

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH



ABDELHAMID IBN BADIS UNIVERSITY – MOSTAGANEM
FACULTY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

**A Critical Discourse Analysis of
the Representation of the Syrian Refugees
in *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian***

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the Magister Degree in English Discourse and Media Studies

Submitted by
Kasmi Djelloul

Board of Examiners:

President: Dr. Benstaali Lila (MCA), University of Mostaganem

Examiner: Dr. Oueld Si Bouziane Sabria (MCA), University of Mostaganem

Examiner: Dr. Hairech Faiza (MCA), University of Mostaganem

Examiner: Dr. Dali Youcef Lynda (MCA), ENS Oran

Supervisor: Dr. Aoumeur Hayat (MCA), University of Mostaganem

2022/2023

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Hayat AOUMEUR, for her invaluable guidance and patience. This work would not have been possible without her assistance.

Special thanks go to the staff of the Department of English for their encouragement.

I am also deeply grateful to my family for their unwavering moral support, which propels me forward.

Lastly, I extend my gratitude to my parents, who have always nurtured my passion for learning.

Table of Contents

Aknowledgements	I
Table of Contents	II
List of Abbreviations	V
List of Tables.....	VI
List of Figures	VII
Abstract	VIII
INTRODUCTION	1
1. Background to the Study	1
2. Statement of the Problem	3
3. Significance of the Study.....	3
4. Purpose of the Study	4
5. Research Questions	4
6. Data Collection and Procedure.....	5
7. Limitation of the Study.....	5
8. Structure of the Dissertation	5
1. CHAPTER ONE CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS.....	7
Introduction	8
1.1. Critical Discourse Analysis: Overview	8
1.2. Criticism of CDA.....	14
1.3. Key concepts in CDA.....	17
1.3.1. Discourse.....	17
1.3.2. Power.....	19
1.3.3. Ideology.....	22
1.3.4. Intertextuality	25
1.4. Major Research Areas in CDA.....	28
1.4.1. Cultural Studies.....	29
1.4.2. Gender Studies	30
1.4.3. Political Studies	31
1.4.4. Media Studies	33
1.4.5. Historical Studies.....	34
1.5. CDA Main Approaches.....	36

1.5.1. Van Dijk’s Socio-Cognitive Approach.....	37
1.5.2. Fairclough’s Approach.....	41
1.5.3. Wodak’s Discourse-Historical Approach.....	43
1.5.4. Van Leeuwen’s Socio-Semantic Approach.....	45
Conclusion	46

2. CHAPTER TWO MEDIA REPRESENTATION AND PREVIOUS

RESEARCH.....50

Introduction	51
2.1. Media Discourse.....	51
2.1.1. Control of Media Power	52
2.1.2. The Economy of Media.....	54
2.1.3. The Politics of Media.....	54
2.1.4. The Practices of Media.....	55
2.1.5. The Language of Journalism.....	57
2.1.6. Meaning Making in the News.....	58
2.2. Media Representation.....	61
2.2.1. Framing Theory: The Construction of Social Reality.....	63
2.2.2. The Representation of Social Actors.....	66
2.2.3. Recontextualisation of Social Practices.....	71
2.3. Discourse-Historical Approach.....	74
2.4. Previous Research on the Representation of Refugees.....	76
Conclusion	80

3. CHAPTER THREE METHOD, ANALYSIS, RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

..... 81

Introduction.....	82
3. 1. The corpus: Sampling and selection criteria	82
3. 2. Political Context.....	84
3. 3. Method.....	86
3. 4. Data Analysis.....	93
3.4.1. Text 1	93
3.4.2. Text 2	95
3.4.3. Text 3	98
3.4.4. Text 4	99

3.4.5. Text 5	102
3.4.6. Text 6	104
3.4.7. Text 7	106
3.4.8. Text 8	108
3. 5. Results and Discussion.....	112
3. 6. General Conclusion.....	115
3. 7. Suggestions for Further Research.....	118
BIBLIOGRAPHY	119
APPENDICES.....	127
Appendix I (Text 1)	127
AppendixII (Text 2).....	128
Appendix III (Text 3).....	131
Appendix IV (Text 4)	132
Appendix V (Text 5)	134
Appendix VI (Text 6)	135
Appendix VII (Text 7)	136
Appendix VIII (Text 8)	137

List of Abbreviations

DA	Discourse Analysis
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DHA	Discourse- Historical Approach
CL	Critical Linguistics
EU	European Union
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

List of Tables

Table 1. Texts selected for analysis	83
Table 2. The list of topoi by Wodak and Meyer	72
Table 3. Discursive strategies by Wodak and Meyer.....	75

List of Figures

Figure 1. Three dimensions of CDA by Fairclough.....	9
Figure 2. Intertextual relationships between discourses by Wodak and Meyer.....	21
Figure 3. Van Dijk's framework of CDA	28
Figure 4. Social actors network by Van Leeuwen.....	54

Abstract

This study aims to examine the representation of Syrian refugees in *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian* in the context of the 2015 European migrant crisis. The study employed critical discourse analysis (CDA) to investigate how these refugees were portrayed in both newspapers. To achieve this goal, a sample of eight news articles and editorials published between August 1st, 2015, and December 31st, 2015, was chosen for analysis, taking into consideration the ideological stance of each newspaper (conservative/liberal). The sample covers a period of time when media coverage of the refugee crisis reached its peak. The analysis employed Van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic framework and Wodak's (2009) discourse-historical approach. The two scholars proposed useful categories for analyzing the representation of 'social actors' such as: 'exclusion', 'inclusion', 'individualization', and 'collectivization'. Results revealed that both newspapers implemented inclusion and exclusion strategies in their coverage, with individualized and collectivized representations. The study concluded that *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian* framed Syrian refugees differently: the former depicted them as outsiders and faceless masses, while the latter portrayed them as helpless, vulnerable refugees.

Keywords

Critical discourse analysis, representation, refugees, newspapers, ideology

Résumé

Cette étude vise à examiner la représentation des réfugiés Syriens dans *The Daily Telegraph* et *The Guardian* dans le contexte de la crise migratoire Européenne de 2015. L'étude a utilisé une analyse critique du discours (ACD) pour examiner comment ces réfugiés ont été représentés dans les deux journaux. Pour atteindre cet objectif, un corpus de huit articles de presse et éditoriaux publiés entre le 1er Août 2015 et le 31 Décembre 2015 a été choisi pour l'analyse, en tenant compte de la position idéologique de chaque journal (conservateur/libéral). Le corpus couvre une période pendant laquelle la couverture médiatique de la crise des réfugiés a atteint son apogée. L'analyse a utilisé le modèle socio-sémantique de Van Leeuwen (2008) et l'approche historico-discursive de Wodak (2009). Ces deux chercheurs ont proposé des catégories utiles pour analyser la représentation des "acteurs sociaux" tels que "l'exclusion", "l'inclusion", "l'individualisation" et la "collectivisation". Les résultats ont révélé que les deux journaux ont mis en œuvre des stratégies d'inclusion et d'exclusion dans leur couverture, avec des représentations individualisées et collectivisées. L'étude a conclu que *The Daily Telegraph* et *The Guardian* ont présenté les réfugiés Syriens de manière différente: le premier les a dépeints comme des étrangers et des masses anonymes, tandis que le second les a présentés comme des réfugiés impuissants et vulnérables.

Mots-clés

Analyse critique du discours, représentation, réfugiés, journaux, idéologie

ملخص

يهدف هذا البحث إلى دراسة تمثيل اللاجئين السوريين في كل من The Daily Telegraph و The Guardian في سياق أزمة المهاجرين التي شهدتها أوروبا عام 2015 . وظفت الدراسة تحليلاً نقدياً للخطاب المستخدم من قبل هاتين الصحيفتين من أجل معرفة كيف تم تصوير هؤلاء اللاجئين خطابياً وكيف تم تغطية تلك الأزمة إعلامياً. ومن أجل هذا الغرض، تم اختيار عينة تتكون من 8 مقالات وافتتاحيات نشرت بين الفاتح من أوت و 31 ديسمبر من عام 2015 من أجل الدراسة و التحليل، مع مراعاة المواقف الإيديولوجية لكل صحيفة (محافظة/ليبرالية). تغطي العينة الفترة الزمنية التي شهدت فيها التغطية الإعلامية لأزمة اللاجئين في أوروبا ذروتها، وتحليل الخطاب الإعلامي للصحيفتين، تم استعمال أدوات تحليل الخطاب النقدي المقترحة من الباحثين (2008) Van Leeuwen و (2009) Wodak. خلصت الدراسة إلى أن الصحيفتين تناولتا أزمة اللاجئين السوريين في أوروبا عام 2015 بأسلوبين مختلفين، حيث تعاطفت The Guardian معهم وصورتهم كلاجئين ضعفاء بحاجة للمساعدة، في حين اعتبرتهم The Daily Telegraph تهديدا للإقتصاد البريطاني والأمن القومي واصفة إياهم بالغرباء و الجموع مجهولي الهوية.

كلمات مفتاحية

تحليل الخطاب النقدي، التمثيل، اللاجئين، الجرائد، الإيديولوجية

Introduction

1. Background to the Study

The Syrian refugee crisis in Europe has emerged as a vital economic and social concern, highlighting the global community's responsibilities towards those in dire need of humanitarian aid. The heart-wrenching discovery of the lifeless body of three-year-old Syrian child Aylan Kurdi on a Turkish beach on September 2, 2015, captured the attention of the media and stirred global discourse on the plight of refugees. After the tragic incident, the media became more interested in the issue, and the image of the little boy, lying face down in the surf, appeared on TV and the pages of newspapers and magazines worldwide, and since then debates around refugees' rights were reopened and the world began to pay attention to what was happening in Syria.

The civil war in Syria began in 2011 as a result of protests and demonstrations against the government of President Bashar al-Assad. The protests began as part of the Arab Spring movement, which saw popular uprisings across the Middle East and North Africa. The Syrian government responded to the protests with violence, including the use of live ammunition against peaceful demonstrators. This escalated the situation, and opposition groups began to organize to challenge the government. The opposition forces were comprised of a range of groups, including secular and Islamist factions.

The conflict soon turned into a full-scale civil war, with various groups fighting for control of territory and resources. The government forces, supported by Russia and Iran, fought against the opposition forces, which were supported by a range of international actors, including the United States, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia. The war has been characterized by widespread human rights abuses, including the use of chemical weapons, indiscriminate bombings, and mass displacement of civilians. The war has also spawned various extremist groups, including the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), which has carried out a range of terrorist attacks both inside and outside of Syria.

The conflict has resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people and has created a massive humanitarian crisis. Millions of people have been displaced from their homes, and many have fled to neighboring countries or to Europe in search of safety. In 2015, Europe registered more than 400,000 Syrian refugees (BBC, 2015). Most of them made their way to Europe by crossing the Mediterranean, often in overcrowded and unsafe boats. As a result, many died during the journey.

The crisis put a significant strain on the resources and capacities of countries that were already struggling with economic and social challenges. Countries such as Greece and Italy, which were the main entry points for refugees arriving in Europe, were particularly affected. The crisis also generated political tensions within the European Union, as member states disagreed on how to respond to the situation.

In response to the crisis, a number of policies and measures were put in place. The EU established a system for relocating refugees and migrants from the countries where they first arrived to other member states. However, this system faced significant challenges, as many member states were reluctant to take in refugees. The crisis also sparked a significant public debate about the ethics of borders, refugees, and migration, and raised questions about the responsibilities of wealthier countries to provide assistance to people in need.

By the end of 2015, the majority of the Syrian refugees who arrived in Europe were hosted by Germany (over 400,000), Sweden (over 50,000), Austria (over 30,000), France (over 20,000) and the UK (over 10,000) (UNHCR, 2015). As more refugees continued to flow to Europe, the EU had to find long-standing solutions for the crisis. Some EU countries have taken concrete actions to help refugees by increasing the amount of humanitarian aid and facilitating asylum procedures while others called for more restrictions.

Media coverage of the refugee crisis has been extensive, with news outlets around the world reporting on the ongoing situation. Understanding media texts is important because they influence our opinions about refugees. The media can influence public opinion through the stories they choose to cover, the language they use, and the way they frame issues. Oates (2011) in her book *'Introduction to Media and Politics'* states that 'Even when two media outlets in the same country are presented with the same event, they cover it at least slightly differently.' (p.5). Based on this claim, we decided to conduct a comparative study to examine and critically investigate the representation of refugees in two British media outlets.

To make the task manageable we limited the study to the representation of Syrian refugees in two famous British broadsheets, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*. The choice of these two newspapers is motivated by their different editorial lines; the former takes a politically conservative slant whereas the latter is liberal. Moreover,

broadsheets tend to employ a traditional approach to newsgathering that emphasizes in-depth coverage and a sober tone in articles and editorials.

The British press has covered the Syrian refugee crisis extensively, with many news outlets providing in-depth analysis and reporting on the events. Previous research found that the coverage has varied from newspaper to another, with some taking a sympathetic approach and others focusing more on the political implications of the crisis. In general, British press coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis has been divided into two main categories: reporting on the refugees themselves and reporting on the impact of the crisis.

2. Statement of the problem

The media plays a vital role in providing information that shapes attitudes and public opinion. Understanding how media works and how to interpret and analyze media messages, can help individuals become more informed and conscious consumers of media representations. By analyzing media texts critically, we can better understand how diverse individuals and groups are constructed. This involves paying close attention to the messages being conveyed, the techniques used to convey those messages, and the underlying cultural and social contexts in which the media is produced and consumed. The media outlets being the primary source of information for many people, they have the power to affect the way the reader perceives the news.

In the case of refugees, media is fully occupied with texts dealing with refugees. Therefore, it is necessary to understand how they are constructed in these texts. The primary question this study aims to answer is how did *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian* represent Syrian refugees during their coverage of the 2015 European refugee crisis? When reporting social events, journalists use different frames and employ a variety of linguistic tools. As news consumers, we need to be aware of the potential biases and agendas of news outlets and journalists in order not to be misled or manipulated. By critically consuming news, we can become better informed and able to form our own opinions and judgments on important issues.

3. The Significance of the Study

Much research has been carried out on the issue of immigration and refugees. However, a few studies tackled the subject from the critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) perspective. The significance of the present study lies in the fact that

it combines both media studies and CDA. The selected texts were critically analyzed taking into account the language patterns used as well as the social context of the communicative event.

Media texts are a common focus of CDA analysis because they play a significant role in shaping public opinion and influencing social norms. CDA can help identify how media texts are constructed, how they create meaning, and how they influence readers or viewers. By analyzing media texts through a critical lens, we can better understand how language is used to create and maintain power relations, and how media texts shape our perceptions of the world around us.

Additionally, media simply cannot provide a perspective that is totally free from subjective interpretation of events; on the contrary, media institutions "tend to construct reality in a manner congruent with their underlying ideological and political functions" (Kuo & Nakamura, 2005, p. 411). Hence, we believe this topic is important because one should be aware of the representations that the media is creating and reinforcing in order to deeply understand the position of refugees within the host societies.

4. Purpose of the Study

The type of coverage and the ideological standpoints of the newspapers under investigation will certainly determine the constructed images of Syrian refugees. The aim of this research is to shed light on the linguistic choices and discursive strategies used to portray them either positively or negatively and to identify the ideological stands behind this portrayal. Additionally, this study analyzes and compares media frames employed by two newspapers when reporting the same event. Hence, the similarities and differences in the way the refugees are represented will be easily distinguished.

5. Research questions

Drawing on the purpose stated above, the research questions are as follows:

Main question

How are Syrian refugees represented in *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*?

Subsidiary questions

- 1- What are the discursive strategies used in the portrayal?
- 2- To what extent can the ideological stances influence the discourse of representation?

6. Data collection and procedure

This study aims at examining the representation of Syrian refugees in *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*. To achieve this, a corpus of eight news articles and editorials was chosen for analysis. The articles and editorials were sourced from the online versions of the selected newspapers and analyzed based on two CDA models, as proposed by Van Leeuwen (2008) and Wodak (2009). The analysis followed two levels; a macro-structure level and a micro-linguistic level. At the first level, we analyzed the historical, social, political and economic context in which the discursive event took place, and at the second level, we examined the lexical sets that predominate in the texts to find the meanings intended. Then, the findings were interpreted and discussed according to the aim of the study and the research questions.

7. Limitation of the study

The study of media representations of refugees is a vast area of research. Different media outlets can be examined in different contexts and in many ways. To make the task manageable, we have limited this study to investigating the representation of the Syrian refugees in *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian* in the context of the 2015 European crisis. This study was conducted following two CDA approaches. Since CDA is primarily explanatory and interpretative, different findings can be obtained by other researchers investigating the same issue in the same context.

8. Structure of the dissertation

As noted earlier, this research is aimed at studying how *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian* depicted Syrian Refugees during their coverage of the 2015 European refugee crisis. To achieve this goal, the dissertation is structured as follows:

First, a general introduction is provided. It includes a background to the study, a statement of the problem, the significance of the study, the aim of the study, the research questions, data collection and procedure, the limitations of the study, and the organization of the dissertation. Then, the introduction is followed by three chapters: The first chapter presents the theoretical and conceptual frameworks related to the study. It comprises an overview of CDA, criticism of CDA, key concepts of CDA, the major research areas in CDA, and the main CDA approaches. The second chapter is organized into three sections: The first discusses media discourse, the main theories of media representations, and media practices. The second presents the two approaches

adopted in this study: Van Leeuwen's (2008) model of CDA and Wodak's (2009) discourse-historical approach. The last section reviews the main previous research on the representation of refugees. The third chapter is devoted to the method of the study, data analysis, results and discussion, a general conclusion, and suggestions for further research. The last chapter is followed by the bibliography and the appendices.

CHAPTER ONE

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

Introduction

Numerous linguists have significantly contributed to the development of CDA during the past few decades. Based on Halliday's Systematic Functional Linguistics, not only the theoretical studies but also the discourse analytical approaches regarding the study of CDA have been developed by a number of scholars (e.g., Fowler, Kress, Fairclough, Wodak, Van Dijk, etc.) who have made significant contributions to the development of CDA and elaborated their own analytical approaches. In general, scholars in the discipline of CDA argue that social practice and linguistic practice are mutually constitutive and investigate how societal power relations are produced and maintained through language use. In this regard, it differs from other disciplines like sociolinguistics, pragmatics, and discourse analysis in that it emphasizes power asymmetries, manipulation, exploitation, and structural inequalities in areas such as education, media, and politics.

This chapter aims to explore the theoretical and conceptual components germane to the study within the boundaries of the field in question. First, it provides an overview of CDA and highlights the role of Frankfurt School in the development of CDA. Then, it introduces a critique of CDA with the aim of further establishing the appropriate analytical framework for the study. Next, it presents the key concepts of CDA, such as 'discourse', 'power', 'ideology', and 'intertextuality'. The chapter continues with the major research areas in CDA. Finally, it outlines the main frameworks of CDA proposed by leading figures in the field (frameworks of Van Dijk, Fairclough, Wodak and Van Leeuwen).

1.1. Critical Discourse Analysis: Overview

CDA evolved from "critical linguistics," which was founded in the 1970s at the University of East Anglia by Roger Fowler and others. Hodge and Kress (1979) and Fowler et al. (1979) have had a significant impact on the evolution of the discipline. Their work is based on the social and functional systemic language of semiotics developed by Halliday, whose language methodology is still considered essential to the CDA's practices because it provides language categories that are clearly and precisely defined in order to examine the relationships between discourse and social significance. CDA is commonly connected with the work of Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, and Teun van Dijk, as well as a variety of related methods, including social

psychology, social semiotics, multimodality in discourse, systemic functional languages, and political discourse analysis.

CDA emerged in response to the perceived limitations of traditional linguistic and social scientific approaches to the study of language. Traditional linguistics tended to focus on the formal aspects of language, such as grammar and syntax, and ignored the social and ideological dimensions of language use. Social scientific approaches, on the other hand, tended to treat language as a transparent medium of communication, ignoring the ways in which language use reflects and reproduces social relations of power and inequality. CDA aims to uncover hidden meanings, assumptions, and ideologies embedded in language use, and to reveal the ways in which language use contributes to the reproduction and maintenance of power relations and social inequality.

One of the main intellectual roots of CDA is the critical theory of the Frankfurt School. The Frankfurt School was a group of German social theorists who developed a critical approach to understanding society and culture. They believed that society was characterized by domination, exploitation, and alienation, and that this was perpetuated through the media, education, and other cultural institutions. CDA adopts the Frankfurt School's critique of ideology and its emphasis on social justice and emancipation.

Another intellectual influence on CDA was the work of Michel Foucault. Foucault's analysis of power relations and the ways in which they are exercised through discourse was a major inspiration for CDA. Foucault argued that power is not just exercised through physical force, but also through discourse, which shapes how people think, feel, and act. CDA adopts Foucault's view that power is ever-present and that it is exercised through language use.

CDA has been applied to a wide range of contexts, including media discourse, political discourse, organizational discourse, and educational discourse. In each of these contexts, CDA aims to uncover the ways in which language use reflects and reinforces power relations and social inequality. For example, CDA has been used to analyze the representation of social groups in the media, such as women, and ethnic minorities. CDA has also been used to analyze political speeches and debates, revealing the ways in which language use is used to shape public opinion and maintain the status quo.

In recent years, CDA has faced criticism from some quarters for being too focused on language use and not paying enough attention to other forms of social inequality, such as economic inequality and structural violence. Some critics argue that CDA is too focused on critique and not enough on offering solutions to social problems. Despite these criticisms, CDA continues to be a vibrant and influential field of study, with a growing number of scholars and researchers applying its methods and insights to a wide range of social and cultural phenomena.

CDA is considered now one of the most influential approaches to discourse analysis. It views language in terms of its social practices (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) and considers the context of language use to be crucial to discourse (Wodak, 2001). Fairclough (1995) provided the following definition for CDA:

By CDA, I mean discourse analysis, which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events, and texts and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes; to investigate how such practices, events, and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. (p. 132)

Further, Scollon (2001) defines CDA as "a programme of social analysis that critically analyses discourse, that is to say, language in use, as a means of addressing social change" (p. 140). Furthermore, Wodak and Meyer (2001) depict the concept in the following manner:

CDA may be defined as fundamentally concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. In other words, CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, and legitimized, and so on by language use (or in discourse). (p. 2)

CDA, thus, has been used as a basic discipline to provide answers to questions about the relationships between language, society, power, identity, ideology, politics, and culture (Van Dijk, 1997). According to Van Dijk (1998), CDA is a field that is concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality, and bias. It examines how these discursive

sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political, and historical contexts. To put it simply, the major aim of CDA is to uncover opaqueness and power relationships. It seeks making transparent the connections between discourse practices, social practices, and social structures—connections that might be opaque to the layperson (Fairclough, 1995).

It is generally agreed that CDA cannot be classified as a single method but is rather viewed as an approach that consists of different perspectives and different methods for studying the relationship between the use of language and social context. Put differently, CDA is simply the study of discourse in its social context; it attempts to combine a social theory of discourse with the theories and methods of DA. That is, a social theory of discourse means that language use is a social practice that can both reflect and constitute social meanings.

The strength of CDA is that it is interpretative and explanatory. It goes beyond textual analysis. It is not only interpretative but also explanatory in intent (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 1996, 2001). These interpretations and explanations are dynamic and open, and may be affected by new readings and new contextual information. Meyer (2001) calls this process a hermeneutic process and maintains that compared with the analytical-inductive process employed in some other fields, hermeneutics can be understood as a method of grasping and producing meaning relations by understanding the meaning of one part in the context of the whole. He further argues that hermeneutic interpretation in particular requires detailed documentation such as an explicit linguistic analysis of texts (Meyer, 2001).

CDA is, then, a socially committed scientific paradigm. It attempts to bring about change in communicative and sociopolitical practices (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). In this respect, Marianne Jorgensen and Louise Phillips (2002) state that:

CDA aims to contribute to social change along the lines of more equal power relations in communication processes and society in general. CDA does not, therefore, understand itself as politically neutral (as objectivist social science does), but as a critical approach which is politically committed to social change. In the name of emancipation, critical discourse analytical approaches take the side of oppressed social groups. Critique aims to uncover the role of discursive practice in the maintenance of unequal power relations, with the overall goal of harnessing the results of critical discourse analysis to

the struggle for radical social change. (Jorgenson and Phillips, 2002, p.64)

As mentioned previously, critical linguistics was proposed by Roger Fowler and his colleagues at the University of East Anglia. They proposed this term based on their work on language and ideology. To be more precise, this term was concerned with critically analyzing the relationship between language and social meanings. Printed media, among others—and this is my interest here—are obvious examples of discourses where particular assumptions or ideologies are embodied.

Fairclough (1995) maintains that "discourse is the use of language seen as a form of social practice, and DA is the analysis of how texts work within sociocultural practice" (p. 7). By this definition, analyzing texts should not be isolated from the context in which they are produced. Clearly, three factors should be considered in critical linguistic studies, according to this explanation: discourse practice, text production, and sociocultural practice. CDA looks to establish a connection between these three elements. The following figure illustrates these interrelated dimensions of CDA.

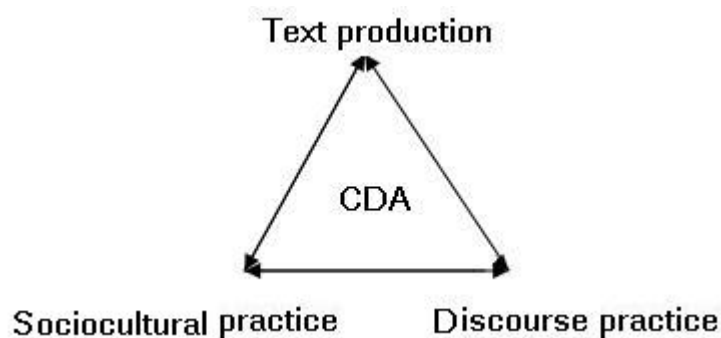


Figure 1. The three dimensions of CDA (Adapted from Fairclough, 1995)

The scope of CDA is not only language-based. Its critical perspective attracts scholars from various disciplines. Their concern lies in uncovering patterned mechanisms of the reproduction of power asymmetries by revealing structures of power and ideologies behind discourse, that is, by making visible causes that are hidden. CDA researchers attempt to uncover how language is used to construct meanings that signify people, objects, and events in the world in particular ways. Thus, the major concerns of CDA are how discourse is shaped and constructed by relations of ideology, power, and systems of knowledge or belief and how texts are used to maintain or create social inequalities through the representation of so-called "reality," which is not explicit to

discourse participants. CDA claims, sometimes implicitly, sometimes explicitly, that its practice provides demystifying and emancipatory effects (Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

At this point, it is important to stress that CDA has never been and has never attempted to be or to provide one single or specific theory. Neither is there a single methodology that distinguishes CDA research. It is also vital to signal that it is not easy to exactly delimit the special tenets, practices and aims of CDA (Van Dijk, 1995).

As mentioned previously, the Frankfurt School played a crucial role in the development of CDA, contributing to its theoretical foundations and shaping its interdisciplinary approach to understanding power, ideology, and social change through the analysis of language and discourse. The Frankfurt School, also known as the Institute for Social Research, was a group of German social theorists who developed a critical approach to understanding society and culture. Their work had a profound impact on the development of CDA, which emerged in the late 1970s and early 1980s. It is worth exploring the intellectual roots of CDA in the Frankfurt School, and how the its critical approach to society and culture influenced the development of CDA.

The Frankfurt School was founded in 1923, and its early members included Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, and Herbert Marcuse. The Frankfurt School's approach to social theory was heavily influenced by Marxism, but they also drew on the ideas of Freud, Weber, and Nietzsche. The Frankfurt School's critical approach to society and culture was characterized by their belief that society was characterized by domination, exploitation, and alienation, and that this was perpetuated through the media, education, and other cultural institutions.

The development of CDA was greatly influenced by the Frankfurt School's criticism of ideology. CDA seeks to uncover underlying meanings, assumptions, and ideologies that are ingrained in language use. By doing so, CDA exposes how language use contributes to the perpetuation of power imbalances and social inequality. In the words of Fairclough and Wodak (1997), "CDA can be seen as a continuation of the Frankfurt School's critical theory, applied to the study of discourse" (p. 271).

One of the key concepts that the Frankfurt School developed was the idea of ideology. They argued that ideology was a set of ideas and beliefs that were used to justify and legitimize the existing social order. According to the Frankfurt School,

ideology was a form of false consciousness that obscured the true nature of social relations, and that prevented people from seeing the world as it really was.

Another important concept that the Frankfurt School developed was the idea of the culture industry. The culture industry refers to the mass production of cultural products, such as music, film, and television, which are designed to be consumed by the masses. According to the Frankfurt School, the culture industry was a form of cultural domination that served to perpetuate the existing social order. The culture industry produced a homogenized and standardized culture that eliminated individuality and creativity, and encouraged conformity and passivity.

The Frankfurt School's critique of the culture industry was also influential in the development of CDA. CDA has been used to analyze media discourse, revealing the ways in which the media reinforces dominant ideologies and maintains power relations. As Van Dijk (1993) notes, "the critical analysis of media discourse is part of the critical project of the Frankfurt School" (p. 293).

The Frankfurt School's emphasis on social justice and emancipation was also influential in the development of CDA. The Frankfurt School believed that social justice and emancipation could only be achieved through a critical analysis of society and culture, and through the development of alternative forms of social organization. Similarly, CDA aims to reveal the ways in which language use contributes to social inequality and to promote social justice and emancipation.

In conclusion, the Frankfurt School had a profound impact on the development of critical discourse analysis. Their critical approach to society and culture, their emphasis on ideology and the culture industry, and their commitment to social justice and emancipation were all influential in shaping the theoretical and methodological foundations of CDA. As Wodak and Meyer (2001) state, "CDA is deeply rooted in the critical theory of the Frankfurt School and its concern with power, domination, and emancipation" (p. 2).

1.2. Criticism of CDA

As mentioned before, this study aims to analyze a sample of print media texts from a CDA perspective; therefore, we believe it is important to recognize some of the criticism of this approach that has been voiced in recent years. The most remarkable critiques were made by Schegloff (1997) and Widdowson (1995, 2004).

Schegloff's (1997) concern is that in CDA, the researcher can introduce pre-ordinated categories into the analysis that arise from the researcher's bias rather than the text itself (Schegloff, 1997; Blackledge, 2005). He takes the position that text analysts should produce descriptions of texts first and only then should the critical analysis be conducted. Schegloff argues that CDA is often short on a detailed, systematic analysis of text or talk. The majority of CDA's works, in his opinion, are ideological:

I understand that critical discourse analysts have a different project, and are addressed to different issues, and not to the local co-construction of interaction. If, however, they mean the issues of power, domination, and the like to connect up with discursive material, it should be a serious rendering of that material. Otherwise, the critical analysis will not 'bind' to the data, and risks ending up merely ideological (Schegloff, 1997, p.20).

Likewise, in a specific discussion that has developed between Norman Fairclough (1996) and Henry Widdowson (1995, 1998) over text selection in CDA studies, Widdowson (1995) argues that CDA is an ideological interpretation and therefore not an analysis. He claims that "CDA is, in a dual sense, a biased interpretation: in the first place, it is prejudiced on the basis of some ideological commitment, and then it selects for analysis such texts as will support the preferred interpretation" (p. 169). Analysis, he argues, ought to mean the examination of several interpretations, and, in the case of CDA, this is not possible because of prior judgments. Fairclough (1996), in reply to this criticism, draws attention to the open-endedness of the results required in CDA. He also points out that CDA, unlike most other approaches, is always explicit about its own position and commitment.

In the present study, the structures to be analyzed are heavily influenced by their suitability for answering the specific questions at hand. In terms of the selection of which discourse structures should be used for analysis, Van Dijk (2001) argues that:

Selection is necessary because a 'complete' analysis of a text (let alone a large corpus) would be quite unmanageable, as it would have to take account of paraverbal, visual, phonological, syntactic, semantic, stylistic, rhetorical, pragmatic, and interactional levels and structures. Instead, CDA must select which structures are most appropriate if analysis is to answer specific questions about social issues. (Van Dijk, 2001; in Blackledge, 2005, p.18)

Widdowson (2004) has criticized CDA works for a lack of systematic analysis and representative data. He maintains that some CDA researchers tend to focus more on interpreting texts based on their preconceived notions and ideological positions, rather than conducting a rigorous and comprehensive analysis of the linguistic features and contexts. Moreover, Widdowson argues that some CDA studies rely on selective and limited data, which may not be representative of the larger discourse or population being studied. Thus, Widdowson suggests that CDA researchers should pay more attention to the quality and validity of their data and analysis, in order to ensure the reliability and generalizability of their findings (Widdowson, 2004).

Widdowson also criticizes the lack of a clear demarcation between text and discourse. According to him, some CDA researchers tend to conflate the two terms and use them interchangeably, which may result in confusion and ambiguity in the analysis. Widdowson (1995) holds that the term "discourse" as it is used in CDA is as vague as it is fashionable. He states, "discourse is something everybody is talking about but without knowing with any certainty just what it is: in vogue and vague" (p. 158). Widdowson argues that text refers to the linguistic elements that are directly observable in a written or spoken form, while discourse encompasses the broader social and cultural contexts that shape the production and interpretation of texts. Therefore, it is important to distinguish between these two concepts in CDA research, in order to avoid oversimplification or reductionism of the complex social phenomena being analyzed. Moreover, Widdowson suggests that a clear demarcation between text and discourse can facilitate a more nuanced and comprehensive analysis of the language use in specific contexts, and help CDA researchers to uncover the underlying power relations, ideologies, and cultural norms that are embedded in the discourse (Widdowson, 1995).

Although there are criticisms of CDA, these do not distract from the value of work in this area. Many theorists share strong political starting points for doing CDA, with their major focus on revealing hidden values, beliefs, and biases in texts and studying the power relationships behind texts. Many of them, however, establish operationalized research frameworks for exploring relationships between language use and social context. The works of Fairclough, Wodak, and van Leeuwen, in particular, have helped to operationalize the principles of CDA and are valuable in answering the research questions of the present study.

As it has been argued previously, CDA is a comprehensive approach to studying the relationship between language use and its social context. However, some critics will continue to state that CDA constantly sits on the fence between social research and political argumentation, while others will accuse some CDA studies of being too linguistic or not linguistic enough. In Wodak's view, such criticism keeps a field alive because it necessarily stimulates more self-reflection and encourages new questions, new responses, and new thoughts (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

1.3. Key concepts in CDA

1.3.1. Discourse

The term "discourse" is one of the most polysemous in the field of the human and social sciences. It is subject to various uses, and its semantic limits are rather vague. Despite this multiplicity of meanings, many authors recognize that discourse refers to any oral or written production, that is, a text (succession of sentences) accompanied by its context. Phillips and Hardy (2002) define discourse as "an interconnected set of texts and the practices of their production, distribution, and reception" (p. 3). Moreover, Catherine Fuchs, who does not distinguish between text and discourse, views discourse as "a concrete object, produced in a given situation under the effect of a complex network of extralinguistic (social, ideological) determinations" (Fuchs, 1985, as cited in Metzger, 2019, p. 27).

In other words, discourse refers to any communicative act that involves social actors and takes into account positions (social, institutional, authority, etc.) and relationships between a speaker, one or more addressees, and a context. Discourse does not possess meanings immanently; it is shared and social and emanates from interaction between groups and institutions. Importantly, discourse is more than just language. The term "language" can include all forms of linguistic and symbolic units (even things such as road signs), and language studies can focus on the individual meanings of words. Discourse goes beyond this and looks at the overall meanings conveyed by language in context. "Context" here refers to the social, cultural, political, and historical background of the discourse, and it is important to take this into account to understand the underlying meanings expressed through language. Accordingly, if we aim to understand discourses, we must understand the contexts in which they appear (Van

Dijk, 1997). With the consideration of conditions of production, discourse becomes the production and interpretation of contextualized and situated statements.

CDA views discourse as a social practice. That is, the main aim of CDA is to explore the links between language use and social practice. The focus is on the role of discursive practices in the maintenance of social order and in social change. The investigation proceeds by the analysis of specific instances of language use, or, to use Fairclough's terminology, the analysis of the communicative event in relation to the order of discourse. Every communicative event functions as a form of social practice by reproducing or challenging the order of discourse. This means that communicative events shape, and are shaped by wider social practice through their relationship to the order of discourse (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002).

Moreover, Fairclough and Wodak (1997) explained the notion of social practice in their widely used definition of CDA:

CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of 'social practice'. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it... Both the ideological loading of particular ways of using language and the relations of power which underlie them are often unclear to people. CDA aims to make more visible these opaque aspects of discourse. (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p.258)

Social reality is constructed and made real through discourses, and social interactions cannot be understood without reference to the discourses that give them meaning (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). The view of discourse as the social construction of reality sees texts as communicative units that are embedded in social and cultural practices. The spoken as well as written texts both shape and are shaped by these practices. Discourse, then, is shaped by the world as well as shaping it. The purpose of text also influences discourse. Discourse also shapes the possible purposes of texts (Johnstone, 2008). Texts are thus the places where complexes of social meanings are produced in a specific historical context, which partially notes the history of participants in text production and the institutions involved.

Furthermore, discourse can be defined as an interactive process that includes, besides the text, the production process, of which the text is a product, and the interpretation process, of which the text is a resource (Fairclough, 2003). According to this definition, the constitution of the social world occurs through the processes of text production and consumption—discursive practice. Discourses, in turn, establish the frameworks for meaning and practice. It is the construction of discourse as a process where social reality is constructed through a symbolic system. Put differently, discourse is the totality of codified language, or vocabulary, used in a given field of social practice, for instance, legal, medical, religious, or political discourse. In this study, it is the discourse of print media for social change that provides a particular way of talking about, representing, and understanding the social world. There is usually an intention in the production of media text to influence how people perceive and act on topics. The language here serves as a means of prompting some form of social change, meeting some form of goal, or imposing some form of model or social representation.

In this regard, critical discourse academics developed mediated discourse theory to describe the link between discourse and action. This theory particularly aims to understand the social practices people use to accomplish social action through discourse and the ways in which discourse works its way into people's actions and identities (Scollon, 2001). Discourse analysts agree to a large extent that the complex interrelations between discourse and society cannot be analyzed adequately unless linguistic and sociological approaches are combined (Wodak, 2006). CDA is thus concerned with making connections between sociocultural processes and structures on the one hand and the properties of texts on the other (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 1996, 2001; Meyer, 2001; Scollon, 2001). CDA does not take this relationship to be simply deterministic but invokes the idea of mediation (Fairclough, 1995a; Scollon, 2001). Fairclough studies this mediated relationship between text and society by looking at "orders of discourse" (Fairclough, 1995a). Wodak (1996), like van Dijk (1997, 2001), introduces a "sociocognitive level" to her analysis, and Scollon studies mediation by looking at "mediated action" and "mediational means" (Scollon, 2001).

1.3.2. Power

The connection between discourse and power is a key component of CDA theory. Power relations are discursive. That is, CDA explains how social relations of power are exercised and negotiated in and through discourse (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

Wodak (2001) points out that a concern with the development of a theory of language that incorporates the notion of power as a central element of social life is a defining feature of CDA:

In CDA, language indexes power, expresses power, and is involved where there are challenges to existing relations of power. CDA takes an interest in the ways in which linguistic forms are used in various expressions and manipulations of power. (Wodak, 2001 as cited in Blackledge, 2005, p.5)

The power to control discourse is seen as the power to sustain particular discursive practices with particular ideological investments over other alternative practices. As Van Dijk (2008) notes, "CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm legitimate, reproduce, or challenge power and dominance relations in society" (p.86). In Van Dijk's argument, establishing a link between power and discourse is crucial for understanding how existing representations of differentiated groups in society come to constitute ideologies. So, it is worth shedding light on the connection between discourse and power since this work is concerned with the representation of refugees who constitute different groups within the host society.

Prior to illustrating the connection between discourse and power, it is reasonable to introduce first what is meant by power. Van Dijk (2008) distinguishes different types of power according to the various resources employed to exercise such power. For example, the persuasive power of the military and of violent men will be based more on force, and the rich will have power because of their money, whereas the more or less persuasive power of parents, professors, or journalists may be based on knowledge, information, or authority (Van Dijk, 2008). The notion of power is seen as relevant to an interpretation or explanation of media texts; Fairclough (1995) points out that "power is conceptualized both in terms of unequal capacity to control how texts are produced, distributed, and consumed in particular social contexts" (Fairclough, 1995 a, p.1, in Blackledge, 2005, p.5). Similarly, Van Dijk (2008) defines power in terms of control; he emphasizes the influence of the social power of groups or institutions on the production and consumption of texts. Media, for instance, can be regarded as covertly transmitting the voices of social powerholders (Van Dijk, 2008).

Media is definitely a source of power because it controls people's minds. Van Dijk (2008) adds that our actions are controlled by our minds. So, if media discourse can influence our minds, such as knowledge or opinions, it may be able to control some of

our actions indirectly (Van Dijk, 2008). The government, for instance, may exercise its power over newspapers to portray refugees in such a way as to meet given political aims. Here, editors decide what news topics will be covered, and even details of meaning, form, or style may be controlled. Conversely, journalists in independent newspapers may use their persuasive power to convince the readers of the necessity of providing help and support to the victims. So, a particular type of discourse is shaped in terms of ideologies and power relations.

An important perspective in CDA is that a text is rarely the work of a single person, but rather shows traces of multiple discourses contending for dominance; that is, texts relate to other texts and relate the social and historical conditions of their production (Weiss & Wodak, 2003 in Blackledge, 2005). This notion of "context" is crucial in understanding the power of language and plays a vital role in the analysis of media discourse. No text exists in isolation or apart from its context. A text relates to features of the same text, to other texts that represent similar social events, to other texts that make similar arguments, and to the broader socio-political and historical context within which the text was produced.

Also crucial in the enactment or exercise of group power is control, not only over content but over the structures of text and talk. Relating text and context, Wodak (1984) highlights that members of powerful groups may decide on the possible discourse genre(s) or speech acts for an occasion (Wodak, 1984a in Van Dijk, 2008). Van Dijk (2008) asserts that "all levels of structures of context, text, and talk can in principle be more or less controlled by powerful speakers, and such power may be abused at the expense of other participants" (p. 91). However, it should be noted that "talk and text do not always and directly enact or embody the overall power relations between groups" (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 91).

Clearly, power doesn't derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, subvert it, and alter the distribution of power in the short and long term. Language provides a finely articulated means for expressing differences in power in social hierarchical structures. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects, that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258).

1.3.3. Ideology

From the point of view of CDA, ideologies are often produced through discourse. Language plays a crucial role in expressing, changing, and particularly reproducing ideologies. Language is not produced in a context-free vacuum, but in discourse contexts that are constructed with the ideology of social systems and institutions. Since language operates within this social dimension, it tends to reflect and construct ideology. Therefore, if we want to know what ideologies are, how they work, and how they are created, changed, and reproduced, we need to investigate their discursive manifestations because discursive practices are embedded in social structures, which are mostly constructed, validated, naturalized, evaluated, and legitimized in and through language, i.e., discourse. It is not enough to analyse texts to understand how ideologies are produced; the discursive practice (how texts are interpreted and received, and what social effects they have) must also be considered (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

The relationship between ideology and language has, for a long time, aroused the interest of scholars from various disciplines, particularly linguistics, philosophy, political science, sociology, and psychology. Depending on their respective backgrounds, these scholars have given different answers to questions such as: What do ideologies look like? How can they be described and analyzed? How can they be related to the processes involved in the production or interpretation of discourse? What are their social functions?

CDA is an appropriate method for the detection of biased and manipulative language, and can be used as a powerful device for deconstructing texts to come up with their intended ideologies. Most critical discourse analysts approach a text with a political goal or agenda of some kind and are often advocates for social injustice and social change, seeking to show how a text could be based on a particular ideology. This can be done by explaining why and with what consequences the producers of a text have made specific linguistic choices or avoided doing so among several other options that a given language may provide.

Fairclough (1995) asserts that "ideologies are propositions that generally figure as implicit assumptions in texts, which contribute to producing or reproducing unequal relations of power, relations of dominance" (p. 14). That is to say that people can be positioned within different and competing ideologies. In Fairclough's view, ideology is

located in both structures (discourse conventions) and events. On the one hand, the conventions drawn upon in actual discursive events, which are structured together within "orders of discourse" associated with institutions, are ideologically invested in particular ways. On the other hand, ideologies are generated and transformed into actual discursive events (Fairclough, 1995). Hence, discourses can be more or less ideological, contributing to the maintenance and transformation of power relations.

In a similar vein, Van Dijk (1998) argues that ideologies are conceived of as "the basis of the social representations shared by the members of a group" (p. 8). As the socially shared belief systems of groups, ideologies are both cognitive and social. In other words, ideologies have social and cognitive functions. Their main social function is that they sustain the interests of a group. They monitor group-related social practices, including text and talk. In discourse and interaction, social members make use of ideologies in order to guide, legitimize, or justify their actions. Cognitively, ideologies organize and monitor one form of socially shared mental representation, viz., the organized evaluative beliefs, i.e., "attitudes," shared by social groups. This means that ideologies enable people to organize a wide range of social beliefs about what is good or bad, right or wrong, for them and act on them as group members (Van Dijk, 1998).

Clearly, in his framework, Van Dijk (1998) emphasizes the fact that ideologies are not merely mental but also linked to societal structures:

Again, to account for ideologies in terms of beliefs and belief systems, and hence as properties of the mind, does of course not imply that ideologies are only mental, nor that their analysis should stop there. It has been stressed already that ideologies are also socially shared and related to societal structures, an obvious insight which, however, needs a different theoretical analysis. Similarly, beliefs are not only personal, nor do they always spontaneously emerge as products of the individual mind. Rather, many of them are socially acquired, constructed and changed - for example, through social practices and interaction in general, and through discourse and communication in particular. This means that besides their mental dimensions, they have social dimensions, neither of which can and should be reduced to the other. (p. 26)

As noted earlier, ideologies by definition are social and shared, they feature the social opinions of a group; a racist ideology, for example, controls the development and uses of specific attitudes of whites toward non European minorities or immigrants. Such social group attitudes are in turn assumed to consist of a schematically organized

set of general, socially shared opinions, such as 'They do not belong here', 'They do not want to adapt', or 'We have priority in employment' in various attitudes about immigrants (see Van Dijk, 1984, 1987).

Van Dijk (1998) maintains that opinions are typically used, expressed, acquired, and changed by discourse in communicative, interactional contexts. He argues that for a linguistic and discursive theory, this communicative and interactional condition of the relevant and appropriate expression of opinions implies that specific grammatical or other verbal means are typically associated with the expression of opinions. He mentions lexicalization, explicit opinion expressions and their sentential or discursive topicalization, implications, the indirect, hedged, or mitigated formulation of problematic opinions, and argumentative strategies to make opinions plausible, credible, and acceptable (Van Dijk, 1998).

As has been emphasized before, ideologies are assumed to assign an overall orientation, perspective, coherence, and organization to a cluster of attitudes. In the case of analyzing a text, one of the findings might be that the author does not only defend isolated opinions but indeed supports broader attitudes and ideologies. In CDA studies, one of the most interesting things is not to find out whether the author is for or against a particular issue, a finding some other disciplines are content with, but to see in what complex way that opinion is being strategically managed in the text for a specific audience and by what linguistic means (Schaffner, 1996). One aspect that might be considered in this kind of analysis is the framing of the text, that is, how the content of the text is presented and the sort of angle or perspective the writer or speaker is taking (Paltridge, 2006).

It should be noted that language ideologies work more forcefully to act and create in the social world when they do so through the discourse of institutions with all their associated prominence, prestige, and influence. The media can be considered such an institution—certainly in Western societies—because of its purpose of providing a public information service, its well-established position in influencing and reflecting public opinion, and its tradition of particular practices, coverage, and format. If ideology is pervasively present in language, then the influential position of, say, newspapers to inform and influence readers is particularly an interesting vehicle of ideological transmission—this point was recognized and explored by numerous scholars (see Fairclough 1995 and Van Dijk 1998). Fairclough's view is that media discourse should

be regarded as the site of complex and often contradictory processes, including ideological processes. Media texts do indeed function ideologically in social control and social reproduction, but they also operate as cultural commodities in a competitive market (Fairclough, 1995).

In sum, despite differences in the definition of ideology and its location, there is widespread agreement that language and language use, i.e., discourse and/or social interaction, are of major relevance to the study of ideology (Schaffner, 1996). However, it might be difficult to distinguish between what is ideology and what is not because the connotations associated with this concept differ according to the context in which it is employed.

1.3.4. Intertextuality

Among the theories intrinsically linked to CDA is the theory of intertextuality, which suggests that the meaning of a text can only be understood in relation to other texts. The concept of intertextuality emphasizes that every text is interpretable through the background knowledge of other texts as well as the discourses of other situations, which Lemke (1985) called "general intertextuality." From the point of view of CDA, the notion of intertextuality offers a perspective on both reading and interpreting texts as a way of looking at a text's interactions with prior texts, writers, readers, and conventions. Thibault (1994) explains this perspective by stating, "All texts, spoken and written, are constructed and have the meanings that text-users assign to them in and through their relations with other texts in some social formation" (p.175). By studying the relationships between texts that are produced in a similar context, the discourse analyst can have a clear understanding of the text under analysis. Bakhtin (1986) argues that every text is dialogical, in the sense that it gains its meaning in relation to other texts (p.91).

Scholars in the field of CDA such as Fairclough (1995a), Scollon (2004), and Lemke (1985) consider the notion of "intertextuality" to be crucial for text analysis. These scholars perceive intertextuality not only as a form through which texts are interrelated but also as a social practice that involves particular socially regulated ways of producing and interpreting discourse (Fairclough, 1992, 1995). Kristeva (1980) points out that a given text is a kind of "productivity" in which various semiotic codes, genres, and meaning relations are both combined and transformed (p. 36). Kristeva refers to texts in terms of two axes: a horizontal axis connecting the author and reader of a text and

a vertical axis, which connects the text to other texts (p. 69). Thus, Kristeva sees all texts as being constituted out of, and understood in relation to, other texts in the same social formation (Thibault, 1994). Thus, intertextual analysis allows for a broader understanding of a text's meanings and how they relate to other meanings held in society as framing a specific text. In this way, it can be seen to be displaying socially established patterns of meaning that are held against the larger background of all the possible meanings.

According to Fairclough (1992a, b, c, 1995b), intertextuality "points to how texts can transform prior texts and restructure existing conventions (genres, discourses) to generate new ones" (Fairclough, 1992b, p. 270). It is concerned with how texts are produced in relation to prior texts, as well as how texts contribute to the construction of existing conventions in the production of new texts. In his 1995 book *Media Discourse*, Fairclough puts forward a three-dimension framework for analyzing intertextuality in media discourse. This is the analysis of "discourse representation," a generic analysis of discourse types, and an analysis of discourses in texts (Fairclough, 1995b). To Fairclough (1992b, 1995b), "discourse representation" is a form of intertextuality in which parts of specific texts are incorporated into a text and are usually, but not always, explicitly marked with devices such as quotation marks and reporting clauses. Discourse representation accounts for a significant portion of what news is in media discourse: representations of what newsworthy people have said.

Discourse, in Fairclough's (1995) words, is "a particular way of constructing a particular domain of social practice", and genre is "a way of using language that corresponds to the nature of the social practice that is being engaged in" (p. 76). By analyzing intertextuality, researchers aim to specify which fields (topics, subject matters) are associated with a genre and which discourses are drawn upon to construct these fields. Fairclough further argues that intertextual analysis is an interpretative activity that depends highly on the researcher's personal judgment and experience (Fairclough, 1995a). Fairclough's main interest is in analyzing intertextual relations as power relations, suggesting that intertextuality can become a locus of contestation and struggle where different voices and discourses compete for dominance. For example, dominant discourses may seek to suppress or marginalize alternative perspectives, while marginalized voices may seek to challenge or subvert dominant narratives. Hence, intertextual relations are imbued with power dynamics (Fairclough, 1992 b).

Fairclough also introduces the concept of "discourse type" for configurations of genres and discourses. Fairclough states that analyzing discourse types may involve complex configurations of several genres and several discourses (see figure 2). Fairclough's statement suggests that analyzing a particular discourse type involves understanding the different genres and discourses that are operating within that discourse. For example, analyzing political speeches may involve understanding the different genres of speeches and the discourses of power, democracy, and nationalism that shape political communication.

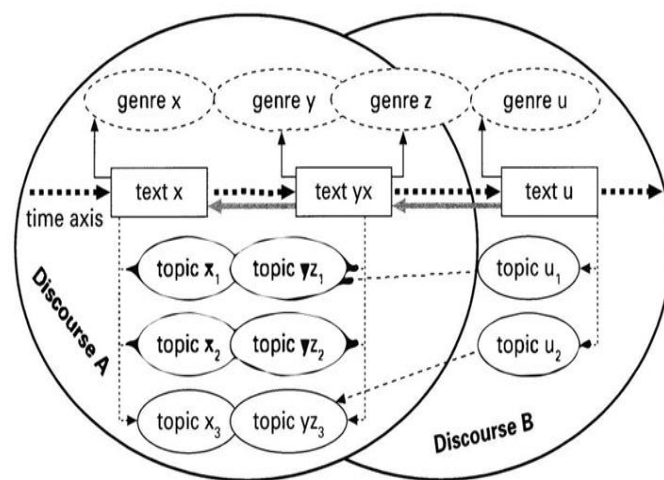


Figure 2. Intertextual relationships between discourses (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p.69)

The study of intertextuality, for Lemke, is "concerned with the recurrent discourse and activity patterns of the community and how they are constituted by, instanced in, and interconnected or disjoined through, particular texts" (Lemke, 1995, p. 86). That is, by exploring intertextuality, the relationship between a specific text and a genre could be revealed, or the relationship between a text and its cultural context could be partially understood. For Lemke (1995), it is through intertextuality that the text instantiates the cultural context. Intertextual analysis of meaning is thus crucial to finding the meaning of a text. The reason for its central importance is that all texts gain their meaning not only intratextually but also, and in a more fundamental way, intertextually.

Intertextual relationships, then, transcend situational contexts and are influenced by cultural contexts. The immediate situation, while the most specific, is never the widest context for the meaning of a text or discourse (Malinowski, 1935, as cited in Wolf 1989; Hasan, 1985). The meaning of a text or discourse is created through its relationship to various "situation types" - that is, the types of social situations in which language is used. These situation types are shaped by the cultural norms and values of a particular community, and the meanings created in each situation type are linked together in ways that reflect this larger cultural context.

Intertextuality, then, offers a bridge or interface between the cultural context and the text. In the case of the present study, intertextuality is crucial to understanding how genre rules (i.e., the use of discourse patterns in a culture) have influenced the production of a text (i.e., the use of lexicogrammatical resources). There is no single approach to analyzing the complex phenomenon of intertextuality in writing production and interpretation. Approaches range from focusing on linguistic conventions to social conventions. An elementary type of analysis is to examine the intertextual composition of a single text, describing both the explicit (e.g., the direct quotation) and implicit (e.g., the mentioning of a belief or issue in the context).

1.4. Major research areas in CDA

According to CDA, discourse is a type of social activity; consequently, CDA is a scientific paradigm with a social commitment. It endeavours to achieve emancipatory goals (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Understanding the social practices people use to accomplish social action through discourse and how discourse works its way into people's actions and identities is the core of mediated discourse theory, which is based on the idea that human action is accomplished through discourse as it appears in a variety of forms, including talk, a wide range of hard copy and digital texts, mental representations of texts from the recent past and potential future, and visuospatial representations of texts. The basic objective of mediated discourse theory is "to clarify and comprehend how the broad discourses of our social existence are involved (or not) in the moment-by-moment social actions of social actors engaged in real-time activity" (Scollon, 2001, p. 140). There are several fields of study that have been a focus for critical discourse analysis, including culture, gender, history, politics, and mass media.

1.4.1. Cultural studies

Numerous CDA scholars took a special interest in the study concerning the applicability of CDA to cultural studies. This is due to the fact that discourse is what makes human cultures conceivable and distinctive.

Culture is patterned and diversified (as is the social practice that makes it up). Culture is patterned in that it can be seen as the collective property of groups of people in particular types of context and that it can guide individual action. It is diversified, however, in that culture, as patterned ways of constructing reality and acting upon it may not match one another. Cultures may have distinct and disparate ways of viewing the world—or, better yet, worlds—and acting on them.

Further, CDA theory considers how culture is related to discourse. If culture permeates the whole ways of life of groups of people and if it is itself constituted in social semiotic practice, then discourse, the most quintessential part of such practice, is culturally saturated, too (Geertz, 1973). Other semiotic activities, such as art, music and sport, are doubtless an important part of culture, but their meaning, value and emotional charge would be overshadowed if discourse were not mobilized to describe, explain, sustain, promote, sensationalize and coordinate them. Similarly, it would be hard to imagine how science, religion, education, or other such symbolic activities can proceed and succeed without discourses to embody, maintain and execute them.

Furthermore, media, which now literally inundate people's lives, would lose their functionality without discourses to partake of them. Indeed, people spend most of their daily, and hourly, life, reading, writing, speaking or listening to each other. As McQuail (2000) puts it, 'Perhaps the most general and essential attribute of culture is communication, since cultures could not develop, survive, extend and generally succeed without communication' (p. 93). Similarly, Duranti and Goodwin (1992) have expressed the centrality of discourse in the organization of culture vociferously when they say, 'It would be absurd to propose that one could provide a comprehensive analysis of human social organization without paying attention to the details of how human beings employ language to build the social and cultural worlds that they inhabit' (p. 2). In a similar vein, Barker and Galasinski (2007) insist, 'To understand culture is to explore how meaning is produced symbolically through the signifying practices of language within material and institutional contexts' (p. 4).

1.4.2. Gender studies

As noted previously, CDA is an approach to language analysis that seeks to identify and critique power relations, ideologies, and social inequalities that are reinforced and reproduced through language use (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). One important area of study in CDA is gender, as language use plays a key role in the construction and reinforcement of gender identities and relations.

Gender is not an innate category but a social construct that is produced and reproduced through language and discourse. CDA seeks to uncover how language constructs gender and the power relations that underlie it. One of the key concepts in CDA is hegemony, which refers to the dominant cultural, economic, and political forces that shape social reality. According to Wodak and Meyer (2009), gender hegemony refers to the dominant discourse and practices that maintain gender inequality and uphold the gender binary. This concept captures the ways in which gender norms, values, and behaviors are reproduced and maintained through language use, reinforcing and reproducing patriarchal power relations in society.

CDA's approach to gender recognizes that language is not neutral, but rather reflects and reinforces the social power relations and ideologies that shape it. For example, CDA has analyzed how language is used to construct femininity and masculinity in advertising. Advertisements often use gender stereotypes to sell products, portraying women as passive and emotional and men as active and rational. Such representations not only reinforce gender norms but also serve to justify and naturalize gender inequality.

CDA can also be used to identify and critique gendered power relations in organizational and institutional contexts, such as in the workplace or politics. For example, an analysis of political speeches may reveal the ways in which gender is constructed and reinforced through the use of language, with women being presented as emotional and irrational, while men are portrayed as rational and authoritative.

In addition to identifying and critiquing the ways in which gender is constructed and reinforced through language use, CDA can also be used to challenge and resist these power relations. CDA scholars argue that gender hegemony can be transformed through critical discourse practices that promote social justice and equality. This can be done

through the use of alternative discourses, which seek to disrupt and challenge dominant gendered narratives and representations.

By and large, CDA is a useful tool for analyzing the role of language in the construction and reinforcement of gendered power relations. By identifying and critiquing the ways in which gender is constructed through language use, CDA can contribute to a more nuanced understanding of gender and help to challenge and resist dominant gendered discourses.

1.4.3. Political Studies

CDA is a methodology used in linguistics to study the ways in which language is used to convey power, ideology, and inequality. Political discourse is one of the key areas in which CDA has been applied, as it is a realm in which language is often used to construct and reinforce power relations. CDA can be used to analyze political speeches, media coverage, and debates in order to uncover the ideologies and power relations that underpin political discourse.

At its core, CDA is concerned with the social and political context in which language is produced and consumed. According to Van Dijk (2001), CDA is concerned with the social and political context in which language is produced and consumed. He argues that language is not neutral but is imbued with power relations that reflect the broader social and political structures in which it is used. As such, a critical analysis of political discourse must take into account both the linguistic features of the text and the broader social and political context in which the discourse is produced and consumed (Van Dijk, 2001).

Fairclough (2010) emphasizes that one of the key features of CDA is its focus on the ways in which language is used to construct and reinforce power relations. In political discourse, language is often used to reinforce dominant ideologies and to construct and reinforce social hierarchies. For example, politicians may use language to justify policies that discriminate against certain groups, while the media may use language to construct and reinforce particular narratives around political events (Fairclough, 2010).

Wodak and Meyer (2009) argue that CDA can be used to analyze political speeches made by politicians in order to uncover the underlying ideologies and power relations that are being promoted or challenged. By analyzing the language used in these

speeches, CDA can uncover the ways in which politicians construct and reinforce social hierarchies, and the ways in which they use language to justify policies that may be discriminatory or exclusionary. For example, CDA can be used to analyze the language used by politicians to promote nationalist or populist agendas, and to understand how these agendas are constructed and reinforced through language (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Machin and Mayr (2012) emphasize that CDA can also be used to analyze media coverage of political events. By analyzing the language used in news reports and editorial pieces, CDA can uncover the ways in which the media constructs and shapes public opinion on political issues. For example, CDA can be used to analyze the language used by the media to frame debates around issues such as immigration, climate change, and social welfare policies. By understanding the ways in which the media constructs and shapes public opinion, we can better understand the role of the media in shaping political discourse and influencing political outcomes (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Van Leeuwen (2008) argues that CDA can be used to analyze political debates and discussions. By analyzing the language used by different stakeholders in these debates, CDA can uncover the power relations and ideologies that are at play. For example, CDA can be used to analyze the language used in parliamentary debates to understand how different political parties construct their arguments and position themselves in relation to each other. By analyzing the language used in these debates, we can better understand the ways in which power and ideology are constructed and reinforced in political discourse (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

In conclusion, CDA is a powerful tool for analyzing political discourse and understanding how power is exercised through language. By focusing on the linguistic features of political discourse and the broader social and political context in which it is produced and consumed, CDA can uncover the underlying ideologies and power relations that are at play. This makes CDA an invaluable tool for political studies, helping us to better understand the complex dynamics of power and inequality that underpin political life. Thus, CDA's significance as an analytical approach cannot be overstated, as it not only reveals the inner workings of political discourse but also serves as a catalyst for meaningful social and political change.

1.4.4. Media studies

Media and communication are key areas of research within the field of CDA. While originally developed in linguistics, CDA has been widely applied in media studies to analyze the ways in which media texts construct and reproduce social inequality and power relations (Richardson & Wodak, 2009). CDA has become a central focus of media studies, as media institutions play a significant role in shaping public opinion and social norms. CDA provides a powerful tool for analyzing the language used in media discourse. Van Dijk (2008) points out that CDA can be used to analyze media discourse to uncover the ideological and power relations that are reproduced through media texts.

Media texts can take many forms, including news reports, television shows, films, advertising, and social media. Van Leeuwen (2005) argues that CDA can be used to analyze the multimodal nature of media texts, such as the combination of language, images, and sound, to uncover the ways in which power relations and ideologies are constructed and reinforced through these different modes of communication.

CDA has been used extensively in media studies to analyze a wide range of media forms. One example is the analysis of news media, where CDA has been used to examine the ways in which news stories are framed to influence public opinion. In one study, Van Dijk (1991) analyzed the language used in news stories about immigration and found that the language was often biased against immigrants, portraying them as a threat to society.

Another example of incorporating CDA in media studies is the analysis of advertising. CDA has been used to analyze the ways in which products are marketed to appeal to particular social groups. In one study, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) analyzed the language and images used in cars advertisements, and found that the advertisements were often gendered, reinforcing traditional gender roles. By analyzing advertising through a CDA lens, researchers can identify how advertising reproduces and reinforces social inequalities and gender roles.

CDA has also been used to analyze popular culture, including television shows, movies, and music. In one study, Fairclough (2000) analyzed the language used in the lyrics of popular music, and found that the lyrics often reinforced dominant social ideologies, such as racism. By using CDA to analyze popular culture, researchers can

identify how media texts reproduce and reinforce dominant ideologies and power relations.

In addition, CDA can be used to analyze how media and communication are implicated in the formation and maintenance of identity. For example, researchers may examine how media representations construct and reinforce gender, racial, or national identities, or how social media platforms are used to construct and negotiate online identities. CDA provides a framework for understanding how media texts contribute to the construction and negotiation of identity, and how media use can influence individuals' perceptions of themselves and others.

CDA researchers also examine media and communication as sites of struggle and contestation, where alternative discourses and counter-narratives can be produced and circulated. For example, researchers may analyze social media platforms to identify how users are challenging dominant discourses and promoting social justice issues. They may also analyze how social movements and activist groups are using media and communication strategies to challenge power structures and promote social change.

The use of CDA in media studies is particularly important in understanding how media texts contribute to the formation and reproduction of social inequality and power relations, and in identifying alternative discourses and counter-narratives that challenge dominant ideologies and promote social change. By applying CDA to media discourse, we can gain valuable insights into the ways in which media institutions shape public opinion and influence social norms.

1.4.5. Historical studies

CDA understands discourse as history. CDA stems from a critical theory of language that sees the use of language as a form of social practice. All social practices are tied to specific historical contexts and are the means by which existing social relations are reproduced or contested and different interests are served. As a result, discourses can only be understood in the context of their historical context. Historical terms refer to extralinguistic factors such as culture, society, and ideology (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 1996). In Flowerdew's (2013) words, a historiographical approach to CDA 'seeks to reveal the hidden assumptions in received and naturalized historical accounts, with a particular emphasis on the language used in their elaboration' (p. 17).

It can be argued that investigating historical discourses allows us to investigate the dynamic nature of meaning-making practices. Exploring the construction of the meanings of the past involves focusing on representations and receptions of discourses. When making meaning, we give continuity to our experience beyond an instance by connecting the past, present, and future. In every instance, our actions make history by impacting others, but at the same time we are affected by the actions of others with whom we coexist and who have come before. The discourses about our experience as historical beings foreground or background certain parts of this phenomenon (Flowerdew, 2013).

The discourses construct a narrative of heroes or victims. However, from a critical perspective, our objective is to construct a past that is quotable in all of its moments, making visible hegemonic and counter-hegemonic narratives that form part of larger power struggles. According to Flowerdew (2013), the past is not there for us to collect as a pre-existing object; it has to be constructed through semiotic work. The practices connected to the construction of the past require social actors' work in identity-building processes that link us to social groups such as a family, a political group, or a nation. Discourses about the past occur in social practices associated with everyday experiences like sharing anecdotes in a family but also in more institutionalized practices such as the writing of history textbooks (Flowerdew, 2013).

What discourses about the past are naturalized? How are discursive practices used to reproduce or challenge dominant representations of the past? What are the hegemonic discourses of the past in particular cases? How are counter-hegemonic views about the past dealt with in public discourses? How do young people who did not experience contested past events learn about them? How are discourses about the past used to construct national identities? These are some of the questions that CDA researchers have explored from a historiographical approach (Flowerdew, 2013).

In Flowerdew's (2013) view, 'historiographical' CDA has explored the representations of the past as content and practice. This dual aspect of discourses about the past entails not only investigating how they are produced and received but also exploring those discourses that deal with contested pasts. The exploration of discourses about situations that have contemporary political and moral impact has provided a critical lens for our understandings of the meaning and uses of the past. The CDA A historical approach seeks to improve our understanding of

the (re)production of inequality and discrimination in modern societies. Focusing on the uses of the past to (re)produce power differences, in the ways in which official history silences victims, or in how states and institutions erase their responsibility for violations of human rights, work in this area has shown the destructive use of history. However, the critique has also been expanded to go beyond demystification and raise critical awareness to provide alternative readings of the past. Taking on these challenges, researchers have responded as scholars and as citizens by brushing history against the grain (Flowerdew, 2013).

1.5. CDA Main Approaches

The main approaches to CDA include Van Dijk's model, Fairclough's model, Wodak's model, and Van Leeuwen's model. These approaches have emerged over time as a result of the ongoing development and refinement of CDA theory and methodology (Fairclough, 1995; Wodak, 1996; Van Dijk, 2009). They have been developed by scholars who have sought to apply CDA in different research contexts and to address different research questions. For example, the Fairclough model emphasizes the relationship between discourse and social change, while the Wodak model focuses on the role of discourse in the construction and reproduction of social identities (Fairclough, 1995; Wodak, 1996). Van Dijk's model, on the other hand, places more emphasis on the cognitive processes involved in language use and the role of discourse in shaping people's perceptions and beliefs (Van Dijk, 2009), whereas the Van Leeuwen's model emphasizes the importance of visual images and other non-verbal elements in discourse analysis, and highlights the role of multimodality in shaping social and political meaning (Van Leeuwen, 2005).

Despite their differences, these CDA approaches share several key features:

1. **Focus on Power Relations:** All CDA approaches share a focus on power relations and how these are reflected in language use. They aim to uncover the power structures that underpin discourse and how these power relations are maintained or challenged through language.
2. **Emphasis on Social Context:** Another key feature of CDA approaches is their emphasis on social context. They recognize that discourse is shaped by the social, political, and cultural contexts in which it occurs, and seek to analyze these contexts

in order to better understand how language is used to reproduce or challenge power relations.

3. Use of Multidisciplinary Approaches: CDA approaches draw on a range of disciplines, including linguistics, sociology, psychology, and anthropology, in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of discourse. They recognize that language is a complex social phenomenon that cannot be understood from any one perspective alone.

4. Critical Stance: Finally, all CDA approaches adopt a critical stance toward discourse, questioning the assumptions and beliefs that underpin it. They aim to uncover hidden meanings and ideological biases in order to promote social justice and equality (Fairclough, 1995; Wodak, 1996; Van Dijk, 2009).

1.5.1. Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach

Among CDA practitioners, Van Dijk is one of the most often referenced and quoted in critical studies of media discourse. In the 1980s, he started to apply his discourse analysis theory to media texts, mainly focusing on the representation of ethnic groups and minorities in Europe. In *News Analysis* (1988), he applies his general theory of discourse to the discourse of news in the press and applies his theory to authentic cases of national and international news reports (Van Dijk, 1988).

In Van Dijk's (2001) model of critical discourse analysis, three components illustrate how discourse may reflect social ideologies, namely, discourse, cognition, and society. Discourse refers to discourse structures realized in diverse forms, such as written text, speech, gestures, facial expressions, etc. Cognitive processes here include personal/social beliefs, understanding, and evaluation engaged in discourse, while society concerns local interlocutor relationships or global societal structures such as political systems and group/subgroup relations. Concerned with all three aspects at once, Van Dijk states that it is only the integration of these accounts that may reach "descriptive, explanatory, and especially critical adequacy in the study of social problems" (p. 98). In other words, social ideology may be reflected by identifying the crucial link between macrolevel analyses of groups, social formations, and social structure and microlevel studies of situated individual interaction and discourse. (Van Dijk, 1995).

Van Dijk's (1988) framework for analyzing news discourse is distinguished by his call for a thorough examination not only of the textual and structural levels of media discourse but also of analysis and explanations at the production and "reception" or comprehension levels. By structural analysis, Van Dijk posited the analysis of "structures at various levels of description," which meant not only the grammatical, phonological, morphological, and semantic level but also "higher level properties" such as coherence, overall themes and topics of news stories, and the whole schematic forms and rhetorical dimensions of texts. This structural analysis, he claims, will not suffice because discourse is more than just a textual or dialogic structure. Rather, it is a complex communicative event that also embodies a social context, featuring participants (and their properties) as well as production and reception processes (Van Dijk, 1988, p. 2). By "production processes," Van Dijk means journalistic and institutional practices of news-making and the economic and social practices that not only play important roles in the creation of media discourse but can be explicitly related to the structures of media discourse.

Van Dijk's other dimension of analysis, "reception processes," involves taking into consideration the comprehension, "memorization, and reproduction" of news information. What Van Dijk's analysis of media (1988, 1991, 1993) attempts to demonstrate is the relationships between the three levels of news text production (structure, production, and comprehension processes) and their relationship with the wider social context they are embedded within. In order to identify such relationships, Van Dijk's analysis takes place at two levels: microstructure and macrostructure. At the microstructure level, analysis is focused on the semantic relations between propositions, syntactic, lexical, and other rhetorical elements that provide coherence in the text, and other rhetorical elements such as quotations and direct or indirect reporting that give factuality to the news reports. Central to Van Dijk's analysis of news reports, however, is the analysis of macrostructure, since it pertains to the thematic or topical structure of the news stories and their overall schema. Themes and topics are realized in the headlines and lead paragraphs.

According to Van Dijk (1988), the headlines "define the overall coherence or semantic unity of discourse and also what information readers memorize best from a news report" (p. 248). He claims that the headline and the lead paragraph express the most important information in the cognitive model of journalists, that is, how they

see and define the news event. Unless readers have different knowledge and beliefs, they will generally adopt these subjective media definitions of what is important information about an event (Van Dijk, 1988, p. 248). For van Dijk (1988), the news schema (superstructure schema) are structured according to a specific narrative pattern that consists of the following: summary (headline and lead paragraph), story (situation consisting of episodes and backgrounds), and consequences (final comments and conclusions) (p. 14). These sections of a news story are sequenced in terms of "relevance," so the general information is contained in the summary, the headline, and the lead paragraph. According to Van Dijk, this is what the readers can best memorize and recall.

Van Dijk (1995) essentially perceives discourse analysis as ideology analysis because, according to him, "ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages such as pictures, photographs, and movies" (p. 17). His approach for analyzing ideologies has three parts: social analysis, cognitive analysis, and discourse analysis (p. 30). Whereas the social analysis pertains to examining the "overall societal structures" (the context), the discourse analysis is primarily text-based (syntax, lexicon, local semantics, topics, schematic structures, etc.). In this sense, Van Dijk's approach incorporates the two traditional approaches to media education discussed earlier—interpretive (text-based) and social tradition (context-based)—into one analytical framework for analyzing media discourse. However, what noticeably distinguishes Van Dijk's approach from other approaches in CDA is another feature of his approach: cognitive analysis. For Van Dijk, it is sociocognition—social cognition and personal cognition—that mediates between society and discourse. He defines social cognition as "the system of mental representations and processes of group members" (p. 18). In this sense, for Van Dijk, "ideologies are the overall, abstract mental systems that organize socially shared attitudes" (p. 18). The following diagram illustrates Van Dijk's framework for ideology analysis:

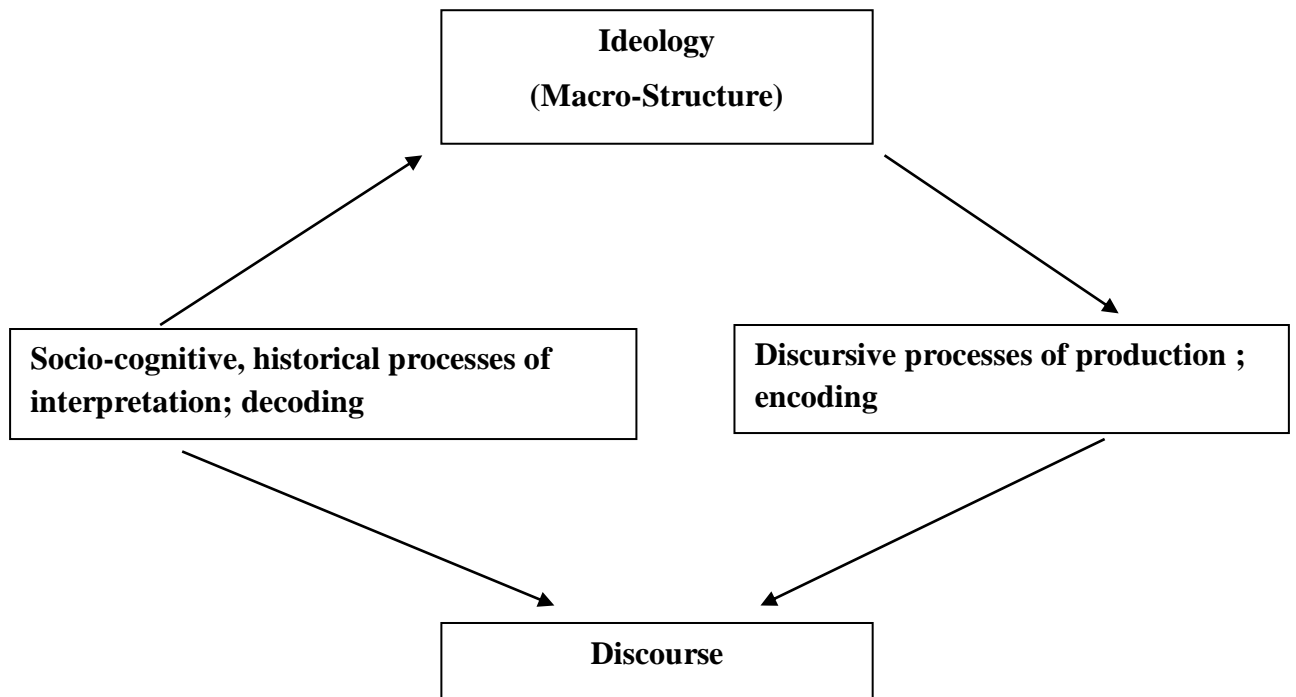


Figure3. Van Dijk's framework of CDA (Van Dijk, 1987, p.209)

According to Van Dijk (1995), ideologies "indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members" in their act of comprehension of discourse among other actions and interactions (p. 19). He calls the mental representations of individuals during such social actions and interactions "models". For him, "models control how people act, speak, or write, or how they understand the social practices of others" (p. 2). Of crucial importance here is that, according to Van Dijk, mental representations "are often articulated along 'us' versus 'them' dimensions, in which speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms, and other groups in negative terms" (p. 22). Analyzing and making explicit this contrastive dimension of "us" versus "them" has been central to most of Van Dijk's research and writings (1988, 1993, 1995, 1998). He believes that one who desires to make transparent such an ideological dichotomy in discourse needs to analyze discourse in the following way (1998, p. 62):

- a. Examining the context of the discourse: historical, political, or social background of a conflict and its main participants.
- b. Analyzing groups, power relations and conflicts involved.
- c. Identifying positive and negative opinions about Us versus Them.

- d. Making explicit the presupposed and the implied.
- e. Examining all formal structure: lexical choice and syntactic structure, in a way that helps to (de)emphasize polarized group opinions.

1.5.2. Fairclough's approach

The second main approach in CDA is that of Fairclough, whose theory has been central to CDA. Fairclough, in his earlier work, called his approach to language and discourse "critical language study" (1989, p. 5). He described the objective of this approach as "a contribution to the general raising of consciousness of exploitative social relations, through focusing upon language" (1989, p. 4). This aim in particular remains in his later work, which further develops his approach so that it is now one of the most comprehensive frameworks of CDA (Fairclough, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c).

For Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), CDA "brings social science and linguistics together within a single theoretical and analytical framework, setting up a dialogue between them" (p. 6). The linguistic theory referred to here is Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL), which has been the foundation for Fairclough's analytical framework, as it has been for other practitioners in CDA (Fowler, 1991; Hodge & Kress, 1979). Fairclough's approach also draws upon a number of critical social theorists, such as Foucault (i.e., concept of orders of discourse), Gramsci (concept of hegemony), and Habermas (i.e., concept of colonization of discourses), among others (Fairclough, 1989, 1992a, b, c, 1995a, 1995b). Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) posit that CDA has a particular contribution to make.

Fairclough's (1995a) framework for discourse analysis has three components (see figure 3). The first dimension is text analysis, which includes both micro- and macro-levels of text structures; Fairclough's analysis at the textual level involves use of Halliday's systemic functional linguistics and the three domains of ideational, interpersonal, and textual analysis (Kuo & Nakamura, 2005). The ideational functions include meta-narratives that circulate in society. Analysis at this level includes transitivity, which involves the different processes, or types of verbs, involved in the interaction. The interpersonal functions are the meanings of the social relations established between participants in the interaction. Analysis of this domain includes an analysis of the mood (whether a sentence is a statement, question, or declaration) and modality (the degree of assertiveness in the exchange). The textual domain involves

the thematic structure of the text. The second is the analysis of discourse practice, through which texts are produced and received; this dimension involves analysis of the processes of production, interpretation, distribution, and consumption. It is concerned with how people interpret, reproduce, or transform texts. The third dimension is the analysis of social practices, focusing in particular on the relation of discourse to power and ideology; this practice is concerned with issues of power—power being a construct that is realized through inter-discursivity and hegemony. Analysis of this dimension includes exploration of the ways in which discourses operate in various domains of society. Of course, both van Dijk's and Fairclough's versions of CDA focus on media text and context (Kuo& Nakamura, 2005, p. 398).

There are three analytical focuses in analyzing any communicative event (interaction) in this approach to CDA. They are text (for example, a news report), discourse practice (for example, the process of production and consumption), and sociocultural practice (for example, social and cultural structures that give rise to the communicative event) (see figure 3). These closely resemble van Dijk's three dimensions of ideology analysis: discourse, sociocognition, and social analysis (analysis of social structures), respectively. What seems to be the main difference between Fairclough's and Van Dijk's approaches is the second dimension, which mediates between the other two. Whereas Van Dijk sees social cognition and mental models as mediating between discourse and the social, Fairclough believes that discourse practices—text production and consumption—take on this role (Fairclough, 1995b, p. 59). In this case, these two approaches to CDA are "similar in conception" (Fairclough, 1995b, p. 59). The following figure represents the three-dimensional framework for CDA.

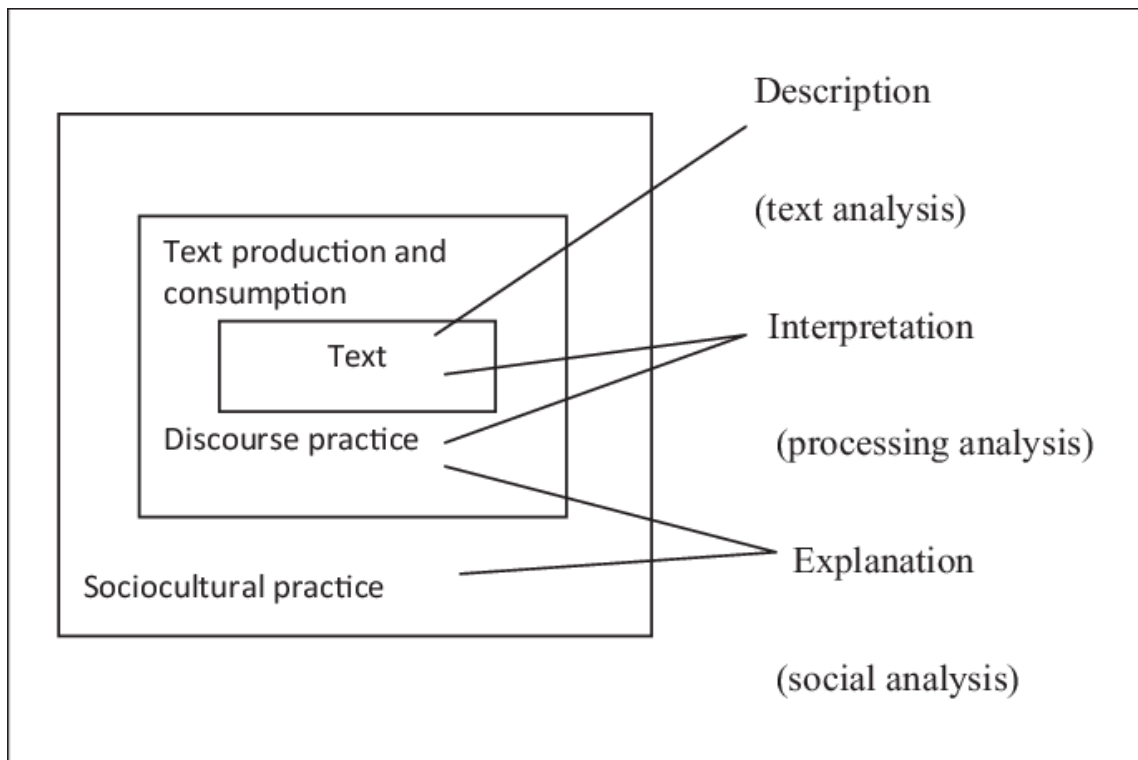


Figure 3. Fairclough's three-dimensional framework for CDA (Fairclough, 1992a p.73)

1.5.3. Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach

Like Fairclough, Wodak is also a linguistically orientated CDA scholar. She sees discourse as:

a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as "texts", that belong to specific semiotic types, i.e., genres (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, p. 66).

Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach attempts to integrate a large quantity of available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive "events" are embedded. Further, it analyzes the historical dimension of discursive actions by exploring the ways in which particular genres of discourse are subject to diachronic change. The term "historical" occupies a unique place in this approach. It denotes an attempt on the part of this approach "to integrate systematically all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the many layers of a written or spoken text" (Wodak, 1996, p. 209). Focusing on the historical contexts of discourse in the process of explanation and

interpretation is a feature that distinguishes this approach from other approaches to CDA, especially that of Van Dijk.

In the discourse-historical approach (similar to Fairclough's), it is believed that language "manifests social processes and interaction" and "constitutes" those processes as well (Wodak & Ludwig, 1999, p. 12). According to Wodak & Ludwig (1999), viewing language this way entails at least three things. First, discourse "always involves power and ideologies." "No interaction exists where power relations do not prevail and where values and norms do not have a relevant role" (p. 12). Second, "discourse is always historical, that is, it is connected synchronically and diachronically with other communicative events that are happening at the same time or that have happened before" (p. 12). This is similar to Fairclough's notion of intertextuality. The third feature of Wodak's approach is that of interpretation. According to Wodak & Ludwig (1999), readers and listeners, depending on their background knowledge and information and their position, might have different interpretations of the same communicative event (p. 13). Therefore, Wodak & Ludwig (1999) assert that "the right interpretation does not exist; a hermeneutic approach is necessary." "Interpretations can be more or less plausible or adequate, but they cannot be true" (p. 13). This point has also been raised by Fairclough (1995b).

In this approach, the connection between fields of action, genres, discourses, and texts is described and modeled, and context is understood mainly historically. The discourse-historical approach is both hermeneutic and interpretative, with some influence from cognitive science (Wodak, 1996). This approach is understood not as a sequence of separate operational steps but as a cycle in which the three analytical dimensions (see above) are systematically and recursively related to the totality of contextual knowledge. The exact description of individual texts and the analysis of larger corpora of data allow statements to be made at both micro and macro levels.

The general principles of the discourse-historical approach may be summarized as follows: First, setting and context should be recorded as accurately as possible, since discourse can only be described, understood, and interpreted in its specific context. Second, the content of an utterance must be confronted with historical events and facts. Third, texts must be described as precisely as possible at all linguistic levels. Categories of analysis at the linguistic level highly depend on the research question (Wodak, 2001).

Wodak (2001) summarizes the procedures of the discourse-historical approach to CDA:

- Gathering information about the context of the text (social, political, historical, psychological, and so on).
- Establishing the genre and discourse to which the text belongs, then sample more ethnographic information; locate texts on similar topics, texts with similar arguments, macro-topics, field of action, and genres.
- Formulating precise research questions and exploring neighboring fields for explanatory theories and other aspects that need to be considered.
- Operationalizing the research questions into researchable linguistic categories.
- Applying these categories sequentially to the text using theoretical approaches to interpret the findings that result from the research questions.
- Making an extensive interpretation of the data, returning to the original research questions and the problem under investigation.

1.5.4. Van Leeuwen's Framework to CDA

In this section, I will present a general overview of Van Leeuwen's framework of CDA, focusing particularly on the notion of social actors who are assigned different roles in discourses. A more detailed account of his framework for analyzing media discourse will be found in the second chapter, because this will provide the basis for the framework that is used in this study.

The concept of social actors used here is indebted to Van Leeuwen's (1996) taxonomy of social actor representation, which is combined with a description of other linguistic features such as evaluation, process types, and modality. The list of these parameters can be modified and extended, but their use as additional features that reinforce social actor representation emphasizes the importance of social actors in any analysis of identity in discourse. In short, social actors as a discourse analytical category are seen as the textual instantiations of models of the self and others, both individual and collective.

Van Leeuwen's (1996) social actors are influenced by the policies and decisions of powerful organizations that either include or exclude them from the centers of power. He explains the principal ways in which social actors can be represented in discourse. In this view, CDA is the impact of power structures on the production and/or reproduction

of knowledge and its effect on the identity and subjectivity of the members of the community. Indeed, this is language and discourse in relation to the production, reproduction, dissemination, and interpretation of knowledge in line with researchers' arrangements. Leeuwen's (1996) framework consists of the following main sections:

1. Exclusion:
 - a. Suppression
 - b. Backgrounding
2. Inclusion:
 - a. Activization vs. passivization
 - b. Genericization vs. specification
 - c. Individualization
 - d. Assimilation
 - e. Indetermination (anonymous)
 - f. Determination
 - g. Nomination and categorization
 - h. Functionalization and identification
3. Impersonalized social actors
 - a. Abstraction
 - b. Objectivation

It might be important to signal that the notions of "inclusion" and "exclusion" are also found in Halliday's (1985) "Language and Functional Perspective." In his "systemic theory," he introduces a method of text analysis that is a theory of meaning as a choice in which a language is interpreted as a network of interlocking options. It emphasizes selection—choosing options from systems containing meaning potential. Choice entails "inclusion" and "exclusion."

Conclusion

The present study employs CDA to investigate the representation of Syrian refugees in *the Daily Telegraph* and *the Guardian* during the 2015 world refugee crisis. This chapter highlighted theoretical frameworks and concepts in the area of CDA that inform and provide a basis for the theoretical framework of the study. Specifically, the chapter introduced the definition of CDA, the emergence of CDA, the role of Frankfurt School in the development of CDA, criticism of CDA, and the key concepts in CDA.

The chapter also explored the major research areas in CDA and outlined the main approaches to CDA, such as Fairclough's three-dimensional approach, Van Dijk's sociocognitive approach, Wodak's discourse-historical approach, and Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic approach.

CDA is a multifaceted and interdisciplinary approach to studying language use that is concerned with uncovering the ways in which language is used to reproduce and challenge power relations, ideologies, and social practices. The emergence of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can be traced back to the late 1970s, when scholars began to challenge the dominant linguistic paradigms of the time and explore the ways in which language use is shaped by social and political contexts. Since then, CDA has evolved into a powerful analytical tool that is widely used in various fields, including media studies, political science, sociology and culture (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

The Frankfurt School, a group of critical theorists associated with the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt, Germany, played a significant role in the development of CDA. The school's focus on the relationship between culture, power, and ideology laid the groundwork for CDA's emphasis on analyzing the ways in which language use reflects and reinforces social structures and power relations. Their critical approach to the study of society and culture provided a theoretical framework for CDA's aim to uncover the ideological dimensions of discourse. The evolution of CDA has been marked by the development of new theoretical frameworks, analytical tools, and methodological approaches. While early CDA studies focused on uncovering the ideological and power dimensions of language use, more recent studies have explored topics such as social practices, identity construction, representation, and multimodal discourse (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Criticism of CDA has focused on its theoretical and political biases, its lack of empirical rigor, and its tendency to overlook the agency and autonomy of language users. Some scholars have also suggested that CDA can be overly reductionist and deterministic in its analysis of language use. Despite its limitations and challenges, CDA has become a valuable tool for promoting social justice and critical thinking. CDA can help researchers uncover and challenge dominant discourses and raise awareness of social inequalities and power relations (Fairclough, 1995a).

CDA is a multidisciplinary field that draws on a range of theoretical perspectives and approaches. However, some of the key concepts that are central to many forms of CDA include:

1. Discourse: CDA views discourse as a socially constructed phenomenon that is shaped by and shapes social structures, power relations, and cultural norms.

2. Social practice: Within CDA, the concept of social practice refers to the ways in which people engage in various social activities within a given cultural and historical context. Social practices involve a complex set of actions, behaviors, and rules that are guided by shared norms and values, and are often shaped by larger social, political, and economic structures.

3. Power: CDA is concerned with how power relations are reflected and reinforced through language use, and how language can be used to challenge or subvert dominant power structures.

4. Ideology: CDA seeks to uncover the ways in which language use reflects and reinforces dominant ideologies and societal norms, and how these ideologies are used to justify and maintain power relations.

5. Context: CDA emphasizes the importance of analyzing discourse within its broader social, political, and historical context in order to understand the ways in which language use is shaped by and shapes these larger structures (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

The main areas of research in CDA include cultural discourse, gender discourse, political discourse and media discourse. In cultural discourse, CDA has been used to analyze how language and discourse contribute to the construction and reproduction of cultural identities, beliefs, values, and practices, and how these shape power relations and social inequalities. In gender discourse, CDA has been applied to study how language and discourse shape and reproduce social norms, power relations, and identity constructions related to gender. In political discourse, CDA has been employed to study political ideologies and strategies of persuasion. In media discourse, CDA has been used to investigate the ways in which media representations construct and reproduce social identities and power relations.

The main approaches to CDA include Fairclough's three-dimensional approach, Van Dijk's sociocognitive approach, Wodak's discourse-historical approach, and Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic approach. While these approaches share common theoretical

and methodological assumptions, they also differ in their emphasis on different aspects of discourse analysis. However, the four approaches are widely used by CDA practitioners to analyze the ways in which language is used to construct and maintain social identities and power relations.

Fairclough's approach involves examining the linguistic features of the text, the social practices and contexts in which it is produced and consumed, and the larger societal structures and power relations that shape the discourse (Fairclough, 1992). Van Dijk's approach emphasizes analyzing the mental representations and processes involved in producing and interpreting discourse, as well as the social and cultural context in which these processes take place (Van Dijk, 1997). Wodak's approach focuses on analyzing the historical and social contexts in which discourse is produced and consumed in order to uncover how language use is shaped by and shapes these contexts (Wodak, 2001). Van Leeuwen's approach stresses analyzing the role of visual and multimodal elements in constructing meaning, as well as the social actors and social actors' representations involved in the discourse. This approach emphasizes examining how different linguistic and visual resources are used to create particular social meanings and identities (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

The following chapter will deal with media discourse and representation of social actors, which constitute the main core of this study; therefore, Van Leeuwen's model of CDA, the main model employed in this research, will be presented in details. The chapter will also extend discussion on Wodak's DHA as a second approach for the study. Moreover, the chapter will review the main previous studies on the representation of refugees in print media.

CHAPTER TWO

MEDIA REPRESENTATION AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate how media discourse affects the public and how it is constructed to sustain power relations by recreating social reality. It also explores the various aspects that influence media discourse, such as the engagement of dominant groups, the media economics, media politics, and media text creation and consumption practices. Moreover, the chapter provides a general overview of media representations, with a focus on the representation of social actors in print media. The aim is to explore the discursive practices and strategies adopted by newspapers to portray social actions and social actors. The chapter also aims to introduce the analytical approaches employed in the study. The first approach is that of Van Leeuwen (2008), in which he suggests a socio-semantic framework to analyze the representation of social actors, and the second approach is that of Wodak (2006), in which she offers useful tools for analyzing media discourse from a socio-historical perspective. The chapter concludes with a review of the main previous studies, which shed light on the representation of refugees in newspapers.

2.1. Media Discourse

Media discourse is "a broad term that can refer to the totality of how reality is represented in broadcast and printed media, from television to newspaper" (O'Keeffe, 2006, p. By this definition, the term "media discourse" can be widely understood as any form of interaction that takes place through a broadcast platform, whether spoken or written, in which the discourse is oriented toward a non-present reader, listener, or viewer. This study focuses particularly on the discourse of print media. Therefore, the term will be used to refer to written language in the context of print media. More specifically, I am essentially interested in investigating the way the Syrian refugees are depicted in two famous British newspapers in the context of the Syrian war. Since media discourse is manufactured, we need to consider how this is done, both in a literal sense of what contributes to its making and at an ideological level. As individuals, our opinions are shaped, reinforced, and altered by our exposure to the media (Macarro, 2002, p. 13). Thus, it is vital to understand how media discourse shapes public opinion and affects decision-making.

Newspapers play an important role in our society. Bell (1991) believes that people in the western world receive a huge proportion of their language from the media and that, in fact, society is pervaded by media language (p. What most media users in Europe

know and think about the Syrian refugee crisis will largely be due to the mass media rather than personal opinions. Accordingly, this section is allocated to the role of media discourse and the exercise of power in news reports.

2.1.1. Control of Media Power

Most of us, if not all, are influenced by media discourse. The importance of the media in the modern world is indisputable. For some sections of society, at least, the media is the main source of understanding of the world. Berns (2004) considers that the media are important as they can act as a "popular tour guide" (p. 35) in teaching people about social problems. Hence, media discourse plays a vital role in shaping public opinion. Since discourse is socially influential, it is inevitably related to issues of power. The implications for the power and influence of media discourse are obvious. CDA focuses on the discursive strategies and consequences of power abuse by dominant groups and institutions. The media are part and parcel of this dominant bloc; therefore, they have the power to determine common sense. At the same time, they have the power of reinforcing the existing commonsensical ideologies, for instance by choosing news sources mostly among dominant voices or by selecting the news according to criteria of newsworthiness, which, as Meyers (1997) has put it, represent a framework that supports the dominant ideology (p. 22).

Without a doubt, our attitudes influence how we behave in society. Printed media, as an instrument for (re)producing attitudes, not only serve as means for delivering information but also guide the ideological stance of the reader. Different media influence our understanding and knowledge of the world we live in when they employ a specific language. In fact, this language is not authentic since it is determined and administered by dominant world-views or ideologies, or as Fowler (1991) points out, "the world of the press is not the real world, but a world skewed and judged" (p. 11). In other words, a paper presents "its perception of "reality" in the form that it regards as most suitable for its readership" (Hodge & Kress 1993, p. 17). That is, keeping the power of media discourse hidden from the mass of the population is a natural tendency in current life. Media workers' goal in this bias is perhaps to keep the media users at a stable point where they are not even engaged in the negotiation with their surrounding subjects.

Another important factor regarding media discourse is access. Which groups in the community can have access and the opportunity to represent their opinions in the media, and who has the power to impose limitations and constraints on access? As Fairclough (1995b) argues, there are many individuals and social groups who do not have equal access to the mass media in terms of writing, speaking, or broadcasting. Fairclough argues that this is because "media output is very much under professional and institutional control, and in general it is those who already have other forms of economic, political, or cultural power that have the best access to the media" (p. 40). Van Dijk (1995b) called these powerful people elites who can influence the structure of language and then society:

Elite groups or institutions, on the other hand, may be defined by their broader range and scope of patterns of access to public or other important discourses and communicative events. Leading politicians, managers, scholars, or other professionals have more or less controlled access to many different forms of text and talk, such as meetings, reports, press conferences, or press releases. This is especially true for their access to media discourse. Journalists will seek to interview them, ask their opinion, and thus introduce them as major news actors or speakers in news reports. If such elites are able to control these patterns of media access, they are by definition more powerful than the media. (p.12)

Van Dijk (1995b) argues that elite groups can have control over media discourse. Such control may extend to the features of the context (time, place, participants), as well as to the various features of the text (topics, style, and so on) (p. 10). Thus, they may effectively determine who may say (or write) what to whom, about whom, in what way, and under what circumstances. It is assumed that a group's or institution's (and their members') social power is proportional to the number of discourse genres and discourse properties they control (p. 12). On the other hand, common people do not have an active role in shaping media discourse. They just formulate conversations with their families, friends, and partners.

It is worth noting that a great deal of media power derives from the cumulative effect they have on their audience and not from a single news article; it is the repetition of a particular way of handling things or a particular way of positioning readers that gives the media a persuasive and powerful influence (Fairclough, 1989). Consequently, the media's power, role, and influence in shaping and (re)producing media users' attitudes are crucial.

2.1.2. The Economy of Media

Another important property of media to discuss is its economics, because according to Fairclough (1995b), "the economics of an institution is an important determinant of its practices and its texts" (p. 40). The mass media are no exception. Like other profit-making institutions, the media have a product to sell. Their product is an audience of interest to advertisers (Chomsky, 1989; Fairclough, 1995b). Hence, according to Fairclough, the mass media "are very much open to the effects of commercial pressures."

(p. 42). For the press, for example, these effects could be important in determining what is selected as news and in what ways such news is published (Fowler, 1991, p. 20). This issue of the effects of the economic aspects of media, particularly its advertising practices, has been the center of much discussion in critical media studies (Chomsky, 1989; Hackett, 1991; Winter & Hassanpour, 1994).

Closely related to the issue of advertising is the issue of ownership, and more specifically, the concentrated ownership of the mass media, which, according to many analysts, has an essential influence on media discourse (Fairclough, 1995b, p. 43). According to Fairclough, a few large corporations own most of the commercial media in the West. Sometimes, they are corporations with extensive interests outside the newspaper industry, run by the corporate elite (p. 15). The impact of concentration of ownership "manifests itself in various ways, including the manner in which media organizations are structured to ensure that the dominant voices are those of the political and social establishment and in the constraints on access to the media." (p. 43).

2.1.3. The Politics of Media

According to Fairclough (1995b, p. 36), the politics of media should be considered in media analysis as well. Many critics (Chomsky, 1989; Fairclough, 1995b; Fishman, 1980; Fowler, 1991; Hackett, 1991; Van Dijk, 1991, 1993) argue that the commercial media works ideologically and is in the service of the powerful, the elite, and the state. Fairclough (1995b) argues that media discourses "contribute to reproducing social relations of dominance and exploitation" (p. 44). Chomsky argues that the media's periodic criticisms of the government or large corporations are part of a plan by

powerful elite groups to portray themselves as champions of free speech and the public good (Chomsky, 1989).

The same critics of the media, however, admit that the state in the West does not overtly dictate to the mass media. How is the media an instrument of the powerful, then? To explain this, Fairclough and other analysts such as Hackett (1991) use the concept of hegemony. Similarly, Chomsky (1989) and Van Dijk (1998a) point to the media's power to manufacture consent. According to Fairclough&Chuliaraki (1999), hegemony is a form of dominance based upon consent rather than coercion, involving the naturalization of practices and their social relations as well as relations between practices as matters of common sense; hence, the concept of hegemony emphasizes the importance of ideology in achieving and maintaining relations of dominance. (p. 24) According to Hackett (2006), no power can be maintained indefinitely by imposing force. As he observes, this is particularly true of democratic countries where the public is mostly literate, has a history of experiencing freedom of expression, and has a right to vote (Hackett, 2006). In these countries, the ruling class needs to achieve the public's consent through persuasion in order to maintain its domination, and the mass media is one of the essential elements in manufacturing this consent (Chomsky, 1989; Van Dijk, 1998a; Fowler, 1991).

2.1.4. The Practices of Media: Text Production and Consumption

Production and consumption of media texts are two other important dimensions of media and their institutional practices. Production involves a set of institutional routines such as news gathering, news selection, writing, and editing (Fairclough, 1995b; Fowler, 1991; Van Dijk, 1993). Consumption mainly refers to the ways in which readers, in the case of written text (i.e., the press), read and comprehend text. Selecting news reports is one of the important practices of text production. Mass media always have far more material than space; therefore, not all news makes it to the newscast (Fowler, 1991). This implies that there is a selection process for news—what to weed out and what to publish. The selection of news items is rather determined by news production and institutional practices. So, news is consciously created to serve the interests of the dominant groups. As a result, the world of the press is not the real world, but rather a partial one that is "skewed and judged" (Fowler, 1991, p. 11). Selection by journalists and the media is also involved in choosing information sources, such as who should be interviewed or quoted in the news.

According to Fairclough (1995b), one striking feature of news production is the overwhelming reliance of journalists on a tightly limited set of officials and otherwise legitimized sources, which are systematically drawn upon through a network of contacts and procedures as sources of "facts" and to substantiate other "facts." (p. 49) In contrast to officials, ordinary people, whenever they are used as sources, are mostly allowed to speak about their personal experience rather than express opinions on an issue (Fairclough, 1995b, p. 49). According to Fowler (1991), this heavy reliance on officials as sources of information is tied to the media's dependence on the status quo to keep their ownership and continue their profitability (p. 22). The consequence of this, according to Fairclough, is "a predominantly established view of the world, manifested textually in, for instance, the ways in which the reporting of speech is treated" (Fairclough, 1995b, p. 49).

Once a news item goes through the production process, it becomes ready to be read and understood; that is, it becomes ready for consumption, but how it will be consumed has been the center of much debate in the analysis of media discourse in particular (Fairclough, 1995b; Fowler, 1991; Widdowson, 1998). Discourse analysts naturally make assumptions about how audiences read and comprehend texts. They even appear to interpret texts on the audience's behalf. The issue at stake here is how a discourse analyst knows how audiences consume media discourse, how and what they comprehend, or what sorts of impacts these reports have. Undoubtedly, all discourse analysts agree that different audiences may interpret texts differently. As Fairclough (1995b) points out, "CDA practitioners are the first to acknowledge that different readers might read similar texts differently." (p. 15). This, however, is one of the strongest arguments that critics of CDA have brought forward against discourse analysts who base their conclusions on their own interpretations regarding the impact of media discourse on audiences (Fairclough, 1996; Widdowson, 1995).

In a similar vein, Van Dijk (1993) states that "media recipients are active and, up to a point, independent information users," and they may form interpretations and opinions of news reports different from those the newspaper projects or implies (p. 242). This seems to indicate that it is not possible to say how people read and interpret, for instance, a news report. However, CDA practitioners have reasons to believe otherwise. There are at least two reasons. First, readers are usually not trained to be critical readers of texts (Fowler, 1991; Van Dijk, 1991). Second, audiences interpret texts against their

background knowledge and the information they already have about the subject in question (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 242). Similarly, Fairclough debunks the idea that texts have no meaning on their own without the interpretations of readers (Fairclough, 1995b). According to him, the range of potential interpretations will be constrained and delimited according to the nature of the text. Fairclough also believes that text analysis should be the central element in media analysis, provided that it is accompanied by analysis of text production and consumption (p. 16).

2.1.5. The Language of Journalism

Since the publication of Roger Fowler's seminal 1991 text, CDA practitioners have become interested in the study of the language of journalism. The form, function, and politics of the language of journalism have been the main focus of their research. Such works have developed sophisticated and intricate analytic tools in order to describe the form and content of the news and produce detailed and frequently astute readings of the products of journalism. Of course, journalism produces texts—texts that can be analyzed using a wide range of linguistic categories, tools, and concepts that CDA approaches offer. It might seem that newspaper texts can be studied in the same way as magazine texts, political speeches, or a range of other discourse genres. This claim is totally wrongheaded. Each genre of text or talk is the product of a combination of discursive practices that make it, to a greater or lesser extent, unique.

Journalism fulfills particular social functions; has been created in accordance with particular production techniques and in specific institutional settings; is marked by particular relationships between other agencies of political, judicial, and economic power; is characterized by particular interpersonal relations between writer and reader; and is consumed, interpreted, and enjoyed in ways that are specific. Fairclough (1995) believes that journalistic texts are "the outcome of specific professional practices and techniques, which could be and can be quite different with quite different results." (p.204). However, all too often these professional practices are lost behind linguistic logocentrism, a failing not peculiar to discourse analysis, in which analysts are overly preoccupied with the intricacies of "the text" rather than with the material contexts that bind and situate journalism. In more detail, Blommaert (1999) argues:

Texts generate their publics, publics generate their texts and the analysis of 'meanings' now has to take into account a historiography of the context of production, the mechanisms and instruments of reproduction and

reception, ways of storage and remembering. The fact is that discourses have their 'natural history' - a chronological and sociocultural anchoring which produces meaning and social effects in ways that cannot be reduced to text-characteristics alone. (p.5)

Journalistic discourses are always socially situated, so analyzing them requires more than a list of text-linguistic concepts. Fowler (1991) argued explicitly that, since discourse occurs in social settings (of production and consumption) and the construction of discourse "relates systematically and predictably to these contextual circumstances," these settings and the values and practices that spring from and underpin them should be a factor in our analysis (p. 36). These aspects of the study of the language of journalism remain the most underdeveloped.

In a similar vein, Blommaert (1999) pointed to the need to develop "a type of materialism," which should replace the current idealism within the various fields of study interested in the language of journalism. The materialist approach should be guided by an ethnographic eye for the real historical actors, their interests, their allegiances, their practices, and where they come from in relation to the discourses they produce—where discourse itself is seen as a crucial symbolic resource onto which people project their interests, around which they construct alliances, and on and through which they exercise power (p. 7).

2.1.6. Meaning making in the news

Meaning-making is a central feature of journalism practice. The minimal success of journalism basically depends on the production of media text units (i.e., printed articles, broadcast programs), which are supposed to be meaningful to readers, listeners, and viewers. Units without easily decoded meaning may be found in journalism, but they will tend to prevent, complicate, or totally block the intended process of public communication. An actual construction of meaning will often be seen to vary according to predetermined ideological, political, or economical purposes. Fiske (1990) holds that the process of meaning-making in the field of media is best described by semioticians:

“Semiotics sees communication as the generation of meaning in messages— whether by the encoder or the decoder. Meaning is not an absolute, static concept to be found neatly parcelled up in the message. Meaning is an active process: semioticians use verbs like create, generate, or negotiate to refer to this process. Negotiation is perhaps the most useful in that it implies the to-and-fro, the give-and-take between person and message. Meaning is the result of the dynamic interaction between sign,

interpretant, and object: it is historically located and may well change with time.” (p. 46).

All media provide a version of reality, not reality itself. Advertising is a strong example of the construction of reality. Most ads are misleading. They are intended to increase sales in order to generate profit. Some constructions of reality may be considered dangerous, such as a rap song that constructs a criminal lifestyle as fun and glamorous or a magazine that suggests only very thin women are beautiful. Other constructions of reality may promote stereotypes and discrimination. In many cases, Muslims appear in the news as radicals. However, some other constructions of reality may or may not be negative, depending on the interpretation of the audience.

Moreover, the meaning associated with texts is described as the result of constructional processes taking place outside the physical appearances of letters or sounds and inside the minds of the language users operating within language communities according to certain grammar, lexicon, and norms of use. The construction and reconstruction of meaning take place in different ways within the internationally shared communities of journalism. The patterns of journalism practices in different countries deserve detailed investigation: the choices of journalistic genres, the selection of topics and themes, and the specific linguistic and narrative tools adapted to the varying tasks of meaning making. Of course, a primary strategic ritual adopted by journalists aiming to produce objective copy is the quotation of sources, whose credentials and credibility are openly accounted for, to verbalize (usually opposing) truth-claims.

On the other hand, media users need to be aware of the different linguistic tools and discursive practices that journalists use in order to be able to comprehend and respond to media texts. Van Dijk (1995) explains why it's important to understand news reports if you know how journalists talk.

Readers of a news report first of all need to understand its words, sentences, or other structural properties. This does not only mean that they must know the language and its grammar and lexicon, possibly including rather technical words such as those of modern politics, management, science, or the professions. Users of the media need to know something about the specific organization and functions of news reports in the press, including the functions of headlines, leads, background information, or quotations. Besides such grammatical and textual knowledge, media users need vast amounts of properly organized knowledge of the world. (p.13)

Clearly, meaning-making is at the core of the process of news production. But how do we analyze meaning in the different political, geographical, social, and cultural contexts? And how do we handle the details within a specific journalistic story in a way that shows sufficient consideration for the "whole" and at the same time pays attention to the smaller elements of a story (e.g., words, phrases, paragraphs, headlines, story lines, themes, places, dates, participants)? Today, most researchers agree on the view that all sorts of sign expressions are representational. Meaning is, accordingly, produced, related to, and explainable within the contexts where signs are supposed to function as tools of human communication. So meaning has to be studied within the interplay between communicating agents in different social situations (Halliday, 1998) or as cognitive processes taking place inside human organisms (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999).

In recent years, there has been an increased interest in the role that media play in our lives. With the advance of media, we are now able to see how different people interpret the world around them. Dealing with a variety of information due to the excessive number of received information and, of course, the reliability and veracity of the information is one problem of modern media (rather than the former problem of a lack of information). This has led to a heightened awareness of the ways in which media can construct reality. So, how does the media create reality? The media cannot change reality, but they can influence our perception of it. This is done through the filters of selection, representation, and reinforcement. Selection refers to the process of choosing which events or stories to cover. Representation refers to the way in which these events or stories are presented to us. Reinforcement refers to the ways in which the media can reinforce our existing beliefs or prejudices. By understanding how the media can influence our perceptions, we can be more critical consumers of media texts. We can also be more aware of the potential biases of the media and the need to question the information that we are presented with.

According to Baudrillard (2001), the media is a monopoly of current elites that they use to their advantage. For example, a newspaper owned by one of the global potentates performs the selection and processing of certain information and takes care that only certain things come into the public domain. The media tend to be closer to the state institutions and ruling elites because they want access to classified information, and a way to achieve this is to play a game that involves covering up the truth and serving

the country in a way that suits it. In many countries, the media is controlled by the government, and therefore the government, through the media, constitutes and controls the everyday phenomena that are represented to the population.

A major criticism of some media, such as newspapers, is that they do not leave room for any interaction between the sender and the receiver of the message. The perfect shape of simulations for the media is that the answer is contained in the issue; it is predetermined. According to Baudrillard (2001), the simulacrum is not what conceals the truth, but what conceals the absence of the truth (p. 15). The media, in a latent way, conceal the truth by not allowing two-way communication between them and the audience and social actors. The picture of reality that is displayed (designed, produced) by the media is fragmented, one-sided, with no alternative, and often in contradiction with the real problems and difficulties that people have in modern society. The media are mostly in the service of large corporations, with which they form the top of the power structure and the dominance of the private economy (as opposed to the public), which in turn, together, represents a great tyrannical structure of the global pyramid of power, which creates reality and imposes it.

2.2. Media Representation

Representation is a fundamental concept within this study because I am interested in the representations that are constructed for the Syrian refugees through news articles. In his book "Representation," Stuart Hall (1997) maintains that language, a system established on signs and symbols, allows individuals to share and interpret knowledge, thus acting like a representational system (p. 1). He founded representation theory on the claim that the process of representation shares meanings and knowledge through language. Hall (1997) refers to representation as "the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language" (p. 17).

Representation is, in the end, just the mental pictures you make of concrete and abstract things around you. People share similar mental images within the same culture, which enables them to communicate with each other. This communication is realized through language, which is a crucial part of the nature of representation. Representation cannot exist without the medium of language, which communicates the meaning behind objects and mental images (Hall, 1997, p. 17).

Hall (1997) defined three theories of representation, each describing a different way in which representation creates knowledge through language (p. 24). According to the reflective approach, every sign has a predetermined meaning and language reflects reality. The second approach is the intentional approach, which opposes the reflective approach. The intentional approach implies that meaning is created by the author of the message and that signs do not hold an already established meaning. The constructionist approach is the third theory of representation, in which it is argued that meaning is constructed through the use of signs. Thus, neither the signs nor the author have a fixed meaning; meaning is constructed based on previous representations of signs and knowledge, which result in the formation of a representational system (Hall, 1997, p. 25).

Representations reflect the past and the current values that influence societies. Public and private discourses are based on different sets of representations that ultimately give meaning to the world. Therefore, it is worthwhile to become aware of the media representations of different groups if one wants insight into the existing values of society.

Media representations are the ways in which the media portrays particular groups, communities, experiences, ideas, or topics from a particular ideological or value perspective. Orgad (2012) defines representation as "the process of re-presenting, the process by which members of a culture use systems of signs to produce meanings" (47). Orgad (2012) developed the media representation theory, beginning with Hall's theory of representation. According to Orgad (2012), media representations provide a frame that helps the reader have a better understanding of the world. The author also stated that media representations' main function is "to produce meaning, to capture in some way reality in signs" (p. 47). Furthermore, he discussed two approaches to media representations: 1) the reflectionist approach, which assumes that the language and systems of signs act like a mirror and reflect the outside world without influencing it (Orgad, 2012, p. 49), and 2) the constructionist approach, which assumes that meaning is created by the way things are represented, thus representations cannot be a mirror of reality (Orgad, 2012, p. 53).

As argued by Hall (1997), at the core of the constructionist approach stands the idea that objects and events exist in the real world, but they acquire meaning through language and representation (p. 45). The constructionist approach represents the core of

this study, which investigates what type of meaning is created by print media representations. For further studying meaning, the concept of semiotics is of primary importance. Rather than examining media representations as simply reflecting or mirroring "reality," I will be examining how media representations serve to "re-present" or to actually create a new reality. For example, perfume and cologne ads imply that using them makes one look attractive. Similarly, a Coca-Cola ad attempts to convince the consumer that he will feel energetic and refreshed after drinking Coca-Cola. These advertisements all create idealized experiences associated with the use of these products, experiences that may or may not correspond to alternative perspectives on these experiences.

An important concept that often accompanies media representations is stereotyping. According to Orgad (2012), stereotyping is the process of exaggerating and sharing specific characteristics attributed to a person, and it mostly focuses on negative traits. Stereotypes further enhance the barrier between "us" and "them" (p. 70). When talking about media representations of immigrants, Orgad states that immigrants are represented in opposition to the host nation, "as criminals, cunning, immoral invaders versus a lawful, hardworking, and/or innocent host society" (p. 70). The author further stresses that such representations contribute to the production and sharing of stereotypes. One of the major aims of the present study is to know whether the Syrian refugees are portrayed in the same way.

2.2.1. Framing Theory: the Construction of Social Reality

The concept of framing is tied very closely to media representations. The basis of framing theory is that the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning. Further, discussing the process of knowledge production, Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) argue that the way information is presented in a news text has an impact on the way the audience will perceive the information. It also has the power to form attitudes and beliefs. Thus, the media has the power to shape audience behavior by using different frames to expose the information (p. 11). Furthermore, Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) claim that media texts are formed with both information and frames. The authors further argued that framing is a process that helps the writers expose only useful information, even though an outcome of framing can be that it enhances stereotyping (p. 12).

The framing analysis is usually focused on one of the following processes: "frame-setting, frame-building, and individual-level outcomes of framing" (Scheufele, 2009, p. 306). Frame-building is of particular interest here considering the media framing focus of this study and possible ideological differences between the newspapers analyzed. Scheufele (2009) describes five different factors that may influence how a particular issue is framed by journalists: "social norms and values; organizational pressures and constraints; pressures from interest groups; journalistic routines; and ideological or political orientations of journalists" (p. 307). To be more precise, journalists may construct frames based on their attitudes, ideologies, and organizational norms, which may eventually be reflected in the way news coverage is framed by journalists (Scheufele, 1999, p. 115).

As Scheufele (1999) suggests, the political orientation of the medium itself may also have an impact on how the news information is framed, and various external sources (e.g., political actors, authorities, interest groups, and other elites) may impact the way the information is framed in the media (p. 115). Scheufele (1999) also argues that such influence on the frame-building process is mostly true for the new and recent issues for which no particular frames have yet been established (p. 116). It is not yet clear whether journalists simply reflect the frames offered by elites or various sources or whether journalists interpret the issues themselves based on the information received from the news sources used (p. 117).

Discussing media frames, Entman (1993) offered a more detailed explanation of how media provide audiences with schema for interpreting events. As Entman (1993) holds, framing involves "selection" and "salience" of how media provide audiences with schema for interpreting events. As Entman (1993) holds, framing involves "selection" and "salience." The researcher argues that to "frame" means to select some aspects of the reality we perceive and make them more salient in a specific context, promoting particular interpretations of an issue or problem (p. 52). Thus, any issue may be constructed based on various values and viewed from multiple perspectives (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p. 104). Some scholars argue that when presented in a message, different frames might lead individuals to understand and interpret the issue differently because the frames highlight some aspects of reality while omitting others (Borah, 2011, p. 248).

Moreover, frames may encourage target audiences to think, feel, and decide in a particular way. For instance, Dimitrova and Lee (2009) say that "framing of international events is especially important since the audience has no direct experience with those events and, therefore, has to rely on media accounts to learn what happens in remote places" (p. 538). The media usually report on distant foreign countries when there is an important event to cover. Thus, the framing of international issues has the potential to influence public opinion and audience cognitions (Dimitrova & Lee, 2009, p. 538). However, subtle nuances in words and syntax may also have unintentional effects or effects that may be difficult to predict and control by journalists (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009).

While conducting a study on media representations of refugees and the "deserving/undeserving" frame, scholars Seth Holmes and Heide Castaneda (2016) concluded, on the one hand, that refugees are framed as "deserving" and in need of help because they are forced to flee their countries. On the other hand, immigrants are seen as unworthy of social or political help since they voluntarily chose to migrate to another country. Therefore, the media frames immigrants as "undeserving" (p. 16).

Vollmer and Karakayali (2018) stress that when media focus on exposing the refugee crisis as a natural disaster, refugees are framed as "vulnerable" and "deserving" because their lives are in the hands of nature (p. 123). Further, Myria Georgiou and Rafal Zaborowski (2017) concluded that in Europe, the media frames refugees either as "vulnerable," emphasizing the challenges they have to overcome, or as "dangerous," focusing on the problems that can arise from their presence in the host countries (p. 8). Furthermore, Caroline Lenette (2017) discussed another frame that is frequently used in the media, the "threat" frame, in which refugees are framed as threats to different aspects, such as economy or safety.

Ulas Sunata and Esra Yıldız (2018) examined how Syrian refugees were represented in the Turkish media during the summer of 2015. The authors concluded that there were four types of frames present in the media: refugees framed as criminals, humanitarian aid receivers, victims, and role models. The authors highlight that the refugees are framed as "criminals" when the media reports about crimes they have committed, such as fights, terror attempts, rape, or even begging. Moreover, presenting the refugees as threatened by the war, involved in accidents, or presenting the issues they have when

searching for a shelter frames the refugees as "victims," a frame that has the power to make the reader empathize with the refugees (p. 129).

The frame of "humanitarian aid receivers" is encountered when the news articles report about organizations that offer support to the refugees. As stated by Sunata and Yildiz (2018), this is a positive approach to representing the refugees and can have a great impact on the reader. The last frame discussed by the authors is the frame of "role models," which occurs when the media reports about the performances and the successes refugees have in different areas of interest. The authors further emphasize that this positive frame is not excessively used in the current media representations of refugees (Sunata&Yıldız, 2018, p. 145).

2.2.2. The representation of Social Actors

This study is concerned with the representation of social actors in print media and the ideologies involved in the representation. Therefore, I will use Van Leeuwen's (2008) analytical framework to study the representation of social actors in the two selected newspapers and uncover the ideologies that underlie the representation. Van Leeuwen (2008) introduces the "sociosemantic" approach as the way to agglomerate the social actors and the ideological consequences in the texts (Machin &Mayr, 2012). In van Leeuwen's model of CDA, representation is an important concept. It is defined by him as the manner in which the social actor(s) are presented in the field of discourse (Van Leeuwen, 2008). Van Leeuwen maintains that studying the representation of social actions and social actors will reveal how dominant people control the interpretation of social phenomena and how dominated societies or people are described through discourse practices. In other words, analyzing the representation of social actors enables one to uncover the ideology contained in the text while also determining who they are intended for (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

Van Leeuwen's (2008) framework is useful for articulating the role of social actors in the text by utilizing socio-semantic rather than grammatical categories. As noted in Chapter 1, there are two major categories of social actor network proposed by Van Leeuwen (2008), namely exclusion and inclusion. Van Leeuwen (2008) holds that active and passive tenses, as well as transitivity structures, have an important function in the representation of social actors (p. 32). However, social actors and agency are not

only realized through grammatical roles but through other complex processes of exclusion and inclusion.

Exclusion is the way social actors are omitted from events or activities for particular purposes. There are two subcategories of exclusion: suppression and backgrounding. In suppression, there is no reference that relates to the social actors in the text. While in backgrounding, the social actors are excluded, but they are stated later in another part of the clause. Inclusion is where the social actors are foregrounded in the text. There are three subcategories of inclusion: the roles that are played by social actors, the way social actors engage with the roles, and the personalization and impersonalization of the social actors.

The roles that are played by social actors, or role allocation, are divided into two subcategories: activation and passivation. The transitivity system can be used to identify role allocation, whether the social actor is represented as the agent, patient (subjected or treated as objects), or beneficiary (who benefits from the action). Activation refers to social actors who are represented as active in clauses, while passivation refers to social actors who are represented as the static force or passive in the activity. Moreover, passivation takes place when the social actors are subjected (treated as objects in the representation) or beneficialized (benefit from the activity).

In addition, activation and passivation can be realized by the way social actors engage with the roles. It can be divided into three subcategories: participation, circumstantialization, and possessivation. The role of active or passive participants is defined as participation. Circumstantialization occurs when social actors are put in certain circumstances. Possessivation occurs when the possessive pronoun is used to activate or passivate a social actor.

Personalization is when the social actors are represented as human beings. It can be distinguished into two types: determination and indetermination. Determination is when social actors are represented as specified individuals, and indetermination is when social actors are represented as unspecified individuals. In terms of determination, there are three categories of representation that were used in this study, namely association, categorization, and nomination.

Association refers to groups formed by social actors and/or groups of social actors that are never labeled in the text. Moreover, the way social actors are represented

through identity is examined through nomination and categorization. Nomination entails representing social actors in terms of their distinct identities. It can be realized by a proper noun (formal, semiformal, or informal) or additional honorific titles. Categorization involves the representation of social actors in terms of identities and functions they share with others. There are two types of categorization in the nominal group: functionalization and identification. Functionalization can be seen through the activity of social actors, such as occupation. Identification can be realized through classification, relational identification, and physical identification.

Impersonalization is when the social actors are not represented as human beings. The goal is to describe the social actors' roles or identities. There are two types of impersonalization: abstraction and objectivation. Abstraction occurs when a quality of social actors is assigned in the representation, while objectivation occurs when the person or the action of social actors is associated with a place or a thing in the representation. Meanwhile, there are four types of objectivation: spatialization, utterance autonomization, instrumentalization, and somatization.

Van Leeuwen's (2008) framework is schematically presented in Figure 4 below:

Within the study of representations of refugees and immigrants, Theo Van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak (1999), based on a socio-cognitive approach, have developed certain analytical categories through which media representations of refugees can be evaluated (p. 48). In addition to the aforementioned categories, individualization and assimilation are also relevant for the purpose of this study. Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) argued that the individualization of refugees and immigrants is visible when they are referred to as individuals. The concept of collectivization is discussed by the authors under the name of assimilation, and it is defined as referring to the refugees as a group and not as specific individuals (p. 48).

Further discussing assimilation, the scholars differentiated two ways in which it is performed. The first way the assimilation is performed is through the method of aggregation, which quantifies individuals and treats them as statistics. The second way to achieve assimilation is through the collectivization of individuals and placing them in one category. Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999, p. 49) ponder that collectivization can also be realized by using a mass noun, such as the group, the community, the nation, and others. Additionally, the authors defined the two concepts in opposition to each other, stating that individualization is realized through singularity and collectivization through plurality. However, collectivizing individuals deprives them of their specific characteristics and portrays them as a homogenous group.

Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) concluded the discussion on individualization and assimilation by stating that immigrants are usually aggregated through the usage of percentages or quantifying substantives, such as some, many, a number, and similar (p. 50). Majid KoshraviNik (2010) has mentioned other commonly used substantives for quantifying, such as "existing numbers" or "metaphorical structures," as in "waves of refugees and immigrants" (p. 14). KoshraviNik has also discussed aggregation and collectivization, which he defines as "linguistic processes by which these groups of people are systematically referred to and constructed as one unanimous group with all sharing similar characteristics, backgrounds, intentions, motivations, and economic status" (p. 13). The author theorized that another commonly used discursive strategy in media representations of immigrants and refugees is to functionalize the refugees and refer to them as "arrivals" and "arrival cases" and not as individuals. Lams (2018) noted that the use of functionalizing substantives has the effect of dehumanizing the represented individuals (p. 112).

Correspondingly, KoshraviNik (2010) discussed the process of individualizing the refugees and immigrants in the media and stated that individualization and humanization of the actors are realized through emphasizing the different characteristics of each individual (p. 15). Moreover, the author concludes that individualizing each person has a positive outcome and humanizes the person. Furthermore, Lams (2018) has also debated collectivization and individualization, but in relation to stereotyping. The author has concluded that stereotyping, which is the process of portraying individuals as members of a group who share common beliefs and traits, has a standardizing effect on individuals and leads to collectivization (p. 3).

2.2.3. Recontextualization of social practices

Another important term strongly tied to the notion of representation is "recontextualization." To analyze discourse critically, it is fundamental to look at it as the recontextualization of social practices. At this point, it is imperative to stress the difference between social practices themselves and their representation. "Social practices" refer to people's activities (what people do), whereas "representation of social practices" denotes recontextualizing social practices (talking about what people do) through different discourses. For example, when a person reads or views information about an event, it is not the actual event that is being presented but someone else's version of it. Van Leeuwen believes that social practices are always transformed or modified by different discourses. Hence, aspects of representation are more important than the representation of the social practice itself (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

Van Leewun (2008) distinguishes three forms of recontextualized social practice:

In recontextualization, the recontextualized social practice may be (1) a sequence of nonlinguistic actions, for example, dressing or having breakfast, (2) a sequence in which linguistic and nonlinguistic actions alternate ("language in action"; see Malinowski, 1923), or (3) a sequence of linguistic (and/or other semiotic) actions (a "genre," in the sense of, e.g., Martin, 1992). The *recontextualizing* social practice, however, must always be a sequence of linguistic (and/or other semiotic) activities, a "genre." (p.12)

According to Van Leeuwen (2008), no matter how abstract discourses may be, they should be considered as representations of social practices. For him, any performed social practice includes the following elements:

1. Participants

A social practice needs a set of participants in certain roles (primarily those of instigator, agent, affected, or beneficiary). A lecture, for instance, minimally needs a lecturer and students. In some texts, not all of the participants are explicitly mentioned; recontextualizations can exclude some of the participants from the practices they recontextualize.

2. Actions

The core of any social practice is a set of actions performed in a sequence, which may be fixed to a greater or lesser degree and which may or may not allow for choice, that is, for alternatives with regard to a greater or lesser number of the actions of some or all of the participants, and for concurrence, that is, for the simultaneity of different actions during part or all of the sequence. It is possible to figure out the real order in which the things shown must have happened.

3. Performance Modes

The core of any social practice is a set of actions performed in a sequence. Actions can be performed at a certain pace. Representations of social practices are full of performance modes.

4. Eligibility Conditions (Participants)

Eligibility conditions are the “qualifications” participants must have in order to be eligible to play a particular role in a particular social practice. For instance, to be eligible for the role of “teacher,” certain “qualifications” are necessary. A participant may be represented as having experience as a teacher.

5. Presentation Styles

Social practices also involve dress and body grooming requirements, or presentation styles, for the participants. For instance, a kid who appears in an advertisement for washing powder is represented as a clean and well-dressed child. Presentation styles may be explicitly prescribed (school and other uniforms, wedding rings, and so on) or not, and social practices vary a great deal in the amount of freedom they leave to (some or all of) the participants in this respect. But dress and body grooming requirements are never entirely absent. Even people who work at home alone, unobserved by anyone, will dress for the activities of the day in socially regulated ways. Like performance modes, presentation styles may apply to the whole of a social practice or to specific

parts of it. And like eligibility conditions, presentation styles connect to preparatory practices such as dressing, shaving, hair dressing, makeup, and so on.

6. Times

Social practices and specific parts of them take place at more or less definite times. For instance, the social practice of going to school for the first time must take place when the child has reached the age of six and on a specific day, the beginning of the school year. However, some social practices may be free of time constraints; they do not occur at a specific time. Even though the time limits on social activities vary in how strict they are, they are never completely gone. For example, there are time limits on writing a dissertation.

7. Locations

Social practices are also related to specific locations. Yet, some texts are not very explicit about location. Practices may involve changing from one location to another. For example, the practice of eating a meal may take place either at home or in a restaurant.

8. Eligibility Conditions (Locations)

Like the eligibility conditions for participants, the eligibility conditions for locations refer back to "preparatory practices." For example, in order for a building to be used as a school, it must fulfill certain conditions (interior decorating, arranging furniture, hygiene, etc.). And different social institutions will allow a different amount of freedom with regard to each of the aspects mentioned.

9. Resources: Tools and Materials

For example, clocks are a crucial tool for strictly scheduled social practices, as is the school bell in the case of schooling.

10. Eligibility Conditions (Resources)

Like participants and locations, tools and materials are subject to eligibility conditions: not any bag qualifies as a schoolbag, and not any piece of paper qualifies as material for the activity of learning how to write. How much room there is for interpretation in these conditions will vary from practice to practice, but some conditions will always apply.

Van Leeuwen (2008) also observed that key elements of social practices, such as actors and their roles and identities, actions and their performance styles, settings, and timings, are subject to exclusion or transformation. In the process of recontextualization, aspects of any of these may be excluded from discourse or transformed, and recontextualization may also add elements such as purposes and legitimations for the actions. Other kinds of transformations include substitutions, selections, rearrangements, additions, repetitions, reactions, and evaluations. As a result, some recontextualizations eliminate much of the actual detail of the social practices they recontextualize and focus, for instance, mostly on legitimation or critique, while others focus on the social practices themselves and contain few elements of legitimation or critique (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

2.3. Discourse -Historical Approach (DHA)

As seen in Chapter 1, CDA offers a wide range of tools and techniques that we can use to analyze discourse. To have a deeper insight into the representation of the Syrian refugees in the Daily Telegraph and the Guardian, we opted for two analytical models. In addition to Theo van Leeuwen's (2008) framework for analyzing the representation of social actors, this study also draws on Wodak's discourse-historical approach (DHA) to analyze the social, political, and historical context of the discursive event under investigation. According to Wodak and Meyer (2009), one of the most salient distinguishing features of the DHA is its endeavor to work with various methods and on the basis of a variety of empirical data as well as background information. Depending on the object of investigation, DHA attempts to transcend the purely linguistic dimension and to include more or less systematically the historical, political, and sociological dimensions in the analysis and interpretation of a specific discourse event (p. 65). The focus of DHA is on discursive and linguistic elements, social practices, and their in-depth examination (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Ruth Wodak bases her model on sociolinguistics in the Bernsteinian tradition and on ideas of the Frankfurt School, especially those of Jürgen Habermas (Wodak, 2011, p. 61). DHA derives from linguistics, having its roots in linguistic pragmatics, sociolinguistics, or linguistic discourse analysis. Reisigl and Wodak (2001) describe a theory of discourse-historical analysis. They understand discourse as "a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequentially interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves

within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as "texts," that belong to specific semiotic types, i.e., genres" (p. 36). In DHA, discourse, text, and genre are believed to be interconnected (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009). Text is considered to be a part of discourse as it bridges the gap between discourse and ideological structures. It is perceived that discourse is not a closed unit of speech but an entity that is open to multiple interpretations and continuity. Text in discourse can be referred to as a genre, and it is identified through the manipulation of discourse for a specific purpose (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009). The discourse used in a social phenomenon is realized through various genres, for instance, via political debates, news reports, speeches presented at a conference, and so on.

At the core of this approach is the idea that discourse is historical since it is related to other communicative events. Thus, discourse is understood mainly historically (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Importantly, "historical" here is not synonymous with "diachronic," meaning that a discourse-historical study needs to look at texts over a period of time but will analyze them in the specific historical moment of their production, distribution, and reception. In Wodak's (1996) view, text interpretation involves looking at the more abstract notion of discourse, which is historical in the sense that it is always connected to context and to other discourses (p. 17). Texts, while self-contained units, routinely integrate earlier and occasionally anticipate future texts. This metaphorical "dialogicality" means that texts are always located in a historical context, including future contexts of reception, which are typically anticipated in asynchronous communication (Bakhtin, 1986).

Another significant feature of HAD is that it is problem-based, starting from a specific social phenomenon that is brought into being, negotiated, and reinforced through discourse (Wodak 2001, 2008). What makes such a social phenomenon problematic from a critical standpoint is that it involves the unequal distribution of power among discourse participants and its reinforcement or subversion through textually mediated action. As a result, DHA includes fieldwork and ethnography to study the phenomenon or problem from the inside (Wodak 2001, p. 89) and links textual analysis back to the contexts of discourse production, distribution, and reception as well as the wider social context. DHA postulates four levels of context: 1) the immediate co-text for a particular linguistic feature found in the text, i.e., its

embeddedness in the text as a whole; 2) the other texts and discourses that the text draws upon; 3) the conditions of text production, distribution, and reception; 4) the wider socio-political formation.

Moreover, Wodak (Wodak & Meyer, 2009) distinguishes other important characteristics of DHA. First, the approach is interdisciplinary. The notion of interdisciplinarity is located on several levels: in theory, in the work itself, in teams, and in practice. Second, intertextual and interdiscursive relationships are investigated in multiple genres and multiple public spaces. Intertextual analysis focuses on how texts are connected to other texts or discourses in significant ways in the past and present. Jorgensen and Phillip (2002) asserted that intertextuality is connected to interdiscursivity as all the communicative events that occur are related to earlier events. Meanwhile, interdiscursivity investigates how discourses are linked to one another in multiple ways and how they consequently relate to other forms of discourse. Jorgensen and Phillip (2002) Interdiscursivity is also defined as the combination of discourses and genres in a communicative function. Third, recontextualization is the most important process in connecting genres, topics, and arguments. Finally, the results should be made available to experts in different fields and be applied with the goal of changing certain discursive and social practices (p. 70).

Basically, text analysis in DHA follows a three-step analytical procedure in which a) the topic of specific discourse is identified, b) discursive strategies are investigated, and c) the linguistic means and the specific context-dependent linguistic realizations are examined. The following heuristic questions are used in DHA analysis: How are persons, objects, phenomena or events, processes, and actions named and referred to linguistically? What characteristics, qualities, and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events, and processes? From what perspective are these nominations, attributions, and arguments expressed? What arguments are employed in the discourse in question? (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009)

2.4. Previous Research on the Representation of Refugees

The issue of refugees and the presence of "different" communities in Britain have been the subject matter of many studies and debates from various angles within the last few years. However, only a few works have tackled the subject from a CDA

perspective. In this section, two significant pieces of research relevant to the representation of refugees in the press are examined and explored.

The first work is entitled "*British Newspapers and the Representation of Refugees, Asylum Seekers, and Immigrants Between 1996 and 2006*," conducted by MadjidKhosravinik (2008) from Lancaster University's Department of Linguistics and English Language. Between 1996 and 2006, the researcher examined ten years of British newspaper coverage of immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees in the context of various sociopolitical events occurring both inside and outside the UK. The research accounted for discursive representation of these groups through detailed CDA analysis of two newspapers (the tabloid newspaper, *The Daily Mail*, and the conservative broadsheet, *The Times*).

The paper provided a rough historical map of the different ways British newspapers have represented refugees. The study also took into account the differences and similarities in how these groups are represented in newspapers in terms of their formats as tabloids or broadsheets, as well as their ideological affiliations (conservative versus liberal). The study adopted Van Dijk's model as a framework for CDA, a model that focuses on micro- and macro-level analysis by establishing a link between macro- and micro-linguistic structures. For example, consider how ideologies are embedded in microlinguistic features like metaphors.

The study showed that most articles described the problem of refugees and asylum seekers as an extraordinary fact and associated refugees and asylum seekers with terrorism. For instance, the word "entrant" or "newcomer" was used to refer to the already negative concept of refugees. Obviously, the implicit idea here is that their "entry" to Britain was unfavorable. However, this doesn't mean that the qualities of such representations were the same across all the newspapers. Kosovo refugees, for instance, have been argued to be "popular," i.e., some refugee groups seemed to possess a special status that allowed them to be favored by the press instead of being attacked.

The study also revealed that the negative representation of refugees in the events relevant to the UK drew mainly on a series of common tropes, including numbers, economic burden (abuse of the welfare system, expenditure), threat (threat to cultural identity and community values), and danger. At the same time, refugees were systemically constructed as a homogenous group, sharing similar characteristics, backgrounds, motivations, and statuses, all of which were different from those of UK

citizens; thus, a discursive process of "othering" and social backgrounding occurred throughout the press reporting.

Another important finding is that the ideological stances of newspapers had an impact on the representation of refugees and asylum seekers. For example, conservative accounts of refugees hardly recognized them by their names or other qualities, whereas liberal news reporters did make more efforts to recognize diversities and generally provided more information about individual cases and differences among these groups. Liberal newspapers, on the other hand, lack a clear argumentation strategy to support their own constructions of refugees. Drawing on some specific topoi (human rights, ethics, and human values), their reaction was mostly defensive and justified.

On the whole, the study concluded that there were generally "supportive" and "positive" representations of refugees in both newspapers. The researcher argued that despite the use of some common metaphors, like those linking refugees with "natural disasters," this worked in favor of the refugees and victims as they were decoded as a call for an urgent decision to be made to give help and support.

The second study is entitled "*Unwanted Invaders: The Representation of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK and Australian Print Media*," conducted by Samuel Parker from Cardiff University in 2014. His work explored the way in which asylum seekers and refugees have been discursively constructed by the print media in both the UK and Australia between 2001 and 2010. The purpose of his research was to demonstrate how the media's representations of refugees and asylum seekers were not a simple representation of reality but instead actively constructed reality.

In an attempt to answer the research question, "How do the print media in the UK and Australia construct their accounts of refugees and asylum seekers?" Parker analyzed 20 news articles collected from *The Daily Mail*, *The Daily Mirror*, *The Daily Express*, *The Times*, and *The eSharp Issue 23: Myth and Nation*. These newspapers were selected to ensure a balance between broadsheet and tabloid newspapers on the one hand, and because they represent a range of political allegiances on the other, with *The Guardian* and *Daily Mirror* backing the Labour Party and *The Times*, *Daily Mail*, and *The Daily Express* supporting the Conservative Party.

Parker found that when writing about refugees and asylum seekers, the print media in the UK used three main ways to explain what was going on:

1) "Unwanted invaders": Here the asylum seeker or refugee is positioned as actively unwanted, as someone to be fearful of, in contrast to the passive majority of the country. This repertoire was used predominantly to convince the reader that refugees and asylum seekers needed to be removed from the country.

2) "Dishonest" refugees and asylum seekers: This repertoire questioned the past history and integrity of the asylum seekers and refugees rather than explicitly constructing them as criminals. Here, they are positioned as dishonest and not to be trusted. Although this is similar in effect to the use of the unwanted invader repertoire, it should be thought of as distinctly different because it questions the very basis on which the asylum seeker or refugee is making his claim for refuge.

3) "Tragic" refugees and asylum seekers: Authors who used this repertoire constructed accounts of these groups as "tragic" people in need of assistance, while also serving as a reminder of the unwanted invader. Parker contended that the UK press used this interpretive repertoire in the absence of a political justification for wartime involvement. Here, articles were drawing on the human side of conflict to defend political decisions and give the impression of being a compassionate country concerned with the human rights of those who have suffered losses. This, he argued, creates an ideological dilemma between the prevailing theme of the unwanted invader and that of the "tragic" figure.

In addition, Parker found that two major metaphors were used repetitively in the UK newspapers: metaphors of criminals and metaphors of water.

1) Metaphors of criminals: the most common metaphors found to be used as a rhetorical device. This paints a picture of the asylum seeker or refugee as a potential threat to security.

For example, terms such as "lock up" and references to electronic tagging support the construction of asylum seekers as a group of people whom the public should be fearful of in much the same way they should be of other criminals who are "tagged" or "locked up."

2) Metaphors of water: Parker claims that the metaphors of water were used as a warning about the number of asylum seekers entering or who are already in the country.

For example, the terms "flood" and "overflow" were used to construct an account of large numbers of people trying to enter the country.

Parker's study found that these repertoires were used by the UK print media to create a sense of reality.

Conclusion

The chapter attempted to provide a general review of the concepts related to the study, such as media discourse and media representations. First, it showed how media discourse can be manufactured by dominant groups or institutions to maintain power relationships and how certain ideologies and attitudes can be reproduced by using particular discursive practices and linguistic tools in addition to controlling the processes of text production, distribution, and consumption. Then, it presented the theory of representation as discussed by Hall (1997), illustrating how media representations use language to produce meaning and construct social reality.

Moreover, the chapter introduced Van Leeuwen's (2008) framework for analyzing the representation of social actors. By studying the representation of social actions and social actors, we can reveal how the dominant people or groups control the interpretation of social phenomena and how dominated people or societies are described through discourse practices, namely through exclusion and exclusion categories. In this section, the notion of "reontextualization" was explained based on the definition proposed by Van Leeuwen (2008). According to him, social practices are always transformed or modified by a different discourse, which means that all abstract discourses can be considered as representations of social actors.

This study also draws on Wodak's (2006) discourse-historical approach (DHA) to analyze the selected news articles. Therefore, the key concepts and analytical levels of this approach were highlighted in this chapter. DHA considers intertextuality and interdiscursivity because all communicative events are related to previous events and emphasizes the importance of studying the social, political, and historical context of the discursive event for a better interpretation of discourses and texts.

The chapter concluded with a review of two main previous works related to the representation of refugees (Khosravini 2008; Parker 2014). The first study showed positive and supportive representations of refugees despite the use of some metaphors, like those depicting refugees as "entrants" and "newcomers." The second study revealed a representation that was more or less close to reality.

CHAPTER THREE

METHOD, ANALYSIS, RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter aims at providing the methodological approach used in this study, data collection procedure and the results and discussion. The main concern of this research is to examine the representation of refugees in *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian* in the context of the 2015 European refugee crisis. To do this, a critical discourse analysis was carried out. CDA offers a variety of analytical tools by which we can uncover the meanings hidden in media texts.

For the purpose of this study, we used CDA and two analytical models; Van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic framework and Wodak's (2009) discourse-historical approach. The two scholars proposed a set of categories that have been widely used by CDA practitioners to analyse the construction of social actors in media discourses. The main categories include: Inclusion, exclusion, activation, passivation, individualization, collectivization, personalization and impersonalization. By using these categories, we can reveal the roles allocated to social actors and the way they are represented. Research found that some newspapers tend to collectivize refugees by describing them as homogenous groups without distinctive feature.

This research is a qualitative study. It employed CDA to analyse and interpret data. First, data were collected from a corpus of eight articles and editorials selected randomly from the online versions of *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*. The two newspapers were chosen based on their ideological stands. The former is conservative while the latter is liberal. The collected data were described, analyzed and interpreted. Then, the findings were listed and discussed in the light of the research questions.

The chapter concluded with a general conclusion in which the main theories and findings were summarized. The conclusion was followed by some recommendations for potential research in the future.

3.1. The corpus: Sampling and selection criteria

The purpose of this research is to look into how Syrian refugees are portrayed in *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*, and to uncover the ideological positions that are embedded in that representation. To achieve this, a corpus consisting of eight news articles and editorials was chosen for analysis (see table1). The corpus covers the refugee crisis between August 2015 and December 2015.

Table 1. Texts selected for analysis

Text	Newspaper	Title	Author	Date of publication
1	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The Guardian</i> view on Britain's response to the Syrian refugee crisis: morally bankrupt	Editorial	August 25 th , 2015
2	<i>The Guardian</i>	Cameron bows to pressure to let in more Syrian refugees	Patrick Wintour and Nicholas Watt	September 3 rd , 2015
3	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The Guardian</i> view on Cameron's refugee plans: small numbers, big distractions	Editorial	September 7 th , 2015
4	<i>The Guardian</i>	Conservative asylum policy on Syria 'too low, too slow, too narrow	Owen Bowcott	October 12 th , 2015
5	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	The EU will have to control its borders: The arrival of 800,000 asylum seekers in Germany makes a mockery of the EU's immigration policies	Editorial	August 21 st , 2015
6	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	David Cameron: Britain should not take more refugees	Peter Dominiczak	September 2 nd , 2015
7	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	Boris Johnson: London will accept Syrian refugees	Peter Dominiczak	September 3 rd , 2015
8	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	The 'refugees welcome' fad will do more harm than good	Editorial	September 3 rd , 2015

The choice of this period of time is based on the argument that it was during these months that media coverage of this event reached its peak. Moreover, the selection of the two aforementioned newspapers can be justified by the fact that they are famous broadsheets committed to offering quality journalism to a large number of readers worldwide, compared to tabloids, for example, which prefer publishing sensational stories. As for the choice of newspapers for this study amongst other media outlets, it stems from the fact that news articles and reports are loaded with ideological stands that can be revealed by examining the lexical choices and the discursive strategies used by journalists.

In an attempt to have credible and reliable findings, the texts were selected randomly from the online versions of *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*. The online version of the newspapers was chosen based on the fact that nowadays audiences tend to move towards the online version and readership is declining in the print version (Halliday, 2012). As a result, it is critical to examine the material that has a greater reach and influence on the readers. Being quality newspapers, they provide their readers with knowledge, but they also have the power to influence public opinion.

3.2. Political context

In 2015, the political world was marked by a number of significant events and developments that had far-reaching implications for governments, societies, and individuals around the globe. The year 2015 was a dreadful one for Europe in general and for the EU in particular.

One of the most notable political developments of 2015 was the rise of populist movements around the world. In Europe, the anti-immigration, anti-EU, and nationalist movements made significant gains in several countries, including France, the Netherlands, and Hungary. These movements often capitalized on fears about the impact of globalization and immigration, and they tended to take a hardline stance on issues such as national sovereignty, immigration, and economic protectionism.

Another major political development in 2015 was the general elections held in the UK. The elections resulted in the Conservative Party winning a majority in the House of Commons. This gave the Conservative Party the power to form a government without the need for a coalition. Prior to the election, the country was experiencing a period of economic recovery, following the global financial crisis in

2008. However, there were concerns about rising inequality, with the gap between rich and poor widening, and many people struggling with the cost of living.

The main issues of the 2015 general election campaign included the economy, immigration, and national security. The Conservative Party, led by David Cameron, campaigned on a platform of economic stability, promising to continue with austerity measures to reduce the national debt. The Labour Party, led by Ed Miliband, promised to end austerity and increase public spending, while also proposing a range of measures to address inequality. In many ways, the election represented a clash between two different visions of the country's economic future, with the Conservatives advocating for a continuation of the status quo and Labour calling for a change in direction.

National security was also a significant issue, particularly in the wake of the Paris attacks in November 2015. The Conservatives campaigned on a platform of increased spending on defense and security, while also advocating for greater surveillance powers for the intelligence services. Labour, meanwhile, called for a more nuanced approach to national security, one that would prioritize diplomacy and development aid in addition to military measures.

Immigration was a contentious issue during the election, with the UK Independence Party (UKIP) advocating for stricter controls on immigration and the Conservatives pledging to reduce net migration to the country. Labour, meanwhile, promised to address the causes of migration, such as poverty and conflict, rather than simply attempting to restrict it.

The Syrian refugee crisis was also a major political issue in 2015, as millions of people fled the civil war in Syria and sought refuge in neighboring countries, Europe, and beyond. This crisis sparked a heated debate about immigration policies and national security in many countries, and it also raised questions about the responsibilities of wealthy nations to help those in need.

As mentioned before, the articles and editorials selected for analysis were produced between August 2015 and December 2015. It was in this period of time that Europe witnessed an increased refugee movement. Due to its strict migration laws, Britain hosted a limited number of refugees compared to Germany, which took more than one million refugees. It's worth noting that the UK's approach to resettling refugees has faced criticism from Germany and other European countries. The German chancellor,

Angela Merkel stated that the British government should do more to provide a safe haven for people fleeing conflict and persecution.

On the other hand, the UK government refused to bow to the pressure of Germany, claiming that its resettlement schemes are an important part of its humanitarian response to the Syrian crisis. The British Prime Minister, Mr. Cameron declared that his government had provided humanitarian aids to refugee camps in different locations, namely in Jordan and Lebanon and that Britain could not welcome more refugees because this step would threaten its national security and economy as there were radicals and economic migrants among the arrivals.

In conclusion, the political context in Britain in 2015 was complex and multifaceted, with a range of issues at play, including the economy, immigration, and national security. The election represented a clash between different visions of the refugee crisis, with the Conservative Party advocating for increasing the amount of aid provided to refugees in the region and Labour calling for the government to accept more refugees. This political clash has certainly affected the discourse of the British press in its coverage of the crisis.

3.3. Method

This study employs a qualitative data analysis method known as critical discourse analysis (CDA). The CDA method was chosen as an analysis method because the study's goal is to discover the meaning behind media representations. Accordingly, to analyse the ways in which the Syrian refugees are represented in the selected newspapers, the researcher applied a critical discourse analysis and two analytical models: 1) Van Leeuwen's framework (2008), a comprehensive framework in CDA that is based on a socio-semantic inventory, and 2) Wodak's (2009) discourse-historical model. The choice of these two models is due to two major reasons: first, they are considered influential in the field of CDA studies, namely in the study of media representations. Second, a thorough investigation of media discourse requires the application of more than one method. Therefore, an eclectic approach to analyzing and interpreting media texts is crucial.

Like Fairclough's and Van Dijk's approaches, Wodak's (2009) discourse-historical approach views discourse as a form of social practice. Wodak (2001) has focused on the interdisciplinary and eclectic nature of CDA, since problems in our society are too

complex to be studied from a single point of view. Thus, to understand and explain the issue under investigation, one needs to integrate diverse theories and methods. Wodak (2001) thus contends that "studies in CDA are multifarious, derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds, and oriented towards different data and methodologies" (Wodak, 2001, p. 5). Therefore, a critical discourse analyst needs to resort not just to one method but to a range of methods. This means that the linguistic approach should be combined with historical, socio-political, sociological, anthropological, sociolinguistic, etc. perspectives.

Van Leeuwen's "socio-semantic" model is concerned with the semantic resources of discourse for representing social practices. The term can be traced back to Halliday's (1994) systemic-functional linguistics and its focus on studying "the socio-semantics of i.e., "the meanings of language in use in the textual processes of social life" (Eggins, 2004, p. 2). However, the theoretical premise of Van Leeuwen's work is not so much Hallidayan functionalism as the "primacy of practice": (semiotic) representation is ultimately based on what social actors do, on individual people permanently constituting and reproducing social structure.

What unites Van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic approach and Wodak's (2009) discourse-historical approach is their interest in "the critique of dominant discourses and genres that effect inequalities, injustices, and oppression in contemporary society" (Van Leeuwen, 2009b, p. 278). The adjective "critical" thus means that the approach is oriented towards critiquing and changing society instead of merely describing, understanding, or explaining it.

In this study, news articles and editorials are conceptualised as texts that have representational qualities and work to sustain a particular ideological view. CDA considers texts and discourses to be embedded in society and social practices in complex ways. Particular discourses are formed in ways that are appropriate to the interests of social actors in given social contexts (Machin & Van Leeuwen 2007, p. 60). The more powerful social actors regulate how ideas are put into practice and used to regulate the conduct of others. Thus, discourses are also conceptualised in CDA as a form of social action.

The data collected then were analyzed using Theo van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic categories of the representation of social actors to see, in particular, how

the Syrian refugees are represented in the selected texts. Those categories, most often used by CDA practitioners, include inclusion and exclusion, activation and passivation, and association and dissociation. Van Leeuwen's (2008) framework is useful for articulating the role of social actors in the text by utilising socio-semantic rather than grammatical categories. As seen in Chapter 2, in this framework, social actors can be excluded for ideological reasons or realised (included) for ideological reasons through the following mechanisms: 1) exclusion (suppression, backgrounding); 2) inclusion (activation, passivation, nominalization, genericization, and specification; assimilation; association and dissociation; differentiation and indifferentiation; nomination and categorisation; personalization and impersonalization; identification and functionalization; and determination and indetermination).

In terms of exclusion, Van Leeuwen (2008) asserts that some texts exclude reference to social actors altogether. In some cases, the exclusion in the text does leave a trace, and readers are left asking questions about actors and events or can deduce information or links between information by a process of inference. This "less radical" type of exclusion is termed "backgrounding" (p. 29). Due to the fact that text producers often exclude social actors in ways that suit their interests and purposes, Van Leeuwen (2008) claims that exclusion is an important aspect that CDA research should attend to (p. 29).

In addition to Van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic framework for analyzing social actors and social actions, this study also applies Wodak's (2009) discourse-historical model to analyse the historical, social, and political context in which the discourses under investigation were produced. The DHA approach, according to Wodak, is based on the concept of "context," which takes into account four levels. The first one is descriptive, while the other three levels are part of theories about context. The immediate, language, or text internal co-text is included in the first level. On the second level, there are the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between utterances, texts, genres, and discourses. The third level takes into account the extralinguistic social and sociological variables and the institutional frames of a specific "context of situation." Finally, on the fourth level, there is the broader sociopolitical and historical context, which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 67). DHA is problem-oriented and not focused on specific linguistic items. The theory and the methodology are integrated, which is helpful in understanding and explaining the object under investigation. Wodak argues

that a constant movement back and forth between theory and empirical data is necessary.

Moreover, the analysis will also explore the discursive strategies of Reisigl and Wodak (2001), with a special focus on *topoi* and other supporting elements, such as rhetorical tropes (e.g., metaphors, metonymies, etc.) and other means of linguistic realization. The aim of this analysis is to establish the actual characteristics and features of the analyzed discourses. "*Topoi*" is an important category in the analysis of argumentative strategies. It is used as an argumentation scheme. *Topoi* defines what the aim of the argument is. *Topoi* can be identified as "certain headings of arguments" which, in a way, summarise the argument while also providing it with a necessary "skeleton" which is fleshed over by respective discourse contents (Krzyanowski, 2010, p. 85). According to Kienpointner, *topoi* are the content-related warrants or "conclusion rules" that connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion, or the claim (Kienpointner, 1992, p. 194, as cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 74). The analysis of typical content-related argument schemes can be carried out against the background of the list of *topoi*. In this research, we adopt the list of *topoi* suggested by Wodak & Meyer (2009), given in Table 2.

Table 2. The list of *topoi* (adapted from Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 74).

1. Usefulness	8. Burdening, weighting
2. Advantage	9. Finances
3. Disadvantage	10. Numbers
4. Danger and threat	11. Law and right
5. Humanitarianism	12. History
6. Justice	13. Culture
7. Responsibility	14. Abuse

Topoi, which can be used to argue for or against racism, ethnicism, and nationalism, can be used to discuss various forms of social exclusion, discrimination, or preferential treatment (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 73). Here are the *topoi* that are most relevant for

this research described by Reisigl and Wodak (2001). When victims are held accountable for the prejudices directed against them, the *topos of danger* or threat can result in a victim-victimizer reversal. The *topos of humanitarianism* is closely connected with the *topos of justice*, which is based on the claim of "equal rights for all." *The topos of history* focuses on a change in the past: on ostensibly learning from history. A *topos of history* is used to warn of a repetition of the past, the historical analogies being more or less adequate. *The topos of burdening* or weighing down is a specific causal topos and can be reduced to the following metaphorical phrase: "the boat is full/overcrowded." *The topos of responsibility* can be summarised by the formula: because a state or a group of persons is responsible for the emergence of specific problems, it or they should act in order to find solutions to these problems. *The financial topos* focuses on alleged negative socioeconomic consequences. The *topos of culture* is based on the following argumentation scheme: because the culture of a specific group of people is as it is, specific problems arise in specific situations. The topos of numbers may be defined under the condition: if the numbers prove a specific topos, a specific action should be performed.

It is worth noting that Reisigl and Wodak (2001) adopt some concepts of Theo van Leeuwen's system network of representation of social actors in discourse (Van Leeuwen, 1996), such as the categories of "exclusion," "inclusion," "suppression," "backgrounding," "passivation," "categorisation," "specification," "genericization," "assimilation," and "collectivization." According to Reisigl and Wodak (2001), the common feature of the presented labelings is that they are based on a referential identification procedure that is tropologically described as synecdochization: a specific feature, trait, or characteristic is selectively pushed to the fore as a "part for the whole," as a representative depicter (p. 46).

Exclusion or inclusion of social actors in linguistic representations can serve a variety of psychological, social, or political goals on the part of the speakers or writers. Linguistic exclusion clearly has discriminatory consequences. Linguistic inclusion is very often an indicator of fair and just representation and treatment, but it can also have a disguising, relativizing, or averting function (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 47).

Further, we will also look for the potential referential strategies presented by Reisigl and Wodak (2001, pp. 48–52). Analytically, Reisigl and Wodak (2001, p. 52) assume a strategy that represents social actors in terms of social activities. Researchers name

this strategy "actionalization," considering "professionalization" as a specific form of actionalization, which can also overlap with other categories.

Furthermore, to find out whether *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian* have used rhetorics of racism and discrimination in their coverage of the refugee crisis, another level of analysis will be carried out following the analytical categories described by Reisigl and Wodak (2001)—strategies of self- and other-presentation. Reisigl and Wodak (2001) created five questions that help to define the strategies of self- and other-presentation in the analysis of discourses about racial, national, and ethnic issues: How are people named and referred to linguistically? What traits, characteristics, qualities, and features are attributed to them? By what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimise the exclusion, discrimination, suppression, and exploitation of others? From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions, and arguments expressed? Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, are they intensified, or are they mitigated? (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 44)

These questions lead to the five discursive strategies, which are all involved in the presentation of the positive self and the negative other. According to Wodak (Wodak & Meyer, 2009), the discursive constructions of "us" and "them" are the basic foundations of discourses of identity and difference. Wodak emphasizes that such discourses are salient for discourses of discrimination (p. 73). By "strategy," the researchers mean a plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological, or linguistic aim (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 44).

There are five different strategies (see Table 3), distinguished by Reisigl and Wodak (2001):

1. Referential strategies or nomination strategies are those by which one constructs and represents social actors, for example, in-groups and out-groups.
2. Predictional strategies that aim either at labelling social actors more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively.
3. Argumentation strategies, a fund of topoi through which positive and negative attributions are justified.

4. Perspectivation, framing, or discourse representation, by means of which speakers express their involvement in discourse.
5. Intensifying or mitigating strategies that help to qualify and modify the epistemic status of a proposition by intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of racist, nationalist, or ethnicist utterances.

Table 3. Discursive strategies (Wodak& Meyer, 2009, p. 73).

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
Referential/ nomination	Construction of in-groups and out-groups	membership ,categorization biological, naturalizing and depersonalizing, metaphors and metonymies
Predication	Labelling social actors more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively	stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits
Argumentation	Justification of positive or negative attributions	<i>topoi</i> used to justify political inclusion or exclusion, discrimination or preferential treatment
Perspectivation, framing or discourserepresentation	Expressing involvement Positioning speaker's point of view	reporting, description, narration or quotation of (discriminatory) events and utterances
Intensification, mitigation	Modifying the epistemic status of a proposition	intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of (discriminatory) utterances

In short, Wodak's model of CDA helps us interpret the article by analyzing the discursive practices, social practices, power relations, sociocognitive structures, social and historical context, and identity construction embedded within the discourse. It

allows us to uncover the dynamics of power, challenge dominant ideologies, and understand the social implications of the discourse on asylum policy.

3.4. Analysis

3.4.1 Text1 (Editorial)

The editorial "*The Guardian* view on Britain's response to the Syrian refugee crisis: morally bankrupt" was published on August 25, 2015, on *The Guardian*'s website. From the title, it is clear that *The Guardian* considers that the British government has failed to respond morally and responsibly to the refugee crisis. The author employed the expression "morally bankrupt" to denote a big deficiency in assuming moral responsibility towards the Syrian refugees. Furthermore, the editorial claims that the British authorities failed to take refugees into political and economic charge:

1) Fortress Britain has no answer to the political and economic challenge of Syrian refugees, let alone a moral one

Furthermore, the author, through the strategy of legitimation, emphasizes the fact that the Syrian refugees are in an urgent need to be taken in charge due to the hardships they witnessed both in their country because of the ongoing civil war and during their journey to Europe:

2) It is an all-too-real disaster for hundreds of thousands of Syrians and others who are fleeing war and persecution and have endured perilous journeys to reach the southern fringes of Europe.

In the extract above, the main social actors are Syrian refugees. They are constructed to be legitimate recipients of help and support. This legitimacy is reinforced by the use of the word "disaster," which is generally used to describe a very bad situation. Another discourse strategy used in this extract is "objectivity." By using the expression "hundreds of thousands," the author gave the reader a concrete instruction about the number of refugees who are fleeing war-torn countries.

In another excerpt, the author portrayed Germany as a leader and an example in promoting human rights in general and refugee rights in particular, in contrast to Britain, which has remained vigilant and awkward about the refugee issue.

3) Germany, partly for reasons to do with its history and its growing demand for labour, is emerging as the champion of the moral case. On Sunday, in a significant demonstration of its commitment to Europe's fundamental values, the government unilaterally suspended the Dublin

protocol, which obliges refugees to seek asylum in the first safe country they reach, for all Syrians.

In the extract above, the social actors are Germany, Europe, and Syrians. They are presented by means of inclusion. The discourse strategy of "differentiation" is found here. Germany is described as being distinct from the other EU countries in its approach to the refugee crisis, owing to the substantial assistance it provided. This difference is highlighted by the use of the word "champion." In addition, following the discursive strategies of Wodak and Reisigl (2001), the topos of "responsibility" is found here. Germany accepted moral responsibility for the Syrian refugees. The author used this topos to back up his argument that Germany taught the other European countries a lesson in morality.

In the sentence below, the author used the strategy of "activation" to emphasise the perpetrator of the action. The use of active instead of passive indicates that Germany, as a social actor, is assigned an active role.

4) Germany has taken more than 40% of the Syrian refugees who have reached Europe

As Van Leeuwen (2008) observed, role allocation can be identified by using the transitivity system, whether the social actor is represented as the agent, patient (subjected or treated as objects), or beneficiary. The social actors identified as "beneficiaries" in the above sentence are the Syrian refugees. Moreover, the author provided the percentage of Syrian refugees who benefited from permission to enter Germany (40%). In terms of van Leeuwen's (2008) categories, this strategy is called "aggregation," i.e., the social actors are represented through numbers, or statistics.

In the following extract, the author continues to blame the British government and other European countries, except for Germany, of course, for not doing enough to help the Syrians. On the contrary, they took measures to prevent, or at least slow down, the flow of refugees to Europe.

5) Instead, the approach from the Conservative government has been unremittingly hostile. Last week's meeting between British and French home affairs ministers to try to resolve the Calais crisis resulted only in an ever more punitive regime of razor wire and crackdowns.

Again, the author used the tool of over-lexicalization to stress the gravity of the situation in Calais. Framing the events that happened there as a "crisis" makes

the situation appear more dramatic, and thus, it can be stated that the author wishes to attract the reader's attention to what is happening in the borders by over-exaggerating the situation.

In the following extract, the author confirms what he implied in the title: that Britain gave up its moral responsibility towards the Syrian refugees. He mentioned the UK along with Hungary, where hundreds of Syrians got injured trying to cross the razor wire. Both countries are accused of deepening the suffering of these groups instead of helping them.

6) Fence-building in Hungary, razor wire in Calais, prison in the UK: none of these are real solutions to either the economic or political challenges of this era of mass migration. Nor are they any sort of adequate response to the moral imperative of offering shelter to those seeking asylum.

It can be stated that *The Guardian*, through this editorial, presents itself as sympathetic by drawing heavily on topoi of victimization, where the refugees are represented as helpless, desperate, powerless, and the victims of persecution and oppression.

3.4.2. Text 2 (Article)

The article "Cameron bows to pressure to let in more Syrian refugees" was published on 3rd of September 2015, on *The Guardian's* website. The author starts the article quoting British Prime Minister David Cameron:

7) Prime minister says UK will take thousands of people now housed in UN refugee camps on Syria's border

Quoting original sources is a well-known discourse strategy that journalists frequently employ to increase the credibility of their articles. Besides, the presence of quotations in news articles gives the impression that the newspaper is reporting the news objectively. Drawing on Van Leeuwen's (2008) categories, the social actors are described by means of objectivity. The reader is given clear information about the number of refugees to be taken in by the UK (thousands of people). Further, the social actor "UK" is foregrounded in the text and assigned a positive role. In terms of elements of social practice, the article relates the social practice (hosting refugees) to a specific location (refugee camps on Syria's borders). Furthermore, the referential strategy used here is "personalization," as refugees are referred to as "human beings" (people). Not surprisingly, the topoi of "humanitarianism" and "numbers" are used

together here (thousands of people) as an argumentative scheme to persuade the reader, particularly power holders, to take action to pick up refugees from camps since these locations lack the eligibility to guarantee the minimum living conditions for a large number of people.

Later in the article, the author stated that the decision to let hundreds of refugees in is not part of the migration policy of the British government but a result of the pressure exercised by the international community:

8) David Cameron has bowed to growing international and domestic demands that Britain take in more refugees fleeing the Syrian civil war by indicating that the UK would accept thousands more refugees.

In this respect, it is worth mentioning that Britain, throughout its history, has always placed strict rules to limit the number of migrants, unlike Germany which is more tolerant in this issue. The moderate German migration policy may be justified by its need to have foreign labour that would contribute to the growth of its economy and its willingness to host heterogeneous cultures. Additionally, the political clash between Britain and the Syrian regime led to more rejection of migrants coming from Syria. British officials conceive a different solution to the crisis. To them, the number of refugees is so big to be contained, therefore, the only solution is to resolve the political conflicts in Syria and make it safe again:

9) Cameron believes that, since there are reportedly two million Syrian refugees in the Middle East, the ultimate answer does not lie in taking refugees but in finding a political solution within Syria.

The article says the UK would accept thousands of refugees without giving the reader an exact number. This is because David Cameron cannot take decision without getting the approval of the parliament:

10) He may not be able to put a specific number on how many refugees the government is willing to take, but it is expected the government will make a Commons statement on Monday when parliament returns after the summer recess.

From the extract above, we see how power relations affect discourse. The dominance of powerful groups and institutions such as parliament is reflected in the British prime minister's discourses on migration in general and the refugee crisis in particular. As Fairclough (1995) asserts, "texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of

power and struggles over power" (p. 132). As for the selection of the refugees to be taken by Britain, the article didn't provide detailed information.

11) People selected to come to the UK are likely to be drawn from the UNHCR camps on the border of Syria and not from Calais or other locations near the country. But the final number of refugees allowed in to the UK will amount to fewer than tens of thousands, well short of the numbers likely to be taken by Germany.

From the extract above, it is clear that the criteria for selecting refugees were suppressed; the text didn't mention whether the refugees were going to be selected according to their gender, age, religion, ethnicity, or profession. So, drawing on Van Leeuwen's (2008) elements of social practice, one element is missing here: the eligibility conditions for the participant, i.e., who is eligible to play the role of refugee according to British migration policy. This question relates to the controversial debate about "worthy" and "unworthy" refugees discussed in the section of previous works on refugees in Chapter 2. Then, the text says the refugees will be taken from UNHCR camps on Syria's borders. The reader might wonder why we are not taking refugees from neighbouring locations such as Calais. Looking at intertextual features, we can see that this text was written in the same political and social context as Germany; one point in common is that both texts stated that Britain did not find suitable solutions to the social and political challenges posed by the refugee crisis on its borders. So, it can be deduced that this text is an extension of previous texts, all of which condemn the low and slow British response to the issue.

Again, the author used "personalization" as a referential strategy to refer to the Syrian refugees (people). In another part of the clause, they are represented as numbers (tens of thousands). The topoi of numbers and large quantities used here do not constitute "negativity." They are used to indicate that the refugee crisis is serious and needs an urgent intervention regarding the worsening humanitarian situation of refugees. In terms of transitivity analysis, they are constructed as "beneficiaries" (allowed into the UK). The clause includes both social actors, the United Kingdom and Germany, under the subcategory of differentiation; Germany is assigned a more positive trait for accepting a larger number of refugees.

In the following extract lies the answer to the previous question: why take refugees from refugee camps on Syria's borders and not from neighboring locations?

12) The prime minister appeared to remain convinced that accepting a large number of Syrian refugees who were already in Europe would worsen the crisis and create more chaos; it would incentivize criminal gangs to persuade more people to undertake the risky journey across the Mediterranean and Eastern Europe from the Middle East.

Obviously, the British officials are not willing to accept the refugees who have arrived in Europe because they believe that most of them might have left their country fleeing poverty, not war; thus, accepting them would encourage more people to come to Europe. However, this argument may be just an excuse to shirk moral responsibility. Again, the main question in the issue is: who deserves and who doesn't deserve to be granted asylum? This question is not of much significance to Germany, as the crisis is humanitarian in the first place and has to do with moral responsibility.

3.4.3. Text 3 (Editorial)

The editorial "*The Guardian* view on Cameron's refugee plans: small numbers, big distractions" was published on September 7th, 2015, on *The Guardian's* website. The title of the editorial suggests that *The Guardian* still underestimates the efforts Britain has made to support refugees. As mentioned earlier, Britain has strict rules when it comes to the issue of migration. However, after being criticised for taking a limited number of refugees compared to other EU countries such as Germany and after the spread of the sad story of Aylan Kurdi, which shocked the world, it started to think more flexibly:

13) After the unbearable sight of Aylan Kurdi's lifeless three-year-old limbs caused an abrupt about-turn in sentiment in the right-leaning press last week, a prime minister whose government had in March tightened the asylum rules confronting Syrians, grasped that he now needed to show a little more flexibility.

According to Van Leeuwen (2008), newspapers tend to represent social actors by referring to them either as individuals or as groups (P. 24). Individualization is realized by singularity and assimilation by plurality (P. 37). In the extract above, the author employed both individualization (Aylan Kurdi) and assimilation (Syrians). Wodak (2001) maintains that one form of individualization is using proper nouns. In addition, the topos of humanitarianism is found here. Reminding the reader of the drawn little boy by mentioning his name and age, as well as the usage of the adjective "lifeless," creates a sense of sympathy and grief. According to *The Guardian* and many British citizens, the image of Aylan Kurdi softened Mr. Cameron's heart and forced him to

show more flexibility. After that incident, Britain decided to take an additional 20,000 Syrians. The editorial valued the decision, though it was late and didn't meet expectations.

14) His headline offer was for Britain to take an extra 20,000 Syrians, which sounded respectable enough, if not generous.

3.4.4. Text 4 (Article)

The article "Conservative asylum policy on Syria 'too low, too slow, too narrow'" was published on October, 12 th, 2015, on *The Guardian's* website. Van Dijk (1988) asserts that the headline and the lead paragraph hold significant importance in the cognitive model of journalists, as they encapsulate the most essential information and shape their perception and understanding of a news event. The title of the article suggests that the conservative government's approach to asylum policy regarding Syrian refugees is being criticized for being inadequate and restrictive. The use of the terms "too low, too slow, too narrow" implies that the policy falls short in terms of the number of refugees accepted, the speed of processing asylum claims, and the limited scope of eligibility. The title indicates a negative evaluation of the conservative government's stance on Syrian asylum seekers, emphasizing its perceived shortcomings and raising concerns about the impact on those seeking refuge.

The article presents a discourse that challenges the government's asylum policy through the voices of legal professionals and judges who present a counter-narrative that calls for safe and legal routes, a fair share of refugees, and the suspension of the Dublin system. Their critique is based on legal expertise, moral responsibility, and historical perspectives, and it seeks to shape public opinion and influence government decision-making. This discourse challenges the government's position and frames it as failing to address the refugee crisis adequately.

Using Van Leeuwen's framework of social actors, we can identify several key actors in the article:

1. The Government: The article mentions the government's offer to take in 20,000 Syrian refugees over five years. The statement by the senior lawyers, former law lords, and retired judges criticizes the government's offer as being "too low, too slow and too narrow." The government represents the state and is responsible for formulating and implementing asylum policies.

2. Senior Lawyers, Former Law Lords, and Retired Judges: This group of legal professionals, including prominent figures such as Lord Phillips, Steyn, Walker, Woolf, Sir Nicolas Bratza, and Lord MacDonal, has collectively issued a statement criticizing the UK's asylum policy as "deeply inadequate." They advocate for the establishment of safe and legal routes to the UK, accepting a fair share of refugees, and suspending the Dublin system. Their statement reflects their expertise in legal matters and their concern about the government's response to the refugee crisis.

3. QCs (Queen's Counsels): Over a hundred QCs have supported the legal initiative against the government's asylum policy. QCs are senior barristers recognized for their expertise and standing in the legal profession. Their support adds weight to the critique of the government's approach.

4. Former Independent Reviewer of Terrorism Legislation: Alex Carlile, a former independent reviewer of terrorism legislation, has also backed the legal initiative. As an expert in counterterrorism and legal matters, his support adds credibility to the criticism of the government's response.

5. Judges: Several judges who recently sat in the court of appeal, including Sir Henry Brooke, Sir Richard Buxton, Sir Anthony Hooper, Sir Alan Moses, and Sir Stephen Sedley, have joined the statement. Their involvement demonstrates a growing trend of judiciary figures becoming more politically outspoken.

Applying Wodak's model of discourse-historical approach, we can notice that:

1. Strategies of Legitimization: The legal professionals and judges legitimize their critique by emphasizing their expertise and professional standing. Their qualifications and experience in the legal field lend credibility to their claims and position them as authoritative voices on asylum matters.

(15) Among signatories is Catriona Jarvis, a retired judge in the upper tribunal of the immigration and asylum chamber, who said: "When history considers how our country has behaved in this moment of serious crisis, do we want to be judged as having wrung our hands while standing back in the face of immense suffering?"

2. Strategies of Delegitimization: The discourse delegitimizes the government's response by labeling it as inadequate and by contrasting it with historical perceptions of the UK as a safe haven for refugees. The legal professionals and

judges position themselves as defenders of moral responsibility and advocate for a more comprehensive and humane approach.

16) The government's offer to take in 20,000 Syrian refugees over five years is far "too low, too slow and too narrow", according to a statement published by 300 senior lawyers, former law lords and retired judges.

17) Prominent supporters of the legal initiative, denouncing the UK's asylum policy as "deeply inadequate" on Monday,

18) "We have a legal and moral responsibility to provide protection that is not beyond our capabilities and should not be beyond our will."

3. Argumentation and Persuasion: The discourse employs argumentation by highlighting the scale of the Syria crisis, the need for safe and lawful routes, and the universal human right of seeking refuge from persecution and war. The legal professionals and judges use emotional appeals and appeal to the nation's historical reputation to persuade the government to reconsider its position.

19) Sedley, a court of appeal justice, said: "It is within the UK's power to curtail the lethal boat traffic by enabling refugees from Syria and Iraq to travel here lawfully in order to apply for asylum.

20) Buxton, another former appeal court justice, said: "I was an asylum judge for more than twenty years, and the Syria crisis dwarfs all previous experience. The first priority in this exceptional situation is for the law to enable safe and lawful routes to this country for genuine asylum seekers, to save them from the depredations of traffickers and danger and death in the Mediterranean."

4. Intertextuality and Entextualization: The discourse draws on legal and moral frameworks to shape the narrative. The legal professionals and judges reference legal responsibilities, universal human rights, and the historical role of the UK in providing refuge. These intertextual references help establish the legitimacy of their claims and connect their arguments to broader societal values.

According to Ruth Wodak, language is not created in isolation from its surrounding context but rather within discursive contexts that are shaped by the ideologies of social systems and institutions (Wodak, 2009). From the article, we can identify several ideologies that underpin the discourse and perspectives presented:

1. Humanitarianism: The article reflects a strong humanitarian ideology, emphasizing the moral responsibility to provide protection and assistance to

refugees fleeing persecution and war. The legal professionals and judges argue for safe and legal routes, a fair share of refugees, and criticize the government's response as inadequate, invoking the universal human right of seeking refuge.

2. **Legalism and Rule of Law:** The legal professionals and judges assert their expertise and advocate for adherence to legal frameworks and principles. They critique the government's asylum policy as "deeply inadequate" and call for a comprehensive and just response. Their emphasis on legal responsibilities and the need for a coherent approach reflects an ideology rooted in the rule of law.
3. **Global Solidarity:** The discourse in the article supports the idea of global solidarity and burden-sharing. The legal professionals and judges argue that Britain should accept a fair and proportionate share of refugees, challenging the government's position of supporting refugees primarily in the region. This perspective aligns with an ideology that promotes shared responsibility and assistance across nations.
4. **Critique of Nationalism:** The criticism of the government's response to the refugee crisis suggests a critique of nationalist ideologies that prioritize national interests over humanitarian concerns. The legal professionals and judges position the UK as a historically reputable safe haven for refugees and argue that the government's offer to take in 20,000 Syrian refugees over five years is inadequate, implying a departure from the UK's previous role.
5. **Advocacy for Social Justice:** The discourse in the article reflects an ideology that supports social justice, equality, and fairness. The legal professionals and judges argue for a more comprehensive and humane approach to the refugee crisis, highlighting the need for safe and lawful routes and criticizing the Dublin system, which they see as putting undue burden on asylum-seekers.

These ideologies are embedded in the discourse and perspectives of the legal professionals, judges, and supporters of the legal initiative. They shape the narrative and influence the call for policy change regarding the government's asylum policy.

3.4.5. Text 5 (Editorial)

The editorial, "The EU will have to control its borders: The arrival of 800,000 asylum seekers in Germany makes a mockery of the EU's immigration policies," "Free

movement without passports will, inevitably, be up for renegotiation," was published on August 21, 2015, on *The Daily Telegraph* website. The author started the editorial by giving the reader the estimated number of refugees to arrive in Germany in 2015:

21) Europe's migrant crisis has reached astonishing proportions. Germany is now expected to receive 800,000 asylum seekers in 2015. This amounts to roughly 1 per cent of the country's population, or a little more than the population of Leeds.

Following Van Leeuwen's (2008) social actor framework, refugees are assimilated by means of collectivization (asylum seekers) and aggregation (1 percent). Collectivization is achieved in this case by supplying the potential number of asylum seekers. Describing the new arrivals as being 1 percent of the German population embodies a negative connotation. Implicitly, the author used the topoi of threat and danger in the sense that such a huge number of migrants can pose a security threat to the country and endanger its social as well as cultural identity because, as stated in the subtitle, all these people will be circulating without passports, which makes it difficult to filter or control them.

In the following extract, the author draws on history to describe the current situation. The author argues that the same thing reoccurred, yet with different reasons:

22) Free movement seemed attractive and logical during the Cold War, when Western Europe was more isolated from the world's poor by the Iron Curtain. But in the 21st century, poverty and war have driven millions to seek a new life within an expanded EU.

In terms of Wodak's HAD analytical categories, the topoi of "history" and "numbers" are used here. According to Wodak and Meyer (2009), the topos of history is used to warn of a repetition of the past (p. 73). This historical analogy is made to warn against the potential risks that may result from the free movement of thousands of unidentified migrants in Europe. In this extract, the author reminds the reader that not all of the asylum seekers are fleeing war in their countries; many of them immigrate because of poverty. Based on this argument, it can be stated that media texts tend to associate the term "refugee" with the term "migrant" when representing refugees. In the same vein, some EU countries like Britain justified their failure to host large numbers of refugees by claiming that most of them are illegal migrants, not real refugees.

The text continues discussing the concept of "free movement" in Europe imposed by the migration crisis:

23) Thomas de Maizière, Germany's interior minister has acknowledged that the very principle of free movement is suddenly up for debate. "We want free movement of people," he said, "but... the question is what does free movement of people mean in Europe?" The answer is probably that free movement will remain for citizens of the EU but that there will have to be a much tighter enforcement for anyone who falls outside of that definition.

According to the analytical categories described by Reisigl and Wodak's (2001) strategies of self- and other-presentation, the text constructs EU citizens as in-groups and asylum seekers as out-groups. This classification is realised through the discursive devices "categorization" and "membership." Wodak and Meyer (2009) assert that the discursive constructions of "us" and "them" are the basic foundations of discourses of identity and difference (p. 73). In the text, "us" refers to citizens of EU countries who have the right to "move freely," and "them" refers to migrants, to whom the slogan "free movement" doesn't apply. They have to fulfil preset conditions to be eligible to "move freely" in Europe. In terms of Van Leeuwen's (2008) recontextualization of social practice, migrants as social actors lack the eligibility conditions for participants.

Additionally, the author used the methods of "intensification" and "over-lexicalization" to warn of the increasing number of migrants:

24) In Germany, poor control of the continental border has led to a population explosion that may prove grist to the mill of extremist parties who want to destroy the EU altogether.

In this passage, the author doesn't distinguish between refugees and migrants. Both are collectivised and attributed negative traits; they contributed to the population explosion, and their existence in Europe can be exploited to weaken the EU. Again, the topoi of "threat" and "burden" are used here. These topoi are likely to be found in some studies on the media's representation of refugees.

3.4.6. Text 6 (Article)

The article "David Cameron: Britain should not take more refugees" "The Prime Minister refuses to heed calls for Britain to accept more refugees amid the ongoing Mediterranean migrant crisis," was published on September 2nd, 2015, on *The Daily Telegraph's* website. The article reports about the refusal of the British government to bow to pressure to take more refugees:

25) Britain should not take “more and more refugees”, David Cameron has said in his clearest indication that he will not bow to pressure from Germany to accept thousands of migrants entering Europe.

In terms of individualization and collectivization, the social actors—Britain, Germany, and David Cameron—are individualized while refugees are collectivized. The author used collectivization as a form of assimilation using a proper noun. The extract also reveals the struggle for power between the two powerful social actors, Britain and Germany. This struggle is manifested through the usage of the verb "bow" and the noun "pressure." Each country wants to impose its own perspective on managing the refugee crisis.

Moreover, the author used the intensification as a discursive strategy to emphasize Britain’s refusal to take more refugees:

26) The Prime Minister rejected calls from European leaders for Britain to take “its fair share” of migrants.

Further, the author quotes the Prime Minister as saying that Britain cannot take more refugees. Yet he didn’t provide the reader with any reasons, which indicates that some details were suppressed. The expression "fair share" connotes the heavy economic burden imposed by the huge number of refugees arriving in Europe, a burden which Germany wishes to share with other EU countries.

In the following clause, the author used the metaphor "flood" to denote the mass of refugees arriving in Europe:

27) Hundreds of thousands of migrants are flooding into Europe from Syria and Africa, leaving a number of countries struggling to cope.

As seen in Chapter 2, this metaphor is found in previous research on refugees' representation (e.g., Parker, 2014). Journalists tend to use the metaphors of water, such as "floods" and "waves," to portray refugees who are displaced because of wars and armed conflicts. The author also employed the term "migrants" instead of "refugees," supporting the claim of Mr. Cameron: that among those masses are economic migrants who dream of a better life. Moreover, the refugees are grounded in the clause by means of activation, yet constructed as numbers (hundreds of thousands) and allocated negative traits, unlike Mr. Cameron, who is presented as an active social actor performing positive actions:

28) Mr. Cameron said Britain was focusing on stabilizing and improving the countries where migrants and refugees come from and highlighted action the Government is taking to improve security at the French port of Calais.

Using the strategy of intensification, the author continues to magnify the efforts of Mr. Cameron to find a radical solution to the refugee crisis:

29) He said: "We are taking action right across the board, helping countries from which these people are coming, stabilizing them and trying to make sure there are worthwhile jobs and stronger economies there.

3.4.7. Text 7 (Article)

The article "Boris Johnson: London will accept Syrian refugees" Mr. Johnson says that "London will of course face up to its moral responsibilities" as he opens his talk about taking more Syrian refugees. was published on September 3, 2015, on *The Daily Telegraph's* website. The author used quotations to build credibility for his article. Journalists use quotations frequently when editing their articles to show the reader that the news is reported directly from the original sources without any distortion or interpretation. The author continues quoting Mr. Johnson:

30) Boris Johnson has said that London will "face up to its moral responsibilities" by accepting refugees fleeing the conflict in Syria.

In the clause above, four social actors are included: Boris Johnson, London, refugees, and Syria. The first social actor is individualized, while the fourth is assimilated. London is assigned a positive role (accepting refugees). Moreover, the author used the topos of "responsibility." Mr. Johnson's remarks came at a time when Britain was accused of abdicating moral responsibility by turning its back on refugees. In terms of exclusion, some details were excluded from the text. For example, the text didn't mention how many refugees London will take or from which locations—from neighbouring countries or from UNHCR camps on the border of Syria.

Later in the text, the author distinguishes between the two social actors, Mr. Cameron and Mr. Johnson, with regard to their attitudes about accepting more refugees using the discourse strategy of differentiation:

31) Following David Cameron's suggestion that Britain cannot take "more and more" refugees, sources close to the Mayor of London said that he will now open talks with councils about the capital accepting Syrians.

Van Leeuwen (2008) holds that "differentiation explicitly differentiates an individual social actor or group of social actors from a similar actor or group" (p. 40). From a political perspective, it can be said that the British officials have different views and attitudes regarding the refugee policy set out by the government.

Looking at the timing of Mr. Johnson's statement, it followed the emotional impact caused by the death of Aylan Kurdi in Turkey:

32) It follows widespread horror after pictures emerged of three-year-old Aylan Kurdi from Kobani, in northern Syria, who was found dead on a Turkish beach after drowning.

After that tragic incident, officials in the EU countries shifted to a more comprehensive and flexible discourse, though they kept the same strategies and plans about the refugee crisis. As discussed in chapter 2, this is an example of media power shaping discourse. The media's widespread distribution of a photograph of three-year-old Aylan Kurdi, who was found dead on a Turkish beach, elicited sensitive reactions from billions of people worldwide, resulting in a remarkable shift in political discourses and actions:

33) Mr. Johnson said: "We should take people fleeing persecution and those plainly in fear for their lives. London will of course face up to its moral responsibilities. But we must not become a magnet or pole of attraction for economic migrants."

In the quotation above, the mayor of London admits Britain's moral responsibility vis-à-vis the Syrian refugees. He also expresses his sympathy and deep concern about the hardships they witnessed. At the same time, he emphasizes the importance of excluding economic migrants from refugee programs. So, the dichotomy of "worthy" and "unworthy" refugees is also present in this text.

The author also quoted George Osborne, the Chancellor:

34) "And, of course, Britain has always been a home to real asylum seekers, genuine refugees. We've taken 5,000 people from the Syrian conflict. We will go on taking people and keeping it under review. Britain has been playing a leading role and it will continue to do so."

In the quotation above, Britain is assigned a positive role as a participant in the social practice of welcoming refugees. It is constructed as being the country of human rights and the home of "real" asylum seekers. The refugees, here, are referred to as numbers. Drawing on Van Leeuwen's (2008) analytical categories of social actors, we also see

that the British people are collectivized, not only through the first-person plural "we," but also through the term "Britain."

3.4.8. Text 8 (Editorial)

The editorial "The 'refugees welcome' fad will do more harm than good" was published on September 3, 2015, on *The Daily Telegraph's* website. The title of the article suggests a critical stance towards the "refugees welcome" sentiment or movement that emerged in response to the refugee crisis. The use of the term "fad" implies that the welcoming attitude towards refugees is temporary, superficial, or driven by popular sentiment rather than careful consideration of the consequences. The title further suggests that the "refugees welcome" sentiment may have unintended negative effects or consequences, which will outweigh any positive outcomes. This positioning indicates a skepticism or critique of the idea that open and welcoming policies towards refugees are beneficial or effective in addressing the crisis.

Van Leeuwen's (2008) social actors framework focuses on the representation and positioning of social actors within discourse. Analyzing the provided article using this framework, we can identify how different social actors are constructed and positioned:

1. Little Aylan Kurdi's family: The article starts by portraying Aylan Kurdi and his family as victims of the wider calamity, emphasizing their tragic death and the risks they faced while attempting to reach Europe. They are depicted as vulnerable and in need of assistance, creating a sympathetic portrayal of refugees in general.
2. European Union (EU): The EU is represented as a complex entity with different member states and varying positions on the refugee crisis. It is depicted as facing pressure to accept refugees, with Angela Merkel's statement about considering asylum for Syrians in Germany being highlighted. The article also discusses mandatory quotas and burden-sharing arrangements, highlighting debates and tensions within the EU.
3. Angela Merkel and David Cameron: Angela Merkel is portrayed as making a unilateral gesture by welcoming Syrian refugees to Germany, while David Cameron is depicted as resisting pressure to accept more refugees. Merkel's stance is presented as compassionate, while Cameron's resistance is criticized as

being unfair and heartless, highlighting different political approaches to the crisis.

4. UNHCR and aid organizations: The UNHCR and aid organizations, represented by aid chief Stephen O'Brien, are mentioned as advocating for assistance to refugees in the countries neighboring Syria. Their perspective is presented as rational and morally justifiable, highlighting the importance of supporting refugees in situ and addressing the crisis at its source.
5. Arab nations: Arab nations, apart from those bordering Syria, are depicted as being reluctant to help with the refugee crisis. This representation raises questions about their perceived responsibilities and contributions to addressing the humanitarian crisis, positioning them as less engaged compared to European nations.
6. Social media users: The article briefly mentions the slogan "Refugees Welcome" and suggests that it may serve as a feel-good measure on social media platforms like Twitter. This representation implies that social media activism may not effectively address the complexities and potential consequences of the crisis.

The examination of the representation and positioning of these social actors, the author constructs a discourse that emphasizes the vulnerability of refugees, debates within the EU, differing political approaches, the role of aid organizations, and the responsibilities of Arab nations. It presents different perspectives and engages with the power dynamics and discourses surrounding the refugee crisis.

Wodak's discourse-historical approach focuses on the historical context and the ways in which discourse shapes and is shaped by social and political practices (Wodak, 2009). Analyzing the text using this approach, we can identify several key aspects:

1. Historical context: The article situates the current refugee crisis within the broader historical context of the Syrian civil war and the rise of ISIS. It highlights the complexities of the conflict and the challenges faced by those fleeing the region.

35) The power of a single photograph to capture and personalise the reality of a wider calamity has once more been demonstrated with the harrowing image of little Aylan Kurdi's body being carried from a Turkish beach. The three-year-old boy drowned with his mother and brother trying to cross to

Greece on a journey that hundreds of thousands of their displaced fellow Syrians are now making or are about to make.

2. Power dynamics and political discourses: The article discusses power relations and political discourses surrounding the refugee crisis. It emphasizes the pressures faced by political leaders, such as Angela Merkel and David Cameron, in addressing the crisis and the debates over burden-sharing arrangements within the EU.

36) Angela Merkel has declared that anyone from Syria who makes it to Germany will be considered for asylum.

37) Having made this unilateral gesture in order to relieve pressure on countries such as Italy and Greece, the Germans now insist that other member states take a “fair share” of refugees already inside the EU.

38) David Cameron is under intense pressure to agree a number to show that he cares, whatever the practical consequences may be. He is being unfairly traduced for resisting these blandishments and there is something deeply unpleasant about the picture of a dead child being used as a stick with which to beat a political opponent

3. Ideological positioning: The article positions itself as advocating for a rational and moral approach to the crisis. It supports the idea of helping refugees stay in camps near their home countries while criticizing the risks and dangers they face in attempting to reach Europe. It questions the effectiveness of slogans and policies that may not adequately address the root causes of the crisis.

4. International dimension and responsibilities: The text raises questions about the responsibilities of different countries and regions in addressing the refugee crisis. It questions the reluctance of Arab nations to provide assistance and calls for a global response to the humanitarian crisis.

39) The Prime Minister is as moved as anyone by the sight of a dead child; but he is right to say that it is better to help the refugees remain in camps in countries bordering Syria, in the expectation of one day returning home.

40) Moreover, there is an international dimension here. Why should a refugee emergency in the Middle East be solely a European problem? It may have become a migration crisis for the EU because of its proximity to the region but it is a humanitarian crisis for the world; so what are other countries doing about it?

5. Historical continuity and change: The article acknowledges the need for long-term solutions and policy changes to address the root causes of the crisis. It recognizes the difficulties in achieving these changes and highlights the challenges of managing an emergency of this scale.

41) But crisis management is not enough. A coherent long-term policy is needed to deal with the problem at source. That would need renewed international efforts to sort out the civil war in Syria and destroy Isil, yet neither is likely to happen any time soon.

Through the discourse-historical approach, the text provides a nuanced understanding of the refugee crisis by examining its historical roots, power dynamics, ideological positions, and the need for long-term solutions. It engages with the complexities of the crisis and highlights the interconnectedness of political, social, and historical factors.

It is important to uncover the ideologies that are embedded in the text. From a CDA perspective, ideologies are not necessarily explicitly stated but can be inferred through the framing, arguments, and positioning of social actors within the text. Several ideologies are embedded in the editorial:

1. Humanitarianism: The article promotes a humanitarian ideology by emphasizing the tragic and desperate circumstances faced by refugees. It appeals to readers' empathy and argues for compassionate responses to the crisis.
2. Critique of political resistance: The article criticizes the political resistance of leaders like David Cameron, framing their reluctance to accept more refugees as heartless. This critique aligns with an ideology that prioritizes the protection and support of vulnerable populations.
3. Sovereignty and national interest: While advocating for the acceptance of refugees, the article also acknowledges concerns about open borders and uncontrolled migration. This reflects an ideology that places importance on national sovereignty and the protection of national interests.
4. Burden-sharing and fairness: The article questions the fairness of burden-sharing arrangements and mandatory quotas within the EU, suggesting an ideology that emphasizes fairness and equitable distribution of responsibility among member states.

5. Sustainable solutions and stability: The article advocates for a rational and long-term approach to the crisis, emphasizing the importance of stability and sustainable solutions. This reflects an ideology that prioritizes maintaining social and political stability, even while addressing humanitarian issues.
6. International cooperation and global responsibility: The article raises questions about the responsibility of countries beyond Europe, particularly Arab nations, in addressing the refugee crisis. This reflects an ideology that emphasizes global responsibility and cooperation in responding to humanitarian emergencies.

In general, the editorial hints at a critical perspective on the welcoming attitude towards refugees, raising questions about the practicality, sustainability, and potential negative consequences of such an approach.

3.5. Results and Discussion

This study attempts to answer the following questions: 1) How are the Syrian refugees represented in *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian* represented in *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*? 2) What are the ideological postures behind the representation?

To answer the questions above, the results of the analysis showed that the Syrian refugees are represented through both inclusion and exclusion strategies in both newspapers. The strategy of inclusion occurred more often in the analyzed texts. The results clearly show that social actors tend to be foregrounded in the texts. Meanwhile, exclusion is found less in the texts, which shows that some actors are also deliberately hidden by the authors.

Based on data analysis, it can be compared between *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* in terms of their coverage of the refugee crisis:

The comparison showed that *The Guardian* is more factual in releasing the news and raising the headings of the news, attempting to be objective. Related to the linguistic realisations used by each newspaper, both of them used individualization and collectivization strategies. The Syrian refugees were collectivized; they were represented as groups, numbers, and statistics; however, the three-year-old boy "AylanKurdi" was individualised in one of *The Guardian's* articles. This can be a strategy for the newspaper to direct the readers' empathy to the victim. *The Guardian's*

coverage of Syrian refugees is generally sympathetic, both on discourse and micro-linguistic levels, whereas *The Daily Telegraph* portrays them as a mass of people with fewer rights than locals.

The *Guardian* employed topoi of victimisation and humanization in focusing on the suffering of the refugees. It provided detailed information on the places and conditions of the refugees, drawing on discourses of persecution and oppression along with the topoi of moral responsibility, whereas *The Daily Telegraph* used the topoi of threat, danger, and economic burden. It excluded the bad living conditions of refugees from coverage. Instead, it focused on the statements of the British Prime Minister and his efforts to protect Britain from the potential risk coming from the Middle East. In fact, quotation patterns are found in both newspapers; however, *The Daily Telegraph* used a significant number of direct quotations on the part of British officials with a frequent use of proper names. Direct and indirect quotations are used to give credibility to the news and reinforce objectivity.

The frame analysis revealed that *The Guardian* framed the refugees as powerless, helpless, desperate, and the victims of persecution and oppression, whereas *The Daily Telegraph* framed them as illegal migrants and economic migrants. While *The Guardian* mainly focused on the dramatic aspect of the refugees' plight, *The Daily Telegraph* focused on the topic of migration laws and regulations, stressing the fact that more restrictions are needed and the borders should be controlled. This was realised through possible micro-linguistic techniques such as modality, reporting verbs, and other mechanisms.

Both *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian* articulated the roles of the perpetrators, Britain and Mr. Cameron, while allocating them different roles and traits. *The Guardian* constructed the Prime Minister as incompetent for not being able to meet the social and political challenges of the refugee crisis, while *The Daily Telegraph* portrayed him as a strong politician who challenged the EU to protect the national interests of Britain. In terms of differentiation, both newspapers distinguished between refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants. They acknowledged the fact that among those thousands of refugees there are economic migrants who are fleeing poverty, not war; however, *The Guardian* framed the Syrian refugees as worthy refugees, whereas *The Daily Telegraph* framed them as migrants using predicational devices such as stereotypes and evaluative attributions of negative traits.

The analysis also revealed that the two British newspapers communicated ideological positions to their readers in their coverage of the refugee crisis. Britain is represented as the home of asylum seekers and the protector of human rights. Values of charity and generosity are also found in the analyzed texts. Although Britain hosted a limited number of refugees compared to Germany, Mr. Cameron was proud of the financial assistance provided by his country to support the refugee camps on the Syrian border. Moreover, Britain was presented as a democratic nation where laws and official institutions are respected. Both newspapers reported that Britain could not open its doors to more refugees because of its migration policy and the refusal of the majority of parliament members, in contrast to Germany, which broke the Dublin Convention by hosting more than 800.000 refugees without the right papers.

As discussed in the second chapter, the analysis of the newspapers proved that the migrant issue is discussed in the media in relation to the possible changes they might bring to the host country. The discussion about migration is likely to extend to other topics such as population explosion, national identity, security, laws, and regulations. Some newspapers, such as *The Daily Telegraph*, intend to raise such topics to draw the attention of the reader away from the most important issue, the unknown destiny of millions of refugees, and to hide the failure of politicians to find appropriate solutions to the crisis. Both newspapers agree that the situation with migrants in Britain is problematic and calls for taking action, and both of them compare the situation in Britain with Germany with different viewpoints. *The Guardian's* view is that Germany is a successful model for managing the crisis, while *The Daily Telegraph* accuses Germany of destabilizing the EU because of its immigration policy.

The way language and rhetoric were employed in the coverage of this crisis played a crucial role in shaping public perception and understanding of the situation. *The Guardian*, known for its progressive stance and commitment to social justice, generally presented a compassionate and empathetic perspective on the refugee crisis. The language used in their coverage often emphasized the human aspect of the situation, highlighting the plight of individuals fleeing war, persecution, and poverty. They focused on personal narratives, telling stories of individual refugees and their struggles to find safety and a better life. *The Guardian's* rhetoric aimed to create an emotional connection with readers, urging them to consider the moral obligation to help those in need. They frequently used terms like "migrants," "asylum seekers," and "victims" to

humanize the individuals involved and challenge negative stereotypes. On the other hand, *The Daily Telegraph*, known for its conservative leaning, tended to take a more pragmatic and politically focused approach to the refugee crisis. Their coverage often emphasized the challenges posed by the influx of refugees, particularly in terms of the strain on public resources and the potential security risks. The language used in their reporting was often more detached and focused on statistics, policy debates, and political maneuvering. *The Daily Telegraph's* rhetoric often sought to generate discussion on the implications of accepting large numbers of refugees, including potential cultural and economic impacts. They employed terms such as "illegal immigrants," "crisis," and "burden" that emphasized the scale of the challenge and sometimes contributed to a more negative portrayal of refugees.

It is important to note that the articles and editorials within both publications exhibited variations in language and rhetoric. However, by examining their overall approaches, we can observe distinct tendencies in how *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* covered the refugee crisis in 2015. The different approaches taken by the two broadsheets reflected their respective editorial stances and the values of their target audiences. *The Guardian's* language and rhetoric aimed to foster empathy, challenge stereotypes, and advocate for a more compassionate response. On the other hand, *The Telegraph's* coverage often prioritized concerns related to national security, public resources, and sovereignty. This contrast in language and rhetoric between the two publications reflects the broader societal and political divisions surrounding the refugee crisis, with debates ranging from humanitarian obligations to national interests.

By analyzing the language and rhetoric used in the coverage of the refugee crisis in 2015, we can gain insights into the media's role in shaping public opinion and influencing policy debates. The discourse in *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph*, being prominent British publications, was shaped by the British government's response and the public sentiment regarding accepting Syrian refugees.

3.6. General Conclusion

The present study tried to investigate the representation of Syrian refugees in *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian* between August 2015 and December 2015. During this time, the world experienced what was known as "refugee crises." The study intended to answer two main research questions: 1) How are the Syrian refugees

represented in the two aforementioned newspapers? 2) What are the main ideological postures behind the representation? The study also aimed to find out whether the Syrian refugees are framed positively or negatively by the two newspapers. The analysis used the method of critical discourse analysis as well as two analytical models: Van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic framework for analyzing social actors and Wodak and Reisigl's (2001) discursive categories. Through these methods, this study investigated a total of three news articles and three editorials. Theories of representation, framing, inclusion, and exclusion formed the basis of the analysis.

According to the study, both *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian* presented collectivized and individualised representations of refugees. The inclusion analysis revealed that the method of collectivizing the refugees was visible in all of the analyzed texts. The refugees were assimilated by putting indefinite numbers "thousands"; this was done to give readers the impression that there are a large number of people involved in the crisis, and thus it is a human tragedy worth reading about. The two newspapers also employed the strategy of exclusion to background some social actors or to deliberately hide specific information. For example, in the texts from *The Daily Telegraph*, the rights of migrants were never in focus and were not even discussed. It only mentions migration laws and the promotion of national security. On the contrary, *The Guardian* adopted a more personal approach, appealed more to feelings, and had a more critical attitude towards the British authorities. Furthermore, as more sources were cited in the texts, both newspapers attempted to use an objective reporting style through the use of quotations.

As expected, metaphors of water were found in the texts "flooding," as well as topoi of "humanitarianism," "responsibility," "equality," "numbers," "burdening," and "threat." *The Guardian* drew on the topoi of "humanitarianism," "responsibility," and "equality" to claim the rights of refugees in the host countries, while *The Daily Telegraph* used the topoi of "numbers," "burdening," and "threat" to warn against the long-term possible consequences of illegal migration.

The analysis of the data also revealed that *The Guardian* offered a positive representation of refugees as it discussed the hardships these people went through, whereas *The Daily Telegraph* represented them less positively, not to say in a stereotyped way, as it portrayed them as a mass of people who have fewer rights than local residents. This aligns with what Van Dijk (1991) found when he analyzed

the language used in news stories about immigration, that is language was often biased against immigrants, portraying them as a threat to society.

The strategy of referential/nomination is realised in many ways. Both newspapers did not present events from the migrants' point of view, and their voices in the texts were not heard. The exclusion of certain voices from a text can occur due to various reasons and motivations. It is important to note that the specific reasons for excluding voices can vary depending on the author, context, and purpose of the text. For examples, authors with biases or prejudices may intentionally exclude voices that challenge or contradict their own perspectives or beliefs. This can lead to a biased representation of a topic or a failure to acknowledge diverse viewpoints.

Moreover, the analysis proved that both newspapers used the constructionist approach of the theory of representation while developing the content of their news articles and editorials. The refugees were represented in relation to specific political and economic contexts, where techniques such as framing and using metaphors were used to communicate to the reader different ideological views about refugees.

On the whole, The Guardian's coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis in 2015 tended to be sympathetic to the plight of refugees and critical of the policies and actions of Western governments. The newspaper called for increased support and action from governments and the international community to help resettle Syrian refugees in Europe. Conversely, the Daily Telegraph's coverage of the crisis tended to be more cautious and focused on concerns about national security and economic impact, particularly in the early stages of the crisis. However, the newspaper also published articles that were sympathetic to the plight of Syrian refugees and called for greater support and action to address the crisis.

Through this study, we aim to raise awareness about the importance of critical media literacy. As media consumers, we must be aware of the potential biases and framing within news coverage to form well-rounded perspectives on complex issues like the refugee crisis. The main limitation of this study is represented by the size of the sample. However, the small sample size does not affect the quality of the study since the CDA method has the power to reveal hidden meaning in media texts. Nevertheless, further investigations on a larger scale could reach other conclusions about media representations of refugees.

3.7. Suggestions for further research

Refugee issues are ongoing in Britain and many other EU countries. Wars and political and ethnic conflicts will continue to rise, which makes these issues more salient. The news about refugees will continue to fill the pages of newspapers and television screens.

One way to do more research is to look at how refugees are portrayed in more than two newspapers by analyzing a larger number of articles. This will give us a better idea of how these vulnerable people are shown in different newspapers.

For future research, it is also interesting to compare the way media depict refugees in different countries, especially in countries where the level of tolerance is higher and ideas of multiculturalism are widely spread, like Germany.

Another possible topic for future research is the representation of refugees in various TV channels, as television is thought to have a large influence on public opinion. In this scope of study; it would be interesting to integrate CDA and visual analysis.

Bibliography

- Bakhtin, M. (1986). The problem of speech genres. *In Speech genres and other late essays* (pp. 60-102). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Barker, C., & Galasiński, D. (2007). *Cultural studies and discourse analysis : a dialogue on language and identity*. London: Sage.
- Baudrillard, J. (2001). *Simulation and Reality*. Zagreb: NakladaJesenski
- Bell, A. (1991). *The Language of News Media*(1st ed.).Oxford: Blackwell.
- Berns, N. S. (2004). *Framing the Victim: Domestic Violence, Media and Social Problems*. Piscataway, NJ: Aldine Transaction.
- Billig, M. (2003). Critical Discourse Analysis and the Rhetoric of Critique. In G. Weiss, & R. Wodak (Eds.), *Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity* (pp. 35-46). London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Blackledge, A. (2005). *Discourse and power in a multilingual world*. Amsterdam : John Benjamins Pub.
- Borah, P. (2011). Conceptual issues in framing theory: A systematic examination of a decade's literature. *Journal of Communication*, 61, 246-263. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2011.01539.x
- Chilton, P. & Schäffner, C. (2002). *Politics as Text and Talk*. John Benjamins Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022050700092287>.
- Chomsky, N. (1989). *Thought Control in Democratic Societies*. Boston: Sough End Press.
- Chong, D., and Druckman, J. N. (2007). A theory of framing and opinion formation in competitive elite environments. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 99–118.
- Chouliaraki, L., & Fairclough, N. (1999). *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Dimitrova, DV. & Lee, KS.(2009). Framing Saddam's execution in the US press. *Journalism Studies*, 10 (4), 536-550.

- Duranti, A., & Goodwin, C. (1992). *Rethinking context: Language as an interactive, phenomenon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Towards clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication* 43, 51–58.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1992a). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Fairclough, N. (1992b). Discourse and text: linguistic and intertextual analysis within Discourse Analysis. *Discourse and Society*, 3(2), 193-217. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926592003002004>
- Fairclough, N. (1992c). Introduction. In N. Fairclough (Ed.). *Critical Language Awareness* (pp. 1-29), London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1995a). *Critical Discourse Analysis: the Critical Study of Language*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1995b). *Media Discourse*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Fairclough, N. (1996). A reply to Henry Widdowson's "Discourse analysis: a critical view". *Language and Literature: International Journal of Stylistics*, 5 (1), 49-56
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analyzing discourse : textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis. In T. van Dijk (Ed.), *A Multidisciplinary Introduction*. *Discourse Studies*, 2, 258-284. London: Sage.
- Fiske J. (1990). *Introduction to communication studies* (2nded). London: Routledge
- Flowerdew, J. (2013). *Discourse in English language education*. London: New York: Routledge.
- Fowler, R. (1991). *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. London : Routledge.

Gee, J. P. (2005). *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis : Theory and method*. London: Taylor & Francis Ltd.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

George W. (1989). Malinowski's 'Context of Situation'. *Language & Communication* , 9 (4), 259-267. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0271-5309\(89\)90023-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/0271-5309(89)90023-2).

Georgiou, M. and Zaborowski, R. (2017). *Media coverage of the "refugee crisis": A cross-European perspective*. Council of Europe report (DG1(2017)03). Council of Europe. <https://edoc.coe.int/>

Hackett, R. & Carroll, W. (2006). *Remarking Media: The Struggle to Democratise Public Communication* (1sted.). New York, NY: Routledge.

Hall, S. (1997). *Representation. Musselburgh*. London: Sage.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1985). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1st ed.). London Edward Arnold.

Hansen, A. & Machin, D., (2013). *Media and communication research methods*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hodge, R. & Kress, G. (1993). *Language as ideology* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.

Holmes, S. & Castaneda, H. (2016) Representing the "European refugee crisis" in Germany and beyond: Deservingness and difference, life and death. *Journal of the American ethnological society*, 43(1). <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12259>.

Johnstone, B. (2008). *Discourse analysis*. Blackwell Pub.

Jorgensen, M., & Phillips, L. (2002). *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. Los Angeles, Calif: Sage.

Khosravinik, M. (2008). *British Newspapers and the Representation of refugees, Asylum seekers and Immigrants between 1996 and 2006*. Lancaster University, Lancaster, UK. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0957926509104024>.

Kress, G., & Hodge, R. (1979). *Language as Ideology*. London: Routledge.

- Kress, G., & Van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading images*. London ; Routledge.
- Kristeva, J. (1980). *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, trans. by Gora, T., Jardine, A. & Roudiez, L. S. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Kuo, S.-H., & Nakamura, M. (2005). Translation or transformation? A case study of language and ideology in the Taiwanese press. *Discourse & Society*, 16(3), 393–417. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926505051172>.
- Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1999). *Philosophy in the Flesh: the Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought*, New York: Basic Books.
- Lams, L. (2018). Discursive constructions of the summer 2015 refugee crisis: A comparative analysis of French, Dutch, Belgian francophone and British centre-of-right press narratives. *Journal of Applied Journalism & Media Studies*, 7(1), 103-127. doi:10.1386/ajms.7.1.103_1.
- Lemke, J. L. (1995). *Textual Politics: Discourse and Social Dynamics*. London: Tayler & Francis.
- Lemke, J.L. (1985). Ideology, intertextuality, and the notion of register .In Benson, J.D.& Greaves, W.S. (Eds.), *Systemic perspectives on discourse* (pp. 275-294). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Lenette, C. (2017). *Using Digital Storytelling in Participatory Research With Refugee Women*. London: SAGE. DOI:<http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781526411273>.
- Machin, D., & Mayr, A. (2012). *How to do critical discourse analysis : a multimodal introduction*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- McQuail, D. (2000). *Mass Communication Theory*. London: Sage Publications.
- Metzger, J. (2019). *Discourse : A Concept for Information and Communication Sciences (Concepts to Conceive 21st Century Society)* (1st ed.). Wiley-ISTE.

- Meyer, M. (2001). Between Theory, Method, and Politics: Positioning of the Approaches of CDA. In R. Wodak, & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 14-32). London: Sage Publications.
- Meyers, M. (1997). *News Coverage of Violence against Women: Engendering Blame*. London: Sage.
- Oates, S. (2011). *Introduction to Media and Politics*. London: SAGE
- O’Keeffe, A. (2006). *Investigating Media Discourse*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Orgad, S. (2012). *Media Representation and the Global Imagination*. Polity: Cambridge
- Paltridge, B. (2012). *Discourse Analysis: An Introduction* (2nd ed.). London: Bloomsbury
- Parker, S. (2014). *Unwanted invaders: The representation of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK and Australian print media*. Cardiff University, Cardiff, UK.
- Phillips, N. & Hardy, C. (2002). Discourse Analysis: Investigating Processes of Social Construction. Sage University Papers Scenes on Qualitative Research Methods, Vol 50. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Press.
- Reisigl, M. & Wodak, R. (2001). *Discourse and discrimination: Rhetorics of racism and antisemitism*. London: Routledge.
- Sánchez Macarro, A. (ed.) (2002) *Windows on the World: Media Discourse in English*, Valencia: University of Valencia Press.
- Schaffner, C. (1996). Political Speeches and Discourse Analysis. *Current Issues in Language and Society*, 3 (3), 201-04.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1997). Whose Text? Whose Context? *Discourse & Society*, 8(2), 165–187. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926597008002002>.
- Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication*, 49(1), 103–122.

- Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models. *Journal of Communication*, 57, 9-20.
- Schiffrin, D. T. & Hamilton, H. E. (Eds.). (2001). *The handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 538-547). Oxford, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. (2001). Discourse and intercultural communication. In Scollon, D. S. W. (2004). *Nexus Analysis. The Journal of Economic History* , 39(2), 554 – 555. London: Routledge.
- Sunata, U. & Yıldız, E. (2018). Representation of Syrian refugees in the Turkish. *Journal of Applied Journalism & Media Studies*, 7(1).
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1386/ajms.7.1.129_1.
- Tewksbury, D., and Scheufele, D. A. (2009). News framing theory and research. In J. Bryant and M. B. Oliver (Eds.), *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research* (pp.17-33). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Thibault, P. J. (1994). Intertextuality. In R. E. Asher (Ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, 4. Oxford: Pergamum Press.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1987). *Communicating Racism; Ethnic Prejudice in Thought and Talk*. Newbury CA: Sage.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1988). *News as Discourse*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1991), *Racism and the Press; Critical Studies in Racism and Migration*. London: Routledge.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). *Elite Discourse and Racism*. London: Sage Publications.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Discourse and Society*, 4, 249-283. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926593004002006>.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1995). Discourse Semantics and Ideology. *Discourse & Society*, 6(2), 243–289. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926595006002006>.

- Van Dijk, T. A. (1995b). Power and the news media. In Paletz, D. (Ed.), *Political Communication and Action*. (pp. 9-36). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1997). Discourse as interaction in society. In Van Dijk, T. A. (Ed.), *Discourse as social interaction* (pp. 1-37). London: Sage.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1998a). Critical Discourse Analysis. Available: <http://www.hum.uva.nl/teun/cda.htm>. (1/25/2000).
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1998). *Ideology : a multidisciplinary approach*. London: Sage.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Multidisciplinary CDA: a plea for diversity. In Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 95–120). London: Sage.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2008). *Discourse and power*. New York : Palgrave Macmillan.
- Van Leeuwen, T. (2008). *Discourse and practice: New tools for critical discourse analysis*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Van Leeuwen, T. & Wodak, R. (1999). Legitimizing Immigration Control: A discourse-historical analysis. *Discourse Studies*, 1(1), 83-119.
- Volmer, B. & Karakayali, S. (2018). The Volatility of the Discourse on Refugees in Germany. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*.
DOI:10.1080/15562948.2017.1288284.
- Widdowson, H. G. (1995). Discourse analysis: a critical view. *Language and Literature*, 4 (3), 157-72.
- Widdowson, H. G. (1998). The Theory and Practice of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Applied Linguistics*, (19)1, 136-151.
- Widdowson, H. G. (2004) Text, Context, Pretext. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 15(3). DOI:10.1111/j.1473-4192.2005.
- Wodak, R. & Ludwig, C. (1999). *Challenges in a Changing World: Issues in Critical Discourse*. Vienna : Passagen Verlag.
- Wodak, R. (1996). *Disorders of Discourse*. United Kingdom: Longman Group.

Wodak, R. (1997). *Gender and discourse*. London: Sage.

Wodak, R. (2001). What CDA Is about—A Summary of Its History, Important Concepts and Its Developments. In Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 1-13). London: Sage Publications.

Wodak, R. (2006). Mediation between discourse and society: assessing cognitive approaches in CDA. *Discourse Studies*, 8(1), 179–190.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445606059566>.

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2001). *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. California: Sage.

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory, and Methodology. In R. Wodak, & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 1, 33). London: Sage.

Appendices

Appendix I (Text 1)

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/aug/25/the-guardian-view-on-britains-response-to-the-syrian-refugee-crisis-morally-bankrupt>

The Guardian view on Britain's response to the Syrian refugee crisis: morally bankrupt

Editorial

Tue 25 Aug 2015 19.51

Fortress Britain is no answer to the political and economic challenge of Syrian refugees, let alone a moral one

The refugee crisis, the tip of an almost unprecedented human migration from south to north, faces the EU with a moral challenge that it is proving ill-equipped to meet. The Europe of values, reflected in the obligation for countries applying for EU membership not just to meet economic tests but to have democratic institutions and a proven respect for human rights, is under strain. Economic recession, the threat of terrorism and the rise of the extreme right are all weakening its institutional underpinnings: high ideals are always at risk from low politics. But this is no abstract question. It is an all-too-real disaster for hundreds of thousands of Syrians and others who are fleeing war and persecution and have endured perilous journeys to reach the southern fringes of Europe. It could also be dangerous for the EU itself.

Germany, partly for reasons to do with its history and its growing demand for labour, is emerging as the champion of the moral case. On Sunday, in a significant demonstration of its commitment to Europe's fundamental values, the government unilaterally suspended the Dublin protocol, which obliges refugees to seek asylum in the first safe country they reach, for all Syrians. On the same day, the foreign and economic ministers co-wrote a 10-point plan for a Europe-wide migration, refugee and asylum policy founded on the principle of solidarity and "our shared values of humanity". On Monday, Angela Merkel and François Hollande reiterated support for a Europe-wide solution – adapting Germany's own internal system of distributing refugees fairly throughout the country – that was comprehensively rejected in June. Meanwhile, Jean-Claude Juncker, the president of the European commission, made his own call to arms, condemning in the name of Europe's shared values those he accused of trying to cordon themselves off from "distress, fear and misery", and the populist politicians who stirred up xenophobia in the name of winning votes.

Germany has taken more than 40% of the Syrian refugees who have reached Europe (and those, it should be recognised, are only a tiny proportion, less than 5%, of the total number of Syrians who have fled the civil war). Sweden has taken another 20%; the southern European countries of Greece, Italy and Spain account for another 25%. The proportion offered asylum in Britain is less than 1%. But as the June summit proved, there is strong resistance from across Eastern Europe as well as from the UK to allowing Brussels to set a course for collective action. This political argument is hindering a fair and principled solution. This is, at the very least, shortsighted

As Angela Merkel argues, the refugee crisis is one of the greatest challenges the EU has faced, and it is not likely to ease off for years to come. As a matter of solidarity, it is unacceptable that the poorer countries of southern Europe should be left to pick up a disproportionate share of the bill for playing host to a fast-growing number of refugees and migrants, while richer countries turn their backs. Without a responsibility-sharing scheme, the far right, who were behind the attacks on refugees and migrants that marred some German towns last weekend, will only grow stronger. If only as a matter of self-interest, Britain should seize the chance to educate young Syrians and turn them into English-speaking citizens who in a sunnier future will play a role in rebuilding their native country and forging links between their old home and their new one

Instead, the approach from the Conservative government has been unremittingly hostile. Last week's meeting between British and French home affairs ministers to try to resolve the Calais crisis resulted only in an ever more punitive regime of razor wire and crackdowns. Meanwhile, on Thursday the ONS will publish the latest snapshot of net migration to the UK. These are likely to confirm that the level is now at an all-time high, above even the 320,000 recorded in 2005 – despite all the rhetoric and legislative effort of the past five years to bring it below 100,000. That is why new clauses to the immigration bill, further tightening sanctions on employers who employ illegal migrants and introducing a prison sentence of up to six months for anyone working illegally, have been announced.

Fence-building in Hungary, razor wire in Calais, prison in the UK: none of these are real solutions to either the economic or political challenges of this era of mass migration. Nor are they any sort of adequate response to the moral imperative of offering shelter to those seeking asylum.

Appendix II (Text 2)

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/03/cameron-bows-to-pressure-to-allow-more-syrian-refugees-into-britain>

Cameron bows to pressure to let in more Syrian refugees

Prime minister says UK will take thousands of people now housed in UN refugee camps on Syria's border

Patrick Wintour and Nicholas Watt

Thu 3 Sep 2015 20.24 BST

David Cameron has bowed to growing international and domestic demands that Britain take in more refugees fleeing the Syrian civil war by indicating that the UK would accept thousands more refugees.

Final details of the numbers, funding and planned location of the refugees, were being urgently sorted out in Whitehall, with local councils insisting the programme had to be fully funded by central government.

Cameron is expected to map out his new approach to the crisis after long arranged talks in Madrid on Friday with the Spanish prime minister Mariano Rajoy, originally convened to discuss Britain's plans for reform of the European Union.

He may not be able to put a specific number on how many refugees the government is willing to take, but it is expected the government will make a Commons statement on Monday when parliament returns after the summer recess.

People selected to come to the UK are likely to be drawn from the UNHCR camps on the border of Syria and not from Calais or other locations near the country. But the final number of refugees allowed in to the UK will amount to fewer than tens of thousands, well short of the numbers likely to be taken by Germany.

The prime minister appeared to remain convinced that accepting a large number of Syrian refugees who were already in Europe would worsen the crisis and create more chaos; it would incentivise criminal gangs to persuade more people to undertake the risky journey across the Mediterranean and Eastern Europe from the Middle East.

Cameron believes that, since there are reportedly two million Syrian refugees in the Middle East, the ultimate answer does not lie in taking refugees but in finding a political solution within Syria.

Downing Street officials acknowledged that Cameron had been moved to act by the scale of the gathering crisis as well as the change in the public mood brought to a head by the publication of heartbreaking pictures showing a Syrian boy drowned and washed up on a beach in Turkey.

Ministers insist the levels of British financial aid to fund the UNHCR-run camps has been as generous as any other country. But with a steady build-up of politicians, church leaders, council leaders and community groups urging the government to show greater humanity, Cameron signalled a change of tone on Thursday, saying: "Britain is a moral nation and we will fulfil our moral responsibilities."

Before details of the refugee plan emerged, Cameron, speaking at a Hitachi train plant in Newton Aycliffe, County Durham, said: "Anyone who saw those pictures overnight could not help but be moved and, as a father, I felt deeply moved by the sight of that young boy on a beach in Turkey."

Justin Welby, the archbishop of Canterbury, branded the refugee emergency a "wicked crisis" and said his heart was "broken" by the harrowing images of men, women and children fleeing persecution. He added: "We cannot turn our backs on this crisis. We must respond with compassion, but we must also not be naive in claiming to have the answers to end it.

Cameron faced pressure from some of his own backbenchers, including many Christians, to offer to do more. The mayor of London, Boris Johnson, also called for him to change tack. "We should take people fleeing persecution and those plainly in fear for their lives. London will, of course, face up to its moral responsibilities," he said.

France and Germany called on the EU on Thursday to force member countries to take obligatory quotas of refugees and asylum seekers.

The German chancellor, Angela Merkel, said, during a visit to Switzerland, that the French-German position represented a "sharing of duty ... the principle of solidarity". Shortly afterwards, François Hollande, the French president, said there

should be a permanent and obligatory mechanism for the accepting of refugees. He carefully avoided using the word “quota”.

Tensions between EU member states have risen in recent days with 3,000 people camping outside the Keleti railway station in Budapest, hoping to be allowed to travel to Germany following its declaration that Syrians who reached the country would be allowed to stay.

On the edge of the EU’s borders, Abdullah Kurdi, the father of the Syrian boy who was photographed lying lifeless on a Turkish beach after his family attempted to reach the Greek island of Kos, said he was preparing to take the bodies of his two sons and wife to be buried in his home town of Kobani.

Kurdi said he no longer had any desire to continue on his journey to Europe. Speaking outside the mortuary where the bodies of his two sons were being held, he said: “I just want to see my children for the last time and stay forever with them.”

The imminent new intake of refugees will be taken from the two million Syrians sheltering in border refugee camps probably under an existing Home Office vulnerable person relocation scheme set up last year and administered in conjunction with the UNHCR that resettles Syrians.

Only 200 have been taken by Britain so far under this scheme, although the government has given asylum or other forms of humanitarian protection to nearly 5,000 Syrians who have applied for asylum having reached Britain since the crisis started in early 2011.

Cameron said: “There isn’t a solution to this problem that is simply about taking people. We need a comprehensive solution; a new government in Libya. We need to deal with the problems in Syria. I would say the people responsible for these terrible scenes we see, the people most responsible, are president Assad in Syria and the butchers of Isil [Islamic State] and the criminal gangs that are running this terrible trade in people. And we have to be as tough on them at the same time.”

Downing Street is nervous of being seen to open UK borders or to be dragged into an EU-led scheme. It fears that a potentially “fickle” outburst of compassion, in part driven by news organizations, could obscure continued deep concerns about immigration among the British public.

Yvette Cooper, the shadow home secretary, who has led the calls for greater government compassion, welcomed signs of a government change of heart, but said as many as 10,000 refugees should be accepted.

Harriet Harman, the interim Labour leader, called on Cameron to convene an emergency meeting of the Cobra cabinet committee to draw together the government response.

Cameron was accused by Scotland’s first minister, Nicola Sturgeon, of adopting a “walk on by on the other side” approach after he said on Wednesday that the UK would not take any extra refugees. Alex Salmond the SNP foreign affairs spokesman, said: “Cameron is shaming not just the UK, he is shaming humanity with his total abject refusal to accept any joint collective responsibility.”

Appendix III (Text 3)

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/sep/07/guardian-view-on-david-cameron-refugee-plans-raf-syria>

The Guardian view on Cameron's refugee plans: small numbers, big distractions

Editorial

Mon 7 Sep 2015 20.34 BST

The RAF has been assassinating Britons in Syria, and the PM talks as if aid and armaments can end Syria's agony. But refugees need safe homes now, and on that count Cameron is selling them short

Head *and* heart was the slogan of the day. But when David Cameron came to the House of Commons on Monday, calculation continued to come before compassion in his handling of the refugee crisis – and dubious calculation at that.

After the unbearable sight of Aylan Kurdi's lifeless three-year-old limbs caused an abrupt about-turn in sentiment in the right-leaning press last week, a prime minister whose government had in March tightened the asylum rules confronting Syrians, grasped that he now needed to show a little more flexibility. But he was equally determined not to be bounced into any change in strategic course. His headline offer was for Britain to take an extra 20,000 Syrians, which sounded respectable enough, if not generous. Until, that is, Mr Cameron added that this was not an immediate quota in an immediate crisis, but a target total for the entire five years of this parliament. Set the figure against the near 20,000 who arrived at Munich station last weekend, and it is revealed as the antithesis of ambitious.

Perhaps wishing to distract from this sort of unflattering scrutiny, the PM stirred varied ingredients into a statement, which the House had expected would answer just one question: how many refugees? He justly pointed to his proud record on international aid, and then argued that this was tackling the displacement problem closer to the source, in Turkish and Lebanese camps.

More controversially, he said he would dip into that aid budget to subsidize the new arrivals' first year in Britain. Couched as part of a broader spending review overhaul, which – as the chancellor had signaled at the weekend – will task the Department of International Development with concentrating more on the UK "national interest", the fear must be a loss of focus on the interests of the poor world. At the same time, by providing only for one year of support for refugees who will likely be here for five years, it will fail to satisfy the town halls grappling with prosaic questions about housing and so on.

When pressed with hard questions about hardship and hunger in Britain, Mr Cameron is often keen to shift the debate away from such so-called "symptoms" and towards nebulous "underlying causes". The billing of Monday's statement as being about "Refugees *and* Counter Terrorism" betrayed a parallel effort to make a similar shift from discussing hard numbers of refugees, and towards the shapeless horrors of the Syrian war that caused their displacement. The PM revealed that UK forces had

carried out a targeted assassination of a young British man, Reyaad Khan, who had been fighting with Isis in Syria. Not least because the Commons had expressly rejected military involvement in the Syrian theatre in 2013, this was dramatic and disturbing news. It was bound to divert attention from the row about refugee numbers. True, this was Mr. Cameron's first meeting with the House since the recess, but if he had wanted to keep the two issues separate he could have asked his home secretary to set out the asylum plans. He chose, however, not merely to take the two issues together but to suggest that he had thoughts on the military front that might somehow enable more Syrians to stay home.

The prime minister still rages at having been shunned by the Commons two years ago, and is perhaps also keen to remind the public, at a time of a Labour leadership contest in which defence policies are proving divisive, of the opposition's part in that defeat. But it is far from clear that had the west pressed ahead with its plan for an attack at that time on the Assad regime – and not on its bitter enemies in Isis – that the situation would be happier today. What is clear is that there is currently no clean way to intervene in a war that pits murderous tyranny against brutal theocracy.

There is in reality no military answer to the refugee problem within a remotely relevant timetable, but to pretend otherwise shifts attention away not only from a modest offer in the numbers stakes but also from London's particular difficulty in working with European partners towards a continent-wide resolution. Instead of enrolling in EU schemes for which the admin and the funding are in place, Mr Cameron prefers the cost and complexities of UK-only schemes. It seems baffling, until you recall his simultaneous parliamentary difficulties with Conservative rebels on the EU referendum. Britain's refugee policy puts cold calculation before any impulse to reach out. But with Europe, the story is of diehard Tory hearts trumping level heads.

Appendix IV (Text 4)

<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/oct/12/too-low-too-slow-too-narrow-conservatives-asylum-policy-criticised>

Conservative asylum policy on Syria 'too low, too slow, too narrow'

Senior lawyers, former law lords and retired judges publish statement blasting 'deeply inadequate' response to crisis

Owen Bowcott Legal affairs correspondent
Mon 12 Oct 2015 07.27 BST

The government's offer to take in 20,000 Syrian refugees over five years is far "too low, too slow and too narrow", according to a statement published by 300 senior lawyers, former law lords and retired judges.

Prominent supporters of the legal initiative, denouncing the UK's asylum policy as "deeply inadequate" on Monday, include the former president of the supreme court, Lord Phillips, three ex-law lords – Steyn, Walker and Woolf – as well as a former president of the European court of human rights, Sir Nicolas Bratza, and a one-time director of public prosecutions, Lord MacDonald.

The combined assault by senior figures from the legal profession is also backed by more than a hundred QCs, the government's former independent reviewer of terrorism legislation, Alex Carlile, and five judges who recently sat in the court of appeal – Sir Henry Brooke, Sir Richard Buxton, Sir Anthony Hooper, Sir Alan Moses and Sir Stephen Sedley.

The statement calls for “safe and legal routes to the UK” to be established, for Britain to accept a “fair and proportionate share of refugees”, and suspension of the Dublin system, which compels asylum-seekers to claim asylum in the first country where they set foot in the EU. Although no serving judges have signed, the initiative continues the process of the judiciary becoming more outspoken in political affairs.

Among signatories is Catriona Jarvis, a retired judge in the upper tribunal of the immigration and asylum chamber, who said: “When history considers how our country has behaved in this moment of serious crisis, do we want to be judged as having wrung our hands while standing back in the face of immense suffering?”

“We have a legal and moral responsibility to provide protection that is not beyond our capabilities and should not be beyond our will.”

Sedley, a court of appeal justice, said: “It is within the UK's power to curtail the lethal boat traffic by enabling refugees from Syria and Iraq to travel here lawfully in order to apply for asylum.

“Since refuge from persecution and war is a universal human right, this means recognising that our government's present offer to take no more than 20,000 Syrian refugees over five years is wholly inadequate. As a stable and prosperous country, we can do better than this.”

Buxton, another former appeal court justice, said: “I was an asylum judge for more than twenty years, and the Syria crisis dwarfs all previous experience. The first priority in this exceptional situation is for the law to enable safe and lawful routes to this country for genuine asylum seekers, to save them from the depredations of traffickers and danger and death in the Mediterranean.”

Pushpinder Saini QC, of Blackstone Chambers, said: “The letter reflects profound concern in the legal profession, including some of its most senior members, that the government lacks a coherent, just or humane response to the refugee crisis.

“We ask that government give these proposals serious consideration. As a nation which once had the foremost reputation as a safe haven for refugees, we have lost our way.”

The scheme to take in 20,000 Syrian refugees was announced by the prime minister in early September. At the time David Cameron said: “The whole country has been deeply moved by the heart-breaking images we have seen.

“It is absolutely right that Britain should fulfil its moral responsibility to help those refugees just as we have done so proudly throughout our history. But in doing so we must use our head and our heart by pursuing a comprehensive approach that tackles the causes of the problem as well as the consequences.”

UK policy has been to support refugees in the region where they can remain close to surviving family members.

Appendix V (Text 5)

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/11815301/The-EU-will-have-to-control-its-borders.html>

The EU will have to control its borders

Telegraph View: The arrival of 800,000 asylum seekers in Germany makes a mockery of the EU's immigration policies. Free movement without passports will, inevitably, be up for renegotiation

By Telegraph View 21 August 2015 • 6:30am

Europe's migrant crisis has reached astonishing proportions. Germany is now expected to receive 800,000 asylum seekers in 2015. This amounts to roughly 1 per cent of the country's population, or a little more than the population of Leeds. They come from war zones beyond the continent, such as Syria; but also from the poorer parts of Europe, including Kosovo and Albania. And with their arrival, Germany becomes ever more aware of the desperate flaws in the way that the EU handles its utopian promise of the free movement of people.

Free movement seemed attractive and logical during the Cold War, when Western Europe was more isolated from the world's poor by the Iron Curtain. But in the 21st century, poverty and war have driven millions to seek a new life within an expanded EU. The problem has been exacerbated by two policies. One is the Dublin Convention which states that the responsibility for asylum seekers lies with the country in which they first arrive. In recent years those countries have been Italy, Hungary and Greece – and they have simply been overwhelmed.

To alleviate this problem they have exploited the second flaw in the EU's approach: the Schengen Agreement, which commits its signatories to passport-free movement across borders. Italy, Hungary and Greece have been permitting, or even quietly inviting, their asylum seekers to relocate to other countries. Enormous numbers have gone to Germany. The Germans have embraced refugees as atonement for the sins of the Second World War. But 800,000 is a figure to trouble even the most bleeding-heart liberal.

German politicians have called for greater integration of asylum policy across the EU, including higher refugee quotas among all members, though how that would work with open borders is a mystery. Some regional officials have called for controls between nations to be reinstated. France and Austria have tried closing their borders with Italy, sending those without the right papers back. In Calais, after weeks of chaos, a deal has been signed between the French and the British to deal with a sometimes violent crisis. Thomas de Maizière, Germany's interior minister, has acknowledged that the very principle of free movement is suddenly up for debate. "We want free movement of people," he said, "but... the question is what does free movement of people mean in Europe?"

The answer is probably that free movement will remain for citizens of the EU but that there will have to be a much tighter enforcement for anyone who falls outside of that definition. This belies the EU's self-image as a liberal, internationalist project. In reality, it is protectionist and will probably have to engage in the variety of conservative policies normally associated with Australia. There does need to be an aggressive crackdown on people smuggling. Asylum applications ought to be lodged and processed

in countries outside of Europe. And those seeking asylum from within the EU will have to be swiftly deported if their claim is rejected.

The EU essentially exists to regulate a free market. At Calais it has failed: the free movement of people has been stymied by the migrant crisis. In Germany, poor control of the continental border has led to a population explosion that may prove grist to the mill of extremist parties who want to destroy the EU altogether. In other words, the failings of the EU mock the grand claims that it makes for itself – betraying a reality of incompetence and, where it leads to humanitarian crisis, such as in the Mediterranean, moral failure. The EU needs to get its borders in order.

Appendix VI (Text 6)

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11839283/David-Cameron-Britain-should-not-take-more-refugees.html>

David Cameron: Britain should not take more refugees

The Prime Minister refuses to heed calls for Britain to accept more refugees amid the ongoing Mediterranean migrant crisis

By Peter Dominiczak 02 September 2015 • 1:42pm

Britain should not take “more and more refugees”, David Cameron has said in his clearest indication that he will not bow to pressure from Germany to accept thousands of migrants entering Europe.

The Prime Minister rejected calls from European leaders for Britain to take “its fair share” of migrants.

Hundreds of thousands of migrants are flooding into Europe from Syria and Africa, leaving a number of countries struggling to cope.

German chancellor Angela Merkel's CDU/CSU alliance on Tuesday said that Britain's failure to accept more refugees could hurt Mr. Cameron's plans to renegotiate the country's relationship with the European Union.

And Yvette Cooper and Andy Burnham, two of the candidates to become Labour leader, have both called on the Government to take around 10,000 refugees.

During a visit in Northamptonshire, Mr Cameron said: "We have taken a number of genuine asylum seekers from Syrian refugee camps and we keep that under review, but we think the most important thing is to try to bring peace and stability to that part of the world.

"I don't think there is an answer that can be achieved simply by taking more and more refugees."

Mr Cameron said Britain was focusing on stabilising and improving the countries where migrants and refugees come from and highlighted action the Government is taking to improve security at the French port of Calais.

He said: "We are taking action right across the board, helping countries from which these people are coming, stabilising them and trying to make sure there are worthwhile jobs and stronger economies there.

"We are obviously taking action at Calais and the Channel, there's more that we need to do and we are working together with our European partners as well. These are big challenges but we will meet them.

Appendix VII (Text 7)

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11841686/Boris-Johnson-London-will-accept-Syrian-refugees.html>

Boris Johnson: London will accept Syrian refugees Mr Johnson says that "London will of course face up to its moral responsibilities" as he opens talks about taking more Syrian refugees.

By Peter Dominiczak 03 September 2015 • 1:33pm

Boris Johnson has said that London will "face up to its moral responsibilities" by accepting refugees fleeing the conflict in Syria.

Following David Cameron's suggestion that Britain cannot take "more and more" refugees, sources close to the Mayor of London said that he will now open talks with councils about the capital accepting Syrians.

It follows widespread horror after pictures emerged of three-year-old Aylan Kurdi from Kobani, in northern Syria, who was found dead on a Turkish beach after drowning.

Mr Johnson said: "We should take people fleeing persecution and those plainly in fear for their lives. London will of course face up to its moral responsibilities. But we must not become a magnet or pole of attraction for economic migrants."

EU refugee crisis: Who is helping the migrants?

Mr Johnson also suggested that Britain should consider a military intervention in Syria.

He added: "It is also time to look harder at what can be done in Syria to solve the problem at source. Of course intervention has not worked in Iraq or Libya. But no one could say that non intervention was working in Syria."

It came as George Osborne, the Chancellor, said that jihadists from the so-called Islamic State "killed" the Syrian boy whose body washed up on a beach in Turkey.

The Chancellor also gave an indication that the Government is preparing to allow more refugees into the UK as the crisis worsens by saying the number allowed in was "under review".

"There is no person who would not be] very shocked by that picture - and I was very distressed when I saw it myself this morning - of that poor boy lying dead on the beach," Mr Osborne said.

"We know there is not a simple answer to this crisis. What you need to do is first of all tackle Isis [Islamic State] and the criminal gangs who killed that boy, you've got to make sure the aid keeps coming. We've put £1bn of overseas aid in to help these desperate people.

"And, of course, Britain has always been a home to real asylum seekers, genuine refugees. We've taken 5,000 people from the Syrian conflict. We will go on taking

people and keeping it under review. Britain has been playing a leading role and it will continue to do so."

A number of Conservative MPs are demanding that the Prime Minister reverses his position and agrees to accept thousands of Syrian refugees.

Appendix VIII (Text 8)

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11842643/The-refugees-welcome-fad-will-do-more-harm-than-good.html>

The 'refugees welcome' fad will do more harm than good

The Prime Minister's policy of helping refugees stay put is a rational and moral position - but difficult to sustain when you are accused of heartlessness

By Telegraph View

7:15PM BST 03 Sep 2015

The power of a single photograph to capture and personalise the reality of a wider calamity has once more been demonstrated with the harrowing image of little Aylan Kurdi's body being carried from a Turkish beach. The three-year-old boy drowned with his mother and brother trying to cross to Greece on a journey that hundreds of thousands of their displaced fellow Syrians are now making or are about to make.

- EU refugee crisis: latest news and updates

The distance that Aylan's family tried to negotiate was not that great, just a few miles. Had the family been given safe passage on a seaworthy craft or by train and road they would have lived. But they are required to risk death in order to get to Europe and are being encouraged to do so by a growing clamour for the EU to take all-comers. Angela Merkel has declared that anyone from Syria who makes it to Germany will be considered for asylum. It is hardly surprising, then, that despite the risks, thousands are now travelling through Greece, Hungary and the Balkans, desperate to reach Germany, from where they will eventually be able to travel elsewhere should they wish.

Having made this unilateral gesture in order to relieve pressure on countries such as Italy and Greece, the Germans now insist that other member states take a "fair share" of refugees already inside the EU. Mandatory quotas are being drawn up by the Commission, though these do not apply to Britain, which has an opt-out from burden-sharing arrangements.

However, such legal niceties look like being overwhelmed by political realities. David Cameron is under intense pressure to agree a number to show that he cares, whatever the practical consequences may be. He is being unfairly traduced for resisting these blandishments and there is something deeply unpleasant about the picture of a dead child being used as a stick with which to beat a political opponent. The Prime Minister is as moved as anyone by the sight of a dead child; but he is right to say that it is better to help the refugees remain in situ, in camps in countries bordering Syria, in the expectation of one day returning home.

Indeed, that is the view of the UNHCR, whose aid chief Stephen O'Brien has urged wealthy countries to step up assistance so that refugees are not forced to seek safety in Europe. To that end, Britain spends more than the rest of Europe put together.

The Prime Minister's policy of helping refugees stay put is a rational and moral position but one difficult to sustain when you are being accused of heartlessness.

However, it is not inconsistent for Mr Cameron to recognise that an emergency on this scale may require some flexibility. A new offer from the UK to accept refugees from the UN camps is a magnanimous gesture which retains our opt-out from the EU asylum arrangements.

But crisis management is not enough. A coherent long-term policy is needed to deal with the problem at source. That would need renewed international efforts to sort out the civil war in Syria and destroy Isil, yet neither is likely to happen any time soon.

In addition, the EU's external border needs to be strengthened to deter illegal entry. Yet Hungary is being castigated for trying to do just that by installing a fence along the border with Serbia. If Syrians are to be encouraged to come to Europe then a formal scheme would have to be set up, with asylum processing centres situated close to where the refugees are currently living, mainly in Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon. Europe cannot in all conscience signal that its borders are open but only to those who manage a perilous crossing without drowning or suffocating in the back of an airless lorry.

And why only Syrians? Two thirds of those trying to get into Europe are from other countries and many of them have an equally strong case to be treated as political refugees. The EU also has to recognise that the Schengen agreement is part of the problem and the abolition of internal frontiers may need to be reversed, if only temporarily. Already France and Denmark have reimposed some border checks.

Moreover, there is an international dimension here. Why should a refugee emergency in the Middle East be solely a European problem? It may have become a migration crisis for the EU because of its proximity to the region but it is a humanitarian crisis for the world; so what are other countries doing about it?

Aylan Kurdi's family lived in Turkey, having fled Syria. Even if Kurds are not well treated in parts of Turkey they were at least safe; but they wanted to go to Canada to join relatives only for their asylum application to be turned down. Do EU countries have a greater responsibility for Syrian refugees than Canada, Australia, the United States or any other country for that matter? Arab nations, apart from those bordering Syria, have been noticeably reluctant to help.

Nor should it be forgotten that quotas impose a ceiling on numbers. Those who have been rejected will try their luck by other, often dangerous, routes. The slogan "Refugees Welcome" may make Twitter users feel better about themselves – but as a policy it risks condemning more families like Aylan's to a potentially fatal choice.