

# GLOBAL REFUGEE STUDIES

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MASTER THESIS | 2016



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Mateusz Ochal

MASTER THESIS | 2016

REPRESENTATION OF RASIM  
IN BRITISH NEWSPAPERS  
DURING THE 2015  
PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS  
CAMPAIGN

'THIS PAPER IS DEDICATED TO EVERYONE THAT PROVED ME WRONG, YET SHOWED ME THEIR HEART'

# ABSTRACT

The following study extensively analyzed the creation of media image of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants over period that covered 2015 British Parliamentary Elections. 2015 encountered the biggest rise in the number of asylum applications in Europe, and it became a core issue utilized in the public discourse in the context of asylum and immigration state policies. Dominance of anti-immigrant right-wing parties within numerous European states in the wake of the migrant crisis, became a reason to focus on the election period in particular.

In order to study the newspaper discourse on RASIM - Refugees, Asylum Seekers, Immigrants - both a theory of new racism (Baker 1981) and critical discourse analysis (Wodak 2009) have been applied. New Racism served for analyzing racist discourses and the *othering* processes. Interpretation of negative ideologies was hence performed and deconstructed. Critical discourse analysis with the discourse-historical approach contributed greatly to the deconstruction. Understanding ideologies behind the discourse would be impossible without the methods included in CDA.

It was found that the media discourse on RASIM in 2015 in the United Kingdom was indeed socially constitutive and conditioned. Different ideologies were in place and played an important part in shaping a particular image of RASIM, depending on the social and political context chosen by the media source.

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# INTRODUCTION

The dramatic influx of refugees on a global scale that was encountered in 2015 has led many states to political extremes, polarizing the divides between far left and right. According to data in 2014, one in every 122 humans on the planet was in one way or another forcibly displaced, seeking refuge or asylum. Numbers reached an all-time high since the UNHCR records actually began (Worldwide displacement hits all-time high 2015). It is a global crisis that has a very strong impact on the world. This project focuses on the situation within Europe, which is undergoing a 51% increase in asylum applications in comparison with the year 2013. Numbers for 2015 are yet to be presented, yet it is a viable assumption that they will be even greater than the preceding year (ibid.).

The issue of the dramatic increase of refugees is widely known by the general public through media yet it is not necessarily from hands-on experience (Teo 2000), therefore, this project has focused on the imagery of the refugees, asylum seekers and migrants represented in newspapers in Britain, which has been historically a western state with substantially diverse population. Newspaper discourse is highly influential among many members of society and is used to reproduce certain images of migrants. These images can either build support or negative public attitudes that do have a substantial impact on the state policies in place, as well as the issue of integration (Van Dijk 1991).

One prevalent theme of this dissertation paper is racialized terms in public discourse. I fully acknowledge the instant pejorative connotations with this discourse. Nevertheless, it is a term that has been in use for a very long time in the public discourse, yet its social implications are vast and far encompassing. Having said that, it is crucial to have a more holistic insight into what forms of *racism* represent in this time and age, in regards to the media and its political correlation (Teo 2000). When one looks at the recent political mapping of Europe and notices that most of the voters

has turned towards their right-wing representatives in the wake of the 'migrant crisis', the concept mentioned above becomes very relevant for further study (Shane Dixon Kavanaugh & Gilad Shiloach 2015, *Vocativ*, para.1).

In order to observe the implications in question, I used Baker's theory of *new racism* (1981), which is a far less explicit version of its 'predecessor' in the public discourse, i.e. racism based on the biological grounds. Baker's theoretical framework serves us to understand the changing nature of racism in the ever growing multi-ethnic nation-states, making us realize how intertwined notions of securitization, nationalism, migration and most importantly power, are with this *new racism* concept. Notions that are highly visible and commonplace in today's mediascape.

Benedict Anderson (1991) mentions a direct link between nationalism and new racism. This modern face of *racism* creates a clear division between the *imagined community* of a nation state and some undefined *others* who don't belong. The perspective of a culture being fixed and rigidly bound to a particular territory is deeply ingrained into the theory of new racism, which undeniably strengthens stereotypes and the underprivileged situation of foreigners in a host country (Stolcke 1995).

The terminologies used and discussed in this project - *refugee*, *asylum seeker* and *immigrant* - demand proper definition. Term *refugee* used in the following research paper is in accordance with the interpretation encapsulated in Chapter 1, Article 1 of UN's 1951 Refugee Convention (UNHCR 2011). Definition of an *asylum seeker* was taken from UNHCR's website and states that "an asylum-seeker is someone who says he or she is a refugee, but whose claim has not yet been definitively evaluated" (UNHCR 2015). The term 'immigrant', after American definition, refers to an alien "who has been granted the right to reside permanently in the country and to work without restrictions in the country" (IRS 2015). The usage of the terms in question by the media is explored and revisited and makes up the vital part of this study. After KhosraviNik (2008) a label *RASIM* is utilized as an umbrella term for the above-mentioned categories.

# METHODOLOGY

## NEW RACISM | CULTURAL RACISM

*Race* is a factor that over the years has been determining the aspect of social inclusion. An archaic assumption that one can ascribe a particular set of traits to a particular race, was proved to be merely a social construction with no scientific explanation (Brah 1993). As a social construction, it is closely linked to the certain time and place it occurs within, when different power relations come into play (Blaut et al 1992). The most gruesome historic experiences of slavery and the Holocaust has shifted the focus towards a *quasi-argumentative* elaboration on the issue of *culture* instead of *race* (Van Dijk 1991). Furthermore, Teun Van Dijk (1991) argues that this cultural difference of minorities is expressed in certain pejorative associations around the issues of criminality, drug-abuse, women maltreatment, misogyny, e.g. the recent UK law that enabled cops to stop n search in particular black British nationals (Barnett, A 2015, 'Independent', para.1).

From the European perspective, the theory of *new racism* that we are talking about, embodies European cultural superiority (Blaut 1992). It has very serious implications on the topic of immigration. If every group of individuals from outside of the continent is treated as culturally inferior, then the arriving immigrants cannot be perceived as assets in a society (Baker 1981). Baker (1981) based his theory of *new racism* off his study of human nature, where individuals are supposedly equal, although cultural variations trigger a formation of separate *nation states*, i.e. *closed* communities. Such a social construction, accordingly to the theory in question, rests on the idea of culture being fixed and bounded by a certain area (Pred 1997). Baker conducted his groundbreaking studies on British society in the 1970s and 1980s. He observed development of public discussion on immigration around themes of exclusion and



repatriation, which aimed at instilling fear of an imminent culture-clash. Just like biology had been used in the colonial times to excuse labour exploitation, culture is used for social exclusion of *the other* (Baker 1981). However, it has far more reaching implications than only social. Cultural racism/new racism creates a differentiation that influences greatly the distribution of welfare services and eligibility to it. Hence, immigrants being the discursive *outsiders*, become vulnerable targets in the discourse as being labeled a burden on welfare provision, which [welfare provision] in its very nature is scarce and thus limited to the *insiders* (Stolcke 1995).

## DISCOURSE & CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Theo Van Dijk (2000) claims that the discourse itself reflects the intricate power relations in society. Moreover, due to the covert and subtle character of cultural racism, the way it is used in the modern world is mostly discursive - from media news and TV programmes to job interviews and textbooks (Van Dijk 2000). In spite of being *mere* talk and text, its consequences can be easily compared with the old forms of racism, i.e. apartheid, that had very explicit *physical* implications on people's lives. According to Van Dijk (2000), the fact that such a form of cultural racism seems 'commonsensical' may have even more detrimental effect on minorities. Furthermore, the consequences of racist discourse are not *merely* discursive and entail physical consequences, e.g. problems with getting a job or renting a house (Van Dijk 2000). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) exactly helps to understand the consequences of cultural racism embodied in the public discourse. It serves as a tool to comprehend how it [discourse] is not only a container and a conveyor of ideologies, but also a social action in itself (Wodak 2004). The textual analysis is linked to diverse socio-political implications which on different levels affect the processes of distribution, production and the actual interpretation of language (Fairclough 2001). The textual sphere analyzed holds the discourse, which is both "(...) socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned (Fairclough & Wodak 1997, p. 258). Fairclough (2001) also points out that the link between the socially constructed concepts and public discourse is dialectic. Critical Discourse Analysis is the methodology that deals with ideology as an impactful part of the discourse-society dynamics. The ideologies in question are being reshaped and formed by new discourses constantly. The term 'ideology' is used as a term that incorporates social practices and values of each particular social group. The social value of freedom differs substantially if one looks at it with ideology of free market or freedom from oppression. On the other hand, the understanding of the concept in question implies that e.g. racist ideology, has a certain effect on shaping the attitudes of social groups on immigration, housing, work, etc. in relation to migrants and minority groups (van Dijk

1996). People also shape their opinions/beliefs due to the persuasive discourse - manipulation and propaganda can influence public attitudes without the consideration of personal experiences. The same applies to editorials which were chosen for this study of media discourse (van Dijk 1996).

On a theoretical level CDA may be approached with numerous sociological and socio-psychological theories - Ruth Wodak (2009) enumerates seven categories, ranging from epistemology to middle-range theories that focus on certain sub-system of society and linguistic theories, etc. Nevertheless, it depends primarily on the specifics of the research question which theory shall be put into use (Wodak 2009).

There is a number of researchers who explored with different features of the media discourse and how it constructs the image of RASIM in the public sphere with several CDA models. Hartmann and Husband (1974) had researched the image of immigrants in the British media, as well as its impact on the general public, before CDA was formulated. Wodak (1996) accounts for researching the construction of a 'we' discourse by self-justification in the socio-political context of expansion of a racist discourse in Austria. Teo (2000) made a thorough study of the structures of newspapers in Australia, that turned out to inherently include discursive strategies that criminalize and negate Asian immigrants. Van Dijk (1991) focused on the macro-level categories and claims that general themes of attitudes and micro-strategies, which include the production and consumption of discursive practices, are very much complementary. Along with Wodak (1996) and Teo (2000), Van Dijk also refers to Baker's (1981) theory of *new racism*, to represent the shifting nature of power structures in the modern world. Lynn and Lea (2003) performed a discursive and rhetoric analyses of letters from readers published in British national newspapers and touching upon the issues of asylum seeking. KhosraviNik, Krzyzanowski and Wodak (2012) also studied the UK's context, i.e. how RASIM are constructed in British newspapers on two significant occasions - the Balkan War in 1999 and the 2005 British national elections.

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The following study relies mainly on the ideas composing *Discourse-Historical* approach to Critical Discourse Analysis due to its apt application by several scholars that is in accord with the scope of this study. *Discourse-Historical* approach was first developed in the 1980s in order to investigate the creation of anti-Semitic stereotyped image in the public discourse during the presidential campaign of Kurt Waldheim in Austria (Wodak 2009). A study from 1999 by Ruth Wodak on the construction of *difference* in relation to the concept of *national sameness* in Austrian context, delivered findings that established four macro-strategies when it comes to formation of discourse around *nation* and *nationality* (Wodak 2009):

- *Constructive strategies* that form national identities
- *Preservative or justificatory strategies* that conserve or reproduce national identities
- *Transformative strategies* that change national identities
- *Destructive strategies* that dismantle national identities

Depending on the 'discursive event', different aspects linked to certain strategies are highlighted. DHA has been also widely utilized in relation to commemorative events and *deconstruction* of 'national mythology' that idealizes certain historic episodes, while in the same time leaves past atrocities unsaid (Wodak 2009).

The *Discourse-Historical* approach to CDA (Wodak 2009) encapsulates:

1. *Referential strategy or strategy of nomination* - categorization by membership, metaphors, metonymies, synecdoches
2. *Predication strategy* - evaluative attribution of social actors with positive or negative traits
3. *Argumentation strategies* - usage of certain topoi that would justify inclusion and exclusion
4. *Perspectivization strategies, framing or discourse representation* - the ways of reporting, describing, narrating or quoting utterances/events
5. *Intensification/mitigation strategies* - intensification or mitigation of the illocutionary acts and its force,

which respectively aim at answering the following queries (KhosraviNik 2008):

1. How are objects of the study, i.e. persons, phenomena, actions or processes coined and referred to linguistically?
2. What kind of characteristics are associated with the objects studied?
3. What are the arguments used for supporting certain claims?
4. What is the perspective from where the nominations, attributions and arguments are expressed?
5. Are these utterances utilized properly or overtly?

Additionally, validity of the analysis is ensured by the triangulation procedures composed of social context, discourse context and text itself. This interrelatedness of the latter, the context of its production and distribution, as well as the wider social and historical context allows for relative 'objectivity' of the researcher (Wodak, 2009).

Wodak (2009) claims CDA does not rely on a specific methodology. She further suggests that after the first data collection, an analysis (in this paper based on already mentioned principles of the *Discourse-Historical* approach to CDA (Wodak 2009)) shall be performed in search for "indicators for particular concepts, expanding concepts into categories and, on the basis of these results, collecting further data (theoretical sampling)" (Wodak 2009). On the basis of these results from the initial reading of the editorials selected through the *Infotrac Custom Newspaper* search, the categories listed below were erected. It also has to be acknowledged that all of the mentioned categories, underwent the process of analysis not in separation from each other but within one particular coherent context of a newspaper editorial (Paltridge 2006). The theme and character of a singular editorial was treated as a guideline for its further analysis with the help of sections listed further below, due to the hermeneutic nature of CDA approach to discourse analysis (Wodak 2009):

#### 1. Theme/Context as part of perspectivization strategy (Wodak 2009):

- UK General Election Campaign 2015
- National/Local news
- International news

#### 2. Character of the editorials

At this point, certain limitations had to be acknowledged. The character of an article distinguished by labels such as positive, neutral or negative, can easily be objected as subjective. Nevertheless, certain criteria under a particular label are listed below, which are in line with the definition of a term positive/neutral/negative in relation to RASIM situation found in the studied articles. Moreover, CDA puts its methodology into hermeneutics, which is inherently subjective and cannot be judged as an absolute *truth* or *falseness* (Wodak 2009).

#### Positive articles..

- o evaluate occurrences from their positive impact on host society.
- o critical of excessively negative attitudes.
- o discuss the benefits of RASIM presence in the host society.
- o mention the humanitarian aspect.
- o Distinction between 'us' and 'them' is none existent (KhosraviNik 2008)

#### Neutral/balanced articles..

- o present sheer facts/numbers without further comment.
- o combine both positive and negative criteria.

#### Negative articles..

- o present hostile views towards the presence of RASIM in the host society
- o use stereotypes and other forms of generalization
- o utilize pejorative expressions
- o highlight the apparent problems caused by RASIM
- o showcase RASIM as a threat/burden on the welfare services

### 3. Headlines.

A headline is the most visible part of an article, thus it was examined, whether or not the body of the text in question corresponds with the general tone of the headline. Discrepancy in this area could lead to *creating* attention as part of intensification/mitigation strategy (Wodak 2009).

### 4. Quote patterns

The sources of articles were studied with the focus on the voices represented, hence the analytical aim is to establish who has access to the news. It serves to uncover how power relations are expressed through texts and how shortage

of quotation of RASIM is explanatory of their lack of power in society, explained with the help of *new racism* theory (Van Dijk 1991).

#### 5. Labeling.

In line with the strategy of nomination (Wodak 2009), it is crucial to establish labels used to talk about certain phenomena, people, and accurately distinguish between the usage of refugees or asylum seekers, and economic migrants. Utilization of the terms *immigration* and *immigrant* was studied in order to examine whether the newspapers frame the refugee debate within the immigration agenda, both cases mentioned analyzed within the intensification/mitigation strategies (Wodak 2009).

#### 6. Numbers.

Editorials were examined for appropriate referencing to the source when it came to mentioning numbers of RASIM in Britain. Accuracy of the data presented was also studied in order to observe whether media is using misleading information that is a common strategy when defining 'out-groups' as a threat, explained by *new racism* (Van Dijk 2000).

#### 7. Language.

The wording of articles was scrutinized and subjected to a textual analysis, which recorded multiple examples of both positive and negative nature. It served to understand how ideologies are embedded in the language. A single word or a certain expression might convey a different meaning depending on the context it is used in. A word like "immigrant" can be used both in a positive and a negative manner - as a mean of description or a way of creating distance with an out-group, termed by Wodak (2009) as 'referential nomination strategy'. Thus, language was analyzed within a particular context, established above within the point no. 1, as part of the three-dimensional framework of DHA (Wodak 2009).

# DATA SELECTION

An editorial is an article in a newspaper which gives the opinion of the editor or owner on a topic or item for news - Collins Cobuild Dictionary (2006)

The above-mentioned definition found in an English dictionary was the starting point for the data selection process. I chose to put a strong focus on the type of a media text I shall select for this kind of study, as different publications entail different influence on the discourse, sometimes with no relevance to the actual analysis of media construction of RASIM (Wodak 2009). Media texts in general haven't been studied from the discourse analytical point of view until 1980s (Van Dijk 1996). Editorials were selected for the analysis - not only is their very nature expressed in the initial dictionary definition, but also their daily impact on a reader remains unparalleled with other texts in a newspaper. Whether one supports a stance showcased in an editorial or not, it undeniably has some opinion-shaping qualities (van Dijk 1996). Because of the daily impact mentioned, I chose to focus on daily newspapers only, which seems to be more in accord with the factual definition in question. Furthermore, selected newspapers' political endorsement was examined. Knowing what the political stance is, allowed for an even more thorough analysis of the discursive tools used as mainstream news media are embedded in a social, economical and most importantly, political context (Fowler 1991). Part of the CDA analysis is to debunk the claims of the press' impartiality and read the texts within the broader context of exterior influences, not outside of them (Fairclough 1995). Eventually, two daily newspapers on the opposite sides of politics were chosen in order to observe more clearly the influence of politics on the creation of media discourse. First was *The Sun* with the biggest circulation that supported Conservatives and *The Mirror* - the only press to endorse the Labour.

To sum up the data selection process, 151 editorials were found through a search on *Infotrac Custom Newspapers* via [www.en.aub.dk](http://www.en.aub.dk). Search terms included *immigrant*, *immigration*, *asylum seeker* and *refugee*, in order to select the

most relevant data for this study. Because of the political nature of the research, I focused on the period of the campaign before the 2015 General Elections in Britain, i.e. 30th March 2015, the day of dissolution of the 55<sup>th</sup> Parliament as amended by the Electoral Registration and Administration Act 2013, and the day of elections 7<sup>th</sup> May 2015 (McCague, Cooper, Jackson 2015, BBC News). Out of the initial 151, 26 were discarded due to the source, i.e. not a daily newspaper. For the purpose of this study, only 37 editorials from *The Sun* and *The Mirror* were ultimately taken into consideration. Two editorials from *The Sun* and five from *The Mirror* appeared to be duplicated due to the search engine errors and were discarded, which diminished the overall number of editorials to thirty .

Selected newspapers along with their political affiliation represented openly in the very content by the editors:

*The Sun*(15) - The Conservative Party

“Conspiracy theorists like Russell Brand, the 39-year-old teenager, believe The Sun backs the Tories because we are all part of some evil elite behind every bad thing ever.

Here's the real reason:

Because this time they are by far the best bet for the prosperity and happiness of millions of ordinary people who read The Sun.” (30 April 2015)

*The Mirror*(22) - The Labour Party

“Do it by heading to a polling booth today and voting Labour.” (6 May 2015)



# POLITICAL DISCOURSE & BACKGROUND

Since the onset of politics, the intricate usage of linguistic tools has had serious influence on the society. Historically, it was the investigation of discourse created by the National Socialist Party in Nazi Germany that became the first socio-linguistic analysis of propaganda language in totalitarian regimes (Wodak 2009). Utz Maas was the first scholar to observe political discursive practice as a 'social practice', i.e. discourse being moulded by society, influenced by undertones used by the people in power. Maas's point was, that this 'social practice' was performed naturally, almost unconsciously - it was the discourse analysis that helped to unravel the factual implications of language used and the rules that "would make a text a fascist text" (Wodak 2009). Ruth Wodak stresses the importance of discourse analysis as a process of depoliticization, that aims at comprehending complex processes taking place in politics, instead of condensed and ritualized images shown in the media. The only 'backstage pass' given to the public takes a form of private-life scandals of politicians - this world is yet more complex, and 'the doing of politics' can be observed thanks to Discourse Analysis (Wodak 2009). Hence, it was established that the political setting has a substantial impact on the public discourse on RASIM and cannot be omitted in this study.

2010 elections observed a shift in the government towards the Right after 10 years- the Labour Party was made to pay for its apparent mistakes, which left the budget in shatters and the net immigration up, resulting in 3.6 million rise in the UK's population. It turns out migration is still an important issue for the voters in 2015, as Britain is experiencing a substantial outflow of skilled professionals, while the net immigration is second highest in history (Wilkinson 2015, 'The Telegraph').

The Conservatives won the elections with certain economical pledges in their manifesto. Seemingly, it is mostly the immigrant workers who caught the attention of the Tories. Issues tackled by the Conservative agenda included an extension of the working period to 4 years, before a foreign claimant is eligible for child benefits. Same time is to be required in order to enroll for social housing. EU migrants who would not find a job within a 6-month period are to be forced to leave the country. Furthermore, the new EU member states' citizens might lose the right for free movement, on the account that "their economies have to converge much more closely with existing member states" (*What the Conservative Government has pledged to do* 2015). Yet it is not only the immigration from other EU countries that is perceived as a problem - the number of skilled workers from outside of the European Union is to be

downsized to the level of 20,700 workers per year (merely 1,000 workers less than the previous cap set in April 2011), which is already being criticized by various business owners (Travis 2015). An extension of “deport first, appeal later” policy is also planned. Nevertheless, according to the Conservatives’ programme no asylum cases are to be incorporated into that scheme, which gives hope that humanitarian principles are also relatively high on the agenda (ibid.).

On the other hand, there is the second biggest power, i.e. the Labour party. Quoting after the headline on their website, it called for “tough and fair immigration”, by coming to terms with apparent mistakes from their era of governing (Labour 2015). The Labour party went even further than simply recognizing its past failures – its message to the voters was conveyed in the term control, as control of immigration and of its impact on local communities, as well as border control, was listed crucial. Having said that, the leader Ed Miliband also pointed out the Tories’ failure in curtailing net immigration. His mug with ‘immigration controls’ on the side, which is visible on the front page, became widely infamous. The Labour also promised to improve the visa system, in order to bring in skilled professionals, while the low-skilled would be scrutinized even more. No benefits could be obtained by newcomers over the first 2-year period in a country (ibid.).

The elections ended with the Conservatives winning the majority with 36.9% of the votes, the Labour Party placing second with 30.4 %, UKIP 12.6 %, Liberal Democrats scored 7.9 %, SNP got 4.7 % and the most liberal towards immigration Green Party placed last with 3.8 % (Results 2015).

# RESEARCH QUESTION

The study conducted focuses on the ways the gap between 'us' and 'them' implied by the *new racism* is being manifested in the realm of newspapers of a wealthy Western country like England, which does have a relatively small share in alleviating the migrant crisis of 2015 in Europe. In this endeavour answers to the following research questions were a substantial contribution:

1. How are RASIM represented in the selected English newspapers during the British 2015 parliamentary elections campaign in the wake of the migrant crisis?
2. How does the political context influence the media image of RASIM?

Newspapers being a form of written language, discourse analytical approach was chosen in order to evaluate the articles found. A general negative trend among the political elites towards immigration, represented by the right-wing parties gaining majority of the votes in many European States in 2015, e.g. UK, Denmark, Poland, had to be acknowledged (Robins-Early 2015, 'Huffington Post', para.1). Power relations are manifested through language, reproduced by individuals who in one way or another have access to the mass public media and mould the discourse - people who hence acquire power (van Dijk 2005). Having mentioned that, Foucault's call for "opening up minority discourses" (2003) becomes a very relevant way of (re)distributing power in a society. The issue of discourse and power being so intertwined, the theory of *new racism* helped to deconstruct the image of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants alike (henceforth RASIM (KhosraviNik 2008)) reproduced by the groups in power, which successfully deprived the minorities' of the representation in the media (Wodak 2009). Editorials were selected according to the relevance to the area discussed, subsequently subjected to quantitative and qualitative analysis (KhosraviNik 2008). This allowed to showcase how the English newspapers constructed and utilized the public discourse on RASIM over the period between 30 March - 7 May 2015, which covers the period of UK General Elections campaign from its onset to the polling day.

# ANALYSIS

Having distinguished the political affiliation of the selected newspapers in the previous section, I decided to separate the following analysis into two parts. Each of the sections in question is showcasing my findings on a particular newspaper. By doing so, I was able to explicitly compare my analysis of the newspaper discourse with the ideology represented by a corresponding political ally, which remains an important facet of the analysis of the discourse and the contextual framework (Fairclough 1995). The following CDA analysis combines quantitative methods with qualitative for more comprehensive results (van Dijk 1991).

## THE SUN

### THEME

Out of the initially selected 15 editorials, 2 had to be subtracted due to the duplicated content. The great majority, i.e. 10 articles, tackled the issue of immigration from the perspective of the UK General Elections 2015 campaign. Two articles contained information on International News linked with RASIM and only one text on Local News unrelated to the campaign.

The editorial on Local News found in *The Sun* (28 April 2015), informs about a comment by a LGBT activist and BBC broadcaster Graham Norton on another TV-personality Katie Hopkins who according to Norton "(.) shouldn't be here, because (the event) is about equality, inclusion, acceptance and allies. She does not fit into any of those

categories." To give a perspective on the event, the following quotation showcases Katie Hopkin's statement in question:

"NO, I don't care. Show me pictures of coffins, show me bodies floating in water, play violins and show me skinny people looking sad. I still don't care. Because in the next minute you'll show me pictures of aggressive young men at Calais, spreading like norovirus on a cruise ship (...)" (16 April 2015)

By linking these noble values to the issue of immigration as a predication strategy, discourse on RASIM becomes more positive. Nevertheless, the role of the editor has to be acknowledged as the traits mentioned were uttered by Norton and not the author of the editorial. It is a prime example of a media text that has to be analyzed within a whole context, as the initial reading on the micro-structures level may be found too hollow and irrelevant for discourse analysis (KhosraviNik 2008).

Two articles on International News depict immigrants as victims of the unjust world. First of the editorials analyzed is about a tough call of the newspaper for a just trial and a bail for an Irish undocumented nanny imprisoned in US:

"THE trial of Irish nanny Aisling Brady McCarthy could be hanging in the balance. The undocumented immigrant, who has been in prison for more than two years, has waited and waited while her trial date gets pushed back. And the reasons are clear -- the case against her has been severely weakened by scientific advances." (5 May 2015)

A micro-linguistic feature of the 'perspectivization strategy', coined 'extensivisation' is used (KhosraviNik 2008). It describes in detail the situation of an actor in question - in this case it accounts for mentioning full name of the migrant, which is quite remarkable among the editorials studied. Drawing from the new racism theory, the reasons for such a unique alignment may derive from the fact that the migrant in question was from Ireland - arguably a country from the same cultural circle.

The second article also represents a compassionate approach towards RASIM:

"A blind eye can be turned no longer.(...) We must reduce the pressure on people to risk their lives attempting to reach Europe. Action is needed now." (22 April 2015).

It was published a day after the UNHCR reported that a boat with 800 migrants had drowned and draws greatly on topoi of victimization, as people are helpless and *pressured* "to risk their lives". It is a perspectivization strategy used by the author to place the focus towards finding solutions to the situation that refugees are facing.

Editorials from *The Sun* that were thrice more numerous (10) tackled the General Elections and what are its implications on the issue of *immigration* and *RASIM*. This aspect being high on the Conservatives' agenda who are *The Sun's* political partner, helps to understand its overwhelming presence in the public discourse represented by the newspaper in question. The socio-political context is crucial for the analysis, because various interpretations of micro-structures, i.e. metaphors depend heavily on it (KhosraviNik 2008), as well as other relevant macro-strategies (Wodak 2009). Editorials that showcased immigration not linked to politics, hence not merely as an issue on the political agenda but a humanitarian case, were few and far between (3).

"Labour was proved wrong at every turn. The Tories did fail to cut immigration. But they remain the only major party committed to a referendum on the EU. If Britain votes "out", we can control our borders again." (30 April 2015)

The editor is agentivising the ingroup with the use of referential strategy expressed by the ambiguous use of the word "we" (KhosraviNik 2008). It remains unexplained and unclear, whether the author refers to white Britons, British nationals or him and his fellow journalists. Ambiguity is enhanced by usage of the word "again" that could be a reference to very varied periods in British history.

"If Labour win enough seats on Thursday, Ed Miliband will be Prime Minister on Friday, in a minority government sure of conditional support from the Scottish Nationalists. For you, that means: No referendum on Europe ... EVER. No renegotiation of our powers in Europe. No change on immigration." (5 May 2015)

# CHARACTER OF THE EDITORIALS

The tones of the selected editorials from *The Sun* were studied in order to comprehend the impact a media text can have on the character of the discourse. Reproduction of negative representations will inevitably underlie an image of RASIM that has pejorative connotations – the contrary, if the positive discourse is reproduced (Berger & Luckmann 1966). In this study, one article with a positive tone was found, four editorials that were neutral and eight of a negative character, out of thirteen in total.

## POSITIVE

Out of 15 editorials found on RASIM in *The Sun*, there is only one that could be labeled as *positive*. In the text titled “Med’s rising Toll” (22 April 2015), its author unveils a great tragedy that had occurred the day before, i.e. 800 migrants (UNHCR) losing their lives in the waters of the Mediterranean Sea. The story is a call for international help, unheard of in any other editorial in the period studied:

“THERE is a full-blown crisis developing in the Mediterranean. (...)A blind eye can be turned no longer. Ireland shares in the total horror at this weekend’s tragedies.” (22 April 2015)

In spite of being aware of the tragic character of the migration taking its toll on thousands of African lives and presenting himself as sympathetic, the editor does point to the criminal implications of the crossing:

“Solutions must be found by all nations to address this humanitarian crisis, in particular the organised crime aspects behind these needless deaths.” (22 April 2015)

The author is distancing himself by indirectly shifting the impact of those deaths that had taken place, from the humanitarian aspect of the situation in question towards “the organized crime aspects”. This kind of approach implies that a certain kind of *militarized* action is needed, hence ‘a humanitarian issue’ becomes a part of the *securitization*

discourse. It enhances the distance between 'us' - 'Brits' and 'them' - 'migrants', which underlies problems with assimilation explained by new racism further on. Moreover, such a perspectivization strategy inevitably victimizes the refugees and portrays them as helpless and powerless that need assistance from outside, as suggested in the editorial.

## NEUTRAL

Four editorials were labeled as neutral. In three instances there was no approach towards RASIM presented but immigration showcased as one of the general issues, next to NHS and education, which in the long run might also have severe implications linked to the public discourse on these other issues.

"It has nothing to say on big issues like Europe and foreign policy, let alone the bread-and-butter politics of welfare and NHS reform, immigration or education." (6 April 2015)

In one editorial the immigrant background was mentioned yet entailed no further implications.

"THE trial of Irish nanny Aisling Brady McCarthy could be hanging in the balance.

The undocumented immigrant, who has been in prison for more than two years, has waited and waited while her trial date gets pushed back." (5 May 2015)

The one talking about Graham Norton bashing a public anti-immigrant stance was labeled as *neutral*, due to the fact that Norton remained the focus of the text and not RASIM per se. The editor himself remained neutral by resorting to publishing only the quotes.



## NEGATIVE

There were 8 negative articles on RASIM-related issues published in *The Sun*. Interestingly enough, all of them tackled immigration from the perspective of an ongoing elections campaign, which might express *The Sun*'s political alignment. Immigration was yet another issue on the agenda that would have had its economic consequences if Britain was to be ruled by the Labour:

"More spending on welfare, more borrowing, more of the chaos Gordon Brown's Government left the nation." (5 May 2015)

The above-mentioned *chaos* may be directly linked to the pre-2010 Labour Government which "(...)will NEVER curb the unfettered movement of people whatever their race, colour or creed" (29 April 2015) as part of the perspectivization strategy. These negative associations (the latter quotation being a mockery of anti-racist statements which is intended to ridicule the principle inherently applied to human rights ) are juxtaposed with the Conservative's *economic miracle*:

"(...)A growing economy or a socialist threat to prosperity?" (29 April 2015)

A strategy of intensification overtly addresses the influence of political parties on the country. A macro-strategy of positive self-presentation (*The Sun* and the Tories) and negative representation of the other (the Labour) (Wodak & Van Dijk 2006) is similarly used by the editor in the context of politics. It is a referential categorization ('socialists') that also draws on the topos of threat, which is explicitly expressed by the use of the word "threat" (KhosraviNik 2008). High hopes are also put on the EU referendum promised by Cameron, which can *help* UK on the issue of immigration:

"If Britain votes "out", we can control our borders again." (30 April 2015)

Immigration is presented as something that needs to be controlled or else it will drive the country into the utter *chaos*. A liberal stance on this issue by the Labour is equaled with a crisis, in spite of the fact that it was *The Sun's* political ally - the Tories, that observed the second highest net immigration in the recorded history (Wilkinson 2015, 'The Telegraph').

## HEADLINES

No headline contained terms *immigrant*, *immigration*, *refugee* or *asylum seeker*. It can be concluded that *The Sun* did not try to attract readers' attention by resorting to the usage of terms in question, which could have been a very biased way of reproducing certain stereotypes (van Dijk 2000). Although at times made up of dubious expressions, all of the headlines corresponded with the editor's approach to a particular issue presented in the heading.

## QUOTE PATTERNS

Eleven editorials out of the selected thirteen tackling issues relevant for this study (see the 'search terms' section for a detailed list) was found to be the actual *voice of the newspaper* - no person would be quoted or given as a source of information. Hence, the impression is that the published information is coming from a legitimate source and the presented opinion is one of high credibility. Which in turn, is one of the actual assumptions of an *editorial* (see: DATA SELECTION). The remaining two were already mentioned in the previous section - the article on Mediterranean crisis used UNHCR as a source, and the one on Graham Norton's commentary quotes the man himself. It is remarkable that in the latter text, the editor is merely using quotations without any commentary. By indirectly distancing himself from the statements uttered by Norton, the editor is reshaping the initial perspective as part of 'perspectivization strategy', which creates an impression that Norton's approach towards immigration are not representative of any group but himself.

Overall, *The Sun* used only once as a source in its discourse on RASIM an organization that is professionally dealing with refugees, asylum seekers or immigrants, whether as a political entity or an NGO, i.e. UNHCR. In the following instance, such usage underlies the severity of the situation. According to KhosraviNik (2008), references to large

numbers and quantities not necessarily are negative, and have to be analyzed within a wider context, in contrast to the negative implications of “conclusion rule” used in syllogism of communicating. Drawing on the topos of numbers, it forms a part of argumentation strategy.

“The United Nations’ refugee agency yesterday said that more than 800 people may have drowned at the weekend when a boat packed with migrants sank as it tried to reach Europe.” (22 April 2015)

No refugee/asylum seeker/immigrant was quoted in any of the editorials found. It does show a level of objectification of the people this research paper is concerned about - RASIM are not brought into the debate while the debate is on them. They are given no voice, hence no chance to present themselves as who they are - they are backgrounded (KhosraviNik 2008). It is also an indication of a powerless position of RASIM in the society, who are deprived of access to opinion- and discourse-building elements, e.g. press conference, interviews, which can be explained with the use of new racism theory as a proof of the *insider's* superiority and the *outsider's* inferiority (van Dijk 2000). Not including individual voices creates a distance with RASIM by making it an *official* issue, unrelated to humanitarian principles but as an issue of *national concern*, involuntarily brought into the dehumanized discourse of politics and economy.

## LABELING

Ten editorials were found to talk about RASIM in general terms, i.e. by using the notion of *immigration*. *Dehumanization* is being reinforced by referring to RASIM through a collective nominal as part of a referential strategy. Such objectification places the readers and the subject of articles on two different sides of the discourse. Hence, the imaginary distance between ‘us’ and ‘them’ is created and upheld. Immigration, thus foreigners in general, is downsized to being an issue in the public discourse, instead of individual life stories that could help the public understand a migrant’s plight. In one instance a notion ‘undocumented’ is used, yet little can be said of such usage as no further explanation of the individual in question is described:

"The undocumented immigrant, who has been in prison for more than two years, has waited and waited while her trial date gets pushed back." (5 May 2015)

In the other case in point, the term 'migrants' is used interchangeably with 'refugees'. Arguably, such a strategy of nomination is blurring the gruesome reasons refugees are forced to flee in order to save their very lives. They are compared with migrants who make a conscious decision of moving to another country. It does make an important difference when it comes to the benefits one is eligible for, as well as work possibilities. Both play a vital role in moulding one's social image and shall be taken into particular consideration when reproducing such representations in the public discourse, that quite often takes a form of a topos of *burden* within the argumentative strategy (KhosraviNik 2008).

"Analysts believe as many as 30,000 migrants could be killed attempting to cross from Africa this year unless the crisis is brought under control. (...)The only sustainable, practical solution is to ensure potential refugees feel safe in their home countries." (22 April 2015)

Last but not least, there is the following case:

"(...)That is a huge change in many people's fortunes. Only the very richest WON'T benefit. Then there is the clampdown to stop EU immigrants taking low-paid jobs and topping up their wages with tax credits. (...)That will stem the flow of low-skilled migrants and stop working-class Brits being undercut." (12 April 2015)

Not only EU immigrants are being associated with poverty and other demeaning connotations (predication strategy) by generalizing about them "taking low-paid jobs", but also the image of a British national is painted in opposition to the mentioned group of immigrants. This macro-strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (Wodak and van Dijk 2006), creates an imaginary representation of two groups (*us* and *them*) that are entirely driven by apparently opposite values. Such an approach can be well explained with the *new racism* theory. It states that these *new racists*, in this case that would be the editor instilling a particular image in the host community, ascribe a pejorative trait to a group of *outsiders*, while the *insiders* happen not to possess it at all. Before, it could be attributed to negative *eugenics* - now it's the *culture* (Baker 1981).

# NUMBERS

Out of 13 articles only 1 was found to utilize numbers when talking about RASIM. The authors did not employ the *numbers game* that is a common strategy of using numbers in excess when talking about a threat, if only by quantity (van Dijk 2000). The editorial on the capsized boats in the Mediterranean did use numbers along with its source - United Nation's Refugee Agency - in order to present the extent of the situation that had taken place. Numbers are used in an informative way, with no extra wording that could be perceived as evaluative:

"The death toll from capsizing disasters stands at 1,727 so far in 2015 30 times higher than the 56 fatalities recorded by April 21 last year." (22 April 2015)

Topos of numbers as an argumentative strategy is hence very scarcely utilized in *The Sun* (1 editorial), which might be explained by the fact that The Tories had not fulfilled their promise of curbing immigration, which reached the highest levels during their governance, hence being a troublesome topic to tackle. KhosraviNik (2008) actually explains that such an avoidance is a well thought out strategy when comparisons work against the argumentation. Topos of vagueness that could be achieved by improper referencing of numbers is explained in the LANGUAGE section below.

# LANGUAGE

The language of the editorials was analyzed to understand the lexical tools used by the journalists when creating a certain discourse. In the following quotation, author of the editorial creates a certain theme/topos by using the word 'flow' - a metaphor of water that van Dijk (2005) explains as a *loss of control*.

"That will stem the flow of low-skilled migrants and stop working-class Brits being undercut." (12 April 2015)

The suggested loss of control draws on argumentation strategy that creates an atmosphere of urgency and panic. Let alone the fact that it is a negative construction of RASIM in the public discourse (KhosraviNik 2008). In the quotation above, a differentiation was made between the outgroup 'migrants' and the ingroup 'Brits'. The outsiders were associated with a kind of misbehavior that caused harm to the insiders (topos of threat), which was eagerly exploited by politicians. A security discourse was created around the issue of migration with the use of the word 'control', which has also been one of the main themes in the campaign. The act itself of calling for (more) control is one's way of achieving high position in the power relations (van Dijk 2000). It is *the controller's* position that is superior to that of *the controlled*, which is also showcased below in the expressed sentiments towards the European Union:

"They are understandably sick of professional politicians, and of a Britain powerless to control immigration and dictated to by unaccountable Eurocrats." (7 April 2015)

Creation of the discourse around *immigration* and *RASIM* was in accordance with the political goals of *The Sun's* political ally. The discourse in question was observed to be interconnected with the antagonist approach towards the Labour, which was explicitly attacked due to the "chaos left by Gordon Brown", i.e. high net migration and budget situation (5 May 2015). Certain phrases that can be found directly offensive for the Labour Party, also became a negative association within the discourse on migration. *Miliband nightmare*, *Labour nightmare*, *socialist lunacy*, *left-wing lunacy* or a *socialist threat to prosperity* are inevitably linked to immigration:

"(...)Help us stave off the Miliband nightmare' "They also want to have a say on immigration. Well, there's a way to do that, and that's to get a Conservative-only government who the EU will have to do a deal with." (5 May 2015)

The theme of immigration from the perspective of the campaign, had a heavy burden of Labour being regarded liberal on the issue. Hence, political attacks were intertwined with criticism on migration - again, in the same time dehumanizing immigrants:

"I may even have been ahead of UKIP in raising alarm over mass immigration when Blair and Brown betrayed working class voters by opening the doors to cheap labour. Red Ed should publicly beg forgiveness. His claim yesterday he has learned a lesson is a lie. Labour will NEVER curb the unfettered movement of people whatever their race, colour or creed." (29 April 2015)

The editor undermines the value of immigrants by labeling them as 'cheap labour' (referential and predicational strategy). Not only it already has pejorative connotations, the usage of the word 'betrayed' which implies a criminal character, plays a vital role in the discourse by reproducing a topos of 'threat'. This alarmist discourse is enhanced by the use of the word "alarm" itself, which has an ambience of urgency and terror. Additionally, macro-strategy of positive self-representation (working class voters) is contrasted with the already established pejorative notion of 'cheap labour' (KhosraviNik 2008).

## THE MIRROR

Out of the initial 22 editorials found via the *Infotrac* search engine, 5 had to be subtracted in the process of analysis due to duplicated content. Interestingly, the number of articles on the *British General elections* (11) and *National News* (1) unrelated to the campaign, was almost identical to the ratio found in *The Sun* (10 and 1, respectively).

# THEME

## INTERNATIONAL NEWS

The observed difference made the coverage of International News by 5 editorials - all of them but one (which covers American Tea Party) published in the wake of the tragic news on 21<sup>st</sup> April, when around 800 migrants drowned in the Mediterranean Sea over one weekend. Editorials covering the refugee situation were published on 21<sup>st</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> April, as well as 2<sup>nd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> May.

21 April 2015: "(...)The victims are the desperate children, women and men risking their lives to flee Libya, a country Britain inadvertently plunged into bloody chaos when the RAF bombs that toppled Gadaffi opened the door to Islamist fanatics. We can't turn the clock back but nor must we turn our backs when a human tragedy is unfolding off the shores of Europe (...)."

25 April 2015: "The tide of refugees in the Mediterranean shows how badly we broke that country when David Cameron spearheaded the bombing which deposed dictator Colonel Gaddafi. If he disagrees, we issue a simple challenge. Cameron should return to Martyrs Square in Tripoli, where he posed for PR photographs on a victory walkabout in 2011. He won't and he can't because it's too dangerous. Cameron destroyed Libya then failed to rebuild it. Libya is his Iraq War."

Within the argumentative strategy, in both instances the editor is drawing on the topos of victimization where refugees are facing real tragedy yet also, especially in the second editorial, agentivizes and heavily singles-out David Cameron by putting a blame for the situation solely on him as the head of the government. Arguably it shifts



the focus from the topoi of victimization towards the political context. Heading of the second article in question also adds on to the rhetoric as a perspectivization strategy: "Cameron's Iraq", which does not relate to the refugees' sad plight but the political perspective. Another case of the same perspectivization strategy - the author used aggregated wording, i.e. a collective nominal 'we' that put him in a vague position of speaking for everybody (KhosraviNik 2008). When analyzed within this political context mentioned by the editor throughout the great part of the text in question, an apparent editorial on a humanitarian case factually dehumanizes individual migrants fleeing Libya, for the purpose of negatively representing the other, in this case a political antagonist Cameron, against the ingroup encapsulated in the word 'we' (macro-strategy of negative other-presentation (van Dijk 2000)).

## NATIONAL NEWS

The only RASIM-related editorial talking of events that had taken place inside the country unraveled a story of a British aid worker, who had retired after serving 37 years in various countries of Latin America and Africa, saving people from civil conflicts and famine.

"(...)Sally O'Neill, from Dungannon, Co Tyrone, is retiring from Trocaire this month in the wake of more than three decades witnessing some of the world's great upheavals including brutal conflicts in Latin America and thousands starving to death in Africa.(...)Within weeks of her joining Trocaire in 1978, three bitter civil wars broke out in El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua. (...)Sally oversaw humanitarian aid to more than two million refugees in the Central American region in the following years." (13 April 2015)

The author is aligning himself with the aid worker with the heavy use of a micro-linguistic feature of extensivization that includes detailed information on the aid worker, as the name of her company is mentioned, as well as an exact career-length, etc. The editor is also using directionalization that always have positive (or neutral) implications in the text, expressed by direct quotations without any additional journalistic tool that would compose a strategy of perspectivization (KhosraviNik 2008).

# BRITISH GENERAL ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN 2015

Eight out of eleven editorials on British elections in *The Mirror* focused on criticizing UKIP for its stance on immigration.

"A sweating Nigel Farage looked isolated and brought almost every question back to Europe. The UKIP leader also hit a low point when he said his solution to NHS funding was to stop people with HIV who were not British nationals from being treated by the health service.

Ms Wood said his comments were "scaremongering and a disgrace"(...) Mr Farage blamed immigrants for fuelling waiting times - which got no sympathy from the audience." (3 April 2015)

The editor is pointing to a fallacious argumentative strategy of Nigel Farage who drew on the topos of immigrants as a 'burden' and distances himself [the editor] from such an approach by the use of strategy of perspectivization, i.e. mentioning the audience's response. UKIP's leader is also discredited with the usage of a predication strategy that associated Farage with "scaremongering", as well as metaphors like "hit a low point" (referential strategy).

Nonetheless, the way other politicians were presented in the editorial suggests that immigration could have been used merely as a pretext to discredit political antagonists, while supporting Ed Miliband from the Labour:

"Mr Cameron tried to push the argument back to Labour's record in office. The PM blustered:

"The problem - and the real choice - is with Ed Miliband, who still thinks the last government didn't tax too much and borrow too much. If you don't understand the mistakes of the past, you can't provide the leadership for the future."

But Mr Miliband hit back: "There you go again. You can't talk about the present or the future, so you talk about the past."

He was backed by Ms Sturgeon, who said: "I back Ed. Austerity is pushing people into poverty.(...)" (3 April 2015)

Various examples of perspectivization strategy are in use that show distance of the editor towards David Cameron and support for Ed Miliband. By the use of terms "tried to push", as well as "blustered" his [Cameron's] inefficacy in debate is highlighted, while the Labour is backed by the third parties (Ms Sturgeon), stressed with success in argumentation - "hit back". This antagonism towards the Tories is also emphasized by the heading: "Leaders batter PM over record on NHS & economy", where Cameron is presented as unsuccessful with the mentioned issues of NHS and economy, because he deserved 'a battering'.

*The Mirror's* political affiliations are also visible in other articles on the Tories. They refer to the proximity of Cameron's and Farage's anti-immigrant views:

"DESPERATE David Cameron last night urged UKIP voters to "come home" and vote Tory on May 7. The Conservative leader claimed he has listened to their fears on Europe and immigration.

He urged them: "We have heard the message loud and clear about things you want changed. We will change those things."

In 2006 Mr Cameron branded UKIP supporters "fruitcakes, loonies and closet racists." (7 April 2015)

Again, David Cameron's stance is presented negatively by the usage of the word "desperate" (referential strategy). A strategy of perspectivization is visible by including an indirect quotation from 2006 that showcases a radical change of Cameron towards UKIP voters that he once called by rather unfriendly terms. It is an insinuation that the Conservatives' leader may not be genuine in his statements. Moreover, a comparison of the Tories' and UKIP's political agenda has implications on the image of immigration - it [immigration] becomes a tool of objectification, a dehumanized issue.

It is interesting to see how *The Mirror* editors are utilizing the topic of *immigration* against the Conservatives, turning the Tories' rhetoric of blaming Labour upside down. Nevertheless, the following quotation strengthen the argument of objectification reproduced by *The Mirror*, which resorts to numbers and a strategy of nomination through a collective nominal 'immigration' (KhosraviNik 2008):

"Labour and the Tories are closer on this issue than either would care to admit. (...)Wait and see if Cameron repeats a 2010 target to reduce immigration to "tens of thousands" - after he missed it by a country mile, with net immigration at 298,000, higher than the level under Labour." (11 April 2015)

# CHARACTER

The initial reason for studying this particular newspaper was to analyze the discourse created by the Labour's media supporter. Having said that, *The Mirror* was presumed to present a more positive image of RASIM than the one reproduced by their media counterparts who back the Tories. No article was rated explicitly negative. Out of 17 editorials, 6 were characterized as *positive* and the remaining 11 as *neutral*, which could represent Labour's stance on the issue - the apparent conflict between their humanitarian principles and the way *immigration* is portrayed in politics, is an actual epitome of Ed Miliband's dilemma during the campaign. In the press, voices of Miliband's slight confusion on the issue had been raised widely which can be observed in the expressions below. The following is the most antagonistic statement found on Labour and its immigration policies in *The Mirror* during the campaign period:

"LABOUR MP Diane Abbott branded Labour's official red "controls on immigration" mug "shameful," but what is the country of origin of the mug itself? Labour admits it has "no idea where they were made," but referred me to Notts-based Pellacraft, which printed them with the controversial design." (1 April 2015)

The author brings to the readers' attention the Labour's campaign mug that had "controls on immigration" written on its side. It made a stark contrast with the party's image, known for its liberal approach towards e.g. immigration. In the article the editor distances himself by posing a very thought-provoking and relevant inquire in the era of globalization, where outsourcing is commonplace. Although, a direct quotation of the party's own MP is a worthy tool of shortening the distance created.

The ensuing quotations are arguably in line with the Labour's political manifesto and prove that immigration controls have a firm position on their agenda - it was presented in the media as an issue of high interest to the voters, hence was chosen not to be omitted in the discussion before the elections:

"The Survation survey found the NHS, immigration and the economy remain top of voters' concerns. Since the Coalition came to power, 39% say they are worse off compared with just 19% who say they are better off." (10 April 2015)

"Labour and the Tories are closer on this issue than either would care to admit. Wait and see if Cameron repeats a 2010 target to reduce immigration to "tens of thousands" - after he missed it by a country mile, with net immigration at 298,000, higher than the level under Labour." (11 April 2015)

As mentioned earlier, the fact that immigration made it to the top of people's national concerns, drew Ed Miliband surprisingly close to Cameron on the issue. Many political commentators pointed it out to be one of Labour's mistakes, because if "(...)the only one of Labour's pledges that excites anyone is a pledge to "control immigration"", then it is a serious problem for the Left wing indeed (Bush, 2015, 'New Statesman').

Disclaimer: KhosraviNik (2008) states that although it is an established fact that political ideologies do influence discourse interpretation, usage of terms 'positive' and 'negative' is especially problematic when studying discourses on RASIM. A number of topoi that could be initially regarded as 'positive', i.e. humanitarianism, human rights, ethical values, might be constructed in a fashion that is exclusionary of that outgroup, hence shall be kept in mind during the analysis. While negative discourses are mostly very explicit, the positive ones may cause some difficulty in interpretation.

## POSITIVE

National/Local and International News were rated positive with merely one exception. As mentioned earlier in the first section of *The Mirror's* analysis, when speaking of news on RASIM outside of the elections, newspaper editors tend to bring up the humanitarian argument to the discussion on migration.

The only article on National News that was already mentioned, describes a career of "legendary" British aid worker for her service to the others around the world. It is crucial to observe that values associated with helping those in need, regardless of their high relevance in the Western World, are not mentioned within the discourse on immigration created by politicians. The editor aligns with her work with the use of already mentioned [see: NATIONAL NEWS] macro-strategies like directivization and extensivization:

"The charity's chairman Bishop William Crean said: "During 37 years, Sally O'Neill has given outstanding service to Trocaire. Her work has been characterised by passion and compassion, by a deep sense of justice, by taking the option for the poor, by solidarity and by always challenging the structures of poverty and injustice." (13 April 2015)

To support the humanitarian facet, the editors of the International News not only stressed the effects of a dubious military intervention, but also included the voice of the celebrities as a perspectivization strategy. In the following excerpt, Angelina Jolie was presented as a role model that should be looked up to. Having created a very dignified image of her, the author went on to showcase her stance on Syria:

"To highlight her tireless work ethic and to place things into perspective Jolie has made more trips to Afghanistan and Iraq than the US Secretary of Defense.(...) But it was her speech at the UN in New York last week that left me most impressed given everything she has been forced to endure. Not one, like many other celebrities to sit in silence, she shamed, in fact humiliated world leaders and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees for their lack of action in the world. She attacked their inability to come together to help nearly four million Syrian refugees displaced by civil war." (2 May 2015)

What works outside of the political world, is not reflected inside of it. Not one politician was brought to the media attention because of his/her humanitarian work. On the contrary, the great share of *The Mirror's* focus was on exposing UKIP's racist ideology (8 out of 11 editorials on the elections - see section: THEME/British General Elections Campaign 2015):

"Blay fumed: "I've always said in my constituency you could put a monkey out there with a blue rosette on and it would win." His outburst came outside a meeting where Nigel Farage was delivering a speech in Ramsgate, Kent. The Mirror filmed it as part of a probe we launched after being alerted to allegations of racism and threatening behaviour among stewards working at UKIP events in the region." (6 May 2015)

The extract mentioned above constitutes the only positive article among these talking about the election period. Despite reproducing insults, the editor is making a point out of them. UKIP's member who uttered the remarks quoted is called explicitly racist and his action is termed a "racist rant" (6 May 2015).

# NEUTRAL

Only one editorial on the international news, and all but one on the parliamentary campaign, were found *neutral*, i.e. 11 out of 17. *The Mirror* editors maintained a relative balance when talking about the issue of migration.

An article from the International News section classified as neutral, presented a story from US of a Canadian-born Tea Party's presidential candidate, whose father was a Cuban immigrant:

"He happens to be the Canadian-born son of a Cuban immigrant, which constitutionally bars him from standing. But since the Tea Party enthusiasts do not regard American-born President Barack Obama as a "true" American, this may not bother them. The fact is that "White Christian" America is suffering an identity crisis for the simple fact that within an election or two, "White Christian Americans" - "true Americans" in Tea Party code - will be in a minority. So it was no wonder Cruz declared his candidacy at "Liberty" University, founded by tele-evangelist Jerry Falwell." (30 March 2015)

The author is driving the attention towards common notions of what it means to be a 'true American' or a 'true Briton' (strategy of nomination) as mentioned in the text about Robert Blay's racist rant, which aims at defining a specific 'ingroup', hence also an 'outgroup'. The new racism theory points out that there are certain associations/stereotypes people may have of particular nationalities, which is expressed in the article above. A rhetorical figure used by the editor as part of the perspectivization strategy to discredit Cruz made it hard to label the editorial in question as positive:

"US democracy is becoming more and more scary. From this side of the Atlantic Ocean, you might think that someone like Senator Ted Cruz being a presidential candidate must be a joke." (30 March 2015)

7 out of 10 editorials on the elections campaign that were characterized as *neutral* presented immigration as an exploited political issue of UKIP party. Despite the obvious reproduction of negative discourse on RASIM, the editors distanced themselves from the antagonistic statements uttered by UKIP members by addressing them as such. Thus, articles in question could be classified as neutral regardless of the unfriendly expressions on RASIM they presented:

"NIGEL Farage's key immigration policy was in chaos yesterday after the UKIP leader performed another U-turn. (...) He claimed net migration to Britain should be cut to 30,000 a year. Yet three weeks ago he refused to set an annual target for numbers going in and out." (1 April 2015)

“Mr Farage blamed immigrants for fuelling waiting times - which got no sympathy from the audience.” (3 April 2015)

Dilemmas on the labeling of articles stated by KhosraviNik (2008) and mentioned at the very beginning of The Mirror’s section of analysis shall be acknowledged at this point. There is no certainty that the distancing strategy used by the editors against Nigel Farage weren’t a mere political strategy.

Nonetheless, Farage draws on the topos of a ‘burden’: immigrants are using the NHS excessively, i.e. in an ill-manner, hence the natives’ suffer. It poses a question of eligibility to the benefits, i.e. whether they should apply to the outsiders/immigrants or not. There is no mention of the net contribution of the working immigrants to the host society, which according to the Office for Budget Responsibility amounted to 0.6% to Britain’s GDP (Office for Budget Responsibility 2015). As we may observe, politicians often use certain strategies in their rhetoric which have the power of antagonizing different social actors. Moreover, this kind of differentiation between the eligibility of immigrants and the host population to public services might be an implication of cultural racism, i.e. *new racism*, which puts value on people (whose health is more valuable) according to their cultural roots (van Dijk 1991).

## HEADLINES

Among 17 editorials examined, only 2 were found to use RASIM-related terms in their headings. Both of the examples in question refer to UKIP and its approach to the topic:

“UKIP switch on migrants” (3 April 2015)

“Farage to migrants: Don’t Commie here” [original spelling], (23 April 2015)

In this case the author used a nominal strategy expressed in generalization that applies to every refugee, asylum seeker or an immigrant - “migrants”. Even though the actual news story does relate to immigration controls for certain nationalities, the discourse created with the help of a quotation used out of context, makes it virtually applicable to



every individual who is not native to Britain. The editor used the political tone of the discourse on immigration as a tool for driving attention to the UKIP's stance on the issue. It has taken a character of *new racism* in the heading, which is the most visible part of a newspaper article (van Dijk 2000).

Headlines of the editorials characterized as *positive* during the 'refugee crisis' don't refer to migrants in their headings:

"Britain must answer SOS; VOICE OF THE" (21 April 2015)

"Cameron's Iraq; VOICE OF THE" (25 April 2015)

"More acts of human kindness" (5 May 2015)

The initiative was never showcased as if it was in the hands of RASIM, hence a certain image of helpless, powerless and unskilled people is maintained and reproduced, while in reality refugees do contribute substantially to British economy. It was already mentioned how big the economic output of immigrants is [see: *NEUTRAL* section], yet it is also worth adding that according to the British Refugee Council, about 1200 doctors working at NHS are refugees. What's more, it only costs £25,000 for a refugee to obtain essential qualifications in the UK, instead of £250,000 for the whole university education (Refugees make a huge contribution 2015). It is an important argument, which proves that all kinds of immigrants have assets that could make a positive impact on the host community.

## QUOTATION PATTERNS

Among the 11 editorials that talked about politics and migration, 10 were found to contain quotations of politicians that made up the focus of the articles themselves, hence they could influence their own media representation and thus manifest power (van Dijk 2000).

"He is a member of the Legalise Cannabis UK campaign group on Facebook. (...)Kassam insists that he is a member of all sorts of groups on the social networking site and follows them purely for research purposes. When I ask if he has ever taken cannabis, he replies: "I've been a practicing Muslim for almost all my life. Your question is disgraceful and offensive." (1 April 2015)

UKIP's member is given voice through both indirect and direct quotations as part of perspectivization strategy in a relatively petty case. While politicians are given voice on so many various occasions, there is only one article that used RASIM as a source. It showcased behavior of a UKIP member towards his Conservative counterpart whose father came as a refugee from Sri Lanka. Seemingly, it was enough for the UKIP candidate to deny him his contribution to the country and even his son the right to call himself British:

"Blay, a former member of the Conservative Party, added: "His family have only been here since the 70s. You are not British enough to be in our parliament. I've got 400 years of ancestry where I live. He hasn't got that."(...) "I said to his dad about two months ago, 'Why did you come to Britain?' He said, 'Things weren't very good politically in Sri Lanka and I came here and I could train as an accountant.'"So he's come here and ponced off us, hasn't he, like all the East Europeans are? That's what is happening. Continually." (6 May 2015)

The editor uses a referential and perspectivization strategy towards the UKIP's member by mentioning his [UKIP's member's] former political alignment - "former member of the Conservative Party", which creates an indirect suggestion that the party in question is composed of dubious individuals. Robert Blay presents immigrants by drawing on the topos of 'threat' to the *ethnic* Britons by using overtly a strategy of predication by attributing negative traits with a term - "poncing off", that implies a financial threat to a country/insiders by the East Europeans and a Sri Lankan refugee, i.e. outsiders. East Europeans are generalized. A macro-strategy of negative other-presentation and positive self-presentation is visible through the fact that according to Blay he inherently possesses more rights - e.g. to be in the parliament. A concept of being 'British enough' was created on the basis of the period of living in the country, as contribution seems not to count. This is a rhetoric explained by *new racism*, which holds a central belief that culture determines somebody's behavior (Baker 1981). Nonetheless, a distance between the quoted Sri Lankan and the editor is visible due to the fact that the latter merely quoted a politician's utterance.

Five editorials were found not to have used any outside sources or quotations. They took a form of a *newspaper's* voice, an opinion-shaping text that represents an official line of thought of the publisher. Editorial below reproduced a political stance of criticizing the Conservative government for the military interventions that played a part in triggering the 'refugee crisis'. The editor is using a metaphor (referential strategy) by comparing aftermath of the infamous invasion in Iraq to the present one in Libya:

"Cameron destroyed Libya then failed to rebuild it. Libya is his Iraq War." (25 April 2015)

# LABELING

Out of 17 articles, 7 talked about immigration as an issue in the political and national context, all of them belonging to the selected group of editorials on *the British General Elections campaign 2015*:

“Nigel Farage alerts followers to a radio interview which quickly became a bad-tempered, desperate defence of UKIP’s confusion over immigration.” (3 April 2015)

Such usage of the word “immigration” as a referential strategy for all *outsiders*, as well as perspectivization strategy expressed by its association with “confusion” draws on the topos of vagueness and entails negative implications on the social image of the ‘out-group’ in the country.

“Many are fleeing the dreadful humanitarian crises in Syria and the Horn of Africa. But they are also escaping from Bangladesh, Senegal and Nigeria and making their way to Libya, where they are at the mercy of people smugglers. At the back of their minds, EU leaders know there will be strong resistance among many voters to further immigration.” (5 May 2015)

Despite acknowledging the rightful reasons for human beings to flee their home countries, the discourse is brought back again towards the political agenda by using the collective and dehumanized term ‘immigration’ in this very particular coverage of a humanitarian crises. Very different concepts, ideas and concerns became encapsulated in the single notion of ‘immigration’.

All 4 editorials that contained terms ‘refugee’ were also rated as *positive*, i.e. 3 out of 4 *positive* on International News and one on Local News. It may prove yet again that the political climate of the elections made the topic of immigration an issue with negative connotations during the ongoing campaign. That term [immigration] became widely used in the media texts of a depreciatory character, in contrast with the editorials on international and national news:

“Britain must finance and assist rescue missions. We must do whatever we can to help restore order in North Africa, stop the smugglers and save refugees from drowning.” (21 April 2015)

The term 'refugee' itself implies that a person labeled as such is fleeing danger, an argumentation strategy that draws on the topos of victimization is utilized to present editor's sympathy.

"The tide of refugees in the Mediterranean shows how badly we broke that country when David Cameron spearheaded the bombing which deposed dictator Colonel Gaddafi." (25 April 2015)

This referential strategy that uses a metaphor of water is an example that the socio-political context of an editorial has to be taken into consideration. In contrast to Ruth Wodak's (KhosraviNik 2008) claims that such a reference is negative, with a relative certainty it shall be regarded as positive as it calls for urgency in response to the observed crisis (KhosraviNik 2008).

"Not one, like many other celebrities to sit in silence, she shamed, in fact humiliated world leaders and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees for their lack of action in the world. She attacked their inability to come together to help nearly four million Syrian refugees displaced by civil war." (2 May 2015)

Again, the label 'refugee' is used appropriately, followed by relevant argumentation that mentions the reasons that created danger [civil war].

## NUMBERS

6 editorials out of 17 were found to utilize *numbers* to convey a certain message on immigration.

Only one of the editorials that was published after the most tragic weekend in the Mediterranean gave the source of the numbers used:

"The details relayed by Dr Simon Bryant, who was on a *Medecins Sans Frontieres* search-and rescue at the weekend were heartbreaking. In the past number of days more than 6,000 people were rescued while an unknown number died in the sea." (5 May 2015)

Once again, the credibility of the author is firstly gained by referring to a person of a well-respected profession and apolitical position - a doctor from a charity organization *Medecins Sans Frontieres*. In order to create a particular

impact on the reader that might not had been achieved by a figure of 6,000, the editor emphasizes the scale of the tragedy by contrasting it with “an unknown number” that lost their lives. This expression of quantity allows the imagination of people to play a role in painting the image of the crisis. One of the associations of the sea is that it is vast, almost unlimited. Using Malkki’s analogy (1994) “sea of humanity”, it gives an impression that not only “unknown” but an unlimited number of human souls could had perished while crossing it. Yet again this image is enforced by the author’s use of the unknown factor in “the sight of thousands of migrants” (5 May 2015), that implies a great scale of migration.

Analogy of water is explained by van Dijk (2005) as a metaphor with negative association of losing control over the issue of immigration. It is a theme widely exploited in the political world showcased in the selected editorials. 2 of them highlighted the UKIP’s confusion over the cap limit, an issue that was apparently met with no consensus among the party members:

“NIGEL Farage plunged UKIP’s immigration policy into confusion yesterday. He called for a 50,000 annual immigration limit, just 48 hours after saying that it should be 30,000.” (3 April 2015)

Along these lines, the second example also enters the strategy of ‘numbers game’, a rhetoric figure that is used to give an impression of high credibility of the author (van Dijk 2000):

“Wait and see if Cameron repeats a 2010 target to reduce immigration to “tens of thousands” - after he missed it by a country mile, with net immigration at 298,000, higher than the level under Labour.” (11 April 2015)

In both instances, numbers that are mentioned relate to statistical data. Politicians and the media aim at gaining the essential credibility in the eyes of the voters by referring to very precise and objective information, and numbers is the utmost example of it. In theory, arguably every single digit has some influence. Although in practice, they help with painting a particular image and serve for instilling a certain ideology (van Dijk 2000). In the text from 11<sup>th</sup> April it is encapsulated in the last sentence - if the high numbers themselves weren’t enough, it had been stressed that they are “higher than the level under Labour” . The term ‘higher’ became the equivalent of ‘worse’ in the discourse on immigration and RASIM.

# LANGUAGE

To begin with, it was interesting to observe what kind of characteristics in the public discourse are attributed to those who *seek* and those who *give* refuge (referential and predicational strategies). In the following excerpt, a British humanitarian worker was called an “aid hero”, due to her 37-year long service to others:

“A lifetime of fighting for poor to get justice; AID HERO RETIRES; Sally's 37yr quest” (13 April 2015)

This kind of *positive self-representation* visible above makes a stark contrast with the image of RASIM. Not only are they deprived of access to the newspaper sources (see: QUOTATION PATTERNS section), but they are also being objectified and pitied by the media:

“The victims are the desperate children, women and men risking their lives to flee Libya,” (21 April 2015)

Expressions associated with water like “watery graveyard” (21 April 2015) and “The tide of refugees ” (25 April 2015) were found, which conveyed the extent of the situation. When talked about the migrant situation outside of the borders, the editors used terms such as “Syrian crisis” (2 May 2015), “dreadful humanitarian crisis” (5 May 2015), “tragedy”, “human tragedy” (21 April 2015).

The lexical tools that were used to describe RASIM-related notions are hardly ever adjectives. Immigration was mentioned along with words like “reduce” (11 April 2015), “fears” (7 April 2015), “(UKIP's)confusion” (3 April 2015). It is no wonder that immigration remains “one of the top voters' concerns” (10 April 2015), if the discourse around it is built of the above-mentioned negative associations.

# CONCLUSION

A deconstruction of the image of RASIM represented in two tabloid newspapers in the United Kingdom - *The Sun* and *The Mirror* - during the 2015 Parliamentary Elections Campaign was performed with the help of new racism theory (Baker 1981) and discourse-historical approach to critical discourse analysis (Wodak 2009). The political impact on this representation was taken into account, as politics is a domain that strives for power *inter alia* discursively (KhosraviNik 2008).

It has been observed that political agendas had serious impact on the articles published. *The Sun* newspaper devoted very little attention (1 article) to the migrant crisis represented in this study in the context of international news that unfolded on 21<sup>st</sup> April in comparison with *The Mirror*, which published consecutively four articles that touched upon the topic of refugees fleeing danger. Political affiliation is a visible factor that must have influenced such differentiation as The Sun-backed Conservatives' leader David Cameron issued a statement on 23<sup>rd</sup> April which explicitly represents his stance on the refugee problem: "He said the Royal Navy will be saving lives, not offering people asylum in the UK" (Cameron demands plan 2015), hence it became an unimportant topic for the Tories' supporters. No article on the issue was published afterwards in The Sun, while The Mirror published three more in the two-weeks span. Tragedy that took place on 21<sup>st</sup> April was only the onset of a huge migration of people over the Mediterranean Sea and had been covered extensively in various media. Solely in the period March-May the numbers of refugees had quadrupled, eventually sky-rocketing to more than 220,000 by October (Refugee/Migrants Emergency Response 2015).

Usage of numbers in the editorials studied made up another example of political impact on the media discourse. A visible difference in the number of its utilization between *The Sun* (1) and *The Mirror* (6) stemmed from the fact that statistical data worked against the Tories' political credibility - during their governance net immigration sky-rocketed, while they had promised its curtailment. Thus it is not surprising that *The Mirror* being supportive of the Labour did not hesitate to include such data more often in the campaign.

Not only politics, but also 'distance' was found to be influential on the ways RASIM were presented in the public discourse. RASIM outside of UK borders were referred to with respect to notions of human/refugee rights, human solidarity and compassion, noble values and human virtues that brought respect to those who possess them, just like a British aid worker Sally O'Neill in an editorial in *The Mirror*. Nonetheless, the same discussion was substantially different within the context of the elections. Migrants were showcased as an issue on the agenda. Not a single MP in the campaign period boasted about the number of foreigners that had their lives saved thanks to the British rescue missions, British asylum policies or even indirectly via national charities and NGOs. Objectification of RASIM was enhanced through usage of the collective nominal 'immigration' that outnumbered any other reference to RASIM. Termed as an issue, RASIM in the discourse was linked to burden on healthcare and welfare services, often attributed traits with no factual argumentation. Immigration became a label that bore pejorative connotations that inevitably has serious implications on economic immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers alike. Through this utilization of a collective nominal they turned into one, regardless of the differences in legal situations of each agent. It seems crucial to mention legislation published on 1<sup>st</sup> April 2014 by the UK's Home Office Secretary in the *Asylum Policy Instruction: Permission to work*. At the very beginning of the document in the section 1.1, it states that "with certain exceptions, asylum applicants are not permitted to take employment pending the final determination of their claim"(Home Office Secretary 2015). There was no remark in the media of such a legal hindrance, that inevitably made asylum applicants dependent on the welfare.

According to KhosraviNik (2008) backgrounding of RASIM shall be taken for granted when it becomes a tool of 'political rivalry', which allowed for observing different micro-mechanisms, i.e. perspectivization strategies used by editors. It served for scrutinizing 'positive' and 'negative' macro-structures - ideologies - behind the creation of particular discourse, what often tends to be problematic. A primary example of such was observed within the usage of metaphors of water - it either implied urgency or loss of control. Similarly topos of numbers or human rights. It can be concluded that there are no certain macro- and micro-level mechanisms that are explicit in their discursive message. Hence it is always essential to examine various inter-discursive topics and other elements that impact media texts in order to deconstruct it properly.

Victimization and powerlessness of RASIM was enforced by quotation patterns that consistently omitted the agents in question. Lack of their voice in the media enhanced social inferiority - newspapers did not reproduce arguments



that could possibly diminish the gap between the host society and the outsiders. This gap was even reinforced through alignment or merely representation through quotation of individuals from the same ingroup, i.e. politicians.

Media constructions on refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in the period of the campaign were found to be heavily influenced by politics, despite arguably one of the biggest migrations of people in modern history happening in the background. It is yet another proof that media sources have their own agenda that aim at constructing certain images of the world around us. One has to be aware of such strategies not to be manipulated, and maintain freedom of making conscious choices in their own lives.

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