Journalistic Discourse Analysis in British and American Articles on Migrant Crisis

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1. Introduction

Although we might not consider it as such, discourse analysis is a part of our everyday life. It is a vital segment of any and every kind of communication, be it written or oral. A skilled speaker is able to uncover and decipher hidden connotations, messages or irony that hide behind specific use of phonology, morphology, syntax or word choice.

Along with the ever-growing importance of social and other media, the interest for analyzing discourse seems to increase as well. Discourse analysis is not important exclusively in terms of politics, sales, the market or propaganda, but its importance increases in every aspect of society and seems essential for any type of communication.

Journalistic discourse analysis is, along with political discourse analysis, one of the most popular ones. Being characterized as a versatile newspaper reporter undoubtedly also means being able to present facts without transmitting personal opinions in any way. However, considering there is a global tendency towards giving way to independent and liberal reporting, personal opinions and evaluations are desirable and encouraged.

The actual migrant crisis that is affecting Europe and the whole world began in 2015 with the ever-rising influx of immigrants from the war-stricken Middle East. The refugees are said to be mainly of Syrian origin, but the media reports a significant number of economic refugees who are by some standards not entitled to asylum within the European Union.

This growing issue has caught many European governments unprepared, especially the governments of countries that are directly stricken by it and the controversy that the migrant crisis raises in the public is of great interest for the media.

The main task of the discourse analysis regarding this particular thesis is to uncover specific underlying meanings, connotations or messages that are concealed behind the plain language with which the reader is presented. This will be done through the analysis of articles

belonging to two British and two American journals centered around the same theme – the European migrant crisis. These two societies are affected by the migrant crisis in different respects; therefore, the viewpoints of their respective media are likely to differ as well. This thesis will attempt to see beyond the mere use of words and linguistic structures and analyze the authors' intentions and the message they wish to convey.

2.   Discourse Analysis – Theoretical Framework

As mentioned before, discourse is a constituent of our everyday life and inseparable from language itself. Since there are various different types of discourse, each has their own characteristic features. Therefore, it is comprehensible that there are numerous different approaches and theories regarding the best way to analyze the peculiarities of every kind of discourse. This chapter will provide an overview of some of the most important features of language and text in general and, ultimately, their relation to discourse.

2.1. Towards a Definition of Discourse Analysis

Discourse is by definition inseparable from language and its principal purpose which is that of communication. The answer to the question of how discourse analysis can be defined and to what extent is discourse shaped by the postulates of language will be attempted to be reached in this chapter. This chapter will provide a framework of different approaches to analyzing discourse and this framework will be applied to the analysis of the texts relevant for this thesis.

2.1.1.   Language and its Basic Characteristics

Although many distinctive scholars have debated about what the concept of language truly represents and what the term should or must include, no exact definition seems to have been elaborated. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that language is one of the most distinctive and most important human activities. Considering the fact that the language's most basic purpose is that of enabling communication, it is understandable that it changes and adapts in form according to the communicational situation and needs. Nevertheless, in his distinctive work by the name of *The Dialogic Imagination*, Bakhtin asserts that language content and form, when it comes to discourse, are to be seen as a unity. Discourse is a social phenomenon in every one of its

aspects – from the most palpable one such as the sound image to the most abstract of its meanings (259).

According to Bakhtin, one of language's most basic characteristics is that it ″is realized in the form of individual concrete utterances″. These utterances convey certain communicational goals through their linguistic characteristics, their message or ″content″, and most importantly - their ″compositional structure″. An utterance is determined by its style, theme and compositional structure and each ″sphere″ of language in which specific utterances are used has its distinctive parameters and uses specific types of utterances. These are called speech genres (*Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* 60).

Bakhtin claims that utterances also serve as a link between life and language. The most important linguistic factor related to utterances and discourse analysis is stylistics. Every style is closely connected to forms and patterns of utterances, or what we called it earlier – speech genres. Every utterance is unique and as such, it has the ability to reflect the individual nature of every speaker or writer (64).

2.1.2. Discourse and Text

Halliday and Hasan are two authors whose work has served as a framework for many researchers in the field of discourse analysis. Firstly, before starting to analyze any kind of text, the researcher must define the term. According to some analysts, text constitutes the ″verbal record of a communicative event.″ (Brown, Yule 190) Halliday and Hasan believe that the primary condition for a group of sentences to be considered a text is their *texture* or *cohesion*.

According to Halliday and Hasan, this cohesion is visible in whether the interpretation of the discursive elements is dependent or not on one another. The cohesion of a text can also be seen in the use of anaphoric resources such as in the example ″Peter said *he* was coming.″ The

pronoun *he* in this case is an anaphoric element and, as such, it gives cohesion to the text because we can consider these two sentences a text (Brown, Yule 191).

The term ″discourse″ has gained significant popularity over time. Most probably due to the term's use and reuse, its definition has become somewhat unclear. Even so, in most cases, the definition of this term emanates from the idea that language is structured in such a way that it conforms to different patterns which speakers follow while engaging in different social activities and domains. Discourse analysis is implemented in the study of these patterns. Nevertheless, one cannot discuss a single approach to discourse analysis because these are various and they concern not only the linguistic aspect of discourse, but also its social components. (Jorgensen and Phillips 1)

Before offering an explanation and grouping regarding different types of discourse analysis, we should first make a distinction between different types of texts. It is evident that specific texts cannot always be interpreted by simply reproducing the exact meaning of its words. When it comes to expository prose, the reader's ″experience″ of the text depends largely on how the author structures the argument. (Brown, Yule 7) As opposed to formal linguists, who are concerned with a text's coherence and semantic relationship between sentences, a discourse analyst analyzes the relationship between the speaker and the utterance in a specific situation of use. (Brown, Yule 27)

The notion of *reference* is, without doubt, one of the most important ones in discourse analysis as well as semantics in general. According to Halliday and Hasan, the concept of *reference* designates the situation where ″two linguistic elements are related in what they refer to″ (Sanders, Pander 591). Wales, on the other hand, correlates linguistics with philosophy by saying that ″reference is concerned with the relation between words and extra-linguistic reality: what words stand for or refer to in the outside world or universe of discourse″ (Rahman Ahmed 44). This aspect is of great importance for discourse analysts. When it

comes to discourse analysis, reference is an aspect that is considered to be an action performed by the speaker. The most common referential expressions that are used by speakers to refer to certain 'given'[1] entities are pronouns. According to Chafe, pronouns in this case are pronounced with a lower voice pitch and are phonologically ″attenuated″. (Brown, Yule 214)

Halliday and Hasan provide us with yet another term related to the issue of reference. The issue of the so-called co-reference refers to words and forms that refer to something else other than their semantic interpretation. When the meaning or interpretation of such words or forms is hidden in the context of a specific text, the relationship between them is called exophoric and as such, has no role in the textual cohesion. When the interpretation of the above mentioned forms can be found within a text, they are called endophoric and they do form cohesive bounds within the text. Halliday and Hasan subdivide endophoric textual relations into anaphoric and cataphoric relations. In order to understand anaphoric relations, the reader must ″look back″ in the text for their interpretation, while cataphoric relations become clearer further on in the text. (18)

Halliday and Hasan exemplify various cohesive relationships in texts. Formal markers are one of the most obvious ones and most commonly used in marking cohesive relationships among sentences in a text. They divide formal markers into the following groups: *adversative* (on the other hand, but, nevertheless, however), *causal* (so, consequently), *temporal* (after that, then, at last, finally), *additive* (and, furthermore, or, in addition, similarly) (Brown, Yule 191).

The term *implicature* is another important notion in discourse analysis. According to Grice, this term denotes what a speaker implies, means or suggests as opposed to what the speaker actually says. Grice divides implicatures in two different groups. These are

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[1] *Given* in this respect designates information that is treated by the speaker as recoverable "either anaphorically or situationally" (Brown, Yule 179)

conventional and conversational implicatures. Conventional implicatures are defined by ″the conventional meaning of the words used″. (Brown, Yule 31) In the following example, we can see that the speaker does not directly state that the characteristic of being *brave* is subsequent to being an *Englishman*. Nevertheless, the form that was used in this statement indirectly implies that this relation is verisimilar.

1)   He is an Englishman, he is, therefore, brave.

The implicatures have specific recognizable characteristic and are considered pragmatic aspects of meaning. They partially originate from the literal or conventional meaning of an utterance, they are produced in a specific context which is shared by the speaker and the hearer and their recognition of the cooperative principle and its maxims. Considering that an analyst (or linguist in general) rarely has insight into the speaker's intentions, his affirmations regarding the implicatures are considered interpretations. A discourse analyst, as well as any hearer, does not count on a direct insight into the speaker's intentions during the production of an utterance, he often counts on the process of inference[2] in order to be able to interpret the utterances. (Brown, Yule 33-34)

2.1.3.   Gillian Brown and George Yule: Discourse and Context

In discourse analysis, the notion of context is an extremely important factor. A discourse analyst always has to take special care of the context in which specific discourse takes place. Some of the most common textual elements that require context and tend to be of extreme importance when it comes to discourse analysis are deictic[3] elements. These include words such as *this*, *that*, *here*, *now*, *us*, *me* etc. In order to be able to analyze these elements, the analyst must have information about the speaker, the hearer and the place and time of the

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[2] Inference: ''something that you can find out indirectly from what you already know (deduction)'' (Hornby: 794)

[3] Deixis: "the use of deictic words or expressions (one whose meaning depends on where, when or by whom they are used)" (Hornby 403)

discourse. A discourse analyst has a specific approach to the analysis of texts. As opposed to formal linguists, who are concerned with a text's coherence and semantic relationship between sentences, a discourse analyst analyzes the relationship between the speaker and the utterance in a specific situation of use (Brown, Yule 27).

The aspect of context is of great importance when it comes not only to discourse analysis but also to every other kind of linguistic analysis. Linguists became aware of the importance of context in sentence analysis as well as discourse analysis at the beginnings of the 1970s. Fillmore poses the following doubt regarding the notion of context and its repercussions for discourse analysis:

> […] I find that whenever I notice some sentence in context, I immediately
>
> find myself asking what the effect would have been if the context had been
>
> slightly different. (qtd. in Brown, Yule 1983: 35)

When it comes to certain specific features related to context, Hymes emphasizes the following ones; *addressor*, who according to Hymes, is the person who produces the utterance (in its written or spoken form), while the *addressee* is the recipient of the message. Furthermore, Hymes states that one's expectations will be furtherly constrained if he or she is familiar with the *topic* and has some knowledge about the time and place of the event; in other words, its *setting*. Other contextual features include *code, channel, message − form, purpose* and *event*. These features concern the style of language, the nature of the contact between the participants, the form of the message, the intention of the participants and the type of the communicative event respectively (qtd. Brown, Yule 38- 39).

2.1.4.   The Geneva Model of Discourse Analysis

The Geneva model of discourse analysis was created by certain experts from the University of Geneva in the 1980s. It came to life as a result of various approaches to

discourse analysis based on pragmalinguistics and it concerns the functional and hierarchical organization of discourse structures (Filliettaz and Roulet 2002: 369). It gained its final form with the help of Bahtin's thesis regarding the discourse structure and its relation to the principles of verbal interaction. (Šimunić 2002: 348) Also, Bahtin introduced the methodological approach to the analysis of speech acts that is based on ″forms and types of verbal interaction determined by concrete conditions of its realization″. His work later on revolved around the analysis of speech acts and finally ″linguistic forms″. (Šimunić 2002: 349)

The Geneva model makes a distinction between five discourse units: incursion, transaction, exchange, intervention and speech acts. As the largest of the above mentioned discourse units, incursion is defined as ″verbal interaction that begins with the encounter of two speakers and ends with their separation. ″ Transaction can be defined as a ″discourse unit whose frame is a specific transactional object″. (Šimunić 2002: 349) This approach showed that any type of verbal or written interaction demands a process of negotiation. During this process, speakers commence or react to different propositions with the help of specific semiotic constituents that belong to different hierarchical levels. These can be moves, acts or exchanges. (Filliettaz and Roulet 2002: 369)

The Geneva Model of Discourse Analysis is profoundly rooted in issues of global concern that are currently under the social scope. For this reason, it has certain postulates in common with other linguistic approaches and, on the other hand, it shows important differences in comparison to others. The Geneva Model's focus is on the study regarding natural manifestations of language, therefore, the term *discourse* refers to ″communicative realities″ rooted in real communicative situations and connected to actual speech events. According to Kuyumcuyan, the study of discourse consists of the analysis of the ″traces″ left by different

communicative practices such as transcripts of texts, audio and video tapes etc. (Filliettaz and Roulet 2002: 371).

Some implications concerning this approach to discourse analysis include the view that the study of actual language use supposes a verisimilar and referential domain of investigation regarding linguistic research. The approach elaborated by Filliettaz and Roulet states that a certain model of discourse analysis should not focus solely on describing data or be centered on a particular discourse type. It should consider the ″dialectical relation″ between theory and practice. Lastly, the above mentioned authors consider that a theoretical model is valid when it can be applied to any kind of discourse. (Filliettaz and Roulet 2002: 372)

One of the most important issues regarding the initial phase of the Geneva Model was its disregard of the contextual aspect of texts. On the other hand, the newer approach to discourse organization takes context into consideration assuming that context has a great influence on discourse production and interpretation (372). Furthermore, Filliettaz and Roulet consider that a thorough context analysis does not consist solely of the description of the parameters of a single contextual situation. It should be constructed by means of a systematic insight into the conceptual domain of ″social action″. The above mentioned authors believe that a deep understanding of social actions and the process of their negotiation represents an important means of perceiving the manner in which context information can form discourse structures (373).

Wodak believes that language analysis requires the recognition of a complicated and ″dialectal relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation, institution and social structure which frame it″ (173).

Discourse is a phenomenon that is believed to be formed by social action and reaction considering that discourse is interpreted in relation to specific contexts and ″speech genres″ while, on the other hand, discourse is believed to reproduce ideologies or transform mental

structures. In this respect, texts can be considered as expressions of ″psycho-social″ realities and this way it is evident that they surpass the mere lexical or syntactic formations (Wodak 2001: 37).

The Geneva Model bases its theoretical principles upon the analysis of larger discursive units, as opposed to individual ones, and is therefore centered around the functioning of those types of discourses that involve various speakers (Šimunić 2 2008: 375).

2.1.5. Critical Discourse Analysis

Another important approach to discourse analysis is the so-called critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis is a term which denotes a multidisciplinary field of study that takes into great consideration the sociopolitical aspect of discourse. According to Van Dijk, critical discourse analysts focus on the ″role of discourse in the (reproduction) and challenge of dominance″ (Van Dijk: 250). The aspect of dominance here is described as the social power owned by ″the elites″ that results in various types of social inequality. The result of such power relations are different types of discourse that employ different kinds of discursive patterns. Critical discourse analysts try to discover which strategies, patterns and communicative events are characteristic of these types of texts.

In Van Dijk's opinion, the criteria that characterize the critical discourse analysis could be summarized by stating that CDA (critical discourse analysis) should primordially deal with the discourse dimensions regarding power abuse and the injustice and inequality that result from it (Van Dijk: 252). CDA's focus on dominance and inequality means that it does not aim to contribute to different schools, theories or discourse disciplines. It strives for a fuller understanding of social issues through discourse analysis.

Critical Discourse Analysis has become a synonym for a specific and innovative approach to written or oral texts. It has come to the surface as a combination of critical semiotics,

linguistics in general and most importantly – the study of language and communication as the basis for all social interaction. This study aims to find new ways of exploring language in use, starting from its functioning in a social and political environment. Although it does not result easy to determine such study's exact postulates, aims or methodology, in his work *Aims of Critical Discourse Analysis*, Van Dijk points out several factors that make Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) different from other approaches to this issue. He claims that CDA's main distinctive aspect is its ″issue-oriented″ nature. In his opinion, every linguistic or methodological study that is capable of studying important social issues, especially those of social inequality is relevant for discourse analysis. Van Dijk is not prone to qualifying CDA as a school, approach or a subdiscipline of discourse analysis. He considers CDA simply as a categorically critical view of textual analysis. Although it is primarily text-oriented, CDA is not entirely limited to the discourse's verbal aspect, but it also takes into account other communicative aspects such as sounds, music, gestures etc. (18)

In her article *Critical Discourse Analysis as a Research Tool*, Hilary Janks gives a brief overview of Fairclough's model of CDA. Janks explains that Fairclough's model includes three processes of analysis that are closely connected to three dimensions of discourse. These include the processes by means of which the object is produced and received by receptors (writing, speaking etc.), the object of analysis, and the socio-historical circumstances that manage these processes (1). Moreover, each of the abovementioned dimensions of discourse demands a specific kind of analysis.

The first dimension is the textual analysis (description), the second is the processing analysis (interpretation), and the third social analysis (explanation) (1). Janks believes that Fairclough's approach allows the analyst to concentrate on specific factors that constitute the text. These factors could be on the morphological, lexical, syntactical and any other linguistic level. Fairclough acknowledges the importance of the socio-historical factor of any type of

discourse and he conceives his study so that it consists of multiple analytic approaches. These approaches are useful only when mutually combined because this way the analyst finds ever interesting factors in the text that need to be analyzed and explained (1).

3. Discourse Analysis in Practice: How to Analyze Discourse

According to Igor Lakić, there are various levels of discourse analysis. All these levels have an important role in the shaping of a text's ″identity″ and its reception and understanding by the readers. (92) The two most important levels of analysis are the *macro* level and the *micro* level. The macro level includes the text's organizational and thematic structure, while the micro level involves the text's linguistic aspect such as phonology, morphology, syntax, word order and word choice etc. (93).

Teun van Dijk offered an overview of the parts that constitute the organization of journalistic articles. According to him, the most important of these parts are: the title, the introduction, episodes (the main events), the background, the consequences, verbal reactions, evaluation and expectation (53-56). The title mostly contains the text's theme and it often serves as an introduction to it. The episodes or the main events constitute an elaboration of the theme while the context usually provides factual information regarding the theme.

Consequences, as Van Dijk names them, can be described as micro themes within the main events. They are usually the factor that makes a text appealing to the reader. Verbal reactions are defined as statements from the important protagonists in the events. These are common when it comes to reporting and they often contain quotations, names of people and places and other information. Evaluation and expectations are related to the author's opinion regarding the articles; his reactions to the events, his assessment of the eventual pending issues and his assumptions regarding the events' repercussions (97). All these characteristics and constituent parts of an article are essential for its understanding, interpretation and analysis. A discourse analyst should take into consideration all of these aspects, this way forming a thorough and detailed analysis.

Some possible usages of discourse analysis in practice include the analysis of media discourse, the elaboration of the issue of national identity in books and articles, the characteristics of political discourse related to a specific politician etc. When it comes to the construction of a verisimilar and systematic frame of reference, it is advisable to provide a critical theoretical and methodological overview of different approaches, being aware of their mutual similarities and differences (Jorgensen and Phillips 4).

All of the approaches and theoretical frames concerning discourse analysis that will be covered in this thesis are related to the theory of social constructionism which includes most recent approaches.[4]

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[4] Social constructionism can be explained as a theoretical framework which englobes the newer approaches to discourse analysis as well as other humanities and social sciences. (Burr 1)

4.   Journalistic Discourse Analysis in British and American Articles on Migrant Crisis – the Analysis

The European migrant crisis of 2015 has been taking up the news reports and headlines for almost two years now. This issue has caused numerous controversies and has influenced the political life of many nations throughout the world. Many politicians and public figures have gained or lost popularity because of this polemics.

When it comes to journalism, the public relies on it to provide genuine, trustworthy and unbiased information about all the aspects regarding the issue of the migrant crisis. Broersma states that journalism is ″a basis of a shared social code between journalists and their public″ and that it's truthfulness and reliability essential for its existence (16). The eventual advertising nature of journalistic articles and unsigned texts undermine the basic rules of journalism as well as public relations and advertising (Podnar and Golob: 100). Journalism, as a means of providing the public with important and truthful information, should be free from any kind of manipulation. The journalist has the obligation to write in accordance to his moral and ethical beliefs bearing in mind the importance that his writing has for the society.

This analysis's main center of attention is going to be the insight into the deepest and most carefully concealed underlying semantic structures of the analyzed articles.

4.1. Methodology of the Research

The research methods used in the elaboration of this thesis refer to descriptive analysis. This type of approach to the issue seemed appropriate because it allows the analyst to ″disassemble″ the text into smaller parts and analyze them separately in order to gain a full understanding of the text and provide a thorough representation of the text as a whole.

The textual corpus analyzed in this thesis consists of four journalistic articles, two of which are written by British and two by American journalists. The articles have been selected randomly and they all belong to different journalists and were published in different journals. The authors of the selected articles use different styles of writing, have different approaches to the subject and, ultimately, do not share the same personal opinions regarding the subject.

The analysis was structured in a logical way, trying to encompass all the relevant features for the analysis of discourse. Since the type of discourse in this case was written, we could not analyze other aspects of discourse but the text and the accompanying images, if there were any. The analysis was structured following a logical order; starting from the texts' macro features, such as the general organization of the text and its visual appearance, which is followed by the analysis of the texts' micro structures such as morphology, word choice, sentential structure etc. The analysis of the four articles in this paper was based mainly upon Van Dijk's approach to discourse analysis and on critical discourse analysis in general.

The central subject of this thesis is the viewpoint that different British and American journalists have regarding the issue of the European migrant crisis. This is rarely explicitly stated, so a thorough discourse analysis is essential for the understanding of the underlying messages of the articles in question.

4.2. Journalistic Discourse Analysis – the Analysis of Articles

This chapter includes some of the aforementioned approaches to discourse analysis in the analysis of four journalistic articles. The approach to discourse analysis that will be of special significance in this analysis will be critical discourse analysis. Two of the articles are published by American and two by British journals. All four articles share a common subject

– the European migrant crisis of 2015. Whether or not these articles share certain features and which the resources that the authors use in their writing are will be seen in the comparative analysis of the articles.

4.2.1. 10 Truths About Europe's Migrant Crisis

This article was published on *The Guardian'*s official web page on the 10th of August 2015. The article was written by Patrick Kingsley and the visual layout of the article was accompanied by photographs taken by different photographers at the scene of the migrant route.

4.2.1.1.The Article's Macro Structure

According to Lakić, a discourse analyst should begin every journalistic discourse analysis by determining and defining the concept of the text's theme. Theme constitutes the discourse's object, the text's core or essence. Theme can be expressed as a short summary of the text's main idea or its most relevant information (94). In the case of the article in question, the theme can be verbalized as ″dealing with the misconceptions regarding the 2015 migrant crisis″.

Even though Lakić clearly states that some of these constituent parts are not obligatory for all newspaper articles (98), this particular article seems to comply perfectly to Van Dijk's theoretical frame. Namely, analyzing the article starting from its most general structures, such as the article's visual layout to the most precise ones such as the use of parts of speech, *10 Truths About Europe's Migrant Crisis* has a title which in this case serves as an introduction to the theme. The article is divided into paragraphs, each of which has a related theme and a title. These titles, unlike the main one, do not bear the theme for each paragraph. The theme, or the main information of each paragraph is a constituent of the text, and the title cannot be

directly semantically related to the body of the paragraph, at least not until the reader reads through the paragraph's text as a whole.

The second of Van Dijk's important constituents regarding the structure of an article is the introduction. *The Guardian*'s article in question does indeed count on an introduction. The introduction in this case serves as an outline for the whole article. Namely, Kingsley mentions two public persons and paraphrases some of their statements afterwards constructing the rest of the text in a form of a replica to these statements.

Since it has already been mentioned that this article's title can also be considered its theme, the elaboration of the theme – or the *episodes* (*main events*) – are the text's subdivisions. Each of these subdivisions bares their respective titles while their theme can be correlated to the title only to a certain extent. Unlike the case with the main title which also contains the essence and main idea of the article in general, the subtitles merely provide the most factually relevant information regarding each paragraph. However, these subtitles are visually highlighted (bolded) in the text and they contain explicit and verisimilar information that is appealing to the reader, primarily visually.

According to Lakić, (97) in discourse analysis, *background* can safely be considered as an equivalent term to *context*. These two terms mostly contain specific information such as dates, numbers, names etc. In the case of the article in question, the term *context* corresponds to the abundant data such as percentage, geographical locations, facts extracted from different verisimilar web sites and other sources of information such as the UN.

The author openly describes what he believes that the misconceptions regarding the asylum seekers could lead to in the future. This part is what Van Dijk names *consequences*. The author believes that the rising ″hysteria″ enhanced by false information reproduced by important public people is not beneficial for the European society. Kingsley enumerates

various contradictory governmental actions that aim to ″solve″ the immigrant problem or ″save money″ but in fact do just the opposite.

Kingsley refers to different *verbal reactions* regarding the theme in question. These verbal reactions are paraphrases of statements given by specific public figures and these have encouraged Kingsley to react.

However, one citation was used in order to intensify the personal aspect of one of the themes (in this case, the illegal migration of asylum seekers). This citation can be considered as complying to the author's overall opinion regarding the issues raised in the article.

> ″I don't think that even if they decided to bomb migrant boats it would change peoples'
> decision to go″, said Abu Jana, a Syrian I met as he was planning to make the sea voyage
> earlier this year.

The most evident ″macrostructures″ of a text as Lakić names them are the textual cohesion and coherence (93). The text's cohesion is seen in the use of different grammatical resources such as relative clauses, adverbs, pronouns, articles etc. These resources are used not only as cohesive ″material″ to name concepts that have already been mentioned in the text, but also for stylistic purposes; in order to avoid the repetition of the same words throughout the text. The article in question is well cohesively structured. The cohesion ″markers″ in this text are words such as: *it, that, those, these,* that etc. Coherence, on the other hand, is a concept that Lakić describes as related to the ″functional aspect of discourse. ″ He believes that coherence is greatly related to the author's (and the readers') familiarity with the theme and its context, the author's conclusions and type of communication (93). The functional coherence of this text is somewhat oblique. Although all the subthemes are related to the principal one, this relationship is indirect and becomes obvious only after reading each of the paragraphs.

4.2.1.2. The Article's Micro Structures

Considering the fact that the analyzed text is not oral but written, we cannot analyze factors such as phonetics, phonology, pronunciation, gestures, or facial expressions. We can, however, analyze other microstructures. These microstructures are primarily related to the text's linguistic aspect. Factors such as morphology, syntax, word choice etc. constitute the microstructures of our interest.

Analyzing the microstructure of this article's sentences, it becomes obvious that the most meaningful and impactful parts of speech are nouns (as well as pronouns carrying the meaning of the aforementioned nouns), noun phrases and verbs.

4.2.1.2.1. Nouns

Nouns, as the most common parts of speech, especially when we want to refer to things, people and different phenomena, are extremely important for discourse analysts. By analyzing the usage of nouns and the ways in which an author refers to certain realities, we can decipher his relationship to them and his possible connotations or allusions. The importance of analyzing the usage of nouns in DA can also be seen in Kingsley's article. Nouns and noun phrases that were used to describe the media's lexis which is used to denote the issue of the so-called refugee crisis are: *refugee crisis, migrants, collapse, statistics, poverty* etc. in the following examples:

When you're facing the world's biggest *refugee crisis* since the second world war, it helps to have a sober debate about how to respond.

Far from being propelled by economic *migrants*, this crisis is mostly about refugees.

Hammond said that the migrants would speed the *collapse* of the European social order.

Hammond, like many people, could do with some actual *statistics* about the migration crisis.

[…] May and others is that the majority of those trying to reach Europe are fleeing *poverty* […]

Kingsley seems to imply that the media and different public figures use fear-inspiring words in order to cast a negative light on the issue.

Among other things, Kingsley asserts that the people seeking asylum in Great Britain are often being referred to as *marauders* by the media. Other terms that are being used by people who want to spread ″hysteria″ as Kingsley sees it are: *crisis, poverty, collapse, dog-whistle rhetoric* etc. The author's position in what he refers to as ″debate″ is evident from his rhetoric and word choice. The nouns that he uses when addressing the immigrants introduce a noticeably moderate rhetoric that demonstrates the author's compassion towards the victims of the immigrant crisis and the rightfulness of their pleas (*oppression, extremism, poverty* etc.). A number of the nouns used in the text can be considered as part of the nominalization process. If we consider nouns to be the principal ″carriers″ of meaning in language and the most common parts of speech when it comes to denoting extra linguistic realities, we can safely conclude that nominalization in this case has been employed in order to achieve larger impact on the readers. Examples for nominalization include nouns such as: *assumption, oppression, estimates, collapse.*

4.2.1.2.2. Verbs

Verbs, on the other hand, have an even more significant role in this article. They are used not only to express different actions but also as indicators of the manner in which the

same phenomenon of interest (in this case the immigration crisis) is represented by different sources of information. The verbs that Kingsley uses when he writes about how the refugee crisis is presented in some media and by certain public figures and those that he himself uses in relation to the same topic are evidently meant to achieve a different impact on the readers.

When he talks about the situation in which the ″asylum seekers″ find themselves in, Kingsley uses verbs and verb phrases such as *propel, try to reach, flee, travel* etc. in examples like:

> May and others is that the majority of those *trying to reach* Europe are *fleeing* poverty
>
> […]

These word choices make the journalist's point of view regarding the topic evident. Kingsley uses impactful terms when he wants to achieve stronger effect and reaction. On the other hand, when he refers to the public persons whom he considers to have been spreading uncertified information, he chooses phrases that indicate the uncertainty and unreliability of their claims. These are: *consider, portray, lack, could do with, admit, say, argue, ignore etc.* as in the following examples:

> The assumption by the likes of Hammond, May and others is that the majority of those trying to reach Europe are fleeing poverty, which is not *considered* by the international community as a good enough reason to move to another country.

> Foreign secretary Philip Hammond this week not only repeated May's claimsabout African economic migrants, but *portrayed* them as marauders who would soon hasten the collapse of European civilisation.

> […] two things that the British migration debate *has lacked* this summer.

By using these verbs that convey a meaning of scepticism or even deliberate misleading of the public, Kingsley clearly expresses his personal opinion towards the people in question.

4.2.1.2.3. Adjectives

Another frequent part of speech that carries great syntactic effect in the article are adjectives. The adjectives that Kingsley uses describe very picturesquely the unprivileged situation that the immigrants find themselves in and, on the other hand, his main theme – the uncertified and malicious information being spread by the media and some public persons.

The adjectives that Kingsley uses when referring to the refugees are: *torn apart, small, minuscule, legitimate, unaware, not allowed* etc.:

These are countries *torn apart* by war […]

The world's wealthiest continent can easily handle such a comparatively *small* influx.

[…] especially those from Eritrea, Darfur, and Somalia – have *legitimate* claims to refugee status.

The disparity suggests that migrants were either *unaware* of the rescue operations in the first place, or simply unbothered by their suspension […]

In reality, the number of migrants to have arrived so far this year (200,000) is so minuscule that it constitutes just 0.027% of Europe's total population of 740 million.

[…] they are *not usually* allowed to work to supplement this sum […]

This choice of words goes along with his rhetoric and view regarding the immigration issue. On the other hand, the terms that the author uses when describing the rhetoric used by the media and certain politicians convey a meaning of disbelief and unprofessionalism. These examples include words like: *coveted,* (not) *beneficent, unsubstantiated* etc.

Many claim that Britain is a *coveted* destination for migrants […]

[…] it is not true that the UK is particularly *beneficent* […]

Daily Mail's *unsubstantiated* recent assertion that seven in 10 migrants at Calais will reach the UK[…]

4.2.1.2.4.   Additional Observations

Opposition in this article has not been expressed on the lexical level. That is, the author has not used words of opposite meaning in correlation so as to express opposition in meaning. However, he has used sentences expressing opposing ideas on the syntactic level such as ″ Far from being propelled by economic migrants, this crisis is mostly about refugees. ″ or ″Contrary to the perception of the UK as the high altar of immigration, it is not a particularly major magnet for refugees. ″

The article is structured in a way that it firstly presents ideas opposed to Kingsley's view of the matter and after that, the author defends his position by elaborating it with the help of factual data. We can say that this article's structure is similar to that of a debate and this is the reason why there can be found various opposing ideas throughout the text. For example:

The assumption by the likes of Hammond, May and others is that the majority of those trying to reach Europe are fleeing poverty, which is not considered by the international community as a good enough reason to move to another country. Whereas in fact, by the end of July, 62% of those who had reached Europe by boat this year were from Syria, Eritrea and Afghanistan, according to figures compiled by the UN.

and:

If you read the British press, you'd think that Calais was the major battleground of the European migrant crisis, and that Britain was the holy grail of its protagonists.

In reality, the migrants at Calais account for as little as 1% of those who have

arrived in Europe so far this year.

Lastly, as for Kingsley's language in terms of formality, he uses an informal style of writing. Although his text is abundant in technical terms and his claims supported by verisimilar sources of information, he also uses colloquialisms such as idioms, sarcastic references and direct addressing the readers. He invites the reader to look into the provided information and convince themselves of their accuracy: ″If you add to the mix […] If you read the British press, you'd think that […] When you're facing […] You need facts and data […]″

The idioms and sarcastic commentaries that Kingsley uses contribute to the overall sense of informality of the text and are used to maximize the author's proximity to his readers. Kingsley mentions Hammond using an indirect but negative connotation trying to, once more, express his opinion about this person: ″The assumption *by the likes* of Hammond […] ″

4.2.2. Desperate Times, Desperate Measures

The article was published on *The Economist'*s official web page on March the 12th of 2016. As opposed to Kingsley's article in *The Guardian*, the author of this text is not named.

As for the visual layout of this *The Economist'*s article, the reader can immediately identify certain important structural differences in comparison to Kingsley's article. Namely, as mentioned in the previous chapter, *10 Truths About Europe's Migrant Crisis* is accompanied by photographic material taken at the scene of the migrant route and it is divided into subchapters. On the other hand, *The Economist'*s article has no subdivisions of that kind and the visual imagery consists of different charts that conform to the content of the text. Simply by the visual outline of the article, a reader can *a priori* conclude that the article which

he or she has in front of him or her is primarily fact-based and the approach of the author(s) to the subject impersonal. And they would not be mistaken. Generally speaking, anyway, as the following analysis will show.

4.2.2.1.The Macro Structure

As mentioned before, *Desperate Times, Desperate Measures* is not divided into subchapters of any kind. The unity of the text as a whole is interrupted merely by images. Applying Lakić's scheme of analyzing journalistic articles, we will begin the analysis by starting from the theme. Unlike in the case of Kingsley's article, this article's title is not as indicative. While *The Guardian* article's title could, to a certain extent, also be qualified as its theme - the discourse's object or essence - *The Economist* article's title is somewhat opaque when it comes to the interpretation of its meaning.

The theme, according to Lakić, can be expressed as a short introduction or summary at the beginning of the text (94). This article, as opposed to Kingsley's, does indeed begin with a summary of its main idea. In the case of the article in question, the main idea or the *theme* can be delimited as ″A deal with Turkey might be Europe's last hope to find the solution to the migrant crisis. ″ The general organizational or structural parts of a newspaper article, as Van Dijk defines them, can easily be found in *Desperate Times, Desperate Measures*. Namely, as mentioned before, the title does not bare the article's theme nor does it have any apparent connection to the article's content. Nevertheless, the title does contain an important aspect for the discourse analysis of the article. This aspect, however, cannot be interpreted before analyzing the article as a whole.

The elaboration of the theme, or as Van Dijk names them, the *episodes* or *main events*, can in the case of this article be followed across some of the article's paragraphs. That is, several of the paragraphs provide an in-depth elaboration of the theme. In this case, to be

exact, the extracts that provide information regarding the European Union's agreement with Turkey can be considered *main themes*. These are, for instance: ″A deal born of political desperation and fraught with practical, legal and ethical difficulties″, ″The idea behind the agreement is to smash the business model of the people-smugglers. ″ etc.

Furthermore, Van Dijk's second constituent, characteristic for journalistic articles, is related to context. The element of context is extremely important for discourse and any other analysis, for that matter. Context, or as Van Dijk names it − *background* − is probably the most important part for the understanding of any type of text. Background usually consists of factual information such as dates, names, numbers and so on. As mentioned before, this article is obviously more formal than the one from *The Guardian*, and evidence for this claim can be found on every linguistic level of the text. Some of the numbers used in this article are presented on graphical charts and these have visibly presented and reliable sources. Nevertheless, other factual data such as ″ more than 320 people″ and ″3.3 billion dollars″ are given with no reference to their source.

As for one of Van Dijk's most important textual elements, the so-called *expectations* and *evaluation*, they are very rare in this article. The expectation and evaluation parameters are those that indirectly reveal the author's presence in the text and often his or her opinion regarding the subject. The author (or authors) of the article in question is/are apparently determined not to uncover heir viewpoint regarding the subject and to present facts as plainly and objectively as possible. Nevertheless, besides one detail that corresponds to Van Dijk's definition of expectation, which is that it expresses the author's opinion about the future development of the events and their repercussions (53-56), the author has not been able to remain hidden due to his numerous uses of modal structures and other details which will be elaborated further on in the analysis.

The above mentioned reference to the events' effects on the future can be seen in the following example: ″ The forcible deportation of many thousands of people from Greece *will be a logistical nightmare.*″ As for *verbal reactions*, *The Economist's* article contains one citation that supports one of the author's ideas regarding the theme: [Filippo Grandi was] ″deeply concerned about any arrangement that would involve the blanket return to anyone from one country to another without spelling out the refugee protection safeguards under international law.″

Some of the most obvious macro structures of a text, according to Lakić, are its coherence and cohesion (93). Linguistic elements that are used to achieve cohesion and a logical textual structure are primarily adverbs, pronouns, articles, relative clauses etc. Other than for its functional aspect, these cohesive elements are used for aesthetical reasons; i.e., to avoid unnecessary repetition and to gain structural unity. Examples for this include words as: *that, which, where, their, those, this, it* etc. The coherence of the text as a whole, or its logical structuring can be followed throughout the paragraphs. The events of the text are presented in a chronological order so they are easily followed and the structure of the text is fluent.

4.2.2.2. The Article's Micro Structures

As is the case with written texts, the most important micro structures when it comes to discourse analysis concern morphology, syntax and lexis. The text in question, as mentioned before, is evidently more formal, unbiased and objective than *10 Truths About Europe's Migrant Crisis*. Although the author (or authors) has maintained this objectivity and formality throughout the article, some of his personal viewpoints on the matter can be seen while analyzing the text more thoroughly.

4.2.2.2.1. Nouns

As is commonly the case, nouns bear an important role in this article as well. Nouns and noun phrases are generally the most frequent parts of speech and are of great importance for discourse analysts. Namely, the analysis of the choice of terms and how they are attributed to different extra linguistic realities reveals the author's most cautiously hidden feelings and thoughts.

The use of nouns and noun phrases in this article can be divided into two groups: those used to denote aspects related to the refugees and those related to the two principal parties in the EU – Turkey agreement. While Kingsley's most important strive seemed to be that of revealing the misconception regarding the public opinion about the refugee crisis, *The Economist's* article seems to emphasize ever again how the EU is not ready for the kind of humanitarian crisis that it is facing. This, however, is not done by negatively depicting the refugees in any way. When the author refers to Europe and its role in the refugee crisis, especially in relation to Turkey, he uses terms such as: *idea, agreement, pressure, proposal, legality, unease, control, scepticism* etc. such as in the following examples:

The idea behind the *agreement* is to smash the business model of the people-smugglers.

To relieve the *pressure* on Turkey […]

The *legality* of the *proposal* has also been questioned.

Yet for all the *unease* and *scepticism*, this rather tawdry *agreement* may be Europe's last chance of regaining some *control* over the crisis.

By using words such as *idea* or *proposal*, he seems to point out the unstable and indefinite nature of the above mentioned agreement. Furthermore, with this word choice, the author seems determined to present the rudimentary nature of these bilateral actions and the principal parties' insufficient determination for finding a satisfactory solution. The author uses terms such as *unease* and *scepticism* to indirectly point towards the EU – Turkey relationship, which he believes to be a labile one. Furthermore, the author expresses his vision of the European Union as helpless and inefficient (*desperation, difficulties*). This fact is visible in his use of not only nouns, but also other parts of speech and structures.

As for the connotations and direct references to the Turkish part in this ″agreement″ and the indirect references to the migrants, we can undoubtedly conclude that the author considers that Turkey is using the crisis to gain personal benefit, while, on the other hand, he represents the refugees as people who are suffering unjustly. While *The Economist*'s vision of the Turkish government's behavior in the refugee crisis can also be explained on the syntactic level, the article's choice of words when referring to the refugees does reveal certain important facts. The use of nouns and noun phrases such as *people smugglers, voyage, life savings, criminal network, the queue* etc. indicates that the author has great sympathy for the migrants' suffering. The phrase '*people smugglers'* is not characteristic for a discourse of this level of formality. Another phrase related to the *smugglers* is ″criminal network″. It does however sound more impactful and striking than ″people traffickers″.

Furthermore, the author could have used a term more common and, stylistically speaking, more appropriate to the text in relation to the migrants - such as: *journey, path, travel* etc. but instead he chose ″voyage″ wanting to emphasize the exhausting, perilous and uncertain nature of the immigrants' situation. His sympathy for the immigrants' hardship can be seen in his use of the phrase ″life savings″ which sounds sympathetic, personal and somewhat poetic.

Some nouns used in this article have undergone the process nominalization, this way possibly targeting the readers' attention. The examples are: *desperation, difficulties, agreement, action, urgency, the welcoming* etc.

4.2.2.2.2. Adjectives

The adjectives in *Desperate Times, Desperate Measures* are extremely numerous. In the case of this article, the adjectives are in most cases very vivid and bare strong imagery. This imagery refers mostly to the immigrants' conditions and also to the two governments in question and their political actions.

When the author refers to the immigrants and their position in this overwhelming crisis, he uses adjectives such as: *perilous*, *reluctant*, *capsize-prone inflatable*, *squalid*, *sensitive and problematic*, *forcible*, etc. The author's word choice in relation to the immigrants undoubtedly shows his sympathy and a sense of reproach towards the foreign politics that is not doing enough to help them.

[…] after making the short but *perilous* voyage across the Aegean Sea […]

If all goes to plan, migrants may be more *reluctant* to hand over their life savings to criminal networks and risk their lives making the crossing in *capsize-prone* inflatable boats.

On the border of Macedonia, which has been closed to refugees since March 9th, thousands are waiting in *squalid* camps.

When the author refers to the two governments and the agreement that they are trying to make, he uses adjectives such as: *fraught, ethical, concerted, practical, official, long-stalled, tawdry, lavish* etc.

Many are shocked that the EU has made such a *lavish* offer […]

A DEAL born of political desperation and *fraught* with *practical, legal* and *ethical* difficulties […]

Yet for all the unease and scepticism, this rather tawdry agreement may be Europe's last chance […]

Simply by looking at these adjectives (and their collocations), it becomes obvious what the opinion of the author towards the politicians of the EU and Turkey is. He evidently believes that this ˝tawdry˝ bilateral agreement is just an ˝idea˝ that is burdened with different ˝predicaments˝ and has resulted in what he refers to as a ˝logistical nightmare˝. Nevertheless, despite this politics seemingly labile nature, the author believes that this ˝tawdry˝ agreement and the EU's ˝lavish˝ offer might be Europe's way out of the crisis.

4.2.2.2.3. Verbs

Although *Desperate Times, Desperate Measures* has a great number of verbs and verb phrases, the semantic emphasis still seems to be on nouns and adjectives. The verbs and verb phrases used in this article seem to interfere with the article's stylistic unity. That is; there are a lot of phrasal verbs that give the text an informal and colloquial aspect which does not comply with the rest of the text. The examples for this include: *hammer out, tackle, try to follow, smash, hand over, to make it, stemming* etc.:

[…] be a *fair* description of the agreement *hammered out* between Germany and Turkey

to *tackle* the refugee crisis […]

The idea behind the agreement is to *smash* the business model of the people-smugglers.

On the other hand, there are other structures, such as passives, that are stylistically more adequate to the rest of the text (*are expected to, will be put, was taken, has been processed, has been closed* etc.)

4.2.2.2.4. Additional Observations

When a reader reads *Desperate Times, Desperate Measures* for the first time, he or she will most certainly characterize this article as an unbiased, strictly professional, truth-seeking and factually based article. However, when we begin to analyze the text in detail, we realize that the above description does not comply with the reality completely. Other than specific choice of lexis that reveals the author's true view regarding the theme, his choice of specific syntax unveils details important for discourse analysis. The author uses hidden irony in examples such as ″The latest authoritarian excess elicited only the mildest murmur of concern from the EU's diplomatic service″, ″[…] Mr Erdogan has nothing but contempt for Europe's values […]″

Modality and the use of rhetorical questions is also a very significant factor for the analysis of this text because it clearly indicates the author's evaluation of the theme, its possible effect and repercussions in the society. We see this in examples like: ″ […] can be implemented″,″[…] will be a logistical nightmare″, ″[…] it will have to be made to work.″, […] this rather tawdry agreement may be Europe's last chance […]″, ″Will that be left to Turkey or will EU officials set up shop in the refugee camps?″.

Lastly, the final proof of the author's personal approach to the article's theme is the title itself. By using a parallel sentential structure which is also a part of a colloquial expression, he not only shortly abandons the formality of the article's overall style but he also subtly expresses his opinion about the EU – Turkey agreement describing it as ″desperate″.

4.2.3. Common-Sense Steps to Deal with the Migrant Crisis

This article was published in *The New York Times* on June the 9th of 2016. The author is Beppe Severgnini, a ″columnist at Corriere della Sera″. The first visually significant

characteristic of the article is the photograph placed immediately below the title and before the text itself. It is a photograph taken by Antonio Parrinello and it presents a queue of migrants on a, what seems to be, a rescue boat. This fact would be worth nothing, especially considering that all the above analyzed articles have a similar pattern of visual imagery. However, this photograph shows exclusively colored people and it is the only photograph or illustration that appears in this article. Whether or not this fact is of any relevance whatsoever will be discussed further on in the analysis.

4.2.3.1.The Article's Macro Structures

The theme, or the essential idea of the article, can in this case be equivalent to the article's title only partially. Namely, the text consists of two logical parts: the first part provides information regarding the migrant crisis, its influence primarily on Italy etc. while the second part is centered on the author's vision of the problems and his idea regarding the possible solutions. Therefore, the theme of this article could be verbalized as ″The migrant crisis and ways of dealing with it″ This *The New York Times'* s article does not fully comply to Lakić's theoretical frame about an article's structural elements.

If we start from the above mentioned theme, we can consider that the paragraphs of the article represent its main themes, considering that the author firstly elaborates the first part (facts regarding ″the migrant crisis″), and afterwards the second part of the theme (″ways of dealing with it″). Each subdivision or paragraph in this article can, therefore, be considered as one of the main events. Lakić's concept of background is very important in the case of this article as well. The contextual framework or *background* as Lakić names it can be seen in the author's enumeration of dates, exact numbers, measurements, names of people, geographical localities etc.

The following structural parts of a newspaper article, *consequences* and *evaluation* can in this case be analyzed conjointly. Namely, the author does not explicitly enumerate the consequences that he believes could be produced by the migrant crisis, but he does, however, offer his evaluation of the issue and what he believes to be possible ways of solving it (″First, spread information.″, ″Second, Europe could commit more forces.″, Third, Europeans can learn from others.″). As for verbal reactions, only one citation is used in the text. It belongs to a medical officer who states that ″it is hard to be here, but it's where I have to serve.″ This citation is included in the text as additional proof of the situation's authenticity.

The style of this article is evidently more informal than the two previously analyzed articles. The main reason for this seems to lie not only in the fact that the author considers this issue personal, but he also seems to have witnessed the rescuing of migrants. This is never explicitly stated in the text, but statements such as: ″From a helicopter hovering high above it, the ship looks like a toy left behind in a pond on a windy afternoon. ″ and ″ *Our* little helicopter lands on the Cavour's deck″ point to this conclusion.

4.2.3.2. The Article's Micro Structures

This subchapter will refer to the parts of speech used in the article, the frequency with which they are used and the possible reasons for their use. Other relevant micro structures of the text include specific syntactic forms and possible connotations which reveal the author's viewpoint regarding the issue.

4.2.3.2.1. Nouns

Unlike the two articles belonging to British newspapers, the semantic emphasis in this article seems not to be on nouns but rather on other parts of speech and most importantly-syntactic structures. That is, nouns in this article do not bear such strong effect as it is the case

with the previous two articles. Other than general nouns concerning the immigrant crisis, nouns that are of special importance include: *vessel, toy, dinghy, pond, mission, operating base, passenger, personnel, (baby) girl, poverty, dangers, asylum seekers, forces, deterrent* (n) etc. Here are some of the examples:

> Migrants on the Italian Navy *vessel* Grecale off Sicily in May […]

> From a helicopter hovering high above it, the ship looks like a *toy* left behind in a *pond* on a windy afternoon.

> A passage in an overcrowded *dinghy* costs around $1,000 per person.

The author uses the word *vessel* on various occasions; first as a subscript to a photograph representing the queue of immigrants onboard a rescue ship, the second time referring to one of the types of transportation that the human traffickers use to transport illegal immigrants to European land and lastly, to designate the type of boat that the UK sent to Italy to help combat this illegal business. The use of the term *vessel* seems to have indirect connotations in all three cases. The author describes the sight of the aircraft carrier Cavour from the air. From the air he states that it resembles a *toy* in a *pond*. However, he also states that ″it's no toy, and this is not a game″. The reason for the author to compare this giant ship with a toy is left open to interpretations. The possible reason for the use of such a comparison might lie in the point which the author already made; the relationship between Italy and the European Union.

Furthermore, the terms *mission* and *operating base* are both used as references to Europe's efforts to combat human trafficking and illegal crossing the European borders (″[…] the European Union' mission to fight smugglers […]″, ″You could call the carrier Europe's operating base.″). However, these two terms in correlation seem to reveal the author's discontent with the measures that Europe is taking to help Italy with the problem it is facing as a border country.

Other terms that Severgnini uses in relation to the immigrants are also: *poverty, dangers, asylum seekers* and *deterrent*. Nevertheless, as opposed to what might be our first thought, the author uses these terms to explain that, as he calls them, the ″asylum seekers″ are not entitled to asylum because they are not fleeing war, but economic difficulties and are not aware of the dangers awaiting them at the sea. When the author offers some of his ideas regarding possible solutions to the uncontrollable refugee influx, he says that certain measures can be *unpleasant* but ″a deterrent″. His opinion regarding the migrant crisis and the possible solutions to it are clear.

4.2.3.2.2. Verbs and Adjectives

Although Severgnini uses a considerable number of verbs and verb phrases in his article, there are not as many of them that are important for the analysis. However, as it was mentioned above, Severgnini's style is personal and somewhat colloquial so the use of verb phrases is significant in this respect. The verbs and verb phrases that Severgnini uses are: *rescue, float, hover, leave, wait, celebrate rush, to make a journey, attempt, work out etc*.

The verbs used by Severgnini in this article could be divided into two groups; the first group of verbs and verb phrases is related to the immigrants while the second group is related to the Italian government and the organizations of the EU trying to find a solution to the problem. In relation to the immigrants, the author uses verbs such as: *wait, celebrate, abate, to get lost, to make, can make* etc. as shown in the following examples:

According to Europol, 800,000 migrants *are waiting* along the coast, ready to *leave* as the sea calms down in the summer.

The smugglers *can celebrate.*

The migrant crisis is several years old now, and it *shows* no sign of *abating.*

More than 200,000 people *made* the journey toward Europe

When it comes to how the author sees the efforts of the Italian and the governments of other European countries to put an end to the refugee crisis, these are some of the verbs he uses: *rescue, float, rise, fight, stop, attempt, work out, advertise* etc. These are some of the examples of the use of verbs in relation to the relationship of Italy and the EU:

The Cavour's officers interview those they *rescue* […]

THE Italian aircraft carrier Cavour *floats* in the choppy blue sea.

[…] the European Union's mission to *fight* smugglers and *stop* human trafficking across the Mediterranean.[…]

These examples are indicative only to a certain extent. In the case of *Common-Sense Steps to Deal with the Migrant Crisis*, the most important linguistic level for the analysis of discourse is the level of syntax.

Adjectives in this article do not have a role as important as the adjectives in the previously analyzed articles. Not only is their number relatively small, but they do not bear as much semantic weight as those that can be found in the other articles. The adjectives in this article include: *choppy, blue, windy, (fully)-equipped, uniformed, multiple, overcrowded, wooden* etc. These are some of the examples for the use of adjectives in this text:

Uniformed personnel rush to escort us to the bridge.

[…] points out on the radar other ships *involved* in the *multiple* operations underway.

A passage in an *overcrowded* dinghy costs around $1,000 per person.

4.2.3.2.3. Syntax and Semantics

The level of syntax in this article is essential for its understanding. The author's personal opinion and his direct and indirect comments can be interpreted on the level of the sentence.

Severgnini's opinion about the immigrant crisis is evident from certain explicit statements. Namely, he believes that Italy has been left alone to cope with the migrant problem. The European Union is not doing enough to help Italy. On the other hand, it is obvious from the beginning of the article, where the only photograph is representing exclusively colored African migrants, that Severgnini is especially focused on this group of migrants. These facts can easily be confirmed when we analyze some of his statements.

Starting from the top, there is a part of the text which bears strong imagery. Severgnini describes the situation that he has before him as follows: ″Italian aircraft carrier Cavour floats in the choppy blue sea. From a helicopter hovering high above it, the ship looks like a toy left in a pond on a windy afternoon. ″ As we continue reading the text, we realize that this introductory part of the article stands as a metaphor for the political situation that Italy finds itself in. Apparently, Italy has been left to cope with Europe's problems alone. The author points this fact out very clearly by saying that: ″The European governments will never admit it, but they see this as chiefly an Italian problem. How wrong they are. ″

One of the less explicit images, but of equal importance for discourse analysis is the passage in the text where the author contrasts several rescue and humanitarian organizations that try to ″fight″ and ″stop″ illegal human trafficking and, ultimately, the illegal crossing of refugees to the European territory:

> Rear Adm. Andrea Gueglio, the force commander, points out on the radar other ships involved in the multiple operations underway. […] There's Operation Triton, led by Frontex, the European border agency, which operates closer to Italian waters. There's Mare Sicuro – Safe Seas – which protects Italian interests in the area, like oil rigs and fishing boats. There is Italy's coast guard (and Libya's, in theory). There are humanitarian organizations, from Sea Watch to Doctors Without Borders, which operate their own boats.

The importance of this particular passage for discourse analysis can be seen on various different levels. On the morphological level there is the opposition *ship – boat*, on the lexical level there is the correlation between the terms *interests* and *oil rigs* and *fishing boats*. However, these points can be jointly analyzed from a semantic point of view. Severgnini uses the term *ship* while referring to ″agencies″ involved in ″operating″ the Italian waters, and the terms *boat* when he refers to a specific humanitarian organization. Furthermore, he graphically points out one inserted phrase that implicitly shows his opinion regarding the subject. The author seems to ironically state that the Italian government considers ″oil rigs″ and ″fishing boats″ to be of national interest, even more so than the humanitarian crisis taking place at its seas. According to various internet sources, the word *rig* in English stands not only for ″oil *platform*″ but also for ″a device of piece of equipment″, while the term *boat* it normally used when describing smaller or family vessels (as opposed to *ship*). Lastly, the author's ironical remark related to Libya's role in the whole process is very clear.

Finally, Severgnini's focus on African migrants can be considered somewhat controversial. Clear reasons for the fact that he sees African refugees as the main issue are not clear, but his rhetoric towards them is rather harsh. On several occasions Severgnini depicts African immigrants as opportunists who seem to be taking advantage of the situation and claiming asylum in Europe that should not be rightfully conceded to them. These aspects are clearly visible in statements such as:

> ″Beyond is Africa and its people are on the move. According to Europol, 800, 000 migrants are waiting along the coast, ready to leave as the sea calms down in the summer.″

> ″African migrants are not escaping war, but poverty. So they're no entitled to refugee status, like Syrians.″

″A million Africans, maybe more, are knocking at the European Union's door.

Someone has got to answer, sooner or later. ″

4.2.4.   The Migrant Crisis: No End in Sight

The article was published in *The New York Times* on February the 3rd of 2016 and authored by Russell Goldman. This particular article has its graphic aspect especially evident in the use of various large size photographs of explicit visual content. The article's introductory part consists of few information regarding the subject followed by one of the aforementioned photographs. The photograph represents a group of children gathered around a fire while ″awaiting transit to a registration camp″, as the article states. The body of the text is divided into its textual and graphic parts since the images are of great significance even for the analysis of the text. The photographs follow the text thematically and were taken by different photographers.

4.2.4.1.The Article's Macro Structures

As for Lakić's structural division of newspaper articles, Goldman's article follows this structure to a certain extent. Firstly, there is the introductory part which is situated right below the article's title. The title and the introduction, according to Lakić, together express the article's main theme. This way the introduction and the title are considered a semantic macro structure. (96)

The second macro structure refers to the article's main events. The text of Goldman's article is divided into various paragraphs each of which can be considered the article's main themes because they elaborate the main theme. The unity of the text is constantly interrupted by photographs each of which is accompanied by textual clarifications regarding the content

of the images. The paragraphs' themes (or main events) are structured in a logical order so we can undoubtedly say that the text is coherent.

Russell Goldman refers to numerous numbers, exact descriptions, geographical names and data in his texts. These can, according to Lakić, be characterized as *background*. As for the structural constituents that Van Dijk names *consequences* and *evaluation*, the author seems extremely persistent in concealing his personal opinion regarding the subject by giving merely general information regarding the issue. In this respect, we can safely say that consequences or evaluation cannot be found in this article. The author's opinion, however, is visible on other linguistic levels such as lexis, which will be discussed further on in the analysis.

Stylistically speaking, Goldman's article is the most objective of all the analyzed articles during the elaboration of this thesis and the ˝voice˝ of the author is practically inaudible. However, this particular journalistic article differs from all the other three in one aspect – the author shows great compassion and sympathy for the refugees (especially those of Syrian origin), and this fact is one of the most important for the understanding and the analysis of this article.

4.2.4.2. The Article's Micro Structures

This subchapter deals with the micro structures that make this text unique. These are nouns, verbs, adjectives and syntactic and semantic peculiarities. The word choice, the linguistic structures that the author uses and the pattern in which they appear are indicative of his viewpoint regarding the article's subject.

4.2.4.2.1. Nouns

In this specific article, the semantic emphasis seems to be placed equally on all parts of speech. As mentioned before, the principal underlying message in this text is the one

concerning the author's sympathy for the refugees' suffering. In this respect, other than general nouns and noun phrases, those that are used to stress the unprivileged circumstances that the refugees find themselves in are terms such as: *transit, deprivation, surge, tide, newcomers, perils, journey, minors, outcry* etc. The use of some of these nouns can be seen in the following sentences:

> Young migrants awaiting *transit* to a registration camp in Idomeni.

> Forced from their homes by war and economic *deprivation*, tens of thousands of migrants made the perilous journey to Europe last month.

> These asylum seekers, the latest *surge* in a great *tide* of human movement […]

> The public *outcry* over repeated images of smartly dressed children washed up on Europe's shores has been muted.

All of these examples serve to emphasize the point and the effect that the author wants to achieve in the reader. For instance, other synonyms of the term *transit* such as *transport* or *transfer* could have conveyed the same meaning but with a certain dose of neutrality. However, the above mentioned term was most probably chosen in order to depict the unpleasant nature of the life in refugee camps.

The terms used so as to reiterate the harsh circumstances in the refugees' countries of origin are the terms *deprivation* and *journey* (″Forced from their homes by war and economic deprivation, tens of thousands of migrants made the perilous journey to Europe last month.″). This specific sentence is impactful not only because of the imagery it presents but also in a visual respect. Namely, this particular sentence is highlighted in the text by being visually separated from the rest of the text. The above mentioned two nouns describe graphically the cruel circumstances which forced the ″*tide* of human *movement*″ to start their uncertain and a *journey* filled with *perils* towards Europe. Another lexical peculiarity regarding Goldman's

article concerns the repeated reference to *minors* and *children* involved in the migration. Goldman apparently wishes to awaken the public's compassion towards the refugee children who seem to be most severely affected by this crisis.

4.2.4.2.2. Verbs and Adjectives

In this article, verbs and adjectives have a more important role than nouns when it comes to producing an effect. For this reason, verbs and adjectives in this article by Russell Goldman bear strong imagery and convey an explicit message. Adjectives such as *desperate, perilous, displaced, forced, staggering, unaccompanied* etc. used in relation to the refugees' reality are highly suggestive and destined to provoke sympathy.

Meanwhile, the European Union and international donors *are poised* to increase their aid to one *desperate* group: Syrians *displaced* by war.

The toll, whether measured in lives or in dollars, is *staggering.*

On the other hand, verbs and verb phrases such as *poise, brave, pledge, seek, be killed, make way* etc. point to a reality filled with hardship and monstrosities. Goldman says that ″ the European Union and international donors are *poised* to increase their aid to one desperate group: ″Syrians displaced by war″ and that ″ […] donors *are expected* to *pledge* to increase their aid to Syrians displaced by war.″ While analyzing in detail these sentences, it becomes obvious that the author is skeptical towards the *donors'* real intentions and willingness to provide help to the displaced refugees.

4.2.4.2.3. Additional Observations

Russell Goldman's style is different from the other three authors' relevant for this paper in more than one way. Firstly, Goldman has a noticeably poetic style of writing, his imagery is picturesque and impactful and the article's layout is graphic. Secondly, he does not in any way contrast the issue of the migrants with the problems that European societies are facing due to their influx. Thirdly, his writing is very formal and unbiased so it is difficult to see beyond it and have insight into Goldman's personal viewpoints.

However, the author's apparent benevolence and sympathy towards the refugees' suffering is evident in some of his sentential structures. He uses parallelism to emphasize the idea of the hopeless situation that the migrants are facing in one of the subtitles (″More People, Fewer Chances″). Furthermore, the only citation used in the article is that by a young man from Afganistan stating that ″We have to go. What is the choice – to stay in our country and be killed, or come to Europe where we can be free? ″

5. Conclusion

Although we as speakers and users of language may not be aware of this fact, discourse analysis is an essential part of our everyday communication. An apt speaker should be able to see beyond mere words and understand underlying messages. The interest for discourse analysis seems to be increasing with the growing globalization and the popularity of the media. The role of discourse analysis in communication in general seems to be on the rise.

Journalistic discourse analysis is most certainly one of the most popular types of discourse analysis. Journalism is an important part of the media and even though some might say that journalism's only role is to inform; we are faced with the media being used as propaganda material for different individuals or centers of power. This particular fact is the main reason why discourse analysis is so compelling and important.

There are various levels of discourse analysis. Each of these levels has a significant role in forming a text and in its understanding by the receptors. The two most general and ultimately most important levels of analysis are the so-called *macro* and *micro* level. While the micro level includes micro textual structures such as its phonology, morphology, syntax, lexis etc., the macro level analysis deals with a text's organizational and thematic constituents. All these textual constituents are essential for the understanding and interpretation of the text and it is important to take them into consideration while forming a discourse analysis.

The research method used in the elaboration of this thesis was that of descriptive analysis. This approach seemed to be the most productive because it enables the analyst to logically construct the whole of a text by using the top-down approach and analyzing firstly the textual constituents.

The textual corpus that has been used in the elaboration of this thesis consists of four journalistic articles. Two of them belong to British and two to American journals and they

were chosen randomly. The authors of the articles have different styles of writing and, ultimately, different personal opinions regarding the subject. Whether or not their personal opinion influences their writing and if so, to what extent, is one of the main themes of this thesis.

Since the discourse in question was written, there was no way to analyze aspects such as pronunciation, gestures, facial expressions and so on. Nevertheless, the visual and graphic aspect of the text was of much significance for the analysis. The analyses of the four articles were based mainly on Van Dijk's approach to discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis in general.

The main subject of the thesis was the comparative analysis of the four articles, especially considering the fact that they belong to different countries and societies that have been affected by the migrant crisis in a different way. The authors' personal opinions are rarely explicitly expressed, so the discourse analysis is crucial for the understanding of the connotations and messages concealed behind plain words.

The first two articles were published in *The Guardian* and *The Economist* respectively. Both articles were accompanied by photographs taken at the scene of the migrant route and these photographs are significant for the overall analysis. Both articles comply to Lakić's theory of newspaper articles' structure and both use notably strong and suggestive terminology. The strongest emphasis of the two British articles is set on the authors' choice of words, especially nouns and adjectives. These speech parts convey the strongest impact on the readers and are indicative of the authors' viewpoint regarding the subject. Nevertheless, the syntax of both articles is essential for the understanding of implicit messages and the authors' personal opinions.

As for the two American articles, they were published in *The New York Times* and their representation of the migrant crisis is somewhat different. *Common-Sense Steps to Deal*

with the Migrant Crisis was written by *Corriere della Sera'*s journalist Severgnini. This author centers his article primarily around the issue of the migrant crisis concerning its effect on the Italian society, while Goldman uses a type of rhetoric that differs in more than one way from the other analyzed articles. Namely, Goldman does not mention the possible effects of the migrant crisis on Europe and its societies in any way. His style is extremely objective and it is hard to read his personal opinion from the words he uses.

In conclusion, this thesis has offered me the opportunity to get to know the relevant literature and theory regarding journalistic discourse and its analysis. I have also been able to employ these theories in practice and analyze journalistic discourse independently. This has been a compelling yet inspiring endeavor and has motivated me to continue my work in this linguistic field.

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Appendix

10 truths about Europe's migrant crisis

British ministers including Theresa May and Philip Hammond have made hair-raising claims about the dangers of migrants entering the country. But do the facts bear them out?

Patrick Kingsley

Monday 10 August 2015 19.26 BST

When you're facing the world's biggest refugee crisis since the second world war, it helps to have a sober debate about how to respond. But to do that, you need facts and data – two things that the British migration debate has lacked this summer. Theresa May got the ball rolling in May, when she claimed on Radio 4 that the vast majority of migrants to Europe are Africans travelling for economic reasons. The media has followed suit, one example being the Daily Mail's unsubstantiated recent assertion that seven in 10 migrants at Calais will reach the UK.

Foreign secretary Philip Hammond this week not only repeated May's claims about African economic migrants, but portrayed them as marauders who would soon hasten the collapse of European civilisation. Hammond, like many people, could do with some actual statistics about the migration crisis. Here are 10 of the key ones:

62%

Far from being propelled by economic migrants, this crisis is mostly about refugees. The assumption by the likes of Hammond, May and others is that the majority of those trying to reach Europe are fleeing poverty, which is not considered by the international community as a good enough reason to move to another country. Whereas in fact, by the end of July, 62% of those who had reached Europe by boat this year were from Syria, Eritrea and Afghanistan, according to figures compiled by the UN. These are countries torn apart by war, dictatorial oppression, and religious extremism – and, in Syria's case, all three. Their citizens almost always have the legal right to refuge in Europe. And if you add to the mix those coming from Darfur, Iraq, Somalia, and some parts of Nigeria – then the total proportion of migrants likely to qualify for asylum rises to well over 70%.

1%

If you read the British press, you'd think that Calais was the major battleground of the European migrant crisis, and that Britain was the holy grail of its protagonists. In reality, the migrants at Calais account for as little as 1% of those who have arrived in Europe so far this year. Estimates suggest that between 2,000-5,000 migrants have reached Calais, which is between 1% and 2.5% of the more than 200,000 who have landed in Italy and Greece. Just as importantly, there is no evidence to suggest that as many as seven in 10 have reached Britain after arriving in Calais. The Daily Mail admitted this several paragraphs into its article.

0.027%

Hammond said that the migrants would speed the collapse of the European social order. In reality, the number of migrants to have arrived so far this year (200,000) is so minuscule that it constitutes just 0.027% of Europe's total population of 740 million. The world's wealthiest continent can easily handle such a comparatively small influx.

A young Syrian refugee in the Greek island of Kos. Photograph: YANNIS BEHRAKIS/REUTERS

Retrieved from: https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/aug/10/10-truths-about-europes-refugee-crisis

1.2 million

There are countries with social infrastructure at breaking point because of the refugee crisis – but they aren't in Europe. The most obvious example is Lebanon, which houses 1.2 million Syrian refugees within a total population of roughly 4.5 million. To put that in context, a country that is more than 100 times smaller than the EU has already taken in more than 50 times as many refugees as the EU will even consider resettling in the future. Lebanon has a refugee crisis. Europe – and, in particular, Britain – does not.

£36.95

Many claim that Britain is a coveted destination for migrants because of its generous benefits system. Aside from the reality that most migrants have little prior knowledge of the exact nature of each European country's asylum system, it is not true that the UK is particularly beneficent. Each asylum seeker in Britain gets a meagre £36.95 to live on (and they are not

usually allowed to work to supplement this sum). In France, whose policies are supposedly driving up the numbers at Calais, migrants actually receive substantially more. According to the Asylum Information Database, asylum seekers in France receive up to £56.62 a week. Germany and Sweden – the two most popular migrant destinations – pay out £35.21 and £36.84 a week respectively, only fractionally less than Britain.

50%

In the dog-whistle rhetoric of Hammond and Theresa May, the archetypal contemporary migrant in Europe is from Africa. But again, that's not true. This year, according to UN figures, 50% alone are from two non-African countries: Syria (38%) and Afghanistan (12%). When migrants from Pakistan, Iraq and Iran are added into the equation, it becomes clear that the number of African migrants is significantly less than half. Even so, as discussed above, many of them – especially those from Eritrea, Darfur, and Somalia – have legitimate claims to refugee status.

Royal Marines with migrants rescued off the Libyan coast in June. Photograph: Rowan Griffiths/Daily Mirror/PA

Retrieved from: https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/aug/10/10-truths-about-europes-refugee-crisis

4%

Last autumn, the EU opted to suspend full-scale maritime rescue operations in the Mediterranean in the belief that their presence was encouraging more migrants to risk the sea journey from Libya to Europe. In reality, people kept on coming. In fact, there was a 4% year-on-year increase during the months that the rescue missions were on hiatus. Over 27,800 tried

the journey in 2015, or died in the attempt, until operations were reinstated in May, according to figures from the International Organisation for Migration. Only 26,740 tried it in 2014. The disparity suggests that migrants were either unaware of the rescue operations in the first place, or simply unbothered by their suspension – a thesis borne out by my own interviews. "I don't think that even if they decided to bomb migrant boats it would change peoples' decision to go," said Abu Jana, a Syrian I met as he was planning to make the sea voyage earlier this year.

25,870

Contrary to the perception of the UK as the high altar of immigration, it is not a particularly major magnet for refugees. In 2014, just 25,870 people sought asylum in the UK, and only 10,050 were accepted. Germany (97275), France (68500), Sweden (39,905) and Italy (35,180) were all far more affected. When the ratings are calculated as a proportion to population size, the UK slips even further down the table – behind Belgium, Holland and Austria. If the ratings were calculated on 2015 rates, then even impoverished Greece would rise above the UK in the table. Just as tellingly, the UK has welcomed just 187 Syrians through legal mechanisms at the last count. Turkey has around 1.6 million.

€11bn

Hammond and David Cameron argue that the solution to migration is to increase deportations. They believe this will save Britain money, as less cash will be spent on paying each asylum seeker £36.95 per week. However, this strategy ignores the cost of deportations – whose alleged financial cost could rival that of the asylum seekers' benefits bill. According to a series of investigations by the website The Migrant Files, as many as €11bn have been spent on repatriating migrants to their countries of origin since 2000. A further billion has been blown on Europe-wide coordination efforts to secure European borders – money that could have been spent on integrating migrants into European society.

-76,439

Despite the hysteria, the number of refugees in the UK has actually fallen by 76,439 since 2011. That's according to Britain's Refugee Council, which crunched the numbers gleaned from UN data and found that the number of refugees in the UK fell from 193,600 to 117,161 in the past four years. By comparison, the proportion of refugees housed by developing countries in the past 10 years has risen, according to the UN, from 70% to 86%. Britain could be doing far more.

- David Cameron 'shares Philip Hammond's immigration concerns'
- Quiz: do you know your European migration facts?
- Video: Calais migrants – life in the Jungle

- This article was amended on 11 August 2015 to correct a number in a subheading. The number of asylum seekers in the UK in 2014 was 25,870, which was correct in the story but mistyped in the subheading.

Desperate times, desperate measures

A deal with Turkey to stanch the flow of refugees may be the European Union's last hope to find a solution

A DEAL born of political desperation and fraught with practical, legal and ethical difficulties. That would seem to be a fair description of the agreement hammered out between Germany and Turkey to tackle the refugee crisis, which was endorsed by European Union leaders and Turkey's beaming prime minister, Ahmet Davutoglu, on March 7th. Last year 1.2m people entered Europe from Syria, Afghanistan and elsewhere. Without concerted action at least as many are expected to try to follow them this year.
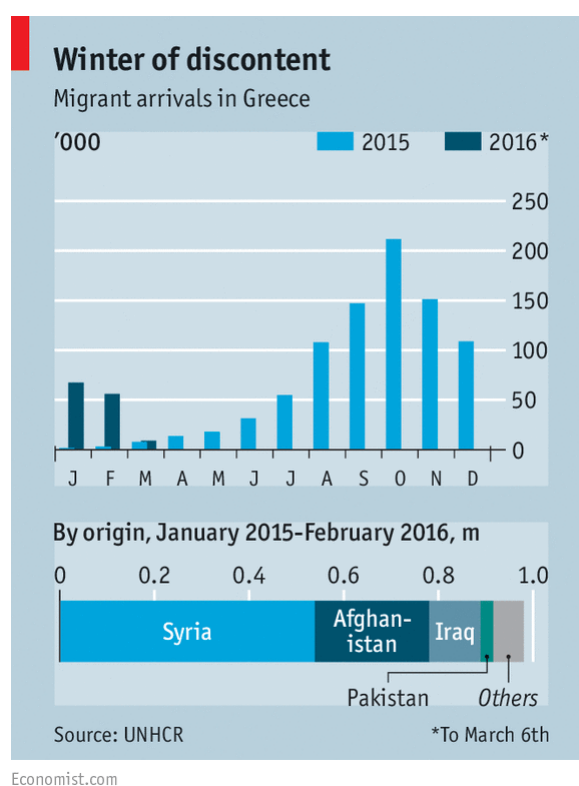
The idea behind the agreement is to smash the business model of the people-smugglers. Any migrants landing on a Greek island after making the short but perilous voyage across the Aegean Sea will automatically be sent back to Turkey, where they will be put at the back of the queue of those seeking asylum. To relieve the pressure on Turkey, which has taken in 2.7m refugees since Syria's civil war began five years ago, for each Syrian returned another whose asylum application has been properly processed will be allowed to enter the EU under an official resettlement scheme. If all goes to plan, migrants may be more reluctant to hand over their life savings to criminal networks and risk their lives making the crossing in capsize-prone inflatable boats.

Despite a recent slight drop, the number of people crossing the Aegean remains high (see chart). According to the International Organisation for Migration, more than 320 people have already drowned this year. Last week 25 died off the Turkish coast, including 13 children. For

those who do make it across, conditions along the land part of the route have worsened. On the border of Macedonia, which has been closed to refugees since March 9th, thousands are waiting in squalid camps. Stemming the flow is of utmost urgency.

For Germany's chancellor, Angela Merkel, faced with important state elections, the political stakes have become much higher (see article). Mrs Merkel's welcoming stance to refugees, which at first caught the national mood, has since strengthened opponents in her own party and dented her popularity.

Turkey's government has made the most of the EU's predicament. On March 4th a court placed the country's largest-circulation newspaper, *Zaman*, under state control; its real crime, it seems, was to have links to Fethullah Gulen, a Muslim leader based in America—once an ally of the president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, but now a rival. This latest authoritarian excess elicited only the mildest murmur of concern from the EU's diplomatic service.

Winter of discontent
Migrant arrivals in Greece

'000   2015   2016*

Source: UNHCR   *To March 6th

By origin, January 2015-February 2016, m
Syria   Afghanistan   Iraq   Pakistan   Others

Economist.com

Retreived from: http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21694569-deal-turkey-stanch-flow-refugees-may-be-european-unions-last-hope-find

The terms extracted by Mr Davutoglu in his negotiations with Mrs Merkel are generous. They include the speeding up of a \$3.3 billion payment pledged in October, with the sum eventually being doubled, to help pay for better conditions in Turkey's refugee camps over the next three years; the opening of five new "chapters" in long-stalled discussions about Turkey's bid to become a member of the EU; and the relaxation of visa requirements for Turkish citizens entering the EU.

All this has attracted plenty of criticism, though the deal could still be amended by European leaders next week before it is finalised at another summit on March 17th. Many are shocked that the EU has made such a lavish offer when Mr Erdogan has nothing but contempt for

Europe's values and is undermining the independence of Turkey's courts and media. Some EU members, particularly those with strong right-wing parties, regard visa-free travel as "very sensitive and problematic", says Camino Mortera-Martinez of the Centre for European Reform, a think-tank.

The legality of the proposal has also been questioned. Filippo Grandi, the head of the UN refugee agency, told the European Parliament he was "deeply concerned about any arrangement that would involve the blanket return of anyone from one country to another without spelling out the refugee protection safeguards under international law." Lawyers are bound to challenge whether Turkey can be declared a safe third country. Under Turkish law, only those fleeing from Europe are granted refugee status, although temporary protection has been given to Syrians. Turkey has deportation agreements with some countries, including Afghanistan, that others consider to be war zones.

It is also far from clear whether the deal, if it is indeed agreed upon, can be implemented. The forcible deportation of many thousands of people from Greece will be a logistical nightmare. Much is made of the increasing NATO naval presence in the Aegean since February. The alliance's mission, though, is not to turn back refugee-laden boats, but to provide real-time intelligence to Frontex, Europe's struggling border agency, and to Turkish and Greek coastguards which, for long-standing historical reasons, find co-operation difficult. It is also unclear who will decide who gets into Europe. Will that be left to Turkey or will EU officials set up shop in the refugee camps? Finally, an equitable quota-based system for distributing refugees around Europe remains as far away as ever.

Yet for all the unease and scepticism, this rather tawdry agreement may be Europe's last chance of regaining some control over the crisis. Somehow, it will have to be made to work.

Common-Sense Steps to Deal With the Migrant Crisis

Beppe Severgnini JUNE 9, 2016

Migrants on the Italian Navy vessel Grecale off Sicily in May. In the first five months of this year, 48,000 migrants were rescued from the Canale di Sicilia section of the central Mediterranean. Credit Antonio Parrinello/Reuters

Retreived from: http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/10/opinion/on-the-migrant-crisis-europe-is-at-sea.html?_r=0

THE Italian aircraft carrier Cavour floats in the choppy blue sea. From a helicopter hovering high above it, the ship looks like a toy left behind in a pond on a windy afternoon. But it's no toy, and this is not a game.

Built of 28,000 tons of steel, 800 feet long, rising 180 feet above the water line, with a fully equipped hospital and 550 crew members and officers from 14 different countries, the Cavour is the flagship of Eunavfor Med, the European Union's mission to fight smugglers and stop human trafficking across the Mediterranean.

You could call the carrier Europe's forward operating base. Libya's shore is just 40 miles south. Beyond is Africa, and its people are on the move. According to Europol, 800,000 migrants are waiting along the coast, ready to leave as the sea calms down in the summer. The smugglers can celebrate. Each passenger is worth thousands of dollars a year.

Our small helicopter lands on the Cavour's deck. Uniformed personnel rush to escort us to the bridge. Rear Adm. Andrea Gueglio, the force commander, points out on the radar other ships involved in the multiple operations underway.

There's Eunavfor Med, also known as Operation Sophia, after a baby girl born to an African woman aboard a German frigate last year. There's Operation Triton, led by Frontex, the European border agency, which operates closer to Italian waters. There's Mare Sicuro — Safe Seas — which protects Italian interests in the area, like oil rigs and fishing boats. There is Italy's coast guard (and Libya's, in theory). There are humanitarian organizations, from Sea Watch to Doctors Without Borders, which operate their own boats.

The migrant crisis is several years old now, and it shows no sign of abating. In the first five months of this year, 48,000 migrants were rescued in this part of the central Mediterranean, known as the Canale di Sicilia, half of them in May alone. All have been taken to Italy to be identified. Several hundred more have lost their lives at sea. On June 3, the bodies of 107 people, including five children, washed ashore on the Libyan coast. "It's hard to be here," says Lt. Ilde Covino, 30, a medical officer from Orsara di Puglia. "But it's where I have to serve."

"Mediterranean" means "amid the land," but that doesn't mean it's small. There is plenty of room to get lost in. More than 200,000 people made the journey toward Europe this year; at least 2,500 drowned while attempting to cross. The Cavour's officers interview those they rescue to find out how much they've paid to risk dying at sea. A passage in an overcrowded dinghy costs around $1,000 per person. In an old wooden boat, it's $1,500. In a fishing vessel, $2,500 to $4,000. A single trip can make the smugglers more than $1 million.

In the huge hangar below deck, on Sunday afternoon, I meet with 200 sailors. They're proud of what they're doing. But they ask, politely: Is Europe getting it?

Not really, I answer.

Of course, after an extremely dramatic event, public opinion wakes up and politicians react. Eunavfor Med was created after 800 people drowned in a single incident on April 15, 2015. This week the European Commission promised to put $9 million toward a program to send aid to sub-Saharan Africa in exchange for border-control efforts. The details need to be worked out, and it's a long-term solution at best. But at least it's a start.

Is there anything else the European Union could do right now? Maybe three things.

First, spread information. African migrants are generally not escaping war, but poverty. So they're not entitled to refugee status, like Syrians. After processing, they'll be sent back. Do they know that? Do they even grasp the dangers they face in Libya and at sea? Admiral Gueglio is convinced they have no idea.

Second, Europe could commit more forces. Eight months ago, Eunavfor Med had five frigates. Now it's down to two, from Spain and Germany. After the terrorist attacks in Paris in November, the French took theirs elsewhere. The British have contributed a single oceanographic vessel, and don't seem keen to advertise their presence here. There is a logistics ship from Germany and four small planes, from Portugal, France, Spain and Luxembourg. Along with the Cavour, that's it.

To be fair, they're doing a great job. In the last 12 months, Eunavfor Med picked up 14,857 people from the sea and helped rescue 31,096 more. They arrested 71 smugglers and helped catch 155 more. They sank 129 boats — after emptying them, so they couldn't be reused. It's impressive. But it's not enough. If Eunavfor Med is to go into so-called Phase 3 — going after the smugglers in Libya, before they put the migrants out to sea — it needs to raise its game: more ships, more personnel, more political support from member countries.

Third, Europeans can learn from others. When asylum seekers try to reach Australia by boat, they are not held there while their claims are processed. Instead, they're sent to an offshore processing center. Australia has two, on the island nation of Nauru and another on Manus Island in Papua New Guinea. Unpleasant? Yes, but a deterrent.

For the European Union it's admittedly far less straightforward. Will lawless Libya help at all? What about Egypt? The Italians are considering the idea of "floating identification centers" on abandoned oil rigs. But are these the right places for desperate people who have crossed deserts, lived as slaves to collect money for the passage and braved the sea at night in overcrowded boats?

These are common-sense steps and, most likely, none of them will be deployed. The European governments will never admit it, but they see this as chiefly an Italian problem. How wrong they are. A million Africans, maybe more, are knocking at the European Union's door. Someone has got to answer, sooner or later.

The Migrant Crisis: No End in Sight

By RUSSELL GOLDMAN FEB. 3, 2016

The perilous flight of refugees continues, with some 67,000 asylum seekers traveling to Europe last month. Meanwhile, the European Union and international donors are poised to increase their aid to one desperate group: Syrians displaced by war.

Young migrants awaiting transit to a registration camp in Idomeni, Greece, warmed themselves last week. Credit Sergey Ponomarev for The New York Times

Retreived from: http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/02/04/world/europe/migrant-crisis-by-the-numbers.html

The refugees keep coming.

Forced from their homes by war and economic deprivation, tens of thousands of migrants made the perilous journey to Europe last month.

These asylum seekers, the latest surge in a great tide of human movement, have braved winter weather, stormy seas and closed borders in their escape from the Middle East, Afghanistan and Africa.

On Thursday in London, the European Union and international donors are expected to pledge to increase their aid to Syrians displaced by war.

The toll, whether measured in lives or in dollars, is staggering.

Volunteers helped migrants arriving in November in Lesbos, Greece, one of the main entrance points for asylum seekers trying to reach Western Europe. Sergey Ponomarev for The New York Times

Retrieved from: http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/02/04/world/europe/migrant-crisis-by-the-numbers.html

More People, Fewer Choices

More than **67,000** migrants have arrived in Europe by sea since the start of the year. By comparison, **5,000** migrants made the journey across the Mediterranean in January 2015, according to the International Organization for Migration.

These newcomers join more than **one million** people who sought refuge in Europe last year. But more telling than the total number of migrants is the number who have been formally resettled: **190** in 2015, despite pledges to relocate almost 200,000.

"We have to go," said Mohamed Salem Abrahim, a 17-year-old Afghan trying to make his way to Germany. Mohamed arrived in Greece two months ago after traveling through Iran and catching a leaky boat from Turkey. "What is the choice — to stay in our country and be killed, or come to Europe where we can be free?"

The body of a dead child on the Turkish shoreline Saturday after a boat carrying migrants to Greece hit rocks. Rough seas are just one of the perils confronting migrants making their way to Europe. Credit Ozan Kose/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images

Retreived from: ibid

Desperate Children

This year, **368** people have died making the journey across the Mediterranean, 60 of them children, migration figures show.

Since the beginning of the year **19,781** minors have arrived in Europe, almost one-third of the total number of people making the journey.

On Saturday, 10 children drowned when a boat carrying them and their families crashed on rocks near Ayvacik, a Turkish resort town. Photos of at least two of the children, their lifeless bodies on a rocky shore, were disturbingly similar to the photographs of the 3-year-old Syrian boy Alan Kurdi that circulated on the Internet in September. The public outcry over repeated images of smartly dressed children washed up on Europe's shores has been muted.

Women and children now make up most of the migrants entering Europe, surpassing single men, who were once the majority of travelers, according to Unicef.

For children, the journey is far more dangerous than a single boat trip. At least **10,000** unaccompanied minors have disappeared in Europe over the past year, according to Europol, the European division of Interpol. Many of those children have slipped through the bureaucratic cracks and found shelter with family members, but the police warned that many others have likely been kidnapped by traffickers.

Migrants in Gevgelija, Macedonia, made their way across the border with Greece in October.
Credit Mauricio Lima for The New York Times

Retrieved from: ibid

☐ New Restrictions

Citizens from **149** countries applied for asylum in Europe in 2015, according to the <u>European Union</u>, but the vast majority came from just three places: Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan.

Germany, followed by Hungary and Sweden, received the most asylum applicants last year.

During the first half of 2015, **668,000** immigrants, including other Europeans and asylum seekers, entered Germany, according the German Interior Ministry, and the total for last year is expected to be around one million.

It is increasingly difficult for those who arrive in Greece and elsewhere to make their way to northern Europe as more countries <u>close their borders</u> to migrants.

Mounting Costs

Leaders from Europe and other world powers, including the United States, are expected to double, to $2 billion, the amount of aid they pledged to Syrian migrants last year. That is in addition to nearly **$3 billion** European Union leaders <u>pledged to Turkey</u> in November to help its government keep refugees from leaving that country for Europe.

Summary

Discourse analysis represents an intriguing linguistic branch considering the fact that it is a part of practically every segment of our lives. There are various approaches to journalistic discourse analysis and the most frequently used one is probably Van Dijk's model of journalistic discourse analysis. This approach initiates from the analysis of macro and micro structures of a text. However, a strictly linguistic approach to this type of text is insufficient for its complete understanding. Critical discourse analysis, which also takes into consideration the ideological, political and social components is therefore a continuation of Van Dijk' s approach. This thesis englobes the analysis of two newspaper articles written by two British authors and two articles by American authors. The subject that these have in common is the migrant crisis, and the analysis of these articles will illustrate to what extent the personal viewpoint of the authors is visible in the text.

Key words: discourse analysis, journalistic discourse, critical discourse analysis, microstructures, macrostructures

Sažetak

Analiza novinskog diskursa u britanskim i američkim člancima na temu migrantske krize

Analiza diskursa predstavlja nadasve interesantno područje lingvistike budući da je dijelom praktički svakog segmenta našeg života i djelovanja. Analiza novinarskog diskursa poznaje brojne pristupe, ali onaj najčešće korišten vjerojatno je upravo Van Dijkov model analize novinskih članaka. Ovaj pristup polazi od analize makro i mikro strukture tekstualnih sastavnica. Ipak, strogo lingvistički pristup ovakvom tipu teksta nedovoljan je za njegovo potpuno razumijevanje. Stoga se na Van Dijkov pristup nadovezuje kritička analiza diskursa koja u svojoj suštini nosi također i analizu ideološke, političke i društvene komponente teksta. Ovaj rad obuhvaća analizu dvaju novinskih članaka britanskih i dvaju članaka američkih autora. Tema koja povezuje sva četiri članka je migrantska kriza te će analiza spomenutih članaka pokazati u kolikoj mjeri je osobni stav autora vidljiv u samom tekstu.

Ključne riječi: analiza diskursa, novinarski diskurs, kritička analiza diskursa, mikrostrukture, makrostrukture