academic fields in the meaning making research. Now, with the constant development of digital technologies, multimodality has been quickly gaining ground and breaking the old boundaries. (Jewitt, Bezemer & O'Halloran 2016: 16–26)

A fairly general definition of multimodality is communication and representation realized by various modes. However, there is a wide variety of disciplines interested in multimodality, each with their own perspective on the approach. The interest of multimodality research lies in the combinations of modes and how they work together (Bateman, Wildfeuer & Hiippala 2017: 8–9). Hence, semiotic modes are the basis of multimodality (Bateman, Wildfeuer & Hiippala 2017: 112). Image, writing, gesture, gaze, speech and posture are all examples of different modes of communication and representation (Bateman, Wildfeuer & Hiippala 2017: 12). However, defining what constitutes a mode has raised a great deal of discussion. Generally, it is considered that each mode consists of a material and a semiotic dimension. The material side of the mode is perceived with senses while the semiotic aspect consists of semiotic resources that are organized to create meaning. Semiotic resource is the potential meaning that actions or artefacts hold. The meaning potential of semiotic resources is socially constructed over the time. (Bateman, Wildfeuer & Hiippala 2017: 113–115; Jewitt, Bezemer & O'Halloran 2016: 17–18; Van Leeuwen 2005: 3–6)

John Bateman has developed a new perspective on mode and multimodality that is more detailed than much of the previous work. According to him, modes consist of three semiotic levels: material, form and discourse semantics. The material level is used differently by each mode. Also, how the mode is organized in relation to other modes spatially and temporally affects how the meaning is interpreted. Semiotic resources constituting the meaning of the mode are another essential component when interpreting modes. They can be simple or complex, or their organization within the mode can be more or less intricate. This is closely related to the distribution of power in society, since not everyone has knowledge and skills to use of the more complex resources. Discourse

semantics means the contextualization of semiotic modes. Interpreting modes in their context makes them more powerful, since it enables the comparison with other modes, which highlights the specificities of each mode. (Bateman, Wildfeuer & Hiippala 2017: 112–136)

When different forms of communication are combined, something more than the sum of distinct modes is formed. As it can be described: meanings can multiply when modes are together. There is also an interdependence between the modes, meaning that often the combination of modes has an impact on the meaning of an individual mode. This is why it is essential to research all the modes not separately, but as a multimodal whole. (Bateman, Wildfeuer & Hiippala 2017: 5–21)

Multimodality is everywhere and has always been, but it did not emerge as an academic field before 1990s. Until then, lines between disciplines remained strict and the research on meaning making was generally focused on modes inside the same field. However, in reality, this kind of division rarely exists (Bateman, Wildfeuer & Hiippala 2017: 23–24). Instead, modes are usually combined across disciplines (Bateman, Wildfeuer & Hiippala 2017: 7–9). (Jewitt, Bezemer & O’Halloran 2016: 16–26)

Because modes can be highly different from each other, studying them using the same approach is problematic. This has led to a great deal of theoretical and methodological frameworks for multimodal research. One of the first multimodal approaches was social semiotics that investigates agency of social actors as well as power relations between them (Jewitt, Bezemer & O’Halloran 2016: 16–33). The present study focuses on the social semiotic perspective, because it is an apt method to examine the representations of the asylum seekers and the relationship between the Europeans as majority and asylum seekers as a minority. The next section of the study will explore social semiotics in detail. (Bateman, Wildfeuer & Hiippala 2017: 5–21)

6 SOCIAL SEMIOTICS

Semiotics is a study of signs. Signs have been defined in various manners throughout the years, but in connection to social semiotics, the model created by one of the founders of semiotics, Charles Sanders Peirce, is apt, because it also presents meanings as fluid instead of stable. According to Peirce, signs consist of three parts: a representamen, interpretant and object. Representamen is the form of the sign, which can be material, but not necessarily. Interpretant is the interpretation that an interpreter makes of the representamen. The object is the referent of the sign that is chosen by the interpreter, which means that individuals constantly create new signs. The interest to make signs, resources to make them with, and interactions in which they are employed, are all socially shaped. Thus, in social semiotics, meaning is always motivated by social action and never arbitrary. Social semiotics examines meanings in any form and in all modes. (Kress 2010: 54–78)

The roots of social semiotics are in linguist Michael Halliday's semiotic system, Systemic Functional Grammar. He shared the social semiotic view that the source of all meanings is the social context, but Halliday argued that meanings are created through specific patterns, a grammar. The grammar was still a fairly fixed system, whereas today, social semiotics emphasizes the constantly changing nature of the meaning making. Also, Halliday's work concentrated solely on language, so it can be used only to study one mode. Theo van Leeuwen was one of the scholars who began developing Halliday's ideas further towards multimodality, covering semiotic modes beyond language. He has been particularly interested in how a representation can be used as a way to convey ideology and power instead of just placing a social practice into a different context, recontextualizing it, as such. Inspired by CDA and sociology, van Leeuwen has developed a CDA approach focusing on discourse as a recontextualization of social practice. (Andersen, Hestbæk, Morten & Tønnessen 2015: 1–15, 69–113; Van Leeuwen 2008: 3–22)

6.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis studies the relation between the form and function in language in situation-specific and/or general meanings. When the study is also interested in the aspect of social practice, the approach becomes critical discourse analysis. The prerequisite of CDA is combining linguistic and social theory. (Gee 2011)

CDA is a research method that considers discourse as a social practice. Situations, institutions and social structures do not only construct discursive events, but they are also constructed by the discourse. This makes discourse both socially constitutive as well as conditioned, which connects discourse strongly to power and ideology, making language a possible tool to generate unequal power relations. (Wodak & Meyer 2016: 6)

6.2 Recontextualization of Social Practice

Theo van Leeuwen's CDA approach focusing on discourse as a recontextualization of social practice is based on philosopher Michel Foucault's idea of discourse as semantic constructions of reality serving the interests of specific social groups. It also derives from Halliday's theory on register as a social dialect that is particular in its semantics instead of phonology and lexicogrammar. In addition, van Leeuwen adopts sociologist Basil Bernstein's interdisciplinary concept of recontextualization as his approach, expanding it from the pedagogic context and assuming that all discourses represent social practices. (Van Leeuwen 2008: vii–22)

Social practice can include only nonlinguistic actions, linguistic and/or other semiotic actions or a combination of both. According to van Leeuwen, actual social practices always contain the following elements: participants, actions, performance modes, presentation styles, times, locations, resources and eligibility conditions for the participants, locations and resources. Recontextualizing can be only done with linguistic and/or other semiotic actions. Social practice transforms through the recontextualization process. Elements of the social practice can be substituted with semiotic elements, deleted, rearranged or added. Van Leeuwen has developed recontextualizing principles for the central elements of social practices. These categories can be modified according

to analysis in question. Although van Leeuwen's framework is semiotically extensive compared to many CDA approaches, it is clearly linguistically oriented and leaves many of the nonlinguistic elements unaddressed. From the multimodal perspective, the approach still lacks a way to analyze the linguistic and visual representations as a multimodal whole instead of separate entities. The next paragraphs explore linguistic and visual grammars more thoroughly. (Van Leeuwen 2008: vii–22)

6.3 Linguistic Representation of Social Actors

When studying the participants of social practices, social actors, which this research is particularly interested in, van Leeuwen chooses to concentrate on sociological representations of social actors first, and linguistic representations second, unlike a great deal of other CDA approaches. According to van Leeuwen, grammatical and sociological categories do not often correspond with each other when investigating literal and metaphorical linguistic realizations. Another reason to emphasize the sociological representations is the assumption that meanings belong to culture instead of language. (Van Leeuwen 2008: 23–24)

Van Leeuwen proposes the following categories for critically analyzing the linguistic representations of social actors: exclusion and inclusion, role allocation, genericization and specification, assimilation, aggregation and collectivization, association and dissociation, indetermination and differentiation, nomination and categorization, functionalization and identification, personalization and impersonalization, and overdetermination. The categories are briefly explained and demonstrated with the figure below. (Van Leeuwen 2008: 28–54)

It is possible to exclude or include social actors according to interest, purpose and intended readers of the text. Role allocation refers to the representations of the included social actors as active agents or as passive patients. Genericization and specification of social actors means representing them as generalized classes, like “refugees” or as specified individuals. If social actors are referred to as specified, assimilation or individualization take place. Assimilation can be either aggregation or collectivization. Aggregation considers social actors as statistics by using quantifiers like percentages or

expressions like “a number of”. Collectivization can occur with the use of first-person plural or words like “the nation”, “this community” or “the experts”. Individualization means the representation of the social actors as specified individuals, like “a 20-year-old Afghan man”. (Van Leeuwen 2008: 28–54)

Differentiation separates an individual or a group of social actors from a similar actor or group, for example by using the word “other”. Indetermination occurs when social actors are represented as anonymous individuals or groups, often by using words like “somebody”. On contrary to indetermination, determination happens when the identity is somehow specified. Association refers to a situation when social actors are represented as groups formed by social actors and/or groups of social actors that are not labeled in the text. For instance, “refugees are from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan” groups these nationalities together without a fixed label. It is common that dissociation happens when the text proceeds and associations are unformed. When social actors are referred to as unique identities, they are nominated and when they are referred to because of identities they share, they are categorized. Categorization can be either functionalization and identification. If social actors are represented due to an activity like their occupation, they are functionalized, whereas referring to them on the basis of what they are, identification takes place. Identification can be based on for example age, personal relationship like being “her mother” or physical characteristics. (Van Leeuwen 2008: 28–54)

Determination, indetermination, genericization and specification can personalize social actors. If social actors are not represented as personalized, they are impersonalized. This can either be abstraction or objectivation. Abstraction means that the representation occurs on the grounds of a quality, like “black” or “Muslim”. Objectivation is done by metonymical reference, representing them by referring to a place, person, action or a thing the social actors are closely associated with. For example, “Syrians” can be replaced by the name of the country “Syria”. If social actors are represented participating in two or more social practices at once, overdetermination takes place. For example, referring to a human being as an animal is overdetermination. The category of overdetermination is not included in the present analysis, since it is not likely to appear often in the data. (Van Leeuwen 2008: 28–54)

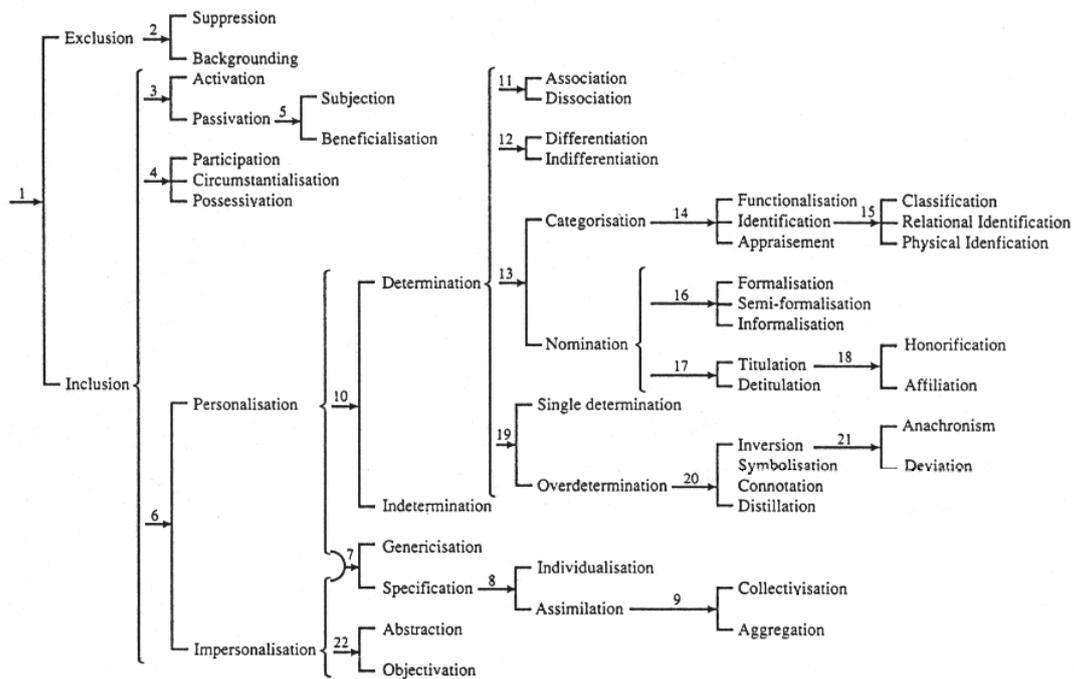


Figure 1. Social actor categories (Van Leeuwen 2008: 52)

6.4 Visual Representation of Social Actors

Van Leeuwen has adapted his framework for analyzing social actors for visual representation of social actors, too. His approach includes two equal dimensions: the image and the viewer as well as the depicted people. (Van Leeuwen 2008: 137–148)

The distance, angle and the gaze in the image impact how the viewer interprets it. Social distance in images, as well as in real life, is an indication of interpersonal relationships. For example, if a person is photographed from far away, the person seems like a stranger. The angle, which refers to the social relation between the viewer and the depicted person, can be either horizontal or vertical. A horizontal view represents the involvement of the person in the image by positioning them face to face as detached or sideways, ignoring the viewer. A vertical view displays the power by placing the person in the image higher, lower or at the equal level with the viewer. A high position in the photo symbolizes power over the viewer. Social interaction is linked to the gaze of the depicted person. If their

gaze is towards the viewer, it is a symbol of demand. When the gaze is turned elsewhere, the viewer is an onlooker without interaction. Figure 2 illustrates the representation and viewer network in detail. (Van Leeuwen 2008: 137–141)

When investigating how people are depicted, five categories emerge. The first one is exclusion, which occurs when particular people are left out of the image. The second category is roles. It is similar to the category of role allocation in the previous chapter. When the person is participating in an action, the person is an activated. If not, the person is passivated. Next, people can be depicted specifically or generically either as specific or as part of a group. Lastly, visual categorization can be divided into cultural or biological characteristics according to certain attributes. (Van Leeuwen 2008: 141–148)

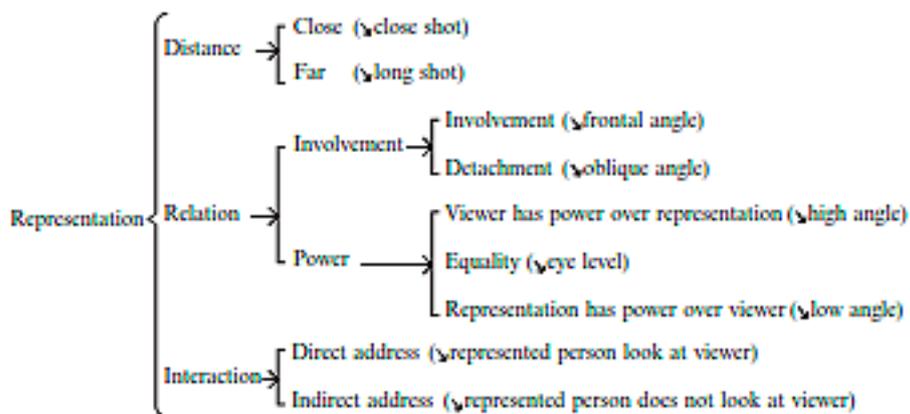


Figure 2. Representation and viewer network (Van Leeuwen 2008: 141)

7 DATA AND METHOD

The data of the study consists of six online newspaper articles: three from the *Daily Mail* and three from the *Guardian* from the first week of September 2015. The *Daily Mail* article which was published on 3 September and the *Guardian* article from 4 September both cover the standoff situation between the Hungarian officials and the asylum seekers at the Bicske station. The second pair of articles was published on 4 September. It reports on the beginning of the asylum seekers' walk to Austria. On September 5 the *Guardian* recounted the asylum seekers' arrival to Germany. The same story was published by the *Daily Mail* 6 on September.

7.1 British Newspapers

British newspapers are traditionally divided into broadsheets and tabloids. These names originate from the sizes of the printed newspapers, but today the difference is mainly in contents and readerships, since most of the newspapers are published in tabloid format and also online. Broadsheets can be described as quality newspapers that concentrate on more serious and analytical coverage, like politics or world news, whereas tabloids often turn to sensationalism, focusing on topics like celebrities and sports, often including a significant number of images in the articles. Between broadsheets and tabloids are middle-market tabloids, offering news on current affairs as well as entertainment. Differences between readerships of broadsheets, middle-market tabloids and so-called redtop tabloids are strongly connected to the social class. People with higher education, income and status usually consume broadsheets while the lower class favours tabloids. (Temple 2008: 87–92)

Britain has five national broadsheets: the *Financial Times*, the *Guardian*, the *Independent*, the *Telegraph* and the *Times*, two middle-market tabloids: the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mail* as well as three tabloids: the *Sun*, the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Star*. Most of the publishers have separate Sunday newspapers under different names instead of daily versions. Majority of the British press is conservative. The *Telegraph*, the *Times*, both middle-market tabloids as well as the *Sun* and the *Daily Star* are politically inclined to the right. The *Financial Times* tends to support both sides depending on the election,

whereas the *Guardian*, the *Independent* and the *Daily Mirror* are politically oriented to the centre or left. (Temple 2008: 87–92)

7.2 Daily Mail

The *Daily Mail* was first published in 1896 by Alfred Harmsworth. Its sister paper is the *Mail on Sunday*. The *Daily Mail* has been a right-wing newspaper from the beginning. It is owned by the *Daily Mail* and General Trust, which is led by the Harmsworth family. The *Daily Mail* has received several British Press Awards for its journalism. (Collins 2012)

The *Daily Mail's* website *MailOnline* was launched in 2003 (Collins 2012). It has its own editions for Australia, India and the US. *MailOnline* has 15 118 004 unique visitors daily (ABC 2017). Most of its traffic comes from outside the UK (ABC 2017).

7.3 Guardian

The *Guardian* was founded in 1821 under the name the *Manchester Guardian* by John Edward Taylor. It has been owned by the Scott Trust since 1936 to protect the newspaper from commercial and political influences (Guardian 2015). Manchester was dropped from the name in 1959 and the newspaper moved to London four years later targeting the national audience. Since then, the *Guardian's* biggest competitors have been the *Independent*, *Telegraph* and *Times*. Amongst the British broadsheets, the *Guardian* has always been the only one positioned to the left politically. The *Guardian's* sister paper is the oldest Sunday newspaper in the world, the *Observer*. The *Guardian's* website, which was launched in 1999, as well as journalism have won several awards, including a Pulitzer Prize in 2014 (Pilkington 2014). (Guardian 2002)

The website has separate Australia, International, the US and the UK editions. *TheGuardian.com* website has an average of 7 964 892 unique visitors daily. Most of the readers are outside the UK. (ABC 2016)

7.4 Method

All six online newspaper articles analyzed in this research contain multiple modes: a great deal of images as well as videos in addition to text. Each article is analyzed as an entity, including both, text and images, by using a multimodal approach. Due to the scope of the study, videos are excluded. The adopted multimodal approach is Theo van Leeuwen's (2008) social semiotic CDA framework presented in his work *Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis* focusing on social actors.

In order to reveal more subtle strategies media employ to represent asylum seekers, also Teun van Dijk's (1991) Discourse Analysis approach introduced in his work *Racism and the Press* is applied to analyze the possible underlying racist ideologies. Van Dijk's framework is extensive; hence the present study concentrates on the local semantic strategies media use in ethnic discourse. The approach is only applicable to the news texts.

After the separate analysis of all the articles, the results of the two newspapers are compared.

8 FINDINGS

The representations of the social actors in the texts of the six articles are first examined by using van Leeuwen's CDA approach. Next, van Leeuwen's framework for visual representations is utilized to analyze the 114 photos included in the *Daily Mail* and 12 photos from the *Guardian*. Lastly, the text is analyzed by using Teun van Dijk's approach to examine if the articles include semantic strategies promoting racism. When analyzing the texts, each clause is counted as a separate occurrence.

8.1 Verbal Representations

Exclusion of social actors can be divided into radical, suppression or backgrounding. Radical exclusion does not include either social actors or activities while suppression and backgrounding both involve social activities but not actors. The difference between the two is that suppression excludes the social actors involved in the social activities from the whole text. When backgrounding happens, the social actors are included in the text outside the specific social action. (Van Leeuwen 2008: 28–54)

Since the data focuses on the refugee crisis, backgrounding is the only type of exclusion found when examining asylum seekers in all of the six articles from the *Daily Mail* and the *Guardian*. The asylum seekers are excluded in the data by using three ways to background them: nonfinite clauses with -ing and -ed participles as well as infinitival clauses with "to".

Most of the exclusions in each article in both newspapers are realized by using the -ing participle as the table below demonstrates. However, the *Daily Mail* prefers -ed participle while the *Guardian* uses infinitival clauses with "to" more. There are no significant differences between the two newspapers in the total amount of excluded asylum seekers as the *Daily Mail* utilizes 30 exclusions and the *Guardian* 29. Also, when examining the context in which the asylum seekers are excluded, no consistent patterns can be found.

	-ing participle	-ed participle	Infinitival clause with to	Total
DM1	9	4	1	14
DM2	8			8
DM3	5	2	1	8
G1	4		3	7
G2	9	1	3	13
G3	5	2	2	9

Table 1. Exclusions

The following examples from the *Daily Mail* articles illustrate all different types of exclusions found in the data.

- (1) Having finally been allowed to leave Budapest on board trains bound for western Europe after a tense two day stand off with police, hundreds of refugees now face further frustration and delays after their train was halted in the nearby town of Bicske and all those on board ordered off. (DM1)
- (2) Along the platform, a boy not much older, wrapped in an EU flag, beamed for the cameras. (DM3)
- (3) Those who arrived in Munich had made perilous journeys through Greece and the Balkans to create a new life in Europe. (DM3)

The first example introduces the refugees only in the second clause, although they are the ones allowed to leave in the first clause. The refugees are excluded by using the -ing participle in the “having”. The second sentence with a nonfinite -ed participle in the second clause excludes the social actor who wrapped the boy in an EU flag. The second clause in the third sentence is an example of the infinite clause with to. The social actors are present as pronouns “those who” but are excluded when the goal of “those who” is explained to be “to create a new life”.

8.1.1 Role Allocation

Asylum seekers are included in the *Daily Mail* and the *Guardian* articles most of the time. When social actors are included in the text, they can be represented as active actors or passive patients. Passive social actors are subjected, if they are the objects of the activity, or beneficialized, when the social actors benefit from the activity. (Van Leeuwen 2008: 28–54)

The *Daily Mail* activates asylum seekers in all three articles altogether 122 times and passivates them 70 times. The *Guardian* represents asylum seekers as active actors 137 times and as passive patients in 56 accounts. Beneficialization is a slightly more popular way of passivating social actors in both newspapers. The majority of the activation is realized by participation with only two circumstantializations and two premodifications in the *Daily Mail* and one postmodification in the *Guardian*. The table below shows the number of activations and passivations in each article.

	DM1	DM2	DM3	G1	G2	G3
Subjection	15	10	7	10	6	9
Beneficialization	17	11	10	10	10	11
Activation	25	52	45	35	53	49

Table 2. Passivations and activations

Both newspapers use both types of passivation in all of the six articles, as the examples from the data from the *Guardian* show. (Van Leeuwen 2008: 28–54)

- (4) The Hungarian authorities earlier appeared to trick hundreds of people into taking a train to a refugee camp outside Budapest in an attempt to end a two-day standoff at the station where thousands have been trying to get to western Europe. (G1)

- (5) On Saturday night at Munich's main station, dozens of Germans lined up behind police barriers to clap, cheer and distribute sweets to welcome refugees to their new home. (G3)

The first example includes a subjection, since “hundreds of people”, referring to the asylum seekers, are the goal of the verb “trick”. The second sentence is different, because the “refugees” are the receivers of the welcome, benefitting from it.

The passivations happen mainly when the authorities restrict or allow the asylum seekers' movements. The *Daily Mail* used the verbs “take”, “block” and “expect” regularly, while the *Guardian* preferred “take”, “allow” and “welcome”.

Activation can be participation, circumstantialization, premodification or postmodification of nominalizations or process nouns. While in participation, the social actor is an active participant of the activity, in circumstantialization the social actor is added by using “by” or “from” prepositional circumstantials. When the actor is used before or after a nominalization or a process noun, premodification or postmodification takes place. Examples of all means of activations can be found of the articles, however the majority is participations. (Van Leeuwen 2008: 28–54)

- (6) Shocking moment desperate father throws himself, his wife and baby onto rail tracks in Hungary after realising their “train to Austria” is actually taking them to a refugee camp (DM1)
- (7) Over the past two days there have been a number of demonstrations by several hundred of the migrants chanting “Germany! Germany!” and tense standoffs with riot police as well as a number of scuffles. (DM1)
- (8) By late afternoon on Friday, a day after Orbán had warned of a “Muslim threat” to a Christian culture, up to 2,000 people – most from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan – were walking towards the border in chaotic scenes. (G3)
- (9) Orban had earlier warned the influx of Muslim migrants was threatening “Christian roots”, describing the wave of refugees as “endless” and

warning that “many tens of millions” more would come if the EU did not protect its borders. (DM2)

In the first sentence, which is a headline, the father is the active participant of the activity of throwing. The second example is circumstantialization as it activates the asylum seekers as demonstrators with the use of “by”. The third sentence includes an example of premodification, since the word “Muslim”, referring to the asylum seekers, is added in front of the “threat”. In the fourth example the words “Muslim migrants” are placed after the noun “influx” making it a postmodification.

Most of the activations happen in the context of travelling and resisting the authorities in both of the newspapers. Among the most used verbs in the *Daily Mail* are “enter”, “escape” and “threaten” and in the *Guardian* “refuse”, “break through” and “arrive”.

8.1.2 Genericization and Specification

Social actors can be represented as generalized classes or specific individuals. Generalizations can be expressed with plurals without articles, mass nouns or singulars with definitive or indefinite articles. However, in the data from both of the newspapers, only plurals without articles are used when representing asylum seekers as generalized classes. (Van Leeuwen 2008: 28–54).

The *Daily Mail* uses generalizations 60 times and the *Guardian* 62 times in total. The *Daily Mail* refers to asylum seekers mostly with the generalizations migrants (21 times) and refugees (12 times). The *Guardian* employs the words people (22 times) and refugees (13 times) the most. The following table introduces the most popular generalizations.

	DM 1	DM 2	DM 3	G1	G2	G3
Asylum seekers		2			2	2
Children	3	2	2	1	1	3
Migrants	9	8	4	1	5	4
People		7		9	6	7
Refugees	4	3	5	2	4	7
Total	16	22	11	13	18	23

Table 3. Generalizations

The two examples from both of the newspapers demonstrate the most common generalizations “migrants” and “people”.

- (10) Sporadic fighting broke out between migrants yesterday, while taunts from a small group of far-right skinheads sparked some scuffles. (DM1)
- (11) Later, volunteers tried to offer them food but people refused to eat. “We don’t need food and water. Just let us go to Germany,” one said from an open train window. (G1)

Specification can refer either to an individual, which is individualization, or to a group, which is assimilation. There are two kinds of assimilation: aggregation and collectivization. When aggregation happens, social actors are represented as statistics with definite or indefinite quantifiers. All the other cases of assimilation are collectivization. (Van Leeuwen 2008: 28–54)

Both newspapers prefer representing asylum seekers as statistics. The *Daily Mail* articles contain a total of 60 aggregations while the *Guardian* employs 44 aggregations altogether. Individualizations can be found from the *Daily Mail* 32 times and from the *Guardian* 17 times, while the groups are represented by collectivization 16 times in the *Daily Mail* and 14 times in the *Guardian*. The table below displays how the specifications were divided between the articles.

	DM1	DM2	DM3	G1	G2	G3
Individualization	9	8	15	7	3	7
Aggregation	19	30	11	15	16	13
Collectivization	5	7	4	9	3	2
Total	33	45	30	31	22	22

Table 4. Specifications

The *Daily Mail* and the *Guardian* use all types of specifications when representing asylum seekers, as examples from the *Guardian* illustrate:

- (12) Nearby, an unattended child rummaged through a pile of rubbish. (G1)

- (13) The breakaway followed a standoff at the station involving about 500 people, many holding tickets for Berlin or Vienna, who refused to get off a train halted on Thursday by security forces who tried to move the passengers to a nearby refugee camp. (G2)

- (14) The waiting Austrian police in their heavy waterproofs were taken aback by the refusal of the Hungarian bus drivers to take their passengers the last two kilometres over the border and on to the Nickelsdorf train station where they were expected, and where a Vienna-bound train was waiting. (G3)

The first sentence represents the child as a specific individual. The second example contains two ways of representing asylum seekers as statistics. “500 people” is realized by a definite quantifier “500” while “many” is an indefinite one, still referring to a number of asylum seekers. The third example refers to asylum seekers as “passengers”, collectivizing them as a unified group.

8.1.3 Association and Dissociation

Association is a way to represent groups that consist of social actors or groups of social actors but are not labeled in the text. Association turns to dissociation when the group is

unformed. This is not a common feature in neither of the newspapers. The *Daily Mail* represents asylum seekers by association six times and the *Guardian* only once. All of the associations found are dissociated after one grouping. Following is the most typical association from the *Daily Mail*. (Van Leeuwen 2008: 28–54)

- (15) The move left around 2,000 men, women and children stranded around the station or in the underground “transit zone”, a makeshift refugee camp beneath the station where thousands have been sheltering on blankets in cramped conditions, looked after only by Hungarian volunteers. (DM1)

“Men, women and children” are grouped together when referring to a group of 2,000 asylum seekers. In the next sentence this grouping is dissociated as “thousands”.

8.1.4 Indetermination and Differentiation

Indeterminations anonymizes social actors. This is often done with indefinite pronouns and aggregations. The data of this study mainly contains indeterminations realized by aggregation, which is a common way to represent the asylum seekers in all the articles, as explained earlier.

Differentiation separates an individual or group of social actors from an alike actor or group. The *Daily Mail* articles utilize differentiation 26 times and the *Guardian* 10 times. The following sentence from the *Daily Mail* contains two differentiations. (Van Leeuwen 2008: 28–54)

- (16) As one refugee staged their protest on the tracks, others still on board the train are understood to have started chanting “no camp, no camp” and hammering on the train’s windows pleading with the authorities not to take them away. (DM1)

First differentiation is “one refugee” as the individual is isolated from rest of the asylum seekers because of their protest. The second differentiation is realized by “others”, referring to the asylum seekers that are not with the one asylum seeker protesting.

8.1.5 Nomination and Categorization

Social actors can be nominated, which means represented by their unique identity, or they can be categorized according to identities and functions shared with others. Nomination is usually done by using given and/or surname. Sometimes honorifics can be added, like in the example from the *Daily Mail* below. (Van Leeuwen 2008: 28–54)

- (17) By his side Mohammad Abbasi, a 25-year-old Masters graduate from Aleppo, Syria, brandished a piece of paper. (DM3)

Nomination is not a common way for either of the newspapers to represent asylum seekers. The *Daily Mail* employs it 12 times in total and the *Guardian* nine times.

Categorization can be divided into functionalization and identification. When social actors are represented in terms of an activity, like an occupation or role, functionalization takes place. Identification happens when social actors are referred to in terms of what they are. One common way to realize functionalization is by attaching a suffix -er, -ant, -ent, -ian or -ee to a noun formed from a verb. (Van Leeuwen 2008: 28–54)

The *Daily Mail* represents asylum seekers with functionalizations 55 times altogether while articles from the *Guardian* contain 41 functionalizations. All of them in both newspapers are realized by assigning roles connected to the action of escaping asylum seekers are involved in. The most common roles are presented in the table below. The *Daily Mail* prefers the word “migrants” with 29 references and the *Guardian*’s most used functionalization is “refugees”.

	DM1	DM2	DM3	G1	G2	G3
Asylum seekers		2			2	2
Migrants	12	12	5	4	5	2
Passengers				2	2	1
Refugees	9	6	8	6	7	6
Travellers		1		1		1
Total	21	21	13	13	16	12

Table 5. Functionalizations

Identification can be either classification, relational or physical. Classification refers to categories like age and gender. Relational identification represents the personal, kinship or work relations of social actors. The sentences below from the *Guardian* show examples of the classification as well as relational identification. (Van Leeuwen 2008: 28–54)

- (18) “Why does Hungary keep us here when they don’t have the money to look after us,” asked a 30-year-old Iranian man. (G1)
- (19) “We don’t know what’s going on,” said Ahmed Mahmoud, 60, who said he was a former Iraqi military officer who had lost both legs and was trying to join his daughter in Belgium.” (G1)

The first example represents the asylum seekers in terms of his age, origins as well as gender, so it is a classification. The second example includes a relational identification as the first mentioned social actor’s child is represented as “his daughter” and therefore the social actor is represented as her father.

Identification can be found in the *Daily Mail* articles on 45 occasions and in the *Guardian* 35 times. In the majority of cases, identifications are relational identifications regarding family. The *Daily Mail* includes 16 classifications and the *Guardian* 14, all related to age, gender, provenance or religion.

8.1.6 Impersonalization

The previous categories present the ways the articles personalize the asylum seekers. Social actors can be impersonalized as well by not employing the semantic feature “human”. This is done by abstraction or objectivation. Abstraction is representing social actors with a quality connected to them while objectivation is a reference to a place or an instrument linked to the social actor or referring to a part of their body. (Van Leeuwen 2008: 28–54)

Abstraction can be found in the *Daily Mail* on two occasions. Objectivation referring to a body part occurs in the *Daily Mail* once and in the *Guardian* twice. Following sentences are examples of abstraction and objection.

- (20) Mr Orban said Hungary’s dilemma was really “a German problem”. (G2)

- (21) “We have treated a two-day-old gunshot wound. We’ve seen eye injuries caused by stun grenades. We’ve seen children with severe bruises,” Red Cross spokesman Andreas Zenker said. (G3)

The first example represents asylum seekers as “a Hungary’s dilemma” and “a German problem”, attaching the quality of problematic to them. The second sentence represents asylum seekers in terms of parts of a body. Instead of humans, the Red Cross refers to their patients as “a wound” and “eye injuries”.

8.2 Visual Representations

The relation between social actors in the images and viewers of the images depends on three aspects: the distance, angle and gaze. Social actors can be far or close, depicted from above, below or eye level. The images can show the social actors from the front, side or back, and they can have direct eye contact with the viewer or look away. (Van Leeuwen 2008: 137–148)

The following table demonstrates the per centages each category was employed in each article. In order to make the comparisons between the newspapers as clear as possible, the results are presented as per centages, since there is a considerable difference between the number of images in the *Daily Mail* and the *Guardian*. Some photos fall into several categories regarding the same aspect, since many of them depict large groups of people with different positions. The asterisk in the table refers to horizontal angles. Often the same image contains part of the group depicted from the front or back and other part from the side. Hence, the horizontal angles front/side and side/back were added to the analysis in addition to the frontal angle.

	DM1	DM2	DM3	G1	G2	G3
Far distance	9%	18%		100%	60%	17%
Close distance	91%	82%	100%		40%	83%
Above	40%	21%	7%		40%	17%
Below		2%				
Eye level	60%	77%	93%	100%	60%	83%
Front*	16%	45%	80%		40%	33%
Front/side*	30%	41%	27%		20%	33%
Side/back*	60%	25%	7%	100%	40%	33%
Direct gaze	9%	32%	20%		17%	17%
Indirect gaze	91%	68%	80%	100%	83%	83%

Table 6. Image and the viewer

The *Daily Mail* favours close-ups of the asylum seekers as 85 per cent of the photos are taken with a short distance to their objects (Picture 1). The most employed angle in the *Daily Mail* is the eye level, which can be found in 73 per cent of the images (Picture 1). Only one photo is shot from below. 39 per cent of the asylum seekers are photographed

from the front, like in the first picture, and the rest are shown from the side or the back. A majority of photos do not have direct interaction with the viewer depicting asylum seekers as objects that the viewer can scrutinize. Only in 22 per cent of the images the asylum seekers look at the viewer interacting with them (Picture 1).



Picture 1. Interaction from the close distance, front and eye level

A slight majority of 58 per cent of the *Guardian*'s photos have a short distance from the social actor. 75 per cent of the images have asylum seekers depicted at the eye level and none from below. 42 per cent of the photos show asylum seekers from the side or back (Picture 2). The *Guardian* prefers images without direct interaction since a majority of 92 per cent of the images do not have asylum seekers looking at the viewer (Picture 2).



Picture 2. Homogenized group from the back, afar and above

Van Leeuwen's framework has similar categories for analyzing depicted social actors as it does for analyzing texts. As in text, in images too, social actors can be excluded or included. The included social actors are represented as either active agents or passive patients. Social actors can be portrayed as specific or generic. If a social actor represents a generic group, it is often done by categorizing the actor according to their cultural or biological characteristics. Social actors can be depicted as individuals or as groups. Groups can be divided into homogenic or differentiated. (Van Leeuwen 2008: 137–148)

The table below shows the percentages of how the *Daily Mail* and the *Guardian* depict asylum seekers in terms of the categories. Again, some of the images can be placed in several categories concerning the same aspect, since many of the photos include large groups of people in the background while portraying also individuals.

	DM1	DM2	DM3	G1	G2	G3
Inclusion	98%	100%	93%	100%	100%	100%
Exclusion	2%		7%			
Agents	70%	95%	80%	100%	80%	67%
Patients	30%	5%	20%		20%	33%
Specific	2%	4%			20%	
Cultural categorization					20%	
Biological categorization						
Individuals	44%	64%	100%		40%	67%
Homogenic groups	44%	25%	7%	100%	60%	33%
Differentiated groups		11%				

Table 7. Depicting people

The *Daily Mail* excludes the asylum seekers from two photos, showing only Hungarian officers guarding the asylum seekers while the other exclusion shows only Austrians welcoming the asylum seekers (Picture 3). 83 per cent of all the photos represent asylum seekers as active agents and 61 per cent portray them as individuals, 30 per cent as homogenized groups and five per cent as differentiated groups. When examining asylum seekers, categorizations are absent in the *Daily Mail*, instead three specifications can be found. One of the photos concentrates on a sick individual who has collapsed while two others portray asylum seekers with missing legs (Picture 4).



Picture 3. Exclusion



Picture 4. Specification

The man sitting on the ground is specified due to his central position that is different from the others. He is also the center of everyone's attention.

The *Guardian* does not exclude asylum seekers. It represents them as active agents in 75 per cent of the photos. Half of the images depict asylum seekers as individuals and half as homogenized groups (Picture 5). One of the photos can be interpreted as a cultural categorization as it depicts a woman in a hijab in the center of the image (Picture 6). There is also a specification which portrays a man in a wheelchair.



Picture 5. Passivation of a homogenized group



Picture 6. Cultural categorization

8.3 Semantic Strategies

Newspapers employ various semantic strategies to prejudge and discriminate minorities. Since open racism generally belongs to the past, it is usually denied and negative representations of the minority can be presented as exceptions. Another strategy is to mitigate and create excuses for the negative representations. Negative representations of the minorities can be exaggerated or the topics can be approached with ridicule. It is possible to blame the minority for the prejudice and discrimination they are facing, and sometimes for racism against the majority. Newspapers also make comparisons between ethnic groups, situations or “us” against “them”. When “us” is portrayed as good and “them” as bad, comparison grows into contrast. (Van Dijk 1991: 187–198)

As the following table shows, the *Daily Mail* employs hyperbole 21 times and the *Guardian* five times. Mitigation and excuses can be found from the *Daily Mail* 17 times,

comparison four times, contrast 12 times and attribution and reversal in three occasions. The *Guardian* utilizes attribution and reversal once.

	DM1	DM2	DM3	G1	G2	G3
Mitigation, excuse	5	12				
Hyperbole	7	8	6	2		3
Attribution, reversal	2	1			1	
Comparison	4					
Contrast		12				
Total	18	33	6			

Table 8. Semantic strategies

The second *Daily Mail* article contains a significant number of mitigation and excuse as well as contrast strategies. This can be explained with 12 quotations from the Hungarian Prime Minister Victor Orbán. All of the comments are excuses for Hungary's actions as they explain the threat that asylum seekers pose for Hungary and the EU. At the same time, Orbán's statements create a strong contrast between "us" and "them" in the form of Europeans and asylum seekers as well as Christians and Muslims, like in the example below.

- (22) If we allow everyone in, that is the end of Europe. We may one morning wake up and realise that we are in the minority on our own continent. (DM2)

Also, the *Guardian* has three quotes from Orbán, however, they are framed differently from the *Daily Mail* and hence cannot be included to these categories. In the *Guardian*, Orbán is always quoted in the context that is critical of his actions. On the other hand, the *Daily Mail's* inclusion of 12 similar quotes in one article is obviously aiming to influence the readers.

The *Daily Mail* also contains several excuses concerning a case in which the Czech officials wrote numbers on the asylum seekers' arms which was widely disapproved. In the following justification the spokeswoman of the Czech police excuses the marking by assuring that the asylum seekers agreed to it.

- (23) “They have agreed with the marking – they don't have a problem with this, they know it's in their interest.” (DM1)

Representing asylum seekers and their actions in an exaggeratedly negative manner is the most used strategy in the *Guardian* and also popular in the *Daily Mail*. Both of the newspapers use hyperbole by connecting the asylum seekers with chaos and aggression as well as describing them repeatedly as desperate to the point of furious as well as an exhausted, pathetic and a passive crowd, like in the examples below.

- (24) There were chaotic scenes at the station when one man pulled his wife and child on to the tracks, begging police not to force them to go to the camp. (G1)
- (25) As the exhausted refugees, carrying pitifully few possessions in carrier bags and shabby suitcases, slumped onto the welcoming sea of green camp beds, Laith Al Zoubi, 37, and his children, Omar, six, Luna, four, and Nuar, ten months, sat huddled together. (DM3)

The *Daily Mail* blames the asylum seekers for the mistreatment they face twice due to their own disobedience and also for the accident leading to a death of an asylum seeker, as the example below demonstrates.

- (26) In the commotion, a 51-year-old Pakistani man collapsed about 800 metres from the station and died despite efforts by medics to save him. It is believed he stumbled onto the tracks and hit his head in a desperate bid to flee police, who were clad in riot gear. (DM1)

The *Guardian* employs the blaming the victim strategy when it reports how the Hungarian police and volunteers offered food and water to the asylum seekers who refused to take anything, but later complain for not having food nor water. The two examples below illustrate the *Guardian*'s strategy.

- (27) Police and civilian volunteers offered the refugees water, fruits and sweets, but many of them reportedly refused, pushing the food back through the train windows and shouting “No food! No food!” in protest. (G2)

- (28) “The situation is so bad. We have many sick people on the train. We have pregnant women, no food, no water.” (G2)

The *Daily Mail* creates some comparisons between the police, “us”, and the asylum seekers, “them” when it reports of “clashes” and “scuffles” between the two groups. However, it mainly employs the contrasting strategy, going beyond comparisons.

9 DISCUSSION

The articles from the *Daily Mail* and the *Guardian* were first critically analyzed by using Theo van Leeuwen's framework to reveal how the asylum seekers were represented verbally and visually. In order to deepen the analysis, the news texts were also examined by using Teun van Dijk's approach to study if semantic strategies to convey racism take place.

The *Daily Mail* represents the asylum seekers as active actors in both the text as well as the images most of the time. The activities the asylum seekers are portrayed engaging in are mainly resisting the police and travelling. Passivation occurs when the authorities control the asylum seekers' movements. The most common attributes connected to asylum seekers in the text are "desperate" and "exhausted". While both are likely to be true descriptions, when they are connected to the activities like fighting the police or fleeing Hungary, the associations that are born are negative. The constant use of the word "desperate" is likely to cause fear among the readership, since desperation can lead to desperate measures, like violence. Indeed, aggressive behaviour is reported in the text as well as shown in the photos several times. Passive representations on the other hand created an image that asylum seekers were under the control of the authorities, making the authorities look powerful and asylum seekers disobedient. Another common hyperbole in the articles was "exhausted" which strengthens the passive impression. In connection with words like "pitifully", "shabby" and "slumped", it creates a representation of the asylum seekers as a burden who are not able to look after themselves. When the Hungarian authorities are made to look like the good "us", protecting Europeans from the threatening "them", the *Daily Mail* reproduces its right-wing ideology, supporting Hungary's actions.

The *Daily Mail* refers to asylum seekers verbally mainly as groups by generalizing or functionalizing them most commonly as "migrants", which is an inaccurate representation as it suggests that large groups of individuals are similar just because they are all escaping their homes. Representing asylum seekers as specified groups is an equally popular strategy in the *Daily Mail*. However, specifying does not make the representations more accurate, on the contrary, aggregation anonymizes and dehumanizes

asylum seekers even further by turning people into numbers. The higher the numbers are, the more uncontrollable and daunting the mass appears. Numbers also remind the readers of the economic burden of the immigration and are thus an effective means to back up the newspaper's anti-immigration ideology, even if the numbers are generally just "hundreds" or "thousands" instead of exact figures. The *Daily Mail* utilizes several quotes from Hungarian prime minister Victor Orbán in which he mitigates and excuses Hungary's action by referring to asylum seekers as threatening masses and numbers. The constant repetition of references to distant groups and large numbers makes relating to the asylum seekers difficult and instead increases the divide between them and the readers. Another strategy the *Daily Mail* employs to generate negative and daunting representations is blaming the asylum seekers for the wrongdoings they face, like by indicating that "the commotion" led to a death of an asylum seeker. Reporting like this is likely to increase the urge to protect the UK from the chaotic group of asylum seekers among the readership, strengthening the anti-immigration attitudes.

Although grouping asylum seekers is the most popular manner of representing them, the *Daily Mail* does highlight individual asylum seekers with identifications and individualizations in the text, too. Also, the images in the articles contain more individual representations than large groups. Interestingly, relational identifications related to family are almost as popular as functionalizations. While identifications as well as individualizations mainly leave the asylum seekers anonymous, nevertheless they create a more humane representation, especially when the family relation is added. This makes it easy for the readers to empathize with the asylum seekers as well as to identify with them. In the images, the *Daily Mail* shows the asylum seekers mostly from close distance. Close-ups make the closeness of the crisis and the distress of its victims more real and relatable to the reader, contrary to the images of the faceless masses that are safely distant. However, the images of the masses can generate fear too when the asylum seekers are depicted as a large group storming through Europe creating chaos. The effect is even stronger when combined with the similar verbal representations. The *Daily Mail* represents asylum seekers in the images mainly at eye level. However, the representations are more confrontational than equal, since the asylum seekers are mainly portrayed from a more involved position, straight from the front. In many of the images individuals are

depicted as walking towards the viewer, which increased the threat and divide between the viewers and the asylum seekers. They show the distress of the asylum seekers from very close and from the front for the viewers to see. This is emphasized by representing asylum seekers as objects of the images that are free for the viewer to examine, rather than subjects interacting with the viewer. However, the representations of the specific individuals in the text and especially in the images is hardly an innocent way for the *Daily Mail* to highlight individual asylum seekers' stories for readers to relate to and empathize with. As a tabloid aiming at people from the lower middle class, it is a typical for the *Daily Mail* to emphasize "normal people" and utilize a great deal of close-ups that catch more attention, and thus sell more papers, than stories and images of faceless masses.

The *Guardian* represents asylum seekers as active most of the time in the text as well as in the images. The activations take place when asylum seekers protest against the authorities and are on their journey from Hungary to Austria. The asylum seekers are passivated when the authorities take them from one place to another and also when the asylum seekers arrive in Austria and Germany. Since the asylum seekers are passivated only rarely, the *Guardian* does not highlight the role of the authorities. Instead, the asylum seekers are represented as actively participating in the actions, not as victims. However, the *Guardian* does use hyperboles to describe the chaos and exhaustion, implying that the asylum seekers do bring problems with them.

The *Guardian's* most common reference to asylum seekers was a generalization "people". While it is extremely vague, it does add humanity to the representation, since "people" can be "us" or "them", it is not limited to the role of an asylum seeker nor transforms humans into quantifiers – both popular ways of representing asylum seekers in the *Guardian* as well. Aggregation was the second the most employed representations of asylum seekers. The *Guardian* also regularly functionalized asylum seekers as "refugees". These group presentations were supported by images as half of the *Guardian's* photos portray homogenized groups depicted from afar. The images represent faceless masses that are safely distant, so the viewer does not need to get involved. Also, a great majority of the *Guardian's* close-ups does not have asylum seekers interacting with the viewer. Although interaction is absent from the images, the use of the angles does involve the viewer to the situations. The *Guardian* employs the vertical angle mainly

at the eye level, indicating equality between the viewer and the asylum seekers. The most utilized horizontal angle is from the side and back, which makes it easy for the viewer to relate to the situation unlike with the face to face angle which can be divisive and even aggressive.

The *Guardian* employed mainly relational identifications in the news texts when referring to the asylum seekers as individuals. Although the *Guardian*'s identifications anonymized the asylum seekers in most occasions, they highlighted individuals among the masses and brought them closer to the readers and created a possibility to relate to their experiences or even the individuals, especially when the family relation was mentioned.

The *Daily Mail* and the *Guardian* include asylum seekers in the text as well as the images most of the time, which was expected due to the topic of the articles. The number of times the asylum seekers are backgrounded in the news stories is about the same in both newspapers and there is no clear pattern in which context the exclusions take place, which makes it difficult to estimate, if they are tied to an ideology and just to avoid repeating the same words.

When examined if the included asylum seekers were passive or active in the news text, differences start to appear. The *Daily Mail* activated the asylum seekers less and passivated them more than the *Guardian*. This indicates a difference between the ideologies as the authorities are the ones controlling "the Muslim threat" feared by the Hungarians. The most employed categories are the same in both of the newspapers, since both of the newspapers do prefer referring to the asylum seekers as distant and anonymous groups. Unexpectedly, the most common category when representing individuals, was the relational identification, which emphasized asylum seekers' roles as family members and hence made them more relatable.

There are clearer differences between the visual representations than the verbal ones. This can be at least partly explained by the different styles of the tabloid and broadsheet as the former typically utilizes close-ups much more. Both newspapers represent asylum seekers almost equally as individuals and homogenized groups, unlike in the text. The greatest difference between the newspapers can be found in the use of the horizontal angle. The

Daily Mail depicts asylum seekers mainly from the front, which is a more divisive and confrontational angle, than the more relatable side and the back angle, favoured by the *Guardian*.

When investigating the use of semantic strategies that convey racism, the *Daily Mail* strengthens the division between “us” and “them” more actively. Its main ways to represent asylum seekers as a daunting “them” are the dramatic and exaggerating word choices as well as constant repetition of comments strongly referring to asylum seekers as a threat by Orbán. Also, the victim blaming deepens the division although it does not take place as often. The *Guardian* is also utilizing hyperbole, but to a lesser degree. The *Guardian* did not employ rest of the strategies as actively either, which was to be expected as it is a liberal broadsheet.

Majid KhosraviNik (2010) argues in his research that the *Daily Mail* accentuates the negative qualities of the out-group and positive qualities of the in-group. The present study supports these findings. However, there is no evidence of KhosraviNik’s claim that the *Guardian* prefers individualization contrary to aggregation and collectivization in this study. Instead, the *Daily Mail* was individualizing the asylum seekers more actively. The difference between the results can be due to the imbalance in the amount of visual data or the narrow scope of the present study, but it might also indicate a change in the *Guardian*’s representation style. When comparing the present study with Hossein Vahid Dastjerdi’s and Fatemeh Abbasian Borojeni’s (2014) as well as Peter Teo’s (2000) research, similar tendencies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation can be discovered.

10 CONCLUSION

The thesis studied how the conservative tabloid *Daily Mail* and the liberal broadsheet *Guardian* represented asylum seekers in six online articles in the height of the European refugee crisis in September 2015. The study was interested in the textual as well as the visual representations and possible differences in the representations between the two newspapers. The thesis also examined the ideologies that can be found in and through the realization of the semantic strategies used in the news stories. The following research questions were formulated to study the topic: How does the Daily Mail represent asylum seekers as social actors? How does the Guardian represent asylum seekers as social actors? Do the representations differ, and if so in what respects? What ideologies can be found in and through the realization of the semantic strategies? In order to answer these questions, the text and the images were analyzed by using Theo van Leeuwen's social actors approach. Ideologies were investigated by employing Teun van Dijk's approach for revealing semantic strategies conveying racism. The answers demonstrate that the *Guardian* represents asylum seekers mainly as an anonymous group in the text and in the images. The *Daily Mail* also prefers group representations textually, but visually its articles contain more individual representations. All in all, the greatest differences between representations are visual. The *Daily Mail's* application of the semantic strategies supports its conservative ideology as the strategies emphasize the division between "good us" and "threatening them". The *Guardian* does not repeatedly reproduce negative representations of the asylum seekers, which is in line with its liberal perspective.

Analysis of the representations revealed that both, the *Daily Mail* and the *Guardian*, represent asylum seekers most of the time as generalized, functionalized or aggregated groups in the text. When studying semantic strategies, it was discovered that the *Daily Mail* employs the strategies of mitigation and excuse, contrast as well as hyperbole repeatedly to strengthen the negative impression of the asylum seekers. While the *Guardian* also prefers representing asylum seekers as groups, the representations do not portray asylum seekers as negatively, since the semantic strategies are only used occasionally, not regularly. The division between the negative out-group and positive in-group in the *Daily Mail* the verbal representations is deepened by the images, since they

depict the asylum seekers mainly from the front, opposing the viewer. The *Guardian's* less confrontational approach is also realized by the visual representations, since they portray the asylum seekers from the side or the back. Individual representations in both of the newspapers are mostly relational identifications realized by referring to asylum seekers as family members. Unlike the previous research suggests, the *Daily Mail* employs verbal and visual individualizations slightly more. To conclude, although both newspapers refer to asylum seekers mainly as groups, the *Daily Mail's* representations have a more negative tone due to the constant repetition of semantic strategies conveying racist attitudes. However, the *Daily Mail* did highlight individual asylum seekers more than the *Guardian*, which possibly indicates a change in the *Guardian's* journalism when comparing with former studies.

The present study indicates general patterns of representing asylum seekers textually as well as visually in the British conservative and liberal press, but the scope of the study is narrow and thus the results have to be interpreted with caution. However, the amount of research on the media representations of the asylum seekers in the context of the current crisis is still limited, so these results can be a helpful indication of the present trends, although the subject needs to be studied further. As the use of visual representations increases constantly, it would be important for the future research could focus more on multimodality and include images as well as videos in the analysis in addition to texts, unlike most of the CDA studies to date. Also, research from a longer period of time with more data would be more conclusive. Another interesting perspective for research would be studying differences in the representations between different countries.

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